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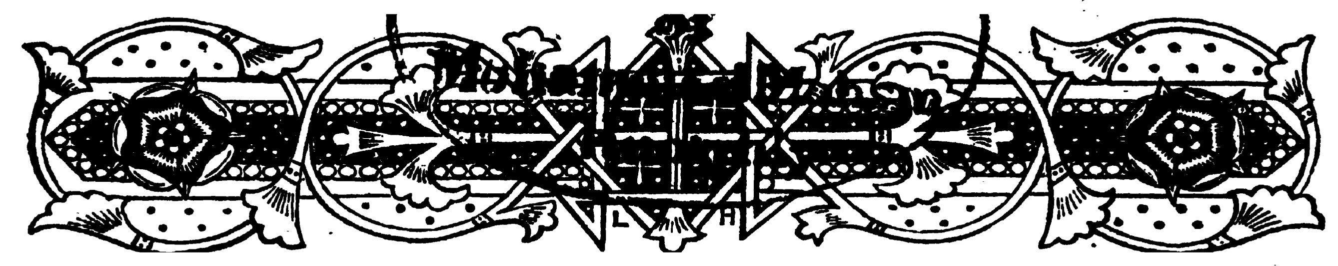

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IS THERE ROOM FOR WORKS OF MERCY IN A BUSY LONDON LIFE?

The Charities of London: an Account of the Origin, Operations, and General Condition of the Charitable, Educational, and Religious Institutions of London. London: Sampson Low & Co.

MANY years ago a great lawyer died in the fulness of his popularity and in the zenith of his fame.* As is customary on such occasions, the periodicals of the day contained notices of his career, and one of them (not of an avowedly religious type, still less given either to an enthusiastic or Pharisaical spirit) concluded the sketch of his character as follows:—

"He was a man of modest, mild, inoffensive character, who spoke ill of, and did harm to, no one; but at the same time was not distinguished by that active and energetic benevolence, liberality, and generosity, which secure for the memory of the exhibitant, ardent, enduring gratitude and reverence. His excellence was of a negative rather than a positive kind. He did harm to no one, when he might have done so with impunity, and was possibly sometimes tempted to do so; but then he did not do good, at all events to the extent which might have been expected from him. . . . It is, however, only fair to his memory to acknowledge that professional pursuits have certainly a strong tendency to warp amiable and generous

* We purposely withhold both the date and the name, because our object is not in the least to criticise an individual, but to illustrate a great principle.

natures—to keep the eye of ambition, amidst the intense fires of rivalry and opposition, fixed exclusively upon one object—the interest and advancement of the individual. Nothing can effectually control or counteract this tendency but a lively and constant sense of religious principle; which enlarges the heart till it can love our neighbour as ourself, which brightens the present with the hopes of the future, which purifies our corrupt nature, and elevates its grovelling earthward tendencies by the contemplation of an eternal state of Being, dependent on our conduct in this transient scene of trial. Who can tell the extent to which these and similar considerations are present to the dying great ones of the earth, who, suddenly plucked from amidst the dazzling scenes of successful ambition, are laid prostrate upon the bed of death—their pale faces turned to the wall, with Hereafter alone in view, and under an aspect equally new and awful?"

These words, finding, as they did, a place in a journal of high literary position, but intended for miscellaneous readers, and not professing any exclusive or theological character, seem well worthy of consideration. Whether they were true as regards him of whom they were written is a secondary, and, for the present purpose, an immaterial point. Setting that question wholly aside, and looking at them under a purely theoretical aspect, it is impossible not to see that they are words which it was thought fair and legitimate to use of a man accomplished, amiable, distinguished, and who had attained, without a stain on his reputation, professional, political, and social eminence of no common kind. During his life that success called forth—as when does not success call forth?—the tribute of wide-spread admiration. Few would then have said that his obituary was likely to contain the words which we have quoted. But so it is: society—even general society—is apt very seriously to revise its judgments when it comes to utter them over its deceased members: "Men will praise thee when thou doest well to thyself" expresses now, as in the days of the Psalmist, accurately enough the verdict usually pronounced by his fellows on the man who lives prosperously, but lives for himself. But somehow, the cold hand of death chills this fervour of adulation, and those who lately uttered it speak a different language as they stand round the open grave. Not merely what is called the religious world, but, to some extent at least, the world at large, when a man of prominent position has just passed away, pauses in its course, and takes account of the acts, aims, and motives of the departed, otherwise than it did during his life. Contemporary glory waits upon the great man of this world, but the blessings of posterity hover over the sepulchres of the Howards and the Wilberforces.

Still it may fairly be urged that professional life is itself a way, and an important way, of doing service both to God and man. If in the solemn prayers of our Universities we entreat God to raise up a succession of fit persons to serve Him both in Church and State, we cannot blame those who, having joined in that prayer, go forth in

after life to diligent and strenuous labour in such pursuits as have for their object the exposition of the laws under which we live, or the development of that commerce which pours so many blessings into the lap of the humblest among us. No doubt a man does good service to his generation by patient perseverance in any lawful calling in which he honestly obtains competence or even wealth for his family. Still more is this the case when such calling has an immediate bearing on the public welfare. Indeed, it is only by looking at it in this light that the mind of the worker can be kept from taking a base and sordid view of his daily toil, and can go through labour in a free and liberal spirit. Moreover, thus alone can the question be satisfactorily answered, whether a man ought to continue in the drudgery of his profession after he has realized a sufficient maintenance for himself and those dependent on him. For the answer seems to be, that if he has really been working with a view to the general good, and not merely from selfish objects, the same principle will forbid him to withdraw his powers from the public service when they are most fully matured, and when his position renders them most extensively useful. No one, for instance, would have desired that a Brodie or a Stephenson should retire from professional labours which were conferring vast benefits on mankind. And the same is no doubt true of other professions, though their beneficial influence may be more remote and less obvious to the unreflecting observer. On the other hand, the mere motive of acquiring vast wealth can scarcely claim equal allowance, and there may perhaps be some who, upon a dispassionate review of their position, might come to feel that a business life of many years might be not ill followed by retirement and reflection, and by the works of active benevolence.

Be this as it may, and assuming to the utmost the utility and duty of busy professional life, there always remains behind the paramount principle, that the worker must not be lost in his work. Mr. Gladstone* says,—

> "I apprehend that a pure theism entirely sustains that precept of revelation which instructs us that we are to discharge all our relative and social duties 'as to the Lord, and not to men;' that from the midst of their daily crowd we are to look continually upwards, and to consider evermore the ulterior bearing of our acts upon our higher relation to God. And even a philosophy regardless of revelation should, methinks, instruct us at least in this, that they are made for us rather than we for them; that the results of moral action on the agent are, perhaps, on the whole, more important than its more directly contemplated consequences; that the world is a gymnasium supplied with a complex apparatus, which, when it has fulfilled its purposes upon us, is to be laid aside; in short, that, whatever be the outward circumstances or ordinary tasks of each particular person, he has a high immaterial nature within him, appointed to live under a law extrinsic and superior to

* "The State in its Relations with the Church." Fourth Edit., vol. i., p. 129.

these; a nature that emerges from among them, struggles to rise above their level, reserves its inner precinct from their intrusion, protests against being absorbed and lost in the external energies that those circumstances and tasks require, claims to rule over him, and to determine with preferable right the main conditions of his life. By the supersession of this inner nature he surrenders his human birthright and patrimony, the central and otherwise unconquerable freedom of his being, and he becomes a captive, though chained, it may be, to a gorgeous and triumphal car."

Now the bustle and hurry of business are not always favourable to such thoughts as these, and some self-control and resolute effort are required to maintain them in mind in the midst of strenuous labour. Hence it must surely be well that a man should now and then make some voluntary effort for others—something for which he receives nothing in return, and from the performance of which, therefore, he strives to exclude, so far as may be, all thought of self or of reward. The idea of duty and service, thus refreshed in his mind, will return with him to his ordinary avocations, abide with him in them, and confer dignity upon them. Moreover, there are many great works of benevolence which are wholly unconnected with the labours of any profession. However pure the motives, and however great the public utility of any professional man, there are a thousand other needs of humanity lying wholly outside the sphere in which he and those like him are engaged, and which his work has no tendency to meet.

Not a few men of serious minds, but deeply engaged in the business of life, will find no difficulty in cutting the knot now before us. "We cannot give our time, it is true, but then we give, and give largely, of our money. Money is to the full as necessary as personal labour in all schemes of religion or benevolence, and we have the satisfaction of thinking that we thus render most useful assistance." No doubt this is true. Many men of this description give liberally to good projects of various kinds, and such contributions are an absolute necessity for the success of these projects. Whether under the competitive system which society seems disposed to institute just now in the matter of show and luxury, awarding its highest prizes of social position to those only who carry splendour of house, table, equipage, and personal adornment to the highest and most approved pitch,—whether, under this system which threatens us, it will be possible to secure as much even of material aid to charitable undertakings as at present, may possibly be an anxious question, but it is not the question now before us. The plea which we are considering is to the effect that those who cannot give their own agency, produce the same effect through the agency of others. They say, in short, "Qui facit per alium facit per se." Is this a thoroughly good plea? It may, we think, be open to some exception. In the first place, if there be any truth in the reflex effect of personal work for the benefit of others upon the worker

himself, it is obvious that very little of it can accrue to one who is a mere donor of money. His sympathies cannot be called out to the same degree, nor his thoughts so effectually diverted from selfish aims, as if he came into personal contact with the want or irreligion which his money enables others to mitigate or remove. But further let us look at the maxim in itself. It is a hard, dry, legal rule at best; but even as a legal rule, it is oftener employed to fix a man with responsibility than to enable him to get quit of it. Its most frequent use is to affect a man with liability for the acts of an agent, not to absolve him from further care or thought because he has appointed one. In fact, where there is an actual trust and duty (as distinguished from a mere power or right), the maxim gives place, even in law, to another, viz., "Delegatum non potest delegari." Where a personal trust and confidence is reposed in a man, he is not allowed to avoid the obligation of using his own judgment and discretion by shifting the duty upon another. Hence those who plead a vicarious discharge of the duties of benevolence through the services of others, should consider whether they really thus employ their talent—the sacred *depositum* or trust which they have received, and for the use of which they are responsible—in the manner in which they are bound to employ it. The subdivision of labour, which is now carried to so great an extent, and which is a principal secret of manufacturing and commercial success, possibly imbues too much our ways of speaking and talking on other subjects. Not merely the extent of work accomplished, but the spirit in which it is done, comes into question when we look at things from a moral point of view. Political economy may treat men pretty much as productive machines, but with religion the personal being stands ever in the first place. Upon the whole, we are thankful for the munificence of those whose contributions furnish the ways and means for carrying on schemes of charity; but we are disposed to suggest that in many—perhaps in most—cases (though without laying down any rigid or invariable rule) something more might and should be given in the shape of personal co-operation.

We have written these words advisedly. It is easy, however, to array on the other side much that seems to tell very differently. The intense strain which the competition of professional or commercial life in this nineteenth century puts upon the energies of those engaged in it, is truly more than a mere outside spectator would imagine. Not only the natural and laudable desire to do well whatever is to be done, but the imperious necessity that it shall be done superlatively well, if a man will rise to eminence, nay, will escape being trodden down and trodden out under the horse-hoofs of victorious rivals, seems to call for the utmost exertions of which brain and nerve are capable. And the weariness which succeeds when this prolonged

mental effort gives place to a short interval of rest seems to claim an absolute immunity from thought or labour of every other kind.

Now some might be inclined to deal with all this very briefly by saying that moderation is a Christian virtue, and that moderate effort and exertion is all that a Christian can lawfully give to things secular. A fair amount of regular labour, they would urge, will bestow on a man a respectable position, and a reasonable competence, if not the highest rewards of his profession, and with this a good man ought to rest content. But there is some truth in the reply (though in thus frankly stating it we may seem to be making out a case against our own argument), that the day seems passing away when such things were possible. The immense and ever-widening field to be compassed, and the variety of details to be mastered, owing to the increase of knowledge, and the more complex relations of society, are in the present day such as to render anything short of the severest labour insufficient for the task. And again, were it possible to hit the medium, and to be contented with decent mediocrity, let us ask whether the lawyer of merely average reputation, the physician of moderate skill, really commands the confidence of those who are loudest in enforcing moderation on religious grounds? When such persons have a lawsuit of vast moment, or are suffering under a dangerous malady, are they not found to insist on the services of first-rate talent, and to retain the leaders of the profession?

How then shall we make good the position which we have ventured to take up in the face of such facts as these? Perhaps it is not easy, but neither is it, we hope, wholly impossible. As a beginning, let us ask whether it is not a case of every-day occurrence, that just at the very crisis of the struggle, and when every faculty seems fully tasked, if not overstrained, in the race, the man deliberately adds to his previous duties the labours of a member of Parliament? How is this to be explained? It seemed as if an additional drop would make the cup run over, and yet of pure free will the hours of rest are curtailed, an entirely new sphere is entered, and political excitement is added to all the previous tension of the brain. Somehow or other, a strong purpose finds means to make room in the life for a large amount of new occupation. Is it unreasonable to ask whether, if the claims of religion and philanthropy were felt to be as strong and pressing as they deserve to be, some space might not be found for them in the actions of the daily life? While the potent attractions of Parliament can lead some of the busiest of mankind to give up a portion of their time to the public service of the country, might not others devote a far smaller fraction of their days to private labours for the good of others? We say a far smaller fraction, because it is out of the question to call upon men actively engaged in business for a general

and indiscriminate devotion to philanthropic schemes. It is our anxious wish to say nothing that is not eminently practical and practicable. Let us therefore proceed to details, in order to guard against misconception.

In the first place, the education and habits of nearly every man in this age of subdivided labour point out some peculiar sphere within which he can be specially helpful. To be desirous of employing the talent entrusted to us in the service of the Great Master is no doubt the first requisite of all; but a second requisite of scarcely less practical importance is to make sure what our special talent is, and how it is to be used. Mistakes on this head are possibly not uncommon.

The piteous cry of Bacon in his last prayer will recur to the recollection of many;—"Besides my innumerable sins, I confess before Thee that I am debtor to Thee for the gracious talent of thy gifts and graces, which I have neither put into a napkin, nor put it, as I ought, to exchangers, where it might have made best profit, but misspent it in things for which I was least fit." Now it is probable that at least one way of using our talent safely and wisely will be by employing freely, for the benefit of others, the skill which we have in our calling.* It is noticed with regret in the obituary, a portion of which was quoted at the commencement of this article, that the great lawyer there spoken of would not be found to have transmitted his name to posterity as the author of any great statutes or legal reforms. This suggests, of itself, a large department for the exertions of the practised lawyer who is willing to lay out of his skill for the public benefit. Bills brought into Parliament, for philanthropic or other useful purposes, sometimes fail from their unbusiness-like character; and this defect generally arises from the want of professional aid in their concoction. Gratuitous assistance therefore of this kind is very valuable, and generally, the presence of men of experience in business at the boards and committees by which charitable undertakings are managed is of great advantage. Even as occasional referees, when points of unusual difficulty arise, such men may do good service at a very small expenditure of thought and time. For the trained intellect finds its way with marvellous speed through matters which cost other men much and long toil, without, after all, so satisfactory a result. The advice therefore of a good authority upon any difficulty, whether of a legal or pecuniary nature, which may arise in the conduct of such undertakings, is extremely useful; and men who give such advice may feel that they are of important assistance.

And over and above the practical benefit thus arising, the mere fact

* The medical profession set a good example in this matter by their very general practice of affording gratuitous advice to the poor.

that men of eminence are willing to unite themselves with a project is found to give it weight and popularity. This leads to the subject of *influence.* In men of high position this is of itself a power, and therefore a trust. It is sometimes the case that some useful work has been devised and carried on up to a certain point by persons of retired life, possibly of humble station: a time arrives when it cannot receive adequate expansion, or fully effect its object, without being widely known and liberally assisted. At this crisis the open support of those to whom the mind of the country looks with respect and confidence is everything; and such support (though testified, perhaps, merely by the slight act of presiding at a meeting, or making a single speech in public) may create a turning-point in its history. Yet we hardly think we are uncharitable if we say that it is only a limited number of men of station and influence who appear to see things in this light. It is amusing to watch what sometimes goes on in such matters, and to hear men who have devoted weeks, months, years perhaps, of precious time to foster some philanthropic attempt, beg earnestly for the countenance of some magnate, for perhaps a couple of hours, in order to attract the capricious favour of society, and induce the wealthy and worldly-wise to think that perhaps, after all, there may be something in Mr. So-and-so's favourite crotchet. And then comes the response. The great man presents his compliments, but he makes a rule of never taking part in public meetings. And having despatched this note—under the apparent impression that the neglect of a duty is justifiable, provided it be neglected habitually and without exception—he sits down in the comfortable conviction that he has disposed of the application in the most satisfactory way. He is tormented by no thought that his answer has simply been—"I am in the habit of keeping the particular talent, which you ask me to use, wrapped in a napkin, and it is too much trouble to undo it and bring it out."

There are, of course, exceptions to every rule. Some men of high position (more especially if succeeding to it by birth) may be constitutionally of so shy a temperament, that to speak in public is intolerable, and virtually impossible to them. Of such we do not speak, but after making every deduction on this score, it must surely be admitted that the number is very large of those whose occasional presence and sanction, if freely and gracefully given, would be of great use in attracting public support to schemes of benevolence.

However, there are other ways open to such as have an aversion to chair-taking, resolutions of thanks, and the other incidents of meetings. Instances might be given of men of high eminence, not only at the Bar but on the Bench, who have not thought it beneath them to spend some hours of the day of rest in Sunday school teaching.

Or some intercourse with the poor and the sick on that day would not be too burdensome, and would be in accordance with Arnold's advice.* In this vast city, those to whom it may hereafter be said, "I was sick, and ye visited Me," are not too numerous, and a reinforcement to their body would in most places be hailed with thankfulness. Others again may prefer to contribute efforts of a more distinctly intellectual kind. To such there is at least one sphere open, which seems extending every year. Lectures to working men's institutes, and clubs, and to evening and ragged schools, are becoming what our American friends call an "institution" among us. But at present the demand for really good gratuitous lecturers is in excess of the supply. Why should not the medical man come forward with popular addresses on human physiology, chemistry, and above all, sanitary science? There is a gross ignorance in thousands of the working class as to the laws of health. Nothing can remove it so well as plain conversational lectures, with abundant experiments and pictorial diagrams, provided only that there be a resolute exclusion of technical terms. Or again, the barrister (whose very profession is to speak in public) might surely find useful topics on which to talk to a room-full of artisans in the same easy, winning way as if they were a common jury, and his fame depended on getting their verdict. When this is once generally achieved, and the dry, pedantic style of lecture banished for ever from the schoolroom and the mechanics' club, we shall begin to get the ear of the class whom we desire to improve. And who so fit to accomplish this great object as the lawyer? Who again so fit to explain agreeably the wonders of civilization—the electric telegraph or cable, or a thousand other subjects of deep interest to the mechanic—as the man of commerce, who is daily reaping advantage from them in his business, or joining in projects to multiply and extend similar inventions?

But will it be said, after all, that we are Utopian, and that it is not likely busy men will, in any large numbers, follow our advice?† Well, at all events, all are not busy men. Let us turn to the men of leisure. They are not few even in this swarming hive of industry, this centre of the work of the world. In the first place, there are the men of inherited fortune. In the country, such men generally think it incumbent on them to take some part in county business, or at least in

* In writing to a professional man, he urges upon him that "prayer and kindly intercourse with the poor are the two great safeguards of spiritual life,—its more than food and raiment."—*Life and Correspondence*, vol. i., p. 56.

† Yet there is not a department of philanthropic exertion which we have named, in which several really busy men do not, to our own knowledge, contrive to take part. These instances prove that it is feasible, and we only ask that their number should be increased.

the concerns of their own tenants and poorer neighbours. But "the season" in London seems to be regarded by many as a pure holiday. Yet it is the money spent in the metropolis—the wants and the demands of wealthy families—that is one main cause of the aggregation of artisans and labourers in the poorer dwellings which cluster round the confines of a fashionable district. Surely such have claims upon those to whose convenience and luxury they minister. The life of a Christian gentleman ought at no time to be a selfish life. Barrow calls on persons "of eminent rank in the world, well allied, graced with honour, and furnished with wealth," to be "not slothful, but diligent in their particular vocation." He says,—

> "At first hearing this may seem a little paradoxical and strange; for, as some might say, who has less business than gentlemen? or who do need less industry than they? He that hath a fair estate, and can live on his means, what labour or trouble can be exacted of him? What hath he to think on but how to invent recreations and pastimes to divert himself? . . . According to the passable notion and definition, What is a gentleman but his pleasure? If this be true," he proceeds, "if a gentleman be nothing else but this, then truly he is a sad piece,—the most inconsiderable, the most despicable, the most pitiful and wretched creature in the world. If it is his privilege to do nothing, it is his privilege to be most unhappy; and to be so will be his fate if he live according to it; for he that is of no worth or use, who produceth no beneficial fruit, who performeth no service to God or to the world, what title can he have to happiness? what capacity thereof? what reward can he claim? what comfort can he feel? to what temptations is he exposed! what guilt will he incur!"*

Then, again, there are men who, having passed the meridian of life, have retired to enjoy in peace the results of long industry. Every trading city, and London especially, furnishes many such. To these may be added members of the military and naval services not employed in active duty. Once more, there is that large class peculiar to this country, retired East Indians and colonists—men who have often had the conduct of large affairs, and possess good administrative ability. Coming to those only partially occupied, the mind turns to men in Government offices, or other posts where the work is regular but not severe.

Taking these classes together, it may fairly be asked whether materials do not exist for a large reinforcement to the number of those upon whom depends the working out of designs for religious and social improvement.

Yet it is a fact well known to all who care to inquire, that notwithstanding very many bright exceptions from all ranks of society, there is work waiting to be done, and work that is ill done, on account of the paucity of heads and hands to do it. What then is the reason?

* Barrow's sermon "On Industry in our Particular Calling as Gentlemen," cited in an admirable discourse, by the late Rev. J. H. Gurney, on the death of Sir Robert Peel.

One thing no doubt is, that those who are "active in works of benevolence," as the phrase is, are conventionally supposed to be somewhat "fussy," and not seldom inclined to be bores. At all events, easy-going people are apt to set them down as bustling, troublesome folk, of a character quite abhorrent to the aristocratic composure of the highest type of English society. They distract the nerves and ruffle the feelings of the more refined, and repel all their sympathies. To this indictment it might not unfairly be pleaded, that energy of all kinds is a nuisance to the *dolce far niente* of a luxurious tranquillity, but that unless there were energy somewhere, our luxuries, no less than our charities, would be sadly curtailed. We live too in times when enthusiasm on other subjects is commended;—why is the welfare of our fellow-creatures the only subject on which it is to be proscribed? However, we have another answer to the charge. Those who take an active part in grappling with our great social problems are, as we have said, overworked; and an overworked man, be he merchant, doctor, lawyer, or philanthropist, has a strain on his temper and character that seldom allows him to rival in graceful ease of manner the lettered idler. Let there be a large accession to the ranks from those who are now complacent—perhaps captious—spectators, and it will be quite possible to effect a better division of labour. Meanwhile, it is an ungenerous thing to blame those who are doing their best, for that flutter of spirits which arises from their being compelled to undertake not only their own share of toil, but that which fairly belongs to the objector himself.

Another excuse which may possibly be offered for holding back from personal service in the cause of benevolence is, that not unfrequently it involves a prominence and publicity which is distasteful. Instead of unostentatious labour, it must be admitted that what is called the "religious world" is sometimes apt to be found—

> "Duly proclaiming every right-hand deed,
> Trusting the left has never learned to read."

Perhaps, indeed, it is not altogether to be wondered at, that the comparatively small phalanx that is really engaged in such operations should strive to keep up its spirits by mutual encouragement and sympathy among its members, seeing it by no means always receives it from the world at large.* Still there is a certain force in the objection. It may be that we want a more noiseless step in our march of philanthropy. We live in an age of notoriety and clamour, and something of the temper of the age may have infected a field from

*** It is an undeniable fact that though philanthropy is a favourite subject of admiration in a general way, there is not unfrequently a disposition to raise an array of objections to any specific scheme which asks for an outlay of money or time.**

which it were better excluded. An epigrammatist might say that we want more public spirit, but less of the spirit of publicity. It is obvious, however, that as active exertion becomes more common, it will attract less observation, and each new recruit who swells the ranks makes the work less peculiar and less likely to excite remark. Moreover, there are many ways open to most men in which they may effectually serve their brethren without any apprehension of public notice.

By all means let these ways be adopted by such as prefer them; only let them not speak with disparagement of combined efforts on a greater scale, as if they were objectionable or could be dispensed with. Private effort can do much, but there are objects which can only be attained by united exertion. We live in an era when this truth is most explicitly recognised by men who are among the wisest of their generation. It has led to the accomplishment of our greatest engineering and mercantile projects, and it is against reason that it should not be legitimate to apply it to schemes of social amelioration. Some persons seem to think that if every man did his duty in his own parish and neighbourhood, it would be the best and simplest way. It would be about as reasonable to suggest the formation of a railroad by each parish along the intended line doing its own piece independently. There are vast undertakings, charitable and religious no less than secular, which demand united forces, associated counsels, consolidated resources. Those whose names perforce appear in print on committees as a guarantee for the due management of the funds which they expend, are sometimes thought unduly to affect publicity. To be sure, the sneer is always at hand,—

> "You know some people like to pass
> For patrons with the lower class;"

but it may be as well to know that intelligent foreigners look on these matters differently. M. de Montalembert says,*—

> "L'Anglais donne son argent, son temps, son nom à une œuvre de charité ou d'intérêt public; il met sa gloire à ce que l'œuvre qu'il adopte ainsi soit au niveau de tous les besoins et de tous les progrès: mais pour y parvenir il ne songe pas à invoquer ou à accepter la main-mise des agents du pouvoir sur tout ce que ses pères et lui ont fondé. Il garde l'autorité avec la responsabilité, le droit avec le devoir. Il tomberait en pâmoison devant nôtre système de charité légale, dirigée, surveillée, éduquée, et en fin de compte garottée: où depuis 1852 tous les membres de tous les bureaux de bienfaisance de la France entière sont nommés et révoqués par les préfets; où il en est de même de tous les administrateurs des hospices auparavant électifs.
>
> "'*Supported by voluntary subscription:*' telle est la fière et noble inscription qu'on lit dans toute l'Angleterre sur la façade de la plupart des des hôpitaux, des hospices, des asiles divers de la misère humaine. Alors

* "De l'Avenir politique de l'Angleterre." 3me Edition, p. 258.

même que le gouvernement a pris l'initiative, le public est toujours venu revendiquer sa part et son droit : '*Condidit rex, civium largitas perfecit,*' comme il est dit sur la façade de l'immense hôpital des aliénés de Bedlam. On comprend bien que ces mots, *Entretenus par des souscriptions volontaires,* impliquent ceux-ci, *Gouvernés par l'autorité des souscripteurs.* C'est toujours le même principe : l'effort, le sacrifice personnel et permanent, puis le droit et le pouvoir naissant du sacrifice et de l'effort. Tant que ce principe sera en force et en honneur, l'Angleterre n'aura rien à craindre : sa gloire et sa vertu pourront résister à la contagion de la servitude continentale.

"L'Angleterre échappe ainsi au plus grand ennui et au plus grand danger de la société moderne, à l'uniformité sociale et à la toute puissance du gouvernement. La variété des droits et la fécondité des volontés individuelles brisent dans l'œuf le germe fatal de cette uniformité, qui n'est pas seulement la mère d'ennui, qui est surtout la fille de la bureaucratie, qui est en outre la marque et la condition de la servitude, et qui, bien loin d'être une garantie de stabilité pour les peuples ou les pouvoirs publics, n'a jamais préservé ceux-ci des chutes les plus rapides et les plus honteuses."

There is yet another point which requires notice. Men who are not unwilling to do something for the good of those around them, are yet often deterred by a fear of seeming to take a position in advance of their real sentiments. To take part in schemes for the improvement of others is, they think, to proclaim that they themselves have attained to an advanced state of religious feeling. And of this they say, perhaps, they are not conscious. But surely this is not a reason for inactivity. To do something for the benefit of others is surely a simple duty which there is not merely no ostentation in performing, but which there is personal peril in leaving unperformed. Nothing can be so wrong as to live for self. Anything must be better than to neglect obvious duties. Those who begin, in the simplest things, to live for others, may by degrees find their own inner life so grow and thrive under the discipline, that in time they may come to feel it no affectation to enter upon the highest efforts for the spiritual improvement of mankind. Those who sit still will assuredly find even their otiose wishes for the good of others grow feebler and die, and their own moral nature rust and perish. And it scarcely requires to be said that the ways in which an earnest will may occupy itself for the benefit of others are so many and various, that the most scrupulous may find some occupation that may be undertaken without risk to perfect sincerity. And here may be mentioned one great field which is at this moment open to all who will enter upon it, and is in much need of labourers. For distinction's sake it may be called the parochial field. It comprises all the machinery which the law has set in motion in our parishes for the benefit of the lower classes, and it may be subdivided into the departments of the poor-law and of sanitary reform. We have, from time to time, strong public excitement on some ill-treatment of paupers, rejection of

casuals, mismanagement of workhouse infirmaries, hard-heartedness as to outdoor relief. These and kindred topics arouse an outburst of indignation against the system, and a cry for reform in the poor-law. Did it ever occur to these declaimers (if they really wish to probe the evil to the bottom, and not merely to write a telling article in the newspaper of the day) that every system must depend, to a great extent, for its efficiency on the hands by which it is worked? And if so, then that until men of education and refinement more generally condescend to act as guardians, there always will be difficulty and embarrassment? Take the other department, that of sanitary reform. In the metropolis the legal powers (and, on the whole, by no means despicable powers) for effecting this object are by law entrusted to the vestries and district boards. Nothing is easier than to write smart attacks on the way in which these bodies do — or perhaps leave undone—their proper work on this head. But after all, when it is considered that the laws of health have only of late years been carefully investigated, and that the information which exists is to a great degree confined to men of science, and has as yet been but little disseminated in a popular form, is it astonishing that men with very limited scientific knowledge should not be prepared to act boldly in this direction, especially when it involves an apparent interference with private property?

Would it not be the wisest and best course that men of more extensive knowledge and more enlarged views should give their personal service and assistance? We ask for the improvement of our sanitary laws, and we are right in so doing; but let us ask also for the improvement of our sanitary administrators. Until this point is gained, the best laws will not work. It is sometimes said that the ratepayers do not like to elect a high class of men as vestrymen. Like many other propositions, however, this is taken for granted rather than proved by experience. The very small number of the upper classes of society who come forward for such posts scarcely allows the experiment to be fairly made. Yet in most places there are many such among the parishioners, and in the poorest parishes there are frequently the factories or commercial establishments of gentlemen of great wealth and position. Is it quite impossible that such should come forward as candidates for an office which would give them legal power to improve and benefit the neighbourhood from which they have for years drawn a large revenue, and in which probably their own workmen and assistants live?

Unfortunately, parochial work has always been looked down upon. An active M.P. is a recognised feature of the higher spheres of our social system, but that any one above a small tradesman should be a diligent guardian or vestryman excites in many quarters a smile of

incredulity or pity. But for an earnest-minded man, the first question surely is not, What opportunities for distinction is such a position likely to open to me? but, What opportunities for usefulness will it afford?

By all means let those who are fitted for the higher duties of Parliament be returned to the House of Commons, and devote themselves to imperial interests and to the cares of legislation. No nobler task can be imagined. But there are hundreds of men, of good social position, who never entertain the remotest notion of going into Parliament, the sum of whose efforts (were each to work in his own locality) would most materially affect the general welfare, and point the way to the solution of more than one social problem, which legislators now look at with perplexity.*

Thus far we have sought to urge men to take part more generally in works of benevolence. Perhaps it may seem a paradox if we conclude by saying that there are some works, on the other hand, which need above all things that the public should learn to practise a judicious abstinence in respect to them. The paradox vanishes when we apply a little good sense and judgment to the subject. The case to which we particularly refer is that of hospitals. Some of these are ancient foundations governed by charter, and managed, on the whole, very well, but rather despotically. With these we are not now con-

At present popular feeling and the rumoured intentions of Parliament point to the consolidation of the secular parochial organizations of the metropolis, and to the erection of an important municipal body. Such a scheme may have its advantages, but it is right to point out that it may also have its risks. At present a certain few of the higher classes take part in parish affairs from a feeling that they owe some duty to their own immediate neighbourhood. What is above all things to be desired is that a greater number of such persons should be induced to do the like. But when the tie of neighbourhood is weakened by centralization; when the work cannot be taken up without incurring a large additional measure of publicity; and when perhaps an election has to be undergone on a scale little inferior to that for a Parliamentary borough—will such men be more or less likely to come forward than at present?

There are but three motives which induce men to take up public work,—pay, honour, and public spirit. The first is out of the question in the present case; the second tells, in respect to municipal offices, on the middle classes alone. Few persons moving in any of the higher ranks of society would be likely to enter on municipal work in the metropolis from ambitious motives. We are thrown therefore on the last principle—pure public spirit—if the gentry and higher classes are to furnish any of the members of our Metropolitan Central Council. The point is one which requires more attention than it has received. Change the system as we will, unless the Legislature and the Government can contrive to surround the administrative body or bodies of London with that halo of dignity which will give them a good position in our social system, no high class of man will, as a rule, seek for a place in them, except on the very purest and most unselfish grounds. And while on these grounds it may be most important that such men should be induced to join them, it is a serious question, politically speaking, whether (looking at society as it is) there is any right to expect that such will be the case to a large and general extent. If not, the result may be that larger and wider powers will have been given to the very same class who our public journals are perpetually telling us have proved themselves narrow-minded and incompetent in a more limited sphere.

cerned. There are a large number of others supported wholly, or in great part, by voluntary contributions. These are governed in one or other of the two following methods:—In some an executive committee is elected by, and out of, the general body of governors, which administers the affairs of the hospital in accordance with the standing rules, which are, in point of fact, its code of laws. The practical management is therefore vested in their hands, and they are consequently responsible for the way in which things are conducted, and for the condition of the hospital. Should, however, any question arise which cannot be settled without some alteration of the standing rules they must bring the subject before a meeting of the general body of governors, who can alone decide on the propriety of such alteration being made. Moreover, the executive committee is usually required to report from time to time to general meetings of the governors, who thus exercise a check upon their proceedings. And such check is the more real, because either the whole executive committee, or a considerable part of the whole, go out of office and require re-election annually.

In other hospitals the whole power, both legislative and executive, is vested in the governors at large, and each individual governor has a right to be present and to take a part at every meeting of the board. It is tolerably obvious that the latter system could never work at all, were some hundreds of governors to insist on attending every discussion; and it is consequently in relation to such charities that we have uttered the apparent paradox that the great thing to be desired is that people should keep away from them. Practically, hospitals require much tact, diligence, and experience in their management, and a limited number of governors are usually forthcoming who possess the necessary qualifications and are willing to devote themselves continuously to the work. The efforts of such men are likely to be rendered abortive rather than assisted by the occasional and uncertain attendance of others, who have neither time nor inclination to acquire that thorough insight which alone could render their opinion valuable.

But inasmuch as the governors who attend most regularly and do their duty most sedulously are mere volunteers, without more power or responsibility than their fellow-subscribers, it is surely still more desirable that, whenever practicable, the constitution of such hospitals should be remodelled, and reduced to the type first above mentioned. Nothing seems wanted but a little self-denial on the part of the governors generally,—in short, a self-denying ordinance of the mildest form. Surely this is not too much to expect if the interests of the charity be shown clearly to require it. Let us consider whether such be not the case. Why should it be more reasonable to govern an hos-

pital by a meeting of all its supporters than a county or a parish by a meeting of all the inhabitants or all the ratepayers? The Polish Constitution, where the nation was supposed to meet *en masse* to make its laws, has always been cited as an egregious barbarism. The representative system has usually been considered the greatest political discovery ever made. The most advanced advocates of universal suffrage contend only for the right of every one to take part in choosing a representative. A House of Commons consisting of the people at large, is a vision that never entered into the brain of the most extreme Chartist.

It will be said, no doubt, that, practically speaking, only a small and manageable number of governors attend the board of a charity. But the fault of the system is twofold. In the first place, no one feels any more obligation to attend than his neighbour, and no one is more responsible than another for what goes on. In the next place, and as a natural consequence, the attendance is fluctuating, and there is either no unity in the constitution of the ruling body, or, if a few members take a real and permanent interest in the affairs, they are liable from time to time to be swamped, and to have their decisions overturned, whenever any question arises about which it is worth while to make a whip and to bring up a *posse* of governors, who, except on such occasions, never see the inside of the board-room.

It may perhaps be urged that the mere power of taking part which every one possesses, even though seldom exercised, is a good check on those who actually conduct the business, and tends to prevent any tendency to jobbing. This is a plausible argument, but on nearer inspection it proves rather fallacious. A very large number of governors are men engaged elsewhere, and seldom or never attend the weekly board. Their right to do so is, practically speaking, worth little to them. What they would really desire would surely be a recognised and direct responsibility in those who do attend, so that they might at once know to whom to look in case of any complaint of mismanagement. They may contrive, well enough, to attend a quarterly or annual meeting, and may exercise a wholesome influence by refusing to re-elect committee-men who have not given them satisfaction; but an actual interference in the conduct of the weekly business is what they either cannot exercise at all, or exercise with such irregularity as to be mischievous.

It may be added that the measures adopted by men, in cases where their pecuniary interests are largely at stake, are generally characterized by a practical shrewdness which is well worthy of consideration and imitation. Applying this rule to the case before us, we find the constitution of commercial companies to be precisely in accordance

with what is now suggested. A board of directors, chosen by the shareholders at large, manages the routine business of the concern, while occasional meetings of the general body are held to receive reports and to discuss fundamental questions. No mercantile man of sound judgment would invest his capital in an undertaking without responsible directors, and where the most inexperienced shareholder might claim to be present and disturb the deliberations of every meeting of the board.

So then, after all, our apparent paradox only comes to this, that there are certain departments of charitable work, as of other work, which must be done thoroughly or not at all. Those who undertake them *con amore* are invaluable; those who merely play with them had better let them alone.

Upon the whole, therefore, if we want more zeal, we want also good sense and judgment. We want not a busy officiousness, but a well-ordered activity. We want men who bring to the task a calm and resolute spirit, which knows when to put to its hand and when to forbear. There are many such in English society; will they not come forward before it is too late? For we are deeply impressed with the conviction that what we have spoken of as a duty for individuals is a pressing necessity for society at large.

Unless a large accession of earnest hearts and hands be found for the task, much must be left undone. And to leave it undone is to imperil, to an extent which few perhaps rightly estimate, the welfare of the commonwealth no less than of the Church.

The working classes are growing daily in power and influence, socially and politically. And as yet the vast gap which severs them from the classes above them is not bridged over—to the eyes of some among us it seems to be widening. Is this a matter to be looked on with unconcern? We veil these matters under abstractions, and talk of the relations of capital and labour as if we were speaking about the relations of gold and silver in a question of currency. But men of flesh and blood sooner or later refuse to be handled as mere abstractions, and vindicate their claim to be treated as persons, were it only by acts of violence which compel public justice to punish them as moral agents. We have recently been told that we do wrong to look on the working classes as an "invading army," and that we should regard them as our brethren. May not both be in some sense true? There is such a thing as a brother offended, and harder to be won than a strong city. That the various ranks of the body politic ought to be united together by common interest and good feeling is obvious enough. Unhappily, it is quite consistent with an estrangement in fact. Questions of the distribution of political power are hard to settle, but there need be no doubt about the need of a more frequent

and more Christian intercourse among the different classes of the nation.

And there is scarcely any work set on foot by a kindly Christian feeling for others that does not enlarge the sympathies of those who take part in it, and tend to bring about this result. At the same time the lower ranks are generally led, sooner or later, to entertain a sincere respect for unselfishness in any form in those above them, and to think better of the class, as a class, from which those spring whom they respect. It is not necessary to obliterate the distinctions of social life in order to cultivate harmonious relations among mankind; but it is necessary that that isolation should cease which tends to keep one class as ignorant of the wants and feelings of another as if half the globe lay between them.*

One or two remarks more, and we have done. It may be made a matter of censure, that throughout this paper we have nowhere dwelt on the great religious motives which ought to animate all our benevolence. The spring of true charity, it will be said, is true religion—the love of man comes from the love of God. The answer is, that it is impossible in a single paper to exhaust so vast a topic, and that our present object was to take a lower and an exclusively practical view. There are many who do not lack the highest principle in their hearts, who yet seem scarcely alive to the actual need which exists for their assistance. They do not dispute their obligations, but they lose sight of them; and—

> "Evil is wrought
> By want of thought,
> As well as want of heart."

Again, it may be objected that an ungracious spirit prevails in the preceding pages, and that there is no sufficient acknowledgment of the great extent to which the labours of benevolence are actually carried in the present day. Our reply is, that all such efforts are gladly and fully recognised. Scores of names might easily be given of men who have been our models for the various kinds of useful labour that have been here alluded to or depicted. Hundreds more are working by their side, less conspicuous, but with equal earnestness. On every side projects are springing up for the improvement of mankind, and are nobly supported.

Still, after all, when we have given the fullest acknowledgment to all, is there any who has really studied the spiritual, moral, social, physical needs of the world in the nineteenth century, who

* Here, as elsewhere, we do not for a moment forget the noble efforts made by many in this direction. But none know better than they how much they need a reinforcement to their ranks.

will venture to say that the sum of all existing efforts is not fearfully in arrear of what is needed?

Is there any who will deny that to overtake the work before us—nay, to prevent its becoming hopelessly unmanageable—requires a far more earnest, more general, more sustained co-operation than the world has ever yet witnessed?

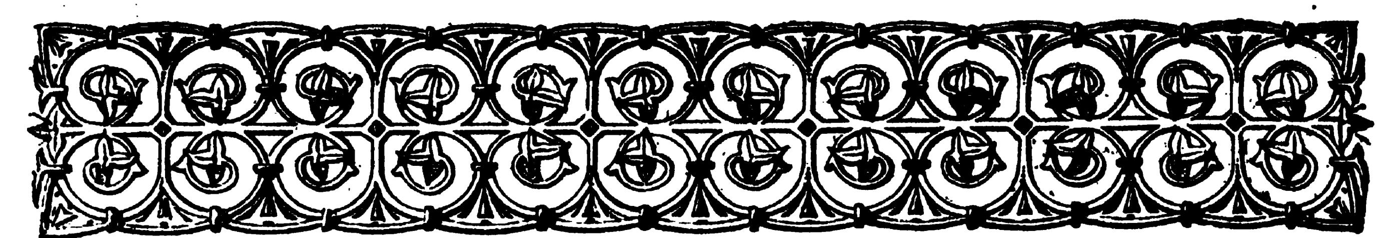
Lastly, will any seriously controvert the statement, that in certain publications of the day, well written and widely read, there is far more disposition to exercise a spirit of captious censure, than a temper of genial sympathy in relation to many enterprises of religion and philanthropy? If so, it is no good sign, and men of earnest minds are greatly concerned to protest against it. We have sometimes wished that Bacon had added a chapter to his wisdom of the ancients, on the evils of excessive criticism—Momus expelled from Olympus.

Arnold says in one of his letters,—

"A man's life in London, while he is single, may be very stirring, and very intellectual, but I imagine that it must have a hardening effect, and that this effect will be more felt every year as the counter-tendencies of youth become less powerful. The most certain softeners of a man's moral skin, and sweeteners of his blood, are, I am sure, domestic intercourse in a happy marriage, and intercourse with the poor. It is very hard, I imagine, in our present state of society, to keep up intercourse with God without one or both of these aids to foster it. Romantic and fantastic indolence was the fault of other times and other countries, but I crave more and more every day to find men unfevered by the constant excitement of the world, whether literary, political, commercial, or fashionable; men who, while they are alive to all that is around them, feel also Who is above them."—*Life and Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 317.

Does not the spirit of these words seem to apply with peculiar force to the conditions of literary life in the metropolis just now? and might not Arnold, if still alive, have been disposed to dwell with yet stronger emphasis on the danger of an existence so purely intellectual as to have few points of contact with the realities of want and vice, while at the same time the logical powers are subtilized, and the taste refined to a morbid degree—on the peril, in a word, which arises from the delicious consciousness of superior acuteness, and from the habitual and successful exercise of the critical faculty, unless accompanied by a deep sense of personal responsibility and a constant exercise of the charities of life?

BENJAMIN SHAW.



EARLY CATHOLICISM IN WESTERN EUROPE.

The Conversion of the Northern Nations. The Boyle Lectures for 1865, delivered at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall. By CHARLES MERIVALE, B.D. [now D.C.L.], Chaplain to the Speaker. London : Longmans & Co.

I.

THE book before us is, in several respects, specially interesting. In the first place, Dr. Merivale is one of the most learned and eloquent of English writers on Ancient History. No one understands better the whole character and spirit of the times of which in his best-known work we possess the narrative. And not only can he describe accurately and vividly the history of the Romans under the Empire, but also, as is shown in his Latin version of Keats's "Hyperion," he has so entered into his subject as to have become master even of the peculiarities of diction and thought which distinguished the period he has portrayed. Accordingly, one is naturally somewhat eager to hear what he has to say on a subject different from those which have hitherto been known to engage his attention, and to become acquainted with his views on the disposition of the race, which in the mediæval world occupies the prominent place held in the previous age by the nation whose annals he has written so well. In the second place, we have in these lectures, and in the course which their author delivered in 1864, an attempt to teach history from the pulpit. This must always be a difficult task—the more difficult the more the preacher is determined never, in the course of his investigations, to forget the spiritual wants of his congregation. Dr. Merivale has probably succeeded as far as most can hope to succeed.

His works are always marked by great moderation and impartiality, and these qualities were particularly needed in his present undertaking. It is very likely, in some degree, to his strong sense of his duty as a clergyman that these discourses owe their much higher merit as sermons than as historical lectures.

As historical lectures they are unequal. Several are very valuable. The three opening lectures are the best, and contain the visible results of extensive reading and mature judgment. As long as Dr. Merivale is among Greeks and Romans he is perfectly at his ease. Other parts of the work will not, it is to be feared, be so satisfactory to the critical student; however, even where he dissents from the main argument, he will never be without consolation in some suggestive and felicitous remark.

Under ordinary circumstances we should have been content to leave any criticism on Dr. Merivale, as an historian, to other hands. Even had we not accepted his conclusions, we should have felt constrained to be silent, and to allow better qualified champions to enter the lists against him. It is only inasmuch as—at least, so far as the evidence embodied in this volume is to be trusted—he would appear not to have made the early records of the Teutonic race in any sense a special study,* that we may perhaps, without presumption, venture to question the positions he has assumed. For his very mastery of that period of history with which his historical reputation is associated would, in and by itself, be more likely to mislead than to direct him in forming an opinion, without original research and minute consideration, on the period under discussion; there being little or no analogy between the mode and the causes of the conversion of the Roman Empire and those of the conversion of the northern nations. We are reminded more than once, in reading Dr. Merivale, of his great predecessor in the same field of inquiry. It may be doubted whether or not the "Germany" of Tacitus was intended by himself to be primarily of historical value: it is, at all events, to be considered certain, that it exhibits to his modern readers rather the qualities he sought among the barbarians than those he found among them, and that the author's circumstances must more or less determine our estimate of his work. Dr. Merivale has followed Tacitus as his guide from Rome to Germany: like Tacitus he has, as he writes, not only Germany but Rome before his mind; but he seems sometimes to for-

* Dr. Merivale does not appear to have seen the Eddas, although they have been translated into several languages, the younger Edda into English. The authorities he quotes on German antiquities are not Grimm or Kuhn or Lüning, but Ozanam, Krafft, and Wolfgang Menzel. He perceives that Ozanam is in some respects not altogether unprejudiced, though he is a far higher authority than either of the others. Indeed, he would scarcely, we fancy, have cited Menzel at all had he known his literary character and the extreme school which he represents.

get that Tacitus was a Roman and not a German, and that a man of advanced moral and mental growth will comprehend far better the decay of a civilization, within the bounds of which he has been born and bred, than the character of a young people, in which he is intellectually interested chiefly on account of the contrasts it presents to that of his own nation. It would be easy to draw a further parallel between Dr. Merivale and the great Latin historian, in respect of the spirit in which their similar studies are prosecuted. Dr. Merivale speaks from the pulpit, and with a distinct reference to modern opinions; and the Roman's book has about it a good many of the features of a lay sermon to his contemporaries.

Dr. Merivale thus describes the religious condition of the German nations when they were heathen:—

"They have already acquired a deep reverential sense of spiritual things; a profound respect for the voice of God speaking with authority through human organs; a sense of Divine government and providence; a conscience active and inquisitive, suspicion at least of sinfulness, apprehension of punishment, longing for forgiveness, a passion for sacrifice and atonement. They are noted by the materialists, who observe them for their spiritual conception of Deity, as a being not to be represented by sensuous images, not to be confined within the precincts of a material building; a dweller in the heavens above or in the earth beneath; who approaches nighest to his worshippers in the wide prospect from the mountain-top, or in the deep seclusion of the forest. They have attained a respect for human life, and a sense of responsibility in regard to it, such as shames the morbid heartlessness of a fastidious civilization. They have secured one of the best and strongest incentives to virtuous exertion, one of the surest pledges of spiritual progress, in their fine appreciation of the worth of the female character."—(Pp. 88-9.)

Does not the tone imparted to this description render it unhistorical? Is not the writer surveying his subject from a strictly modern and ecclesiastical vantage-ground? Is he not dropping into a comparison between the paganism of these barbarians and the religious state of classical heathendom in its final stages, while he admits into this comparison no consideration of the totally different physical and spiritual circumstances of each case? It is a Theogony, a Cosmogony, with which he has to deal, not a Theology or a Philosophy. It is quite true that "conflict was, in the view of the Northern people, the appointed condition of man's existence." But is there no anachronism involved in saying that this struggle had "acquired moral significance," or was "released from the physical ideas of elemental disturbances," which, Dr. Merivale says, "perhaps lay at its foundation"? When a tribe continually changes its place of residence, when its members dwell in small and unobtrusive homesteads, are there not extremely simple and natural causes why their Deity should "not be represented by sensuous images, nor confined

within the precincts of a material building"? Again, to men who have never seen palaces and temples, who have found the whole pleasure of life in the open air, who have roamed daily through wood and over upland, it is almost necessary that the Supreme Being should seem "to approach nighest to his worshippers in the wide prospect from the mountain-top, or in the deep seclusion of the forest." The "appreciation of the worth of the female character" which has always, and more particularly in uncivilized periods, marked the North, can rest on other than a purely ethical basis. In an inhospitable climate and a thinly populated country, vicious relations between the sexes find little encouragement; a mother's care is indispensable; family ties are of the closest kind; feminine household virtues have full scope afforded them, and gain additional strength and reputation during the long absences on hunting and warlike expeditions of the adult male population. On the other hand, when we read of the exposure of young and weakly children, and the slaughter of infirm and incurable old men,* we may not be inclined to attribute to the tribes, among whom such acts are customary, "a respect for human life, and a sense of responsibility in regard to it, such as shames the morbid heartlessness of a fastidious civilization." And it is hard to realize that a people who held that to die in battle was to secure a place in Walhall, and that Walhall was reserved solely for those who fell in battle, whose felicity was to consist in riding daily with the gods to renew their old combats on the great plain Ida, in feasting on their return on the huge boar Sährimmer, who remains whole however great the slices that are cut from him, and in quaffing mead from inexhaustible goblets, could have already "acquired a deep reverential sense of spiritual things; . . . a conscience active and inquisitive, suspicion at least of sinfulness, apprehension of punishment, longing for forgiveness, a passion for sacrifice and atonement."

Dr. Merivale says further, "Man was supposed to be engaged in an eternal conflict with the spirit not of physical but of moral evil, of sin and selfishness. . . . The lusts of soul and body were marked as his eternal enemies. Hence their whole career in life acquired a warlike character. Life was to them a parable illustrating the natural antagonism of sin and spirit."—(P. 90.)

This description as little represents the spirit of the mythology of the Eddas as it would that of the Greek mythology as depicted in Hesiod or Homer. It was physical evil from which Teutonic

* Procopius, "De Bello Gothico," ii. 14 (of the Heruli): *οὔτε γὰρ γηράσκουσιν οὔτε νοσοῦσιν αὐτοῖς βιοτεύειν ἐξῆν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδάν τις αὐτῶν ἢ γήρᾳ ἢ νόσῳ ἁλῴη, ἐπάναγκές οἱ ἐγίνετο τοὺς ξυγγενεῖς αἰτεῖσθαι ὅτι τάχιστα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸν ἀφανίζειν.* Compare Rettberg, "Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands," i. 299.

heroes, like Greek heroes, sought deliverance. It was in warfare with visible foes that they cried for help. The god appeared at the council of war, or seized the chariot reins in battle. Physical and moral evil were not distinguished from one another. Poetry and worship were as yet attendant on action, not on thought. Virtue existed, of course, but was corporeal, not mental: it took such forms as loyalty, self-respect, endurance, bravery, continence; it was hardly to be separated from the attributes of a healthy and muscular frame of body. In short, the worlds of soul and spirit, the regions of faith and doubt, the ideas of sin and holiness, were wholly unexplored; they needed, in the fullest sense of the word, a revelation.

Dr. Merivale thinks indeed otherwise, and goes so far as to write as follows:—

"The special doctrine of the Christian Scriptures is approached, at least, in the Northern mythology. The revelation of Jesus Christ as the great sacrifice casts its shadow before it in the traditions of the Edda. Balder, as we there read, the son of Odin, is the fairest and best of beings—beloved of gods and men. He bears, indeed, the national character of the warrior; he is the giver of strength in combat; he goes forth conquering and to conquer. But no less is he the perfect expression of innocence, holiness, and justice. His judgments stand for ever: none can gainsay them. He gathers in himself all the attributes of the Deity, various, and to human views conflicting, yet such as God has Himself revealed them to us,—of justice and mercy, of love and anger, of force and persuasion. But this being, excellent and godlike, falls at last by the craft and malice of the devil.* All nature weeps; gods and men weep; all weep but the devil only; and for the want of the tears of the evil one he cannot return to bless men on earth with his presence any more."—(P. 91.)

Now in order to give such of our readers as are unacquainted with it some notion of the real character of the myth alluded to, as well as for the sake of its great beauty, it may not be amiss to reproduce it in something like its original form. This shall be done in as little detail as is consistent with the objects in view.

* This is perhaps the most startling of all Dr. Merivale's anachronisms. How his historical insight allowed him, even in a sermon, to introduce into the Teutonic mythology a term and a conception so utterly foreign to it, and for which he has not even the authority of Ozanam, as cited in the "Notes and Illustrations," we are at a loss to understand. The likeness between Loki and Hephaistos and Prometheus is striking: he has nothing in common with Satan. Compare Jacob Grimm, "Deutsche Mythologie," ii. 936: "Die vorstellung des teufels und teuflischer geister, welche allmälich auch in dem volksglauben so grossen ümfang gewonnen und so feste wurzel geschlagen hat, war unserm heidenthum fremd. Uberhaupt scheint es, dass ein das höchste wesen in gegensätze spaltender dualismus, wo er nicht in uraltem tiefsinn des systems seinen grund hat, späterhin nur durch abstracte philosopheme hergestellt wird. Den in breiter mitte liegenden sinnlichen mythologien ist er unangemessen. . . . Nur einzelne, dem ganzen untergeordnete gottheiten neigen sich zum bösen oder schädlichen, wie der nordische Loki, dessen natur gleichwol immer noch der des Hephästos näher steht, als des Christlichen teufels."

Baldur, the fairest of the gods, was sad, for he dreamt ill dreams, which warned him of death. The gods, when they heard it, took counsel how they might secure him from harm. And they settled that they would lay an oath to spare Baldur on all things—fire, water, iron and all ores, stones and earths, trees, sicknesses and venoms, beasts, birds, and snakes. So, when this was done, the gods cast off care, and Baldur stood in the midst, while some shot, some struck, some flung great stones at him; but he was unharmed, and they all were glad. From the mistletoe no oath had been taken. Loki was ill-pleased at Baldur's safety, and found out about the mistletoe. He tore it down and went to the assembly of the gods. Apart from the rest stood Hödur, for he was blind. Loki said to him, "Why dost thou not shoot at Baldur." He answered, "I see not where he stands, and besides have no weapon." Loki said, "Act with the rest, and honour Baldur, as all do. I will show thee where he stands, and give thee a weapon." Hödur threw the mistletoe. And it hit Baldur, who fell and died. All the gods were first silent and then wept, until one asked, "Who will go to Hel and beg Baldur back for us?" Hermodhr the swift, Odhin's son, took Sleipnir, Odhin's horse, and sped away. The body of Baldur, and that of Nanna his wife, who had died of grief at his loss, were borne to the sea-shore. They were laid on the greatest of all ships, and the ship was set on fire. Meanwhile Hermodhr rode nine nights through deep dark dales and saw nothing, till he came to the Giöll stream, over which went a golden bridge. Under his horse's hoofs the bridge rang as never before, for none but dead men ride that way, and they go very silently. Hermodhr came to Hel, to whom are sent all who die of age or sickness. Her dwelling-place is large, fenced with high walls and strong bars. Her chamber is named Misery, her dish Hunger, her knife Ravening, her man Idleness, her maid Sloth, her threshold Downfall, her bed Sorrow, and her curtain Threatening Hurt. The hue of her face is livid—half black, half flesh-coloured,—well enough is she to be known, the savage and frightful Hel. She said to Hermodhr, "Do they so love Baldur? Then let all things living and dead weep for him, and he shall go back. If anything weep not, he stays with Hel." Hermodhr took horse again and came to Asgard, the stronghold of the gods, with his news. Then went messengers into all the world, and all things wept, even the stones. The messengers had done their work, and were bound homewards, when they saw a cave, and in it a giantess, who was called Thöck. They asked her to weep for Baldur. She said, "My eyes are dry, let Hel keep her own." It is said that this was Loki, Laufeyja's son, who had brought so much grief to his fellow-gods. At last the gods took Loki to punish him. They bound him to three sharp rocks with the entrails of his own son, which became iron

chains. Over him hung a serpent, that its venom might drop on his face. There is he fettered until the last dawn. His wife Sigyn stands beside him and catches the venom in a dish. When she turns aside to empty it, Loki writhes in pain. Then men say, "There is an earthquake."

It will be seen, we hope, that this legend, even when considered apart from other legends which surround it, and in the condensed form in which it is here presented, has many points of resemblance to Indian and Hellenic myths, but very few to the great Act of the Gospel History, with which Dr. Merivale associates it. Nothing can be gained by wresting history from its context. Doubtless Providence was preparing these heathen for Christianity, but it was in a way adapted to them and their circumstances; it was not by ethical teaching. As the individual is in youth the subject of external restraints, of a to him unexplained and inexplicable discipline, as he bows to force and not to principle, so is it with a whole race in its childhood. Morality as a basis of self-government is a mark of maturity. It becomes the guide of action only in the mature man, it furnishes the highest code only to the mature nationality.

Dr. Merivale, in giving undue prominence to its quasi-Christian bearings, has entirely lost the key to the actual meaning of the death of Baldur. In point of fact, it filled in the Northern mythology a place exactly opposite to that, which is assigned in our faith to the death of our Lord, for it signified the coming destruction and end of all things, and was the first breach in the happiness of gods and men. And besides, this legend is not without use as enabling us to gain some insight into the essential peculiarities of Northern heathendom. Where we watch and analyse our souls, they made scrutinies and allegories of the scenery about them; where we study mental phenomena, they followed physical processes; where we make life and death hereafter depend on the moral conduct of each individual, they made the future state depend on the disarrangement of external nature. With us religion and indeed politics, literature, art—might we not say life?—has come to consist first of doctrines and then of facts; with them it was all matter of fact, there were no doctrines on any subject whatever. Within certain narrow limits their religion was not without subtlety. It is worth while to notice for a moment how wonderful their appreciation of nature was, and with what minute accuracy they worked out the results of their observation. Baldur the beautiful is the Light; his short life is the short Northern summer. His murderer Hödur is blind, for in him are represented Darkness and Winter. Baldur cannot be hurt by blows or missiles, for light is incorporeal, visible but not tangible. No oath is taken from the mistletoe, for on the one hand it grows in winter, and is

under no obligations to the light and to summer, while on the other hand it scarcely seems to have a separate existence from the trees on which it grows, and was thus easily overlooked when the oaths were taken. Yet oversight is ever to be guarded against, and, as a life passed out of doors would prove daily, may have fatal consequences. Then again the greatest of all ships, which is Baldur's bier, and is set on fire, is the sun, who bears away the light, and whose blaze illumines all things just before he sinks into the sea. Even the stones wept for Baldur, for the dew covers them when the light disappears. And so we might go on for pages.

But it is not intended, in the present article, to discuss, either generally or particularly, the Northern mythology. It has been necessary to say thus much on the subject in order to justify the views taken in the following very brief and incomplete outline of the history of Christianity among the German tribes down to the beginning of the ninth century. It is beside Dr. Merivale's purpose to trace the course of events: had he done so, his theory might possibly have undergone some change. We shall attempt to show that the conversion of the Teutonic inhabitants of Western Europe was extremely slow, gradual, and difficult, indeed, not accomplished until the time mentioned as limiting our inquiry; that consequently Teutonic Christianity always possessed a character of its own, very distinct, in many most important aspects, from the Christianity of the descendants of the Roman Empire; that, as a matter of history, the religious differences which at the present day separate the nations of Europe, according as they are descended from German or Roman blood, are to be traced back to the period at which their ancestors first met within the borders of the Catholic Church.

II.

The Teutonic tribes who, during the period of the great national migrations, threatened the continuance of the Empire both in the East and West, and more than once menaced even Rome and Constantinople, when they adopted the Christian religion, embraced it in the Arian form. They clung to that form long after its vigour was exhausted, and its tenets, among more learned and argumentative believers, exploded. The Catholic Faith—the whole ecclesiastical system of the Papacy, which was theoretically complete ages before it was practically established—was to these German barbarians, in the first years of their conversion, as unknown as it would have been uncongenial to their simple and undisciplined character. They were wandering tribes, disunited among themselves, fighting to-day as allies and to-morrow as foes: to them a religion without organization, with-

out visible spiritual authorities, the servant of the temporal power, doing its work in secret, and cherishing no ambitious projects, was naturally acceptable. The same separatist spirit, which furnished the intellectual principle of the Arian, distinguished the political tendencies of the Goth. Arianism, and the kingdoms in which it prevailed, found indeed no definite and permanent place for themselves. Yet, speedily as they passed away, it was not without planting the seeds of future events. Had it not been for Arian missionaries driven out from more civilized lands by orthodox persecution, the Goths might have remained ignorant of Christianity altogether, and Italy, sadly as she suffered at the hands of her rude conquerors, would have fared infinitely worse had they been heathen. Or again, to take a bolder range, it is wonderful how, with the omission of a seemingly unimportant feature, the whole face of history is altered. Had there been no difference between the Christianity of Goth and Roman, the provincial system of the old Empire would quite probably have continued undisturbed; the conflict between the hierarchy and the new Empire might possibly never have arisen; the Reformation itself, though the need of it might have been greater, might still, in the absence of any traditional sympathies to which to appeal, have failed to be accomplished; European life, instead of the wonderful variety it exhibits, and the development of individuality it encourages, might have been condemned, at least in this view of it, to the uniformity and stagnation which are stamped on the records of the Oriental world.

To his contemporaries, however, Chlodovech, or Clovis, appeared to have swept away all memorials of the preceding age, and to have cemented an alliance between the Teutonic nations of Western Europe and the Holy See, which bade fair to endure for ever. At that day even the immediately impending conflict was not foreseen;—the necessary antagonism between a clergy just awakening to a belief not only in the infallibility of its doctrines, but also in the divinity of its outward constitution, and a laity, many of whose members were descended from heretical ancestors, while almost all of them had entered the Catholic communion actuated by merely political rather than conscientious motives.

It may, nevertheless, in our present investigation, happen to us to find some of those selfsame principles, which Chlodovech was presumed to have overthrown, at their silent work even in the times which follow directly on his victories, and to note something of a subtle and condensed resistance against fundamental notions in the conqueror's creed living on, not perhaps always self-consciously, for centuries.

There was much to justify at the moment, and to superficial

observers, the contemporary opinion. The harmony between the spiritual and the temporal power within the Frankish dominions seemed, for several reasons, much more complete than it really was.

On the one hand, the Franks did not appear likely to care much for Italian politics. They had, so to say, a fresher and purer nationality than any of the tribes related to them who had already claimed their places in the annals of Europe. These had gradually attained to their position through their connection with the Empire, which became to them as familiar and as imposing as to the oldest senatorial families, while the Franks had suddenly emerged from the obscure depths of their primitive forests, so fatal to the most adventurous of Roman generals, had remained geographically at a distance from the great city, and had experienced hitherto nothing of the irresistible attraction which had led their brethren to her gates: they alone, among Germans, saw in the Italian capital at the beginning a Christian, and only subsequently a political power.

On the other hand, the Franks reverenced the sacred authority of the Church on spiritual subjects, without so much as suspecting her possible authoritative interference in affairs of the State. In fact, what would strike them most must have been the comparatively complete severance of the Church from all connection with politics —from all secular relations whatsoever. For as heathen they had been acquainted with no such distinctions—they had possessed no dogmatic faith and no separate priesthood.* Their worship, as we have seen, had been paid to the powers of nature; their sacred literature had consisted of drinking-songs and war-songs, and of poetical legends illustrative of the struggle, with which in Northern Europe they had grown familiar, between the human race and the fury of the elements. Theirs had been a religion of wild, reckless men, with no settled home and no mental culture, who had seen many marvellous things in the visible world, but had as yet found no leisure to contemplate the phenomena of a world within themselves. That old religion had appealed to the imagination, and it was on the imagination, and not on the moral sense or on the heart, that the early influence of Christianity among them showed itself. They went on in their former fierce, irregular ways; they gave up nothing of their love of carousal, bloodshed, and violence. They called themselves Christians, and listened to the beautiful story of the perfect life; but, though they wondered much at it, they thought not of following its example. There were as great mental as physical differences between the fair, stalwart, blustering, roystering savages, and the dark, spare,

* This and similar statements are to be received broadly, and would, did our limits allow us to discuss them in detail, receive some slight modification.

southern ecclesiastics, with their mild words and passionless manners, who went out and in amongst them. It lay in the nature of the case that Christianity as it really was, with its mingled flavour of Hebrew asceticism, Greek speculation, and Roman order,—with its love of retirement and learned tastes,—that Christianity, the religion peculiarly of peace, could not, even in its social, still less in its intellectual and ethical bearings, all at once make itself at home in the barbarian mind.*

Thus, in the absence of common ground on which to meet, no trustworthy guarantee existed that, with their conversion to the Catholic faith, the relations between the Franks and the Church had found definite arrangement.

In the annals of the Church under the Merovingian kings we have an interesting and eventful history, but only in a very modified sense part of the history of the Franks. The great names which meet us are, with scarcely an exception, those of men of alien birth; their labours, far more strenuous than would appear if judged solely by the results, were carried on either in spite of general indifference, or in distinct opposition to national feeling.

It is a period during which the Church is remarkable, when contrasted with the State, on account of the administrative talent possessed by her rulers. During the anarchy which had prevailed before the conquest of the Franks, the bishops had been, especially wherever Roman provincials formed a large proportion of the population, accustomed to exercise very considerable civil authority. They had been the acknowledged leaders of cultivated society in the towns. Many of them had deserved the gratitude of their fellow-citizens, not only as fosterers of classical art and literature, but as having turned their admiration of the institutions of antiquity to practical account in the enlightened management of municipal affairs. The Frankish kings, on the contrary, though capable chiefs enough in the field, were totally unskilled in the science of government in time of peace, and they soon began to demand and appreciate the advice and help of their prelates. It might seem as though this exercise of political influence on the part of the Catholic bishops were incon-

* Waitz, "Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte," ii. 70: "Diese (die Franken) werden in ihrem eignen Reiche als Barbaren bezeichnet." Giesebrecht, "Geschichte der Deutschen Kaiserzeit," i. 77: "Die ganze äussere Gestaltung derselben (der Kirche) war unter römischen Einflüssen in Gallien erfolgt und erlitt durch die Eroberung der Franken keine Veränderung, die bischöflichen Stellen wurden mindestens in der ersten Zeit ausschliesslich mit Römern besetzt." Ozanam, a very devout Roman Catholic, who writes with strong ecclesiastical bias, after denying the assertion common especially among German historians, and not, we think, unwarranted, that Christianity made the Franks worse than they were before, still admits that it produced in them no change for the better.—("Œuvres Complètes," iv. 56-7.)

sistent with our former remarks on the inability of the newly converted race to foresee the future claims of the clergy to temporal power. But in those days influence and power were not looked upon as identical. As long as none of the executive functions passed from his hands, the monarch possessed, both in his own eyes and those of his people, all his original attributes. No one cared to examine how far the expressions of his will had their source in the counsels of others. He might in reality have, from the first instant when intellectual and spiritual motives above his capacity began to weigh with him, become the creature and subject of an invisible empire, which subsequent history was more openly to disclose; yet he continued to attach actual authority to nothing except physical force and the outward symbols of sovereignty.

When the bishop was not in the royal presence, he was in his cathedral city. The city never fascinated the Frank. He saw in it a monument—the more stately, the more significant—of a decayed culture, and the retreat of a subdued race. It was filled with the descendants of its former inhabitants, and its usages and customs remained unaltered. It was an ecclesiastical society clustering round the cathedral. The relations between the bishop and his flock were those of a spiritual patron to his spiritual clients. The Roman language and the Roman law, the old creeds and the old heresies, haunted the courts and churches, which long ago had been built for their reception. Ancient forms, that had lost every vestige of vigour, clung to bare existence with wonderful tenacity.

The representatives of the new order of things lived likewise, for their part, after the manner of their forefathers. Chlodovech had been the chieftain of a comparatively anything but numerous body. The individual Frank had obtained ample provision of chase and pasture, with abundance of game and cattle. When he was not engaged on some roving expedition, he was to be found among his family and friends in his "villa." The territorial divisions of the kingdom—hamlet, hundred, mark, shire, district—testify to this rural life. Even the annual national assemblies, which were held at the spring of the year, because in early times the chief business consisted in deciding against whom the customary summer campaign was to be directed, took place in the open air on a great country meadow.

Accordingly, the bishops, dwelling altogether among their own people, came little in contact with the Frankish nation. In the royal chambers they too often turned away their eyes, without administering the merited rebuke, from the scenes of riot and sin which were there daily enacted. In their dioceses they, as a rule—there were instances now and then the other way,—busied themselves exclusively with clerical discipline, canonical studies, the welfare of settled

congregations, but did not venture beyond the city walls, and shrank from the outer barbarian with fastidiousness and fear.

The true missionaries of the Church, the men who were looked upon by the Franks as the proper exemplars of Christianity, were the monks. From them the the Franks learned to form their ideal of religious life as of an existence, strange to them, exalted above them, yet affecting them in some such fashion as the minds of children are touched by what strikes them as mysterious and awful.

The first to come among them as monks were Benedictines, under St. Maur, a favourite disciple of the founder of the rule, Italians, and full of the hopelessness of the departing times. St. Benedict, discerning the vanity of human glory in the desolated Empire, beholding the metropolis of the world herself worn by pestilence and famine, five times within a few years taken and retaken by Greek and Goth, had called his band of Christian pilgrims from the world. In such evil days the road must needs be rough and narrow to eternal mansions and an undisturbed rest. They were to have henceforth neither home, country, nor any temporal desires; they were to pass their days in silence, to discipline their minds to humility, to forget self in absolute obedience. Such was the spirit of the new order. And in this spirit they addressed the Franks. But the same tempest which had overthrown the ancient magnificence of Italy had dispersed the clouds which intervened between the Teutonic race and its destinies. Here, were men looking back, only to feel the more their present brokenness and weakness, upon the strength and state of their progenitors. There, were men without memories or traditions, but proudly conscious that the history of the future was to be that of themselves and their posterity. Every event that seemed to the one nation to betoken the curse of God and His punishments for centuries of guilt, gave to the other fresh confidence in its own inherent energy and manhood, and was an earnest of the conquest of the world. Before the monk were stretched the wanderings in the wilderness: except to the eye of faith it was a sad and desperate prospect. His hearers gazed, while their hearts swelled with ambitious ardour, already on the promised land.

The next religious movement again originated abroad. In the last years of the sixth century there appeared with twelve companions, at the court of King Guntchram, an Irish monk, about thirty years of age, and of singular personal beauty. Amid scenes polluted beyond description, where women like Brunichild and Fredegund surpass their savage lords in the perpetration, without secrecy or remorse, of the most horrible deeds of shame and cruelty, St. Columban is almost the only pure and engaging figure. While the wicked princes and princesses waste the hours in feasting and depravity, he spends the

night listening to angelic voices. Coarse material vice oppresses him. There is a delicate charm about his genius: he is a Greek, almost an Oriental, in the mysticism of his theology; a Celt in the picturesqueness of his fancy; both Celt and Greek in his deep appreciation of nature, his unity with nature. The monastic discipline enforced by St. Columban on his followers differed much from that of St. Benedict. The precepts of the former were very vague when compared with those of the latter. St. Columban was born a poet, and by education was, considering his times, a thoroughly polished scholar; he had a higher ideal of virtue than St. Benedict—he was even more ascetic,—but he expected his disciples to approach perfection through the fervour and nobility of their individual aspirations, rather than in consequence of a blind compliance with a rule of general application and minute particularity. From conflict with the unnatural ferocity and lust which surrounded them, these Irish monks turned to other labours. Their footsteps are traced along the Rhine and in Switzerland; the wild scenery attracted them; in its presence their imagination found full play,* their struggles were no longer with the brutal, sensual Franks, but with more impalpable powers, the evil spirits that infested the loneliness of the mountain, the stream, or the glen. They held friendly communion with all that was holy and innocent in the natural and supernatural world; the birds hovered about their leader's saintly head, the squirrels came down from the oak-tops to nestle in his hands. Among his followers was one who, with three angels, had passed beyond the barriers of mortality, had visited Hell and Heaven, and then returned; there was another who, as he sat fishing by a Swiss lake, heard a council of demons plotting hostilities against the messengers of divine truth.

By such instrumentalities as these the Catholic faith was kept alive among the Roman and Celtic subjects of the Frankish rule. But, as far as the dominant race was concerned, the work both of the Italian and the Irish monks had been attended by very little result. Even the exertions of St. Columban and his successors, spread

* The peculiar mental characteristics of the Irish missionaries—mysticism, humour, love of natural beauty, loquacity—are nowhere better displayed than in the life of St. Gall in Pertz, "Mon. Germ," ii. This life is probably the work of a convert, being full of Teutonisms; is certainly itself of very ancient date, and apparently based on still earlier records. We shall make one extract. St. Gall and another are searching for a suitable spot for a retreat. It is evening; they have prayed and supped:—"Cum membra quieti dedissent, virque Dei silenter levando in precibus se exercuisset, conviator eius occulte intendebat. Interea ursus de monte adiit, ac fragmenta decerpsit, cui ab electo Dei Gallo dictum est: 'Bestia, in nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi præcipio tibi, sume lignum, et proice in ignem.' Ille autem continuo reversus adtulit validissimum lignum et imposuit in ignem; cui ob mercedem operis offertur a viro Dei panis, sed tamen hoc modo, et præcipitur: 'In nomine Domini mei Jesu Christi, recede ab hac valle. Sint tibi montes et colles communes; nec tamen hic pecus lædas aut homines.'"

as they were over a wide field, bore no permanent fruit, and were successful at all only where, as in Bavaria and Switzerland, a Celtic element existed in the people among whom they were carried on. Teutonic Christianity made no advance; it showed no native enthusiasm, it developed no independent activity. For two centuries the old landmarks — they are those of the later Empire—continue practically unmoved. The Germans had invaded Christendom; the Gospel had not yet subdued the Germans.

Let us sum up the Merovingian period. Two novel forms of life had encountered the Franks as they entered Gaul—the system of Roman civilization and the system of the Catholic Church. How did they stand, after the lapse of two hundred years, with regard to these? In essence and principles they had grasped neither. But the externals of Roman civilization, as making up a new phase of pleasurable existence, could be enjoyed without being understood. Splendour and luxury delighted the barbarians wherever they came, as for example in Neustria, into anything like close contact with the social atmosphere of the old province; though in the absence of all knowledge, taste, and refinement, art and literature, wealth and leisure became mere incentives to licence and debauchery. With the Catholic system it had fared almost worse. The Franks had given up their worship of nature as a thing of purity and beauty, for a worship in which they still did not get beyond material conceptions, while, as their manners degenerated from their early simplicity and vigour, these conceptions grew dark and distorted, and represented the world as swayed by hateful and magical forces. Christianity was degraded into a scheme of sorcery and enchantment; Christian faith consisting in a superstitious regard for relics and a credulous acceptance of the grossest miracles, Christian practice in outward acts of confession and penance, and of expiatory prodigality, engaged in during the intervals of crime. It might have appeared as if the products of antiquity were to be lost—the political wisdom which had culminated in the Roman law and administration, and the spiritual development which had been completed in Christianity. Yet such a conclusion would have been premature and false.

III.

There remains to be considered a period during which a secular and ecclesiastical polity, in accordance with the national peculiarities of the Franks and of the race to which they belonged, obtained full development. A powerful family had—as the Merovingian line lost its rough military character, and passed through a stage of greedy sensuality into confirmed imbecility—become by degrees identified

with the administration of affairs, until its authority was felt to be practically supreme, and its chiefs were recognised as at once guardians of the royal person and regents of the royal will. This family was accustomed to derive its origin, not, as most of that day, from some pagan god or mythical monster, but from a saint and dignitary of the Christian Church,—St. Arnolf, Bishop of Metz. St. Arnolf had been educated for a courtier's life, and had fulfilled with great ability the duties of Major Domus. He had then, without immediately retiring from political activity, been raised, at a time when few of his countrymen sought such a position, to the episcopal office. The distinctive qualities of their ancestor were reproduced in the later representatives of the Arnolfingian blood. In their minds the interests of Church and State were never divorced from each other; their lives were addressed equally to spiritual and temporal occupations; they passed from the presidency of legislative assemblies to the control of ecclesiastical synods, and not unfrequently closed an illustrious career in the retirement of the cloister. Seldom have the destinies of an empire been guided with such steady unity of purpose, and such sure and far-sighted wisdom, as were displayed in the elaboration of one general plan by the four successive leaders of the rising house—Pippin of Heristal, Charles Martel, Pippin the Short, and Charles the Great.

The Arnolfingians had at first risen into importance in Austrasia, the portion of the Frankish dominions least affected by the older civilization. The result of the battle of Testri, in which Ebroin, the rival Major Domus, was defeated, was to extend their power over Neustria. But the southernmost part of the Merovingian possessions, the country south of the Loire, appears not to have met with much attention from Pippin of Heristal, and to have become almost completely independent. Meanwhile he was fighting successfully against Radbod the Friesing, or directing campaigns against the Alemanni. For the great scheme at which he laboured, and which he handed down to those who followed him in power, was to extend the Frankish boundaries towards the north and east, and to prepare the way for the subjection and organization of the wide territories beyond the Rhine.

Charles Martel began in, and far outstripped, his father's steps. He crossed the Danube, and penetrated into the waste lands on its farther bank. He fought with Suevi, Alemanni, and Saxons. He endeavoured everywhere to merge the feelings of the tribe in those of the race. The great object of his life was to order the relations of Church and State. The Church, as we shall presently see, had at last a claim to be considered really national, and the people to be called—in a sense in which the term could not have been applied to them before

—Christian. But with this change in the character of the Church, the attitude of the civil authorities toward her became different. No sooner—we lay stress upon this fact—did Christianity assert an influence in ordinary life, than the Frankish rulers adopted an ecclesiastical policy substantially the same as that of Theodorich and the Arians. The bishoprics had lost their Roman surroundings; monasticism its purely heavenward aspirations. Accordingly Charles Martel dealt with the Church as her lord. He gave sees and abbeys to his personal relatives and friends, often to men who were not in orders; he dismissed and exiled unmanageable prelates; he secularized ecclesiastical property. Yet in all these things he acted as the ruler, not as the enemy of the Church. He accepted her spiritual ministrations, and encouraged her missionary enterprises.

The difficulties in the way of the establishment of a great empire in Germany have always been similar in kind. There has constantly been a strong tendency to disunion, an inclination to withdraw from centralized and expanded public life, in order to develop, within confined limits and with undistracted carefulness, some particular feature of the general disposition. Charles Martel was fortunate in the events among which his lot was cast. He was called to occupy the most prominent position in Europe; to be the second Chlodovech of history. His predecessor had been the champion of the Church against the armies of the heretics. She was now assailed by far worse foes. Islam was no longer to be known to her chiefly as the debased and distant infidelity of Asia. It had raised its standard in Europe. It had shattered the Visigoth chivalry of Spain. The Arabs swarmed over the Pyrenees into Gaul, and the whole continent throbbed with a vague terror. All were animated by the consciousness of kinship in view of the common danger, and the strange Eastern Power by which it was threatened. Monks and clergy were menaced not less than soldiers and peasantry; the holy faith not less than the political institutions of the civilized world. Well might bishops and priests throng around Charles Martel, the only man who was not found wanting at the crisis. To him it was not inopportune. He had but to meet the shock, to try to check a course of indeed almost uninterrupted victories; and if he succeeded, the aim of his life and of his dynasty was gained. In the battle of Poitiers he did far more than defeat the Saracens. He not only founded the traditions of an heroic house, and became the popular chief of tribes heretofore full of mutual jealousy and distrust,—he not only laid the first stone of an imperial edifice, but he appeared as the Defender of the Faith. He had formed and headed the last stand against the adherents of the false prophet, and he had henceforth some right to demand to govern a system which he had manifestly rescued from destruction.

Meanwhile a fresh impulse was given to the Frankish Church from a completely different quarter. Anglo-Saxon missionaries had undertaken the revival of Christianity among the Franks, and the preaching of the Gospel among the neighbouring nations, who were still pagans.

In our own land the Teutonic conquerors had rapidly fallen away from their original mode of life. The insular position and inconsiderable size of the country; the large population existing there at the time of the invasion, and the numbers of those who then came over; the fertility and garden-like cultivation of the soil, the quiet beauty of the English landscape,—these were among the many influences which worked together to separate the new comers from their old sympathies and pursuits, to change them from a roving and quarrelsome, into a settled and peaceable race; above all, to cause a religion which was founded on the contemplation of nature, as she appears in her most weird and savage grandeur, to lose its hold now that the circumstances and setting of daily occupation were no longer suited to it; while, on the other hand, a restful life suggested hints of the difficult problems at its root, and the jovial and unthinking mind of the youthful nation was overcast by a more sedate and meditative expression. Christianity, accepted by the Franks as a political make-shift, was welcomed by the Anglo-Saxons, because it supplied definite moral and intellectual needs. It made very quick progress among them,* and almost immediately gave a sure sign of the value of the effects it had produced, in the desire which actuated its disciples to extend their faith to less favoured regions. No greater contrast is to be found in religious history than that which ensues on the juxtaposition of the causes and results of the Frankish and Anglo-Saxon conversions.

But now, under the influence of Anglo-Saxon, of Teutonic teachers, the whole face of Frankish Christianity undergoes a total change. St. Boniface, the so-called apostle of the Germans, was the subject and the friend of Charles Martel and of his sons. He was at once the centre of ecclesiastical activity among the Christian population of the Frankish kingdoms, and the pioneer of missionary effort among the heathen. As Archbishop of Mainz he took precedence among his episcopal brethren; as Papal Legate he was in a special manner the counsellor and arbiter of the great body of the clergy. His long life had thus to be divided between missionary toil and his administrative duties, but the work of his choice was rather to seek the wandering than to tend the folded flock, and the death which overtook him, when an old man of seventy years of age, was doubtless that

* It is not to be overlooked that the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons took place just one hundred years *after* that of the Franks.

which he had constantly hoped might befall him,—martyrdom at the hands of the idolaters.

The Roman and Celtic preachers had appeared, as was pointed out above, to their pagan audiences, one might almost say, in the guise of angelic messengers; their whole lives had been illumined by a supernatural halo, their every thought had sprung from an unapproachable source, their every action had possessed an unfathomable meaning. With St. Boniface the case was otherwise. He understood his people, and they thoroughly understood him. He was of their own flesh and blood, and a Teuton to the core. There was no impassable gulf between him and ordinary mortals. Throughout his holy and industrious career we find him not forgetting to secure hawks and falcons, drinking-goblets, and rare furs for his lay friends in his native country, whose love of entertainment and of hunting he could appreciate, and did not think it needful to reprove. Again, the tone in which his labours are recounted furnishes us with the best assurance as to the success of his endeavour to incorporate Christianity with the daily and ordinary feelings and doings of those who professed it. His story is told quite plainly, decked with no fanciful embellishments, broken by no miraculous interpositions; it is a perfectly comprehensible and matter-of-fact fight against human disorder and superstition, waged with such weapons as he found to his hand, down to the hour when we have him described as setting out, not unmindful of the impending event, on his last mission of all, and giving his final commands and instructions bravely but calmly, and without ecstasy or display: "Prepare, my son, carefully, all things that will be required by us during this journey of ours, and place in the chest with my books a linen cloth, in which, should occasion arise, my worn-out corpse may be wrapped."*

It is easy to assign reasons which would have led St. Boniface, even had his personal tendencies not disposed him to their formation, into those intimate relations with the Holy See, which were within a few years to have the most unlooked-for consequences. The bishops of Rome had always encouraged, had frequently initiated missions. The narrative of the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons begins with a well-known scene in the Forum. On the other hand, the native churches, with which St. Boniface was acquainted, had been indifferent to missions. The British and Gaulish churches, for example, were effete establishments, without great aims or wide sympathies, having evidently neither the will nor the power to enlarge their borders. From the petty occupations and envious criticisms of these provincial institutions the resolute adventurer had been driven to turn to the distant and famous residence of the Vicar of St. Peter, to find there a mind

* Pertz, "Mon. Germ.," ii. 349.

which identified itself with the work of the whole Church of Christ, which in politic vision had already entered on the inheritance of the heathen and the possession of the earth, and which was ever ready to welcome and to enlist in its service such qualities as zeal, impetuosity, and capacity. At Rome there was a prudent wisdom, which would listen patiently to the difficulties of the solitary preacher; at Rome there was also an imposing though ill-defined authority, which would consider willingly the appeals of the thwarted metropolitan.

While this outburst of a new life was at its highest, Charles Martel died. He had used to good purpose both the patriotic enthusiasm and the religious fervour that surrounded him, as he had used every other influence which great men and great events had exercised upon the growing faculties of the nation. He had watched the origin and progress of the movement, knowing all the while that it had been caused in great measure by his own act. But it was part of his character to care more to observe and to speculate upon, than to fall in personally with, the course of contemporary feeling. He had been very careful in his dealings with St. Boniface; he had endeavoured to allow him full scope, and yet to renounce nothing of his own authority; he had not needlessly interrupted the work of the priesthood, but had never allowed it to interfere with his own statecraft; he had never suffered the supreme management of affairs, whatever the department to which they might belong, to pass from his control. His sons, Carlmann and Pippin, succeeded him, sagacious rulers, but who did not, like their father, simply contemplate, but were thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the age. Over their more youthful ambition and warmer fancy the piety and renown of the venerable primate of Germany could not fail to acquire great power; his schemes met with their unmixed approval; they strengthened his position by every means within their reach. Synod after synod was convened, first in one kingdom then in the other, at which, under their superintendence, St. Boniface proposed and gained consent to his plans for the reformation and diffusion of the true faith. The whole people, from the princes downwards, seemed to have ears for no other subject.

But the experiences of their joint reign led to different results in the career of each brother, although on the minds and hearts of both they left lasting impressions. They led Carlmann to abandon the cares and troubles of the administration of his kingdom and to devote himself entirely to more strictly spiritual matters; he entered the monastery of Monte Cassino. Five years later they led Pippin, in a very different direction, to the critical step of his life.

Nothing could have been for Pippin more free from difficulty or danger than, without any further formalities of any kind, to have set aside, by a single expression of his will, the last Merovingian king.

But to have acted thus would have been out of harmony with his whole political position, and with the character of the people and period with which that position associated him. It was his object to attract attention and to prolong discussion with reference to his proceedings. He wished the eyes of mankind to be directed not only to the bare act itself, but to a large group of circumstances, in connection with which it took place. The Merovingian monarchs had outlived all possible causes or excuses for existence. They apprehended nothing of the stir and change around them; they had no share in the widespread regeneration of Church and State; they had remained unroused by the rumour of Saracen inroad, and uninterested in the subjection of Northern heathendom; they were unvisited by any dream of that Empire of the West, which even now was about to slip through their nerveless fingers; in a word, their home was with ideas and institutions, which it had been the business of the generation to which they were relegated to overthrow and to annihilate. The facts spoke for themselves. Pippin had every advantage from the shedding on them of the strongest light. All who were concerned in the development, in any of its numerous forms, of the new civilization of Europe, knew how much it would want strong hands and able heads to help it through its earlier stages. None knew this better than the popes. They, struggling on against their heretical Byzantine master and their detested Lombard neighbours, the most odious and irreclaimable among barbarian tribes, were anxiously seeking a trustworthy ally; they would gladly have seen in the Frankish king not a puppet but a protector, and would have been willing to do for a new and friendly house much more even than they had done for the founder of Merovingian royalty. Again, Pippin, while his brother had shrunk from the burdens and responsibilities of a conscientious ruler, more faithful to the common sentiments of his predecessors, and not less alive to the teaching of his own day, clung to the principle of combination, and aspired to ground a great political power on an ecclesiastical foundation. Chlodovech's baptism had marked the fact, that thereafter the Franks were to be, at least nominally, a Christian people. Pippin's elevation to the throne marked the fact, that in the Frankish kingdom was to be realized the idea of the Christian State.

Into the history of Pippin's embassy to Rome we shall not inquire: we wish merely to indicate the spirit of events, not to investigate their details. It is not clear whether St. Boniface himself took any part in the preliminary discussions, though it is certain that his favourite follower, Lull, was at Rome while they were going on. Moreover, Burchard, Archbishop of Würzburg, one of the two ecclesiastics who brought back the pope's message, was a scholar and intimate friend of

the archbishop. In compliance with the papal sanction, the Franks proceeded to degrade the last sovereign of the house of Meroveus. Then the nobles set about the election of a monarch who should be his successor. They raised Pippin on their shields, according to the national custom. This had been the only ceremony usual at former accessions. But on the present occasion a further and most significant solemnity was added. The bishops, St. Boniface at their head, performed the consecration of the elected ruler, pouring the holy oil upon his head. Two years afterwards, Pope Stephen in person repeated the initiation of the new king and of the new dynasty, extending the rite of unction not only to Pippin, but to his queen and his two sons, Charles and Carlmann. From this time the underlying principle of the "Holy Roman Empire" may be said to have existed in the germ. The King of the Franks ruled—Pippin was the first to use the phrase —"by the grace of God." Thus a long series of events was concluded; to this end had tended the conquests of Pippin of Heristal, and Charles Martel, the preaching of St. Boniface, the awakening of native Teutonic Christianity, the alliance with Rome.

The Frankish government was brought into closer relations than ever with the Apostolic See. The new monarch showed his gratitude in his readiness to place the Pope, as far as it was in his power, in a position of safety from the fierce enemies who threatened him. He twice led an army into Italy. He compelled Aistolf the Lombard to give up his conquests, and bestowed those conquests on St. Peter and his Vicar. Throughout his reign he preserved the same interest in ecclesiastical questions which he had manifested in his youth.

On Pippin's death there ensued again a short period, during which the administration of the Frankish dominions was carried on under the joint rule of his sons, Charles and Carlmann. The latter soon died, and, as he left only infant children, Charles became sole sovereign. Like his forefathers, he turned his attention and his arms first towards the East and North. His campaigns against the Northern heathens last through many years. On the same ground where Roman legions had met with terrible defeat, and had found limits set to their advance, a last desperate struggle was maintained against ordered government and the new religion. The conflict was felt at the time to be one between hostile principles, and not only between hostile forces. The Franks represented the principles of centralization, of progress, and of Christianity; the Saxons represented the principles of petty local government, of fidelity to patriarchal customs, and of enthusiasm for the old heroic legends. In consequence, the war was, on both sides, waged with great bitterness and determination. It needed all the advantages which enormous personal authority, an organized kingdom, and a far-seeing and much-intending ambition could bestow, to enable the

Frankish leader in the end to achieve success. With the subjection of the Saxons the conversion of the Northern nations may practically be said to terminate. That event completes the period which commences with the mission to England of St. Augustine, and in the course of which the distinctive features of Teutonic Christianity were moulded. Some thought of this kind, if it was not the mere coincidence of the term "conversion of the Saxons," may possibly have struck the author of the "Annales Laureshamenses," while, after describing the conclusion of the war and the baptism of the chieftain Widuchind, he added, "A transitu Gregorii Papæ usque præsentem fiunt anni centum octoginta."*

It does not fall within our purpose to narrate the subsequent events in the life of Charles the Great. English readers who take an interest in the subject will find the most important points of the reign discussed, with great learning and ability, in Mr. Bryce's recent work on the "Holy Roman Empire." On one point, as it helps to explain the peculiar character of early Teutonic Christianity, a few remarks will be offered, among some more general observations with which we now hasten to bring this article to a conclusion.

We have traced the beginnings of a new era in the records of historical progress. A detailed account of that era might perhaps not altogether inappropriately be entitled, the history of Christianity in its relations to Politics. The Christian State was first realized, in the full sense of the word, by the Teutonic race. In the earlier ages of Christianity such a conception had not existed. For Christianity had hitherto had to deal with nations whose political days were numbered, or whose political habits were formed.

Christianity had not arisen in Palestine until after the monarchy had ceased, and the native forms of government had disappeared. And though the enemies of the new teaching in their ignorance denounced it as a revolutionary heresy, it could not be said to concern itself, at all events, with any topics akin to those which might at the moment be agitated in the patriotic circles of Jerusalem. Besides, it was only in a very corrupt and mutilated shape that, even by those who still clung closely to the idea of national independence, that unique theory of the character and functions of the State was held, in virtue of which the Hebrew polity has such large claims on the consideration of the student of the history of constitutions.

Christianity, moreover, as it spread over the Roman Empire, did not generally recast political notions. On the one hand there was, to a certain extent, a tendency in the Church to stand aloof and neutral in

* Pertz, "Mon. Germ.," i. 32; Waitz, iii. 122.

regard to the existing vicious and decaying modes of imperial administration. On the other hand, it is clear that the Catholic body, as it elaborated its own complex organisation, far from exhibiting great originality, was much indebted to the views, as to the nature of the community, which had prevailed of old in Greece and Rome. Accordingly, in the Middle Ages, the Church of Rome appeared as the representative of antiquity, not only in her character of preserver of the ancient languages and literature, but as being a religious establishment founded on the plan of the ancient civil societies. And it is at least a curious question, whether some of the leading principles of the Church of Rome down to the present day, natural parts even though they seem of the faith as she delivers it, cannot be more definitely traced as coming to her in the transmission of heathen and classical, than of Scriptural and Christian conceptions. The ancient state or city had possessed an abstract as well as a concrete existence; in legal phrase, she had been invested with a "*persona*" long before the Catholic Church had arisen; she had been the repository of superfluous perfections and excellences, which were inherent in her, apart from those of her members, taken either separately or collectively, and which were only communicable by her to those admitted within her bounds and trained according to her method of instruction. The virtue and knowledge of the single individual found, in the supreme virtue and knowledge belonging to the set of institutions under which he was placed, their indispensable complement and corrective; outside of these conditions was to be found the isolated and imperfect existence, devoid of real graces or happiness, of the barbarian, the ethnic, or, in other words, the heathen. The subordination of all personal predilections, of the intellectual development and the family relations of the private person (the meaning of the word "*privatus*" is carefully to be noted), in the most absolute and unqualified manner to the public association, is not more characteristic of the ideal system of a not extinct ecclesiastical section than it was of the political prospectus of a very old philosophy. There are indeed portions of the "Republic" of Plato which read almost like prophecies of the Catholic Church; and no one can view the hierarchical machinery in its centralization, and even in its etiquette and little distinctions of rank and title, without being reminded of the arrangements of pre-Christian Rome.

Further, the ages which immediately preceded the rise of the Teutonic race were not those in which the rules of morals, the laws of thought, the principles of politics, came with any charm of novelty before the notice of the civilized world. These subjects had by that time been exhaustively treated: every inquiry connected with them had over and over again been more or less satisfactorily answered.

The various structures on which the human mind had been at work were finished, and appeared to be as substantial and stable as they could well be made. All they wanted was polish, ornamentation; in this way they might be susceptible of a few improvements, but it was not supposed that they could ever be overthrown. The course of life was clear, it only required to be made a little more even and pleasant. Political life, to keep to one particular department, was no longer employed on such primitive business as the formation of an empire, or conquest, or colonization, on the general consideration of the best form of government, but on minute and intricate matters of administration, on the codification of law, on questions regarding the civil service, on schemes bearing on taxation and finance, and the reduction of pauperism. Ordinary people lived in cities under circumstances which struck them not at all as the result of long and complicated processes, but as proper and necessary forms of life—the only forms, in fact, of which they had distinct conceptions. They were occupied by commerce, or art, or literature, or amusement, and all these very natural occupations involved the existence of populous towns, with markets, public buildings, libraries, theatres, and so on. That such an arrangement of human affairs could be reversed; that a vast and consolidated society could prove weaker than a rude and disorderly multitude; that the *imperium* could pass from noblemen and orators to savages and slaves, was a possibility which at one time would not have been deemed worth a moment's thought. The surprise, as the attacks of the Northern nations became serious, and no longer merely added zest to military manœuvres; the final despondence, when the success of those attacks was inevitable—passed all bounds. All their wealth of mental and material resources had failed them; every object of trust had been proved to be untrustworthy; experience and reason had been contradicted with effect. No new order, but the end of all things was to be looked for.

There is a great suddenness and abruptness about the migration of the Teutonic tribes into those domains, beyond which history refuses to extend her survey. Their introduction to Christianity takes place simultaneously with their introduction to civilization. They come face to face with Christianity without having been previously made acquainted with any rival intellectual or doctrinal system. They have passed through no mental or moral education. They are, above all, utterly unfamiliar with those relations to the State without which, as was remarked above, all mental and moral education had appeared impossible to the fathers of ethical and political philosophy. We have before discussed their position in regard to dogmatic religion and scientific thought; and for any advanced constitutional developments they were equally unprepared. Even where they approached

nearest to the patriotic virtues of antiquity, they stopped short at a very considerable distance. They were, for example, conspicuous for their admiration of freedom and loyalty. But by the former they meant the unconstrainedness of family life in the country, and not the public liberty of the statesman and the citizen; and by the latter, not the conscientious observance of the laws of a society, but a personal attachment to a favourite leader. This could not well be otherwise while their rulers were mere military chiefs and their principal means of association the army, which held together in its tens and hundreds while it stood on hostile territory, but broke up into its separate units immediately on its return to the native soil. The German cities, it may be observed, by the way, did not become important until long after the Carlovingians had ceased to reign. For even when social motives had grown strong, and a life in conformity to them appeared inviting, there remained geographical difficulties. While in the South the hollow valleys of Italy and Hellas and the sheltered bays of the Mediterranean had from the remotest times offered the most fitting sites as stations along the great highway of the commerce of the world, in Northern Europe nature herself seemed to oppose the enlargement of the mean and scattered settlements which here and there relieved the solitudes of her dense forests and bleak and barren moors.

To resume: it was not, then, wonderful that between the conquerors and the conquered there rose up everywhere a great barrier. Those who attempted at once to cross it perished. The barbarian outposts were mortally stricken by the infections that had wasted the beleaguered civilization. The Ostrogoths, Burgundians, and Lombards, the first garrison of the subdued Empire, yielded to the pestilent atmosphere of decay into which they were transplanted.

From their own standing-point, from a distance and after many years, the great Teutonic nations of history have slowly and deliberately assimilated such of the ideas of the older cultivation as they have found suited to their requirements.

But, it may be asked, must not the Franks be excepted from this general statement? Did not they continue the Empire of the West? It will be necessary to examine, in order to reply to this question, how far their notion of the Empire was the old one, and how far it was an original notion of their own, or at least one not derived from Roman views. Charles became emperor in consequence principally of his victories in Italy, his position as Lord of Rome, his unsatisfactory diplomatic relations with the court of Constantinople. The imperial title reconciled the minds of his southern subjects to his rule, it had the only legitimate hold on their allegiance which, in their eyes, could exist in the world. And Charles was fully alive to the

traditional authority and the vague grandeur which the position carried with it. Yet the feelings which led him to acquiesce in the dignity were possibly not altogether different from those which, to cite a parallel case from English history, caused Edward I. to style young Edward of Carnarvon, Prince of Wales. It was a name which gave a weight with others to a power acquired without its aid. Toward all those who were full of memories of the older Empire with whom he had to do, Charles in the most uncompromising manner constantly asserted the rank and adopted the tone proper to his novel station, he used the language of an equal, almost of a superior, to the Eastern emperor; he required recognition in terms from the Byzantine ambassadors. On the other hand, it is abundantly clear that the notion of assuming the imperial title did not originate with Charles himself. There can be little doubt that the first impulse was given either from Rome or from Tours, certainly from an ecclesiastical quarter. Writers at the time described the imperial crown as having been not sought by Charles, but thrust upon him, and by those, in accordance with whose prejudices he must first have been invested with it, would he gain full and indisputable claims to reverence and obedience. After he had become emperor, he did not fix his residence at Rome. When he visited that city, it was as the Pope's guest. He introduced into his native dominions neither the Roman official system nor the Roman law. He even disdained to wear the Roman imperial costume.*

It seems to us that his personal conceptions of the supreme power flowed from another fountain. They came from the Hebrew Scriptures. In these were presented to the Teutonic race a literature they could understand, a religion with which they, without effort, could sympathize. The history of the Israelites powerfully affected the Anglo-Saxon missionaries; it appealed still more powerfully to their continental hearers. The whole language of the day testifies to this fact. "Cum vero Nisan mensis, qui est Aprilis, præteriret," are the words with which an episode in the life of St. Boniface begins. The general outlines of the Jewish narrative, the patriarchal customs, the nomad existence of the people down to the death of Moses, the rapid transition from a roving to a stationary condition, the settlement by tribes; and then the intermixed sketches of individuals,—the story, for instance, of Samson, the Israelite Baresark, or of Deborah, the Israelite seeress, went straight to the barbarian mind, as though they

* Einhard, in Pertz, "Mon. Germ.," ii. 455-6: "Vestitu patrio, id est francisco, utebatur. . . . Peregrina vero indumenta, quamvis pulcherrima, respuebat, nec unquam eis indui patiebatur, excepto quod Romæ semel, Adriano pontifice petente, et iterum Leone successore eius supplicante, longa tunica et clamide amictus, calceis quoque Romano more formatis induebatur."

had been native traditions. Long before the period of which we write, as early as the fourth century, Ulfila, the Arian, when translating the Bible for his Goths, had felt himself obliged to omit the Books of Kings, afraid of the impression such warlike annals would make on his flock. We have noticed how the new dynasty was created by and borne along on a combined current of patriotic and religious feeling; we have traced the circumstances of the consecration of Pippin. This act was one of close imitation of Biblical procedure; St. Boniface was the Samuel of the new Israel, Pippin was the Lord's anointed. During the life of Charles the Great this view of the Frankish monarchy was put forward more prominently than ever. It finds its most thorough expression in the letters and other writings of Alcuin, himself an Anglo-Saxon, the most influential of Charles the Great's advisers, the person who more than any one else formed his opinions, the director of his literary and spiritual exercises. Alcuin gave to himself and the chief officers of the court characteristic names. He styles Charles almost always King David; when he is not King David he is King Solomon. Alcuin's epistles to Charles are invariably prefaced by some such dedication as this, "Deo dilecto atque a Deo electo David Regi." Over and over again he works out analogies between the great namesakes:—

"Beata gens cuius est Dominus Deus eorum: et beatus populus tali Rectore exaltatus, et tali prædicatore munitus: et utrumque, et gladius triumphalis potentiæ vibrat in dextra et catholicæ prædicationis tuba resonat in lingua. Ita et David olim præcedentis populi Rex a Deo electus, et Deo dilectus et egregius Psalmista Israheli victrici gladio undique gentes subjiciens, legisque Dei eximius prædicator in populo extitit. Cuius eximia filiorum nobilitate in salute mundi, de virga flos campi et convallium floruit Christus, qui istis modo temporibus ac eiusdem nominis, virtutis et fidei David Regem populo suo concessit rectorem et doctorem. Sub cuius umbra superiora [superna] quiete populus requiescit Christianus et terribilis undique gentibus extat paganis." *

And again:—

"Dum vestræ potentiæ gloriosam sublimitatem, non perituræ Chaldæis flammis Hierusalem imperare scio, sed perpetuæ pacis civitatem pretioso sanguine Christi constructam regere atque gubernare, cuius lapides vivi de caritatis glutine colliguntur, et cælestis ædificii altitudinem ex diversis virtutum gemmis muri consurgunt, de qua Psalmista ait: Diligit Dominus portas Sion super omnia tabernacula Jacob. Et alibi: Mons Sion, latera Aquilonis, civitas Regis magni. Unde ego, minima quædam huius civitatis portio, sub tegmine pietatis vestræ constitutus," &c. †

This is the way in which Alcuin rouses Charles to action in Church affairs: "Surge, vir a Deo electe; surge, fili Dei; surge, miles Christi, et defende Sponsam Domini Dei tui."‡

There is a still more striking passage before us. It is most pro-

* Epistola, xiv. † *Ibid.*, xci. ‡ *Ibid.*, lxviii.

bable, as was hinted above, that Alcuin was the first who thought of Charles as Emperor of the West, and that his suggestions were received with more favour at first by ecclesiastical than by temporal authorities.* Well, just before Charles set out for Rome, where the Empire was to be bestowed on him, or perhaps while on the journey, there reached him a copy of verses from Alcuin, from which, on account of their author, the critical moment at which they were written, and the striking words in which they were couched, we cannot refrain from making the following rather copious extracts:—

"Carmina dilecto faciat mea fistula David,
Laurigero David carmine dignus erit.
David amor populi, David laus, gloria plebis,
Atque decus regni, spesque corona suis.
Ite per Hespericas, musæ, concentibus urbes
Clamantes: David semper ubique vale!
Terra, polus, pelagus resonent hoc voce sonora,
Dicat et orbis: honor sit cui vita, salus.
Hoc optent precibus simul agmina sancta polorum,
Hoc tribuat clemens Christus ab arce poli.
Ut vivat, regnet multis feliciter annis,
Ad laudem populi, David in orbe tuus.
Transacto et felix præsentis tempore vitæ
Cum Christo teneat regna beata poli.

. . . .

"Ipsa caput mundi spectat te Roma Patronum,
Cum Patre et populo, pacis amore pio.
Quos revocare quidem studeat tua sancta voluntas
Ad pacis donum, per pia verba Dei.
Erige subjectos, et jam depone superbos,
Ut pax et pietas regnet ubique sacra.
Pastor apostolicus, jam primus in orbe sacerdos,
Per te cum populo gaudeat ipse Pater:
Rector et Ecclesiæ per te, Rex, rite regatur,
Et te magnipotens dextra regat Domini;
Ut felix vivas, lato regnator in orbe,
Proficiens facias cuncta Deo placita;
Angelus ætheria veniens cælestis ab arce,
Qui tecum maneat nocte dieque simul;
Prospere qui semper te, Rex, deducat euntem,
Et redeuntis iter protegat atque regat," &c.†

These lines need no comment. With them we must stop. We have confined ourselves to the works of Alcuin, the typical intellect of the age. We might have turned for similar evidence to chronicles and capitularies. Moreover, the peculiar views of the State which we have indicated, are those, as has been frequently pointed out by historians, for which the Teutonic race has ever since been remark-

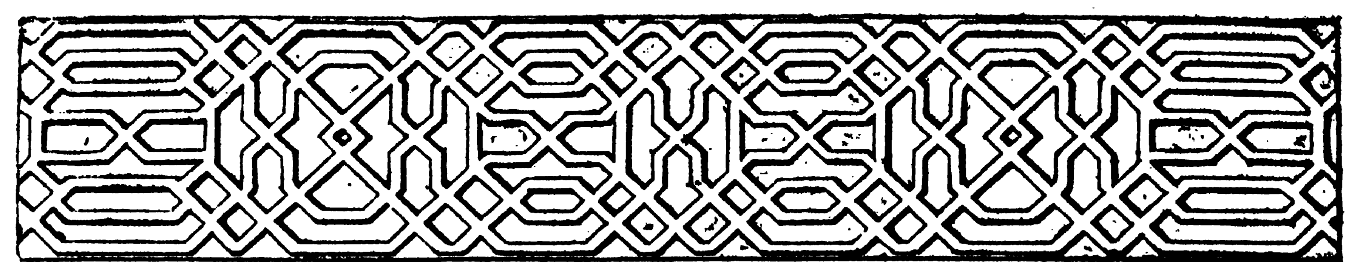
* Waitz, iii. 173: "Es scheint, dass von den Geistlichen in Karls Umgebung der Gedanke ausging, den dann der Pabst aufnahm und zur Ausführung brachte." Compare Bryce, "Holy Roman Empire," 2nd edit., pp. 65-6.

† "Alcuini Opera," ii. 229.

able. It is by no means necessary that they should be held under an absolute or even a monarchical form of government. If the idea of a Christian commonwealth—a commonwealth, strictly speaking, rather Jewish than Christian—possessed the mind of Charles the Great, that idea was also vividly present to William the Silent, to Cromwell, and to the Fathers of the American constitution. If the historical parallels, the sentiments, the phraseology of Alcuin are drawn well-nigh exclusively from the Old Testament, this is certainly not less true of the works of Wiclif, of Luther, and of the Puritans. There has, among the Teutonic nations, been no great Reformation which has not been primarily a reformation of the State, and which, at the same time, has not been inspired by high-toned religious feeling. Meanwhile, the echo of the old philosophies may be heard, and the shadow of cultivated heathendom discerned, in every political movement,—in the life which breathed in the Mediæval cities of Italy, and in the spirit which animated the French Revolution,—which has arisen within the limits proper of the Roman Empire, and among those nations who passed immediately from the discipline of the classical societies into the dominion of the Catholic Church.

With the death of Charles the Great the first epoch in the development of the relations between the Church of Rome and the Teutonic race ends. It is a period of outward peace and of seeming unity. But in the next century the unavoidable conflict breaks out, and that conflict has, without interruption, been continued down to our own day.

ROBERT LAING.



FELIX HOLT.

Felix Holt the Radical. By George Eliot, Author of "Adam Bede." In Three Volumes. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood. 1866.

THE publication of "Adam Bede" came upon our age almost with the effect of a revelation. For it was hardly less to discover that we had still among us so much of "Shakspere, Fancy's child," as was shown in the exquisite truth of description and perfect exhibition of character in that greatest of modern novels.

Still, it is not given to our age to "warble native wood-notes wild." With the things of childhood we have put off the graces of childhood, and have become hopelessly self-conscious and critical of all things. What chance, it was said to us last summer, is there of rare ferns on Ben Ledi, when the Edinburgh professor of botany turns out his class of a hundred there to hunt it over? About the same chance is there of native original genius in the day in which we live. Beauty has long ago been measured out by line and plummet, and her various expressions classified and labelled. And whatever we now have that is admirable is the product of the *ars celandi artem;* of that rarer and more recondite gift of genius, which enables it to deny itself, and to submit to long training and discipline before presenting its work to the world.

And thus "Adam Bede" was the product of genius working on genius. It could never have been but for Shakspere, but for Fielding, but for Miss Austen, but for Walter Scott, but for Dickens, but

for Thackeray. Yet upon no one of these has the author modelled her work. It is the first great outpouring of the treasures of years of observation and feeling. Those years taught her what is the most difficult of all lessons to the writer of fiction, to be as large and as free as nature; not to magnify incidental traits of character, not to over-colour, but to keep the whole picture cool and refreshing to the eye. Any one of the characters in "Adam Bede" would, in the hands of Dickens, have been spoiled by exaggeration. Not that "George Eliot" herself has been always free from this fault in her other works. It abounds in the "Mill on the Floss," a novel, in another line, hardly less remarkable than "Adam Bede." It was indeed hardly to be expected that a second work would present the same admirable concurrence of strength and moderation as had shown itself in the first. A first work, if the product of matured powers, must always have a great advantage over those which follow. It can afford to be ripened and chastened by reason of its very fulness and freshness. But its successors come after the best material has been used, and the choicest effects given: they are liable to suffer from the temptation to use up what had been before cast aside, and to trust to manœuvres which the first thoughts of artist instinct had rejected.

And still more is this so, if the latter experiment chance to be made *in pari materiâ*. This "George Eliot" has not done till now. The "Mill on the Floss," the beautiful little tale "Silas Marner," the admirable Florentine romance of "Romola," all kept clear of the strong, just, bold man whom she had drawn in "Adam Bede." But in "Felix Holt" we have the strong, just, bold man again before us. And yet it would be impossible to say that the material is the same. The artist, with exquisite skill, has given us two types of the same strength, justice, and boldness. Adam Bede is the hardy, stalwart carpenter, bringing to our mind, as we read, that other Carpenter in the sacred story, who was "a just man" also: righteous and fearless, except of God in his conscience; and with that fear of God tempered and sweetened by the love of a saintly woman. Felix Holt, on the other hand, is the keen modern radical, with a sense of social wrong issuing in a rank-hating asceticism, and finding its strength in the repudiation of all that belongs to cultivated and artificial society. And here again, the love of woman enters, exercising a strange and beautiful influence over the sternness of the character. Esther Lyon's must ever rank among the first of the characters in modern fiction: not for striking points, not for excellence in the "genre" class, but for the very reason which would lead some persons to refuse it the place which we are claiming for it, viz., that it is built up out of the circumstances which have surrounded it, and takes its tints naturally and faithfully from the lights of the sun and the clouds. Dinah can

never be forgotten: Dinah, as preacher, as consoler, finally, as the just man's well-won wife: but Dinah has one side only: she is not moulded, she is not modified, by circumstance: no shifting lights and shades play over her purity of high purpose: she is a fair, simple statue, motionless in her circle for ever. But Esther, woman and of womanly thoughts, moves about her quaint old father with that grace from other times and habits which is her very nature, respecting, while she cannot sympathize with, his puritan maxims, and drawn on into nobler thoughts and harder self-government than they wot of, by the brusque rebukes of Felix. And then when high fortune rises upon her, and she makes trial for a time of the society and the luxuries so uncongenial to her, it seems to us hard to speak of the skill of the author—hard to imagine that it is not Nature herself who has taken the pencil out of the descriptive hand, and bidden the narrative flow on as it would flow on in the very heart of life itself. We seem to see some sheltered and beautiful homestead brought out for a few noontide hours into the glare of the obtrusive sun; then, as evening draws on, covered again in its shade and its shelter, so to remain on the memory. We seem to envy the writer not only her transcendent genius, but also the exquisite pleasure with which she must have seen this portion of her work grow under her hands.

Of the secondary characters, that which claims the chief attention, from its place in the story, is the least interesting on its own account. Harold Transome is not only heartless and uninteresting, but there is about him that kind of stage swagger of the conventional aristocrat, which we had hardly expected to meet in "George Eliot's" pages. It is perhaps in this kind of character that she is least eminent. Arthur Donnithorne was equally tasteless and unreal.

Mrs. Holt is a capital specimen of the Mrs. Poyser kind,—that kind itself being quite a creation of our author. There can be but one Mrs. Poyser: and here our former remark holds, that the absence of the rich exuberance out of which first creations are formed, and to which they owe their many-sidedness and truth to nature, gives rise afterwards to attempts to produce similar effects by the bringing into prominence, more or less exaggerated, of special habits and characteristics. This was notably illustrated in the characters of the uncles and aunts in "The Mill on the Floss," with their unnaturally recurring foolish sayings: and the character of Mrs. Holt is not without imperfection of the same kind. The perpetual recurrence to Felix's conscientious abandonment of the sale of his father's quack medicines, though kept evidently under restraint, is yet carried too far. But the scene in Transome Hall is in "George Eliot's" happiest manner, and in its way inimitable:—

"Mrs. Holt held on her lap a basket filled with good things for Job, and

seemed much soothed by pleasant company and excellent treatment. As Esther, descending softly and unobserved, leaned over the stone banisters and looked at the scene for a minute or two, she saw that Mrs. Holt's attention, having been directed to the squirrel which had scampered on to the head of the Silenus carrying the infant Bacchus, had been drawn downward to the tiny babe looked at with so much affection by the rather ugly and hairy gentleman, of whom she nevertheless spoke with reserve as of one who possibly belonged to the Transome family.

"'It's most pretty to see its little limbs, and the gentleman holding it. I should think he was amiable by his look; but it was odd he should have his likeness took without any clothes. Was he Transome by name?' (Mrs. Holt suspected that there might be a mild madness in the family.)

"Denner, peering and smiling quietly, was about to reply, when she was prevented by the appearance of old Mr. Transome, who since his walk had been having 'forty winks' on the sofa in the library, and now came out to look for Harry. He had doffed his furred cap and cloak, but in lying down to sleep he had thrown over his shoulders a soft Oriental scarf which Harold had given him, and this still hung over his scanty white hair and down to his knees, held fast by his wooden-looking arms and laxly clasped hands, which fell in front of him.

"This singular appearance of an undoubted Transome fitted exactly into Mrs. Holt's thought at the moment. It lay in the probabilities of things that gentry's intellects should be peculiar: since they had not to get their own living, the good Lord might have economized in their case that common sense which others were so much more in need of; and in the shuffling figure before her she saw a descendant of the gentleman who had chosen to be represented without his clothes—all the more eccentric where there were the means of buying the best. But these oddities 'said nothing' in great folks, who were powerful in high quarters all the same. And Mrs. Holt rose and curtseyed with a proud respect, precisely as she would have done if Mr. Transome had looked as wise as Lord Burleigh.

"'I hope I'm in no ways taking a liberty, sir,' she began, while the old gentleman looked at her with bland feebleness; 'I'm not that woman to sit anywhere out of my own home without inviting, and pressing too. But I was brought here to wait, because the little gentleman wanted to play with the orphin child.'

"'Very glad, my good woman—sit down—sit down,' said Mr. Transome, nodding and smiling between his clauses. 'Nice little boy. Your grandchild?'

"'Indeed, sir, no,' said Mrs. Holt, continuing to stand. Quite apart from any awe of Mr. Transome—sitting down, she felt, would be a too great familiarity with her own pathetic importance on this extra and unlooked-for occasion. 'It's not me has any grandchild, nor ever shall have, though most fit. But with my only son saying he'll never be married, and in prison besides, and some saying he'll be transported, you may see yourself—though a gentleman—as there isn't much chance of my having grandchildren of my own. And this is old Master Tudge's grandchild, as my own Felix took to for pity because he was sickly and clemm'd, and I was noways against it, being of a tender heart. For I'm a widow myself, and my son Felix, though big, is fatherless, and I know my duty in consequence. And it's to be wished, sir, as others should know it as are more in power and live in great houses, and can ride in a carriage where they will. And if you're the gentleman as is the head of everything—and it's not to be thought you'd give up to your son as a poor widow's been forced to do—it behoves you to take

the part of them as are deserving; for the Bible says grey hairs should speak.'

"'Yes, yes—poor woman—what shall I say?' said old Mr. Transome, feeling himself scolded, and as usual desirous of mollifying displeasure.

"'Sir, I can tell you what to say fast enough; for it's what I should say myself if I could get to speak to the King. For I've asked them that know, and they say it's the truth both out of the Bible and in, as the King can pardon anything and anybody. And judging by his countenance on the new signs, and the talk there was a while ago about his being the people's friend, as the minister once said it from the very pulpit—if there's any meaning in words, he'll do the right thing by me and my son, if he's asked proper.'

"'Yes—a very good man—he'll do anything right,' said Mr. Transome, whose own ideas about the King just then were somewhat misty, consisting chiefly in broken reminiscences of George the Third."—(Vol. iii. pp. 178-82.)

There are many bits of Mrs. Holt's talk scattered up and down the volumes, quite as rich as that which we have quoted. Her first disclosure of her trouble to Mr. Lyon, the old Dissenting preacher, is one of them:—

"Mrs. Holt was not given to tears; she was much sustained by conscious unimpeachableness, and by an argumentative tendency which usually checks the too great activity of the lachrymal gland; nevertheless her eyes had become moist, her fingers played on her knee in an agitated manner, and she finally plucked a bit of her gown and held it with great nicety between her thumb and finger. Mr. Lyon, however, by listening attentively, had begun partly to divine the source of her trouble.

"'Am I wrong in gathering from what you say, Mistress Holt, that your son has objected in some way to your sale of your late husband's medicines?'

"'Mr. Lyon, he's masterful beyond everything, and he talks more than his father did. I've got my reason, Mr. Lyon, and if anybody talks sense I can follow him; but Felix talks so wild, and contradicts his mother. And what do you think he says, after giving up his 'prenticeship, and going off to study at Glasgow, and getting through all the bit of money his father saved for his bringing up—what has all his learning come to? He says I'd better never open my Bible, for it's as bad poison to me as the pills are to half the people as swallow 'em. You'll not speak of this again, Mr. Lyon—I don't think ill enough of you to believe *that*. For I suppose a Christian can understand the word o' God without going to Glasgow, and there's texts upon texts about ointment and medicine, and there's one as might have been made for a receipt of my husband's—it's just as if it was a riddle, and Holt's Elixir was the answer.'

"'Your son uses rash words, Mistress Holt,' said the minister, 'but it is quite true that we may err in giving a too private interpretation to the Scripture. The word of God has to satisfy the larger needs of his people, like the rain and the sunshine—which no man must think to be meant for his own patch of seed-ground solely. Will it not be well that I should see your son, and talk with him on these matters? He was at chapel, I observed, and I suppose I am to be his pastor.'

"'That was what I wanted to ask you, Mr. Lyon. For perhaps he'll listen to you, and not talk you down as he does his poor mother. For after we'd been to chapel, he spoke better of you than he does of most: he said you was a fine old fellow, and an old-fashioned Puritan—he uses dreadful language, Mr. Lyon; but I saw he didn't mean you ill, for all that. He

calls most folks' religion rottenness; and yet another time he'll tell me I ought to feel myself a sinner, and do God's will and not my own. But it's my belief he says first one thing and then another only to abuse his mother. Or else he's going off his head, and must be sent to a 'sylum. But if he writes to the *North Loamshire Herald* first, to tell everybody the medicines are good for nothing, how can I ever keep him and myself?'

"'Tell him I shall feel favoured if he will come and see me this evening,' said Mr. Lyon, not without a little prejudice in favour of the young man, whose language about the preacher in Malthouse Yard did not seem to him to be altogether dreadful. 'Meanwhile, my friend, I counsel you to send up a supplication, which I shall not fail to offer also, that you may receive a spirit of humility and submission, so that you may not be hindered from seeing and following the Divine guidance in this matter by any false lights of pride and obstinacy. Of this more when I have spoken with your son.'

"'I'm not proud or obstimate, Mr. Lyon. I never did say I was everything that was bad, and I never will. And why this trouble should be sent on me above everybody else—for I haven't told you all. He's made himself a journeyman to Mr. Prowd, the watchmaker—after all his learning—and he says he'll go with patches on his knees, and he shall like himself the better. And as for his having little boys to teach, they'll come in all weathers with dirty shoes. If it's madness, Mr. Lyon, it's no use your talking to him.'

"'We shall see. Perhaps it may even be the disguised working of grace within him. We must not judge rashly. Many eminent servants of God have been led by ways as strange.'

"'Then I'm sorry for their mothers, that's all, Mr. Lyon; and all the more if they'd been well-spoken-on women. For not my biggest enemy, whether it's he or she, if they'll speak the truth, can turn round and say I've deserved this trouble. And when everybody gets their due, and people's doings are spoken of on the housetops, as the Bible says they will be, it'll be known what I've gone through with those medicines—the pounding, and the pouring, and the letting stand, and the weighing—up early and down late—there's nobody knows yet but One that's worthy to know; and the pasting o' the printed labels right side upwards. There's few women would have gone through with it; and it's reasonable to think it'll be made up to me; for if there's promised and purchased blessings, I should think this trouble is purchasing 'em. For if my son Felix doesn't have a strait-waistcoat put on him, he'll have his way. But I say no more. I wish you good morning, Mr. Lyon, and thank you, though I well know it's your duty to act as you're doing. And I never troubled you about my own soul, as some do who look down on me for not being a church member.'"—(Vol. i. pp. 99-103.)

We own to having some fault to find with the character of Mr. Lyon. It surely cannot be quite according to the writer's experience to represent a Dissenting preacher in 1832 talking like an old Puritan of the seventeenth century. Yet this is the style which is put into Mr. Lyon's mouth throughout the book. To give but one sample of it, take his speech to Esther in vol. ii. pp. 56-7:—

"'Nay, child, I trust that while I would willingly depart from my evil habit of a somewhat slovenly forgetfulness in my attire, I shall never arrive at the opposite extreme. For though there is that in apparel which pleases the eye, and I deny not that your neat gown and the colour thereof—which is that of certain little flowers that spread themselves in the hedgerows, and

make a blueness there as of the sky when it is deepened in the water,—I deny not, I say, that these minor strivings after a perfection which is, as it were, an irrecoverable yet haunting memory, are a good in their proportion. Nevertheless, the brevity of our life, and the hurry and crush of the great battle with error and sin, often oblige us to an advised neglect of what is less momentous.' "

And the costume assigned to him seems to us as much of an anachronism. We doubt whether any example could be found in common every-day life, at the date above mentioned, of the "small legs unencumbered by any other drapery than black silk stockings, and the flexible though prominent bow of black ribbon that tied the knee-breeches." (By the way, "flexible though prominent" is a curious designation. Why may not a flexible thing be prominent, or a prominent thing flexible?) And the rest of the character is in keeping with the same antiquated outer man. It was not our fortune to be much in company with Independents at the precise date given to this story; but we can speak from experience of a pedagogue of that denomination in 1820-22, and certainly talk from him like that which is attributed to old Mr. Lyon would have astonished his scholars not a little. The characteristics of our good old friend, and of the brethren who came to officiate for him, were rather an avoidance than an inculcation of anything like high doctrine. There was an abundant flow of florid rhetoric, garnished with frequent quotations from Dryden and Goldsmith: not a word of conversion, nor an approach to the normal state of religious thought which "George Eliot" seems to imagine natural among the Independents. One saying of his may be worth recalling. "You may see," said he, speaking one day of his status as a Dissenter, "that I am a conscientious Nonconformist, because I regularly and cheerfully pay my Church rates." It was in the midst of the unhappy strife which divided the land into "King's men" and "Queen's men:" our good old friend was a staunch upholder of the "injured Princess," and employed all hands in his school in decorating for the illumination on her acquittal. Peace to his memory, and to the memory of the days before theological rancour had set in between Churchmen and Dissenters! We had looked, in the character of old Mr. Lyon, for some reproduction, with the changes necessitated by a duodecade of eventful years, of the figure which occupies so pleasant a place in the remembrances of our youth; but we found, instead, a masquerader transported from "Woodstock" or "Old Mortality." Another impropriety in Mr. Lyon's character strikes us; derived, if we do not mistake, from the same confused idea that an Independent in one age must symbolize in doctrine with an Independent in another age. He is represented as an upholder of high Calvinistic doctrine: a description which certainly does not hold good of the Independents of 1832.

But we now come to that which should be the masterpiece of the novel, the character of Mrs. Transome. We say, *should be* the masterpiece: because the aim in its description is unquestionably the most ambitious in the book. Feelings, recollections, motives, as complicated, are constantly found in real life; but they seldom court description, and for the most part defy it when attempted. And we cannot say that the attempt in this case has been quite successful. In some parts we trace the work of a master hand: in others there appears inconsistency, and even, we presume to say, bungling. It is impossible to help feeling that the hints which are thrown out from the very beginning of the story respecting the dark sin of years ago, hold, as they occur, a place faultily insulated, and out of keeping with the general mien and bearing of her who had committed it. It is strange, that with the expectation of and speculation about her son's return is mingled no suspicion that his presence, and entering into public life, might bring with them danger of detection and exposure. And a graver matter is behind. In proportion as a writer of fiction holds a high and commanding place in influencing the public, does that writer owe it to the public not to outrage decency: more especially not to involve unsuspicious readers in combinations of circumstances which shall familiarize them with such an outrage. Yet this has been done in almost all "George Eliot's" novels. It is true it may be brought about by the very necessities of the plot itself, as in "Adam Bede," where Hetty's sin and its terrible consequences are no episode, but lie in the main path of the history. But this is not so in "Felix Holt." The story, in all its main features, would remain the same, if the dark blot on Mrs. Transome's character had never occurred. Harold Transome is already dispossessed of his estate by law, before the foul fact is divulged; and the exceedingly small consequence which follows on the discovery is one of the many instances of want of balance in the adjustment of the plot. Before the discovery, the right heir to the property had appeared; Harold had attempted to marry her and had been repulsed: all was ripe for her generous resolve to surrender her rights,—when the most tremendous *dénouement* occurs that could be imagined, covering with infamy the haughty mother, and entailing additional misfortune on her son,—and as the Ingoldsby legend has it, "nobody is one penny the worse:" he retains his estates, and she her dignity, to the end of the chapter. Surely there is something very wrong here: something which looks very like the love of giving a certain zest to narrative by the gratuitous introduction of circumstances of this kind.

It is in no spirit of complaint that we make these remarks: still less in any prudish idea that the sins of real life ought to be withheld from descriptions of ideal life: but because we think that in this case

the work is really, as a creation of art, blemished by that with which we find fault; and because we very much fear that the practice of such introduction is beginning to be, among certain writers, held necessary in order to spice the viand for the public taste.

We would much rather speak in the spirit of hearty admiration which we feel for the work and its writer; and with this view we shall cull for our readers some of those gems which are strewed up and down it, intermixing our comments with a few criticisms, made in no unfriendly spirit.

The following descriptions seem to us among the most masterly things in the book. It is on such passages that we founded our assertion that Mrs. Transome's character was the writer's most ambitious effort. There is in them an elaboration and condensation which show with what pains they must have been pondered over, and written, and re-written, even in some of their sentences to the producing an effect of intricacy and over-elaboration.

"She threw herself into a chair, and sat with a fixed look, seeing nothing that was actually present, but inwardly seeing with painful vividness what had been present with her a little more than thirty years ago—the little round-limbed creature that had been leaning against her knees, and stamping tiny feet, and looking up at her with gurgling laughter. She had thought that the possession of this child would give unity to her life, and make some gladness through the changing years that would grow as fruit out of these early maternal caresses. But nothing had come just as she had wished. The mother's early raptures had lasted but a short time, and even while they lasted there had grown up in the midst of them a hungry desire, like a black poisonous plant feeding in the sunlight,—the desire that her first, rickety, ugly, imbecile child should die, and leave room for her darling, of whom she could be proud. Such desires make life a hideous lottery, where every day may turn up a blank; where men and women who have the softest beds and the most delicate eating, who have a very large share of that sky and earth which some are born to have no more of than the fraction to be got in a crowded entry, yet grow haggard, fevered, and restless, like those who watch in other lotteries. Day after day, year after year, had yielded blanks; new cares had come, bringing other desires for results quite beyond her grasp, which must also be watched for in the lottery; and all the while the round-limbed pet had been growing into a strong youth, who liked many things better than his mother's caresses, and who had a much keener consciousness of his independent existence than of his relation to her: the lizard's egg, that white rounded passive prettiness, had become a brown, darting, determined lizard. The mother's love is at first an absorbing delight, blunting all other sensibilities; it is an expansion of the animal existence; it enlarges the imagined range for self to move in: but in after years it can only continue to be joy on the same terms as other long-lived loves—that is, by much suppression of self, and power of living in the experience of another."—(Vol. i. pp. 38-9.)

"Her life had been like a spoiled shabby pleasure-day, in which the music and the processions are all missed, and nothing is left at evening but the weariness of striving after what has been failed of."—(Vol. i. p. 40.)

"Mrs. Transome had been in her bloom before this century began, and in

the long painful years since then, what she had once regarded as her knowledge and accomplishments had become as valueless as old-fashioned stucco ornaments, of which the substance was never worth anything, while the form is no longer to the taste of any living mortal. Crosses, mortifications, money cares, conscious blameworthiness, had changed the aspect of the world for her: there was anxiety in the morning sunlight; there was unkind triumph or disapproving pity in the glances of greeting neighbours; there was advancing age, and a contracting prospect in the changing seasons as they came and went. And what could then sweeten the days to a hungry much-exacting self like Mrs. Transome's? Under protracted ill every living creature will find something that makes a comparative ease, and even when life seems woven of pain, will convert the fainter pang into a desire. Mrs. Transome, whose imperious will had availed little to ward off the great evils of her life, found the opiate for her discontent in the exertion of her will about smaller things. She was not cruel, and could not enjoy thoroughly what she called the old woman's pleasure of tormenting; but she liked every little sign of power her lot had left her. She liked that a tenant should stand bareheaded below her as she sat on horseback. She liked to insist that work done without her orders should be undone from beginning to end. She liked to be curtseyed and bowed to by all the congregation as she walked up the little barn of a church. She liked to change a labourer's medicine fetched from the doctor, and substitute a prescription of her own. If she had only been more haggard and less majestic, those who had glimpses of her outward life might have said she was a tyrannical, griping harridan, with a tongue like a razor. No one said exactly that; but they never said anything like the full truth about her, or divined what was hidden under that outward life—a woman's keen sensibility and dread, which lay screened behind all her petty habits and narrow notions, as some quivering thing with eyes and throbbing heart may lie crouching behind withered rubbish. The sensibility and dread had palpitated all the faster in the prospect of her son's return; and now that she had seen him, she said to herself, in her bitter way, 'It is a lucky eel that escapes skinning. The best happiness I shall ever know will be to escape the worst misery.'"—(Vol. i. pp. 51-3.)

Here is an admirable passage of the same elaborate kind, introduced in a description of Esther and her father, but leaving it hardly clear what immediate reference it has to either. We have observed, and have heard it observed, that some such choice bits occur, more or less irrelevant to the matter immediately in hand, appearing as if they had been transplanted out of some commonplace book or repository of cherished thoughts:—

"The stronger will always rule, say some, with an air of confidence which is like a lawyer's flourish, forbidding exceptions or additions. But what is strength? Is it blind wilfulness that sees no terrors, no many-linked consequences, no bruises and wounds of those whose cords it tightens? Is it the narrowness of a brain that conceives no needs differing from its own, and looks to no results beyond the bargains of to-day; that tugs with emphasis for every small purpose, and thinks it weakness to exercise the sublime power of resolved renunciation? There is a sort of subjection which is the peculiar heritage of largeness and of love; and strength is often only another name for willing bondage to irremediable weakness."—(Vol. i. p. 141.)

Here is a capital description of the downward course of the Transome estate, enlivened by those touches of graphic humour which no writer lays on more skilfully:—

"The farms actually tenanted were held by men who had begged hard to succeed their fathers in getting a little poorer every year, on land which was also getting poorer, where the highest rate of increase was in the arrears of rent, and where the master, in crushed hat and corduroys, looked pitiably lean and careworn by the side of pauper labourers, who showed that superior assimilating power often observed to attend nourishment by the public money. Mr. Goffe, of Rabbit's End, had never had it explained to him that, according to the true theory of rent, land must inevitably be given up when it would not yield a profit equal to the ordinary rate of interest; so that from want of knowing what was inevitable, and not from a Titanic spirit of opposition, he kept on his land. He often said of himself, with a melancholy wipe of his sleeve across his brow, that he 'didn't know which-a-way to turn;' and he would have been still more at a loss on the subject if he had quitted Rabbit's End with a waggonful of furniture and utensils, a file of receipts, a wife with five children, and a shepherd-dog in low spirits."—(Vol. i. pp. 195-6.)

The same elaboration which was given to the character of the mother is also spent on that of the son:—

"This determined aiming at something not easy but clearly possible, marked the direction in which Harold's nature was strong; he had the energetic will and muscle, the self-confidence, the quick perception, and the narrow imagination which make what is admiringly called the practical mind.

"Since then his character had been ripened by a various experience, and also by much knowledge which he had set himself deliberately to gain. But the man was no more than the boy writ large, with an extensive commentary. The years had nourished an inclination to as much opposition as would enable him to assert his own independence and power without throwing himself into that tabooed condition which robs power of its triumph. And this inclination had helped his shrewdness in forming judgments which were at once innovating and moderate. He was addicted at once to rebellion and to conformity, and only an intimate personal knowledge could enable any one to predict where his conformity would begin. The limit was not defined by theory, but was drawn in an irregular zigzag by early disposition and association; and his resolution, of which he had never lost hold, to be a thorough Englishman again some day, had kept up the habit of considering all his conclusions with reference to English politics and English social conditions. He meant to stand up for every change that the economical condition of the country required, and he had an angry contempt for men with coronets on their coaches, but too small a share of brains to see when they had better make a virtue of necessity. His respect was rather for men who had no coronets, but who achieved a just influence by furthering all measures which the common sense of the country, and the increasing self-assertion of the majority, peremptorily demanded. He could be such a man himself.

"In fact, Harold Transome was a clever, frank, good-natured egoist; not stringently consistent, but without any disposition to falsity; proud, but with a pride that was moulded in an individual rather than an hereditary form; unspeculative, unsentimental, unsympathetic; fond of sensual plea-

sures, but disinclined to all vice, and attached as a healthy, clear-sighted person, to all conventional morality, construed with a certain freedom, like doctrinal articles to which the public order may require subscription. A character is apt to look but indifferently written out in this way. Reduced to a map, our premises seem insignificant, but they make, nevertheless, a very pretty freehold to live in and walk over; and so, if Harold Transome had been among your acquaintances, and you had observed his qualities through the medium of his agreeable person, bright smile, and a certain easy charm which accompanies sensuousness when unsullied by coarseness—through the medium also of the many opportunities in which he would have made himself useful or pleasant to you—you would have thought him a good fellow, highly acceptable as a guest, a colleague, or a brother-in-law. Whether all mothers would have liked him as a son is another question."—(Vol. i. pp. 202-5.)

The following are admirable:—

"Every sentence was as pleasant to her as if it had been cut in her bared arm. Some men's kindness and love-making are more exasperating, more humiliating than others' derision; but the pitiable woman who has once made herself secretly dependent on a man who is beneath her in feeling, must bear that humiliation for fear of worse. Coarse kindness is at least better than coarse anger; and in all private quarrels the duller nature is triumphant by reason of its dulness."—(Vol. i. pp. 212-13.)

"When Esther was lying down that night, she felt as if the little incidents between herself and her father on this Sunday had made it an epoch. Very slight words and deeds may have a sacramental efficacy, if we can cast our self-love behind us in order to say or do them. And it has been well believed through many ages that the beginning of compunction is the beginning of a new life; that the mind which sees itself blameless may be called dead in trespasses—in trespasses on the love of others, in trespasses on their weakness, in trespasses on all those great claims which are the image of our own need."—(Vol. i. pp. 284-5.)

"Esther always avoided asking questions of Lyddy, who found an answer as she found a key, by pouring out a pocketful of miscellanies."—(Vol. ii. p. 12.)

"Comprehensive talkers are apt to be tiresome when we are not athirst for information, but, to be quite fair, we must admit that superior reticence is a good deal due to the lack of matter. Speech is often barren; but silence also does not necessarily brood over a full nest. Your still fowl, blinking at you without remark, may all the while be sitting on one addled nest-egg; and when it takes to cackling, will have nothing to announce but that addled delusion."—(Vol. ii. p. 23.)

This last passage, like many others in the book, seems to us to have suffered from over-polishing and elaborating.

"Our pet opinions are usually those which place us in a minority of a minority amongst our own party:—very happily, else those poor opinions, born with no silver spoon in their mouths—how would they get nourished and fed?"—(Vol. ii. p. 26.)

"If a cynical sprite were present, riding on one of the motes in that dusty room, he may have made himself merry at the illusions of the little minister who brought so much conscience to bear on the production of so slight an effect. I confess to smiling myself, being scep-

tical as to the effect of ardent appeals and nice distinctions on gentlemen who are got up, both inside and out, as candidates in the style of the period; but I never smiled at Mr. Lyon's trustful energy without falling to penitence and veneration immediately after. For what we call illusions are often, in truth, a wider vision of past and present realities—a willing movement of a man's soul with the larger sweep of the world's forces—a movement towards a more assured end than the chances of a single life. We see human heroism broken into units, and say, This unit did little—might as well not have been. But in this way we might break up a great army into units; in this way we might break the sunlight into fragments, and think that this and the other might be cheaply parted with. Let us rather raise a monument to the soldiers whose brave hearts only keep the ranks unbroken, and met death—a monument to the faithful who were not famous, and who are precious as the continuity of the sunbeams is precious, though some of them fall unseen and on barrenness."—(Vol. ii. pp. 34-5.)

It is pleasing in this last passage to see that our author can leave a beautiful thought in its simple expression without inverting its terms and seasoning it with far-fetched similitudes.

"There was another day for her to think of him with unsatisfied resentment, mixed with some longings for a better understanding; and in our spring-time every day has its hidden growths in the mind, as it has in the earth when the little folded blades are getting ready to pierce the ground."—(Vol. ii. p. 59.)

"He was generally regarded as a good-looking old gentleman, and a certain thin eagerness in his aspect was attributed to the life of the metropolis, where narrow space had the same sort of effect on men as on thickly planted trees."—(Vol. ii. p. 74.)

"Christian never allowed himself to be treated as a servant by any one but his master, and his master treated a servant more deferentially than an equal."—(Vol. ii. p. 87.)

It is impossible to refrain from giving one more specimen of Mrs. Holt, especially as in it she is found in converse with Felix and Esther:—

"Felix had leaned back in his chair with a resigned smile, and was pinching Job's ears.

"Esther said, 'I think I had better go now,' not knowing what else to say, yet not wishing to go immediately, lest she should seem to be running away from Mrs. Holt. She felt keenly how much endurance there must be for Felix. And she had often been discontented with her father, and called him tiresome!

"'Where does Job Tudge live?' she said, still sitting, and looking at the droll little figure, set off by a ragged jacket with a tail about two inches deep sticking out above the funniest of corduroys.

"'Job has two mansions,' said Felix. 'He lives here chiefly; but he has another home, where his grandfather, Mr. Tudge the stone-breaker, lives. My mother is very good to Job, Miss Lyon. She has made him a little bed in a cupboard, and she gives him sweetened porridge.'

"The exquisite goodness implied in these words of Felix impressed Esther the more, because in her hearing his talk had usually been pungent and denunciatory. Looking at Mrs. Holt, she saw that her eyes had lost their bleak north-easterly expression, and were shining with some mildness on

little Job, who had turned round towards her, propping his head against Felix.

"'Well, why shouldn't I be motherly to the child, Miss Lyon?' said Mrs. Holt, whose strong powers of argument required the file of an imagined contradiction, if there were no real one at hand. 'I never was hard-hearted, and I never will be. It was Felix picked the child up and took to him, you may be sure, for there's nobody else master where he is; but I wasn't going to beat the orphin child and abuse him because of that, and him as straight as an arrow when he's stript, and me so fond of children, and only had one of my own to live. I'd three babies, Miss Lyon, but the blessed Lord only spared Felix, and him the masterfullest and the brownest of 'em all. But I did my duty by him, and I said, he'll have more schooling than his father, and he'll grow up a doctor, and marry a woman with money to furnish—as I was myself, spoons and everything—and I shall have the grandchildren to look up to me, and be drove out in the gig sometimes, like old Mrs. Lukyn. And you see what it's all come to, Miss Lyon: here's Felix made a common man of himself, and says he'll never be married—which is the most unreasonable thing, and him never easy but when he's got the child on his lap, or when——'

"'Stop, stop, mother,' Felix burst in; 'pray don't use that limping argument again—that a man should marry because he's fond of children. That's a reason for not marrying. A bachelor's children are always young: they're immortal children—always lisping, waddling, helpless, and with a chance of turning out good.'

"'The Lord above may know what you mean! And haven't other folk's children a chance of turning out good?'

"'Oh, they grow out of it very fast. Here's Job Tudge now,' said Felix, turning the little one round on his knee, and holding his head by the back—Job's limbs will get lanky; this little fist, that looks like a puff-ball and can hide nothing bigger than a gooseberry, will get large and bony, and perhaps want to clutch more than its share; these wide blue eyes, that tell me more truth than Job knows, will narrow and narrow and try to hide truth that Job would be better without knowing; this little negative nose will become long and self-asserting; and this little tongue—put out thy tongue, Job'—Job, awe-struck under this ceremony, put out a little red tongue very timidly—'this tongue, hardly bigger than a rose-leaf, will get large and thick, wag out of season, do mischief, brag and cant for gain or vanity, and cut as cruelly, for all its clumsiness, as if it were a sharp-edged blade. Big Job will perhaps be naughty——' As Felix, speaking with the loud emphatic distinctness habitual to him, brought out this terribly familiar word, Job's sense of mystification became too painful: he hung his lip, and began to cry.

"'See there,' said Mrs. Holt, 'you're frightening the innicent child with such talk—and it's enough to frighten them that think themselves the safest.'

"'Look here, Job, my man,' said Felix, setting the boy down and turning him towards Esther; 'go to Miss Lyon, ask her to smile at you, and that will dry up your tears like the sunshine.'

"Job put his two brown fists on Esther's lap, and she stooped to kiss him. Then holding his face between her hands, she said, 'Tell Mr. Holt we don't mean to be naughty, Job. He should believe in us more. But now I must really go home.'"—(Vol. ii. pp. 112-15.)

We proceed with our cullings, believing that many readers who

may not perhaps feel a three volume novel much in their way, may yet be glad to have before them, and treasure up, some of "George Eliot's" choice sayings :—

"Motionless, but mentally stirred as she had never been before, Esther listened to her mother's story, and to the outpouring of her stepfather's long-pent-up experience. The rays of the morning sun which fell athwart the books, the sense of the beginning day, had deepened the solemnity more than night would have done. All knowledge which alters our lives penetrates us more when it comes in the early morning : the day that has to be travelled with something new and perhaps for ever sad in its light, is an image of the life that spreads beyond. But at night the time of rest is near."—(Vol. ii. pp. 160-61.)

Here is a sentence which strikes us as wearing a plain reminiscence of a certain boat adventure in "The Mill on the Floss :"—

"It is true that to get into the fields they had to pass through the street ; and when Esther saw some acquaintances, she reflected that her walking alone with Felix might be a subject of remark—all the more because of his cap, patched boots, no cravat, and thick stick. Esther was a little amazed herself at what she had come to. So our lives glide on : the river ends we don't know where, and the sea begins, and then there is no more jumping ashore."—(Vol. ii. p. 169.)

"To be right in great memorable moments is perhaps the thing we need most desire for ourselves."—(Vol. ii. p. 267.)

"About a certain time in the morning Esther had learned to expect him. Let every wooer make himself strongly expected ; he may succeed by dint of being absent, but hardly in the first instance."—(Vol. iii. p. 106.)

"There is no point on which young women are more easily piqued than this of their sufficiency to judge the men who make love to them."—(Vol. iii. p. 120.)

"'Truly,' said Mr. Lyon, smiling, 'the uncertainty of things is a text rather too wide and obvious for fruitful application ; and to discourse of it is, as one may say, to bottle up the air, and make a present of it to those who are already standing out of doors."—(Vol. iii. p. 122.)

"Jermyn had not the leisure now for mere fruitless emotion : he had to think of a possible device which might save him from imminent ruin—not an indefinite adversity, but a ruin in detail, which his thoughts painted out with the sharpest, ugliest intensity. A man of sixty, with an unsuspicious wife and daughters capable of shrieking and fainting at a sudden revelation, and of looking at him reproachfully in their daily misery under a shabby lot to which he had reduced them—with a mind and with habits dried hard by the years—with no glimpse of an endurable standing-ground except where he could domineer and be prosperous according to the ambitions of pushing middle-class gentility,—such a man is likely to find the prospect of worldly ruin ghastly enough to drive him to the most uninviting means of escape. He will probably prefer any private scorn that will save him from public infamy or that will leave him money in his pocket, to the humiliation and hardship of new servitude in old age, a shabby hat, and a melancholy hearth, where the firing must be used charily and the women look sad. But though a man may be willing to escape through a sewer, a sewer with an outlet into the dry air is not always at hand. Running away, especially when spoken of as absconding, seems at a distance to offer a good modern substitute for

the right of sanctuary; but seen closely, it is often found inconvenient and scarcely possible."—(Vol. iii. pp. 128-9.)

"That a man with so much sharpness, with so much suavity at command —a man who piqued himself on his persuasiveness towards women—should behave just as Jermyn did on this occasion, would be surprising but for the constant experience that temper and selfish insensibility will defeat excellent gifts—will make a sensible person shout when shouting is out of place, and will make a polished man rude when his polish might be of eminent use to him."—(Vol. iii. p. 137.)

"Like many women who appear to others to have a masculine decisiveness of tone, and to themselves to have a masculine force of mind, and who come into severe collision with sons arrived at the masterful stage, she had the maternal cord vibrating strongly within her towards all tiny children." —(Vol. iii. p. 167.)

"With all due regard to Harold Transome, he was one of those men who are liable to make the greater mistakes about a particular woman's feelings, because they pique themselves on a power of interpretation derived from much experience. Experience is enlightening, but with a difference. Experiments on live animals may go on for a long period, and yet the fauna on which they are made may be limited. There may be a passion in the mind of a woman which precipitates her, not along the path of easy beguilement, but into a great leap away from it. Harold's experience had not taught him this; and Esther's enthusiasm about Felix Holt did not seem to him to be dangerous."—(Vol. iii. p. 171.)

The next following of course are the words of Felix. They are noble ones:—

"If there's anything our people want convincing of, it is that there's some dignity and happiness for a man other than changing his station. That's one of the beliefs I choose to consecrate my life to."—(Vol. iii. p. 202.)

"Many of us know how, even in our childhood, some blank discontented face on the background of our home has marred our summer mornings. Why was it, when the birds were singing, when the fields were a garden, and when we were clasping another little hand just larger than our own, there was somebody who found it hard to smile?"—(Vol. iii. p. 250.)

We will now point out, in no cavilling or ill-natured spirit, some minor blots which we think we have hit in this remarkable book: faults in perspicuity or accuracy, or in consistency with statements elsewhere made.

In vol. i. p. 10, we read that the parson preached from the text "Break up the fallow ground of your hearts." But that text is not in Scripture: there the words stand, "Break up your fallow ground." A similar mistake occurred in "Adam Bede," where the clergyman's text is stated to have been, "In the midst of life we are in death," words which are found not in the Bible, but in the Burial Service.

In vol. i. p. 130, it is related how Esther put a veil over a bust of George Whitfield because "Providence ordained that the good man should squint; and my daughter has not yet learned to bear with this infirmity." But surely it is not usual in busts to give any scope for

the representation of such an infirmity. Sometimes the pupil of the eye is lightly indicated: but we cannot suppose a sculptor to have done this for the sake of faithful reproduction of a squint. A similar disregard, or ignorance, of the details of a thing described is found in vol. ii. p. 60, where "the fine old church tower, which looked down from above the trees on the other side of the narrow stream, sent vibrating at every quarter, the sonorous tones of its great bell, the good Queen Bess:" and p. 67, where "Queen Bess was striking the last quarter before two." It would have cost "George Eliot" very little trouble in the way of observation to acquire the knowledge that *quarters* never strike upon a great bell, which is always reserved for striking the *hour*.

Our author is rather given to the use of sesquipedal words when simpler and shorter ones would have served the purpose better. Such are "exceptional," a term which is in our day making sad inroads on the domain of "rare," or "unusual," far worthier members of the family of words than itself: "domesticity," in the sense of circumstances of a household,—"Mr. Lyon never spoke of his past domesticities," vol. ii. p. 136: "automatically" for "mechanically" or "involuntarily" (vol. ii. p. 201; iii. p. 198: and elsewhere). In vol. ii. p. 106, little Job is described as having a *germinal* nose, and red hair that curled close to his head like the wool on the back of an *infantine* lamb." In p. 251 we read, "the Trebians of that day held, *without being aware that they had Cicero's authority for it,* that the bodily blemishes of an opponent were a legitimate ground for ridicule:" and two pages after that, Mr. Nolan gave "one of those wonderful universal shrugs, *by which he seemed to be recalling all his garments from a tendency to disperse themselves.*"

The following two statements are hardly consistent one with the other:—"Christian had read the first of the sheaf, and *supposed they were all alike*" (vol. ii. p. 201):—"He *had expected the copies to be various,* and had turned them half over at different depths of the sheaf before drawing out those he offered to the bill-sticker" (*ibid.*, p. 206).

The sentence which we next quote quite defies our power of construing:—"Even in the days of duelling a man was not challenged for being a bore, nor does this quality apparently hinder him from being much invited to dinner, which is the great *index of social responsibility* in a less barbarous age" (vol. ii. p. 67).

Nor are our ideas very clear as to the meaning in p. 63, where it is said that "it was only Lawyer Labron's young clerks and their hangers-on who were sufficiently dead to Trebian traditions to assail the parson with various *sharp-edged interjections, such as broken shells, and cries of Cock-a-doodle-doo.*" At first we imagined that the shells were held

edgeways to the mouth, and sharp un-musical sounds produced by blowing on them: but it is evident that they are supposed to be thrown at the parson, for he returns nuts and filberts, with "here are some good nuts for you to crack in return for your shells." But is it usual to throw broken shells in an election row? and what shells may they be? oyster shells would be serious. And how are shells "sharp-edged interjections," ranking with "cries of Cock-a-doodle-doo"?

Here is a sentence which either has suffered at the printer's hands, or somehow does not fit in well: "Esther had thrown a dark cloak over the handsomer coverings which Denner had assured her was absolutely required of ladies who sat anywhere near the judge at a great trial" (vol. iii. p. 197). The same possible excuse cannot be suggested for the next inaccuracy: "She *saw* streaks of light moving and disappearing on the grass, *and* the sound of bolts and closing doors" (*ibid.*, p. 265). Such carelessness is curious in combination with so much over-polish and elaboration.

Before giving our general estimate of "Felix Holt," we cannot help noticing the high merit of some of the (original) headings of the chapters.

Here are some of them:—

> "He left me when the down upon his lip
> Lay like the shadow of a hovering kiss.
> 'Beautiful mother, do not grieve,' he said;
> 'I will be great, and build our fortunes high,
> And you shall wear the longest train at court,
> And look so queenly, all the lords shall say,
> 'She is a royal changeling: there's some crown
> Lacks the right head, since hers wears nought but braids.'
> Oh, he is coming now—but I am grey:
> And he——"—(Vol. i. p. 17.)

> "'Twas town, yet country too; you felt the warmth
> Of clustering houses in the wintry time;
> Supped with a friend, and went by lantern home.
> Yet from your chamber window you could hear
> The tiny bleat of new-yeaned lambs, or see
> The children bend beside the hedgerow banks
> To pluck the primroses."—(Vol. i. p. 78.)

> "1st Citizen. Sir, there's a hurry in the veins of youth
> That makes a vice of virtue by excess.
> 2nd Citizen. What if the coolness of our tardier veins
> Be loss of virtue?
> 1st Citizen. All things cool with time—
> The sun itself, they say, till heat shall find
> A general level, nowhere in excess.
> 2nd Citizen. 'Tis a poor climax, to my weaker thought,
> That future middlingness."—(Vol. i. p. 105.)

> "*M.* It was but yesterday you spoke him well—
> You've changed your mind so soon?

N. Not I—'tis he
That, changing to my thought, has changed my mind.
No man puts rotten apples in his pouch
Because their upper side looked fair to him.
Constancy in mistake is constant folly."—(Vol. i. p. 166.)

"Truth is the precious harvest of the earth.
But once, when harvest waved upon a land,
The noisome cankerworm and caterpillar,
Locusts, and all the swarming foul-born broods,
Fastened upon it with swift, greedy jaws,
And turned the harvest into pestilence,
Until men said, What profits it to sow?"—(Vol. i. p. 234.)

"'Oh, sir, 'twas that mixture of spite and over-fed merriment which passes for humour with the vulgar. In their fun they have much resemblance to a turkey-cock. It has a cruel beak, and a silly iteration of ugly sounds; it spreads its tail in self-glorification, but shows you the wrong side of that ornament—liking admiration, but knowing not what is admirable.'"—(Vol. i. p. 262.)

"This man's metallic; at a sudden blow
His soul rings hard. I cannot lay my palm,
Trembling with life, upon that jointed brass.
I shudder at the cold unanswering touch;
But if it press me in response, I'm bruised."—(Vol. i. p. 286.)

"And doubt shall be as lead upon the feet
Of thy most anxious will."—(Vol. ii. p. 1.)

"It is a good and soothfast saw;
Half-roasted never will be raw;
No dough is dried once more to meal,
No crock new-shapen by the wheel;
You can't turn curds to milk again,
Nor Now, by wishing, back to Then;
And having tasted stolen honey,
You can't buy innocence for money."—(Vol. ii. p. 36.)

"Her gentle looks shot arrows, piercing him
As gods are pierced, with poison of sweet pity."—(Vol. ii. p. 104.)

"The down we rest on in our aëry dreams
Has not been plucked from birds that live and smart:
'Tis but warm snow, that melts not."—(Vol. iii. p. 64.)

"No man believes that many-textured knowledge and skill—as a just idea of the solar system, or the power of painting flesh, or of reading written harmonies—can come late and of a sudden; yet many will not stick at believing that happiness can come at any day and hour solely by a new disposition of events; though there is nought less capable of a magical production than a mortal's happiness, which is mainly a complex of habitual relations and dispositions not to be wrought by news from foreign parts, or any whirling of fortune's wheel for one on whose brow Time has written legibly."—(Vol. iii. p. 84.)

"He rates me as a merchant does the wares
He will not purchase—'Quality not high!—
'Twill lose its colour opened to the sun,
Has no aroma, and, in fine, is naught—
I barter not for such commodities—
There is no ratio betwixt sand and gems.'
'Tis wicked judgment! for the soul can grow,
As embryos, that live and move but blindly,
Burst from the dark, emerge regenerate,
And lead a life of vision and of choice."—(Vol. iii. p. 114.)

"I'm sick at heart. The eye of day,
The insistent summer noon, seems pitiless,
Shining in all the barren crevices
Of weary life, leaving no shade, no dark,
Where I may dream that hidden waters lie."—(Vol. iii. p. 185.)

"Why, there are maidens of heroic touch,
And yet they seem like things of gossamer
You'd pinch the life out of, as out of moths.
Oh, it is not loud tones and mouthingness,
'Tis not the arms akimbo and large strides,
That make a woman's force. The tiniest birds,
With softest downy breasts, have passions in them
And are brave with love."—(Vol. iii. p. 206.)

"The devil tempts us not—'tis we tempt him,
Beckoning his skill with opportunity."—(Vol. iii. p. 233.)

"Nay, falter not—'tis an assurèd good
To seek the noblest—'tis your only good
Now you have seen it; for that higher vision
Poisons all meaner choice for evermore."—(Vol. iii. p. 249.)

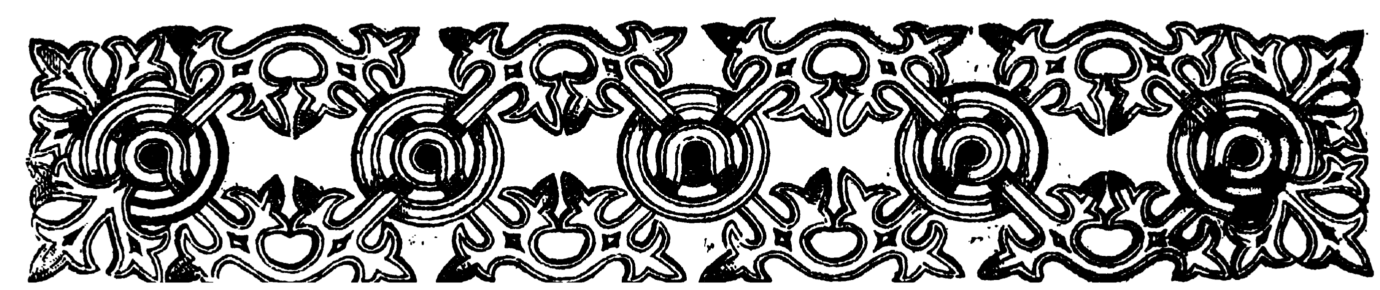
"Our finest hope is finest memory;
And those who love in age think youth is happy,
Because it has a life to fill with love."—(Vol. iii. p. 280.)

Such sweetness, and such power, as lie in some of these strains, make us venture to think of our author, that,—

"There's some crown
Lacks the right head, since hers wears nought but braids,"

and to anticipate the day, when her name may stand beside those of Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Jean Ingelow in the first rank of England's poetesses.

The estimate of "Felix Holt" to which these remarks have led us will probably have been already anticipated. It seems to us a work with which the fame of its writer need feel no shame to walk abroad: but it will not live and shine above her tomb. It gives witness of vitality; but not of advance. And, considering the great bestowal of pains and efforts of genius of which it bears token, we doubt whether it is not to be taken rather as a discouraging than as a favourable omen of higher future excellence. The fresh vigour of spontaneous action has, we fear, passed away, before an artist condescends to betray so much of painful and importunate toil. A new vein may be hit upon; but where? English life must ever be the working-field of an English writer: but what department of it is there within the grasp of "George Eliot," on which her power has not been tried to the utmost?



THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE "IMITATION OF CHRIST."

THIS question, which has recently again been brought before an inquisitive public, reminds us of former occasions on which it has been stirred, and which have left behind them mists of obscurity not yet altogether cleared. Who was Junius? To whom are we indebted for a work which, though gaining its first influence and renown from transient acerbities and from the strife of parties, has yet taken a distinguished and permanent place in the literature of England? Will the shadow which, with its eloquent utterances, has so long mocked the keenest investigation, the most piercing and persevering research, ever come forth from its gloom and its mystery, as a recognisable individuality? Is the controversy about Junius to be as immortal as the glory of the Letters themselves? We must not regard the debate as barren, even if it has not attained, or may not attain, its main object. It has thrown fresh light and fresh interest on points of history, which otherwise might have been neglected; from fixing attention on an eventful epoch, it has nourished the patriotic feeling; by the profound discussion of evidence, it has helped to determine the laws of evidence; and it has, in its ingenuities, its audacities, its perspicacities, been, notwithstanding occasional frivolities and absurdities, a vigorous intellectual discipline.

In a still higher degree than the letters of Junius are the "Epis-

tolæ Obscurorum Virorum" a puzzle and a perplexity. Had the "Epistolæ" more than one author? If so, who were the various collaborators? If not, who, at the birth of the Reformation, possessed in a measure so signal, the wit, the genius, the learning, the earnestness, the intrepidity? Was it the unfortunate Ulrich von Hutten, to whom here the place of honour has been usually assigned, as in the case of Junius, to Sir Philip Francis? Or in both instances has conjecture never yet approached the real writers? As in other memorable examples, is—in reference to the "Letters of Junius," and to the "Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum"—supreme and happy insight destined to cleave the darkness which defies criticism the boldest, the shrewdest; erudition the most opulent and infallible? Is the man with the iron mask to rise from the grave, to tell us who he himself was; to declare once for all to whom we owe two illustrious productions, and to reveal ten thousand other historical secrets? Alas! spite of our explorations and discoveries, the whole of the past is only a man with an iron mask, and if the mask is for a moment lifted, we see nothing but a death's head behind.

A book of far deeper import than the two preceding—repulsive, whatever their merits, from their fiercely polemical character—is that "On the Imitation of Christ." For more than four centuries it has been the chief manual of devotion for Christian lands,—inspiration, purification, instruction, food, to all pious souls, consolation to millions of lonely and afflicted hearts. It is strength, it is counsel, it is prayer, it is peace; it is love, and light, and life. In its mysticism there is nothing enervating; in its unction there is nothing cloying; and it is emotional, sympathetic, no further than it can give force to its maxims, precepts, entreaties. Contrition, humility, self-abnegation, brotherly affection, the glad and holy surrender of the whole being to God, as manifested in Jesus,—these are less the virtues which it teaches to the Christian, than the graces wherewith it clothes him. Perfection is to be the sanctification of sorrow; and tears of penitence are to be the best offering to Him whose name and nature are Mercy. How rare a thing is a purely devotional book, though thousands pretendedly devotional are continually appearing! What is required in a truly devotional book? That the cry of a wounded, weary, solitary breast, should become the wail of a great multitude; and that the didactic, the reflective—all generalizations should be absolutely excluded. Where edification is paraded and pursued, there is no edification. But where, as in the Psalms, there is the lyrical cry of pain and remorse, each suffering bosom that joins responsive finds its own yearnings expressed in nobler language, more potent, more poetic than it could itself employ. In the "Imitation" there is somewhat of formal arrangement; yet the substance

is lyrical. There are no moralizings, no abstractions, no dogmatisms, no rhetorical appeals. A brother speaks to brethren of the Divinest Brother, and of the Almighty Father in heaven. Pangs, common to myriads of the faithful, pass from confession into worship. Mighty miracle: Christendom stirred to ardent and perennial adoration by a modest cloistral murmur!

From what sacred lips did that cloistral murmur flow? This question has often been asked, and very variously answered. It is the opinion of some, that the book, like myths and legends, was a sort of gradual growth, and that an unknown monk finally gave it an artistic shape, though not of the strictest kind. All internal and external probabilities are opposed to this notion.

Again, it has been maintained that many of the religious and theological books of the Middle Ages were conjoint productions, and that, from its intense catholicity, we must regard the "Imitation" as one of them. He who entered a monastic order, professed to disrobe himself of human vanity, as well as of other human weaknesses and passions. His thoughts, his labours, were thrown into a general treasury. No aim so beautiful, if it had been kept unsullied and unbroken. Assailed incessantly by frailty, by temptation, by fatigue, by monotony, by disenchantment, it yet accomplished much,—far more indeed than our ungrateful age is disposed to allow. It kept alive the flame of mysticism; it guarded the lamp of knowledge from being extinguished in the dense night, and from being touched by profane hands; it saved from destruction the literary masterpieces of Greece and Rome, and the sublime discourses of Hebrew prophets and apostles; it heralded and prepared the dawn of science; it created a literature, if fantastic and amorphous, still colossal and profound. Yet, though the brain of the countless cenobites was as generative as it was humble, pious, and conservative, there is no proof whatever that we owe the "Imitation" to a group of gifted and self-denying cenobites.

To the theory, that Saint Bernard was the author of the "Imitation," we allude, only to dismiss it. Saint Bernard had mystical tendencies, but he was by temper a battler. He had neither the contemplative wealth, nor the incomparable tenderness which the "Imitation" discloses. Besides, he lived long before the work gained its universal celebrity and empire.

The claims of a certain John Gersen, Gessen, Geschen, Gesem, or Gesen, the reputed abbot of a Benedictine monastery at Vercelli, in Northern Italy, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, are not more valid than those of Saint Bernard. The very existence of John Gersen, or Geschen,—from his name a German, not an Italian,—has yet to be demonstrated, and when this has been done, it will be time

enough to examine his right to be deemed the author of the "Imitation."

There may have been numerous books during the Middle Ages, bearing the same designation as that we are discussing. The phrase, "the imitation of Christ," seems to have been common in those days to express the interior life, as contrasted with the mere formalism of the Church, with the frequent puerility and barrenness of scholasticism, and with popular superstitions. Now, if the phrase was so common, as the indication of what was, at the moment, the world's grandest, divinest sentiment, it is fair to conclude that the "Imitation of Christ" may have often been chosen as the title for works of a particular character. There may then have been a John Gersen, Abbot of Vercelli, and an "Imitation of Christ,"—though not "The Imitation of Christ," that fervent, angelic breathing,—may have proceeded from his pen.

It would look like justice that France, which has produced more than sixty translations, more than a thousand editions in French, of the "Imitation," should be the native land of a book which it manifestly loves so well, and which it could not love so well if the French were the irreligious people they are usually represented. In effect, very eminent French scholars, with exceeding zeal, and with the ablest arguments, have endeavoured to show that the author of the "Imitation" could not have been any other than John Gerson, Chancellor of the University of Paris,—a celebrated theologian, known to admiring mankind as the "*Doctor Christianissimus.*"

On the other hand, the Germans assert, with a good deal of heavy German wrath, and stubborn German pride, that the book is entirely German in spirit, and that the reasons for receiving and revering the German, Thomas à Kempis, as the author, are overwhelming; that consequently it is simple presumption and impertinence on the part of the French to thrust Gerson on the scene at all.

We are not aware that, in reference to the "Imitation of Christ," any Italian has attempted to plead the cause of Italy. Nevertheless, Italy has had its champions in other lands, not the least illustrious being Ernest Renan.

Let some patriotic Englishman, some patriotic Spaniard, rush into the debate, to complete the rivalry of nations: not however the only rivalry in the affair, for religious order has contended with religious order, to ascertain which had the honour of counting among its members a man with a heart so devout, and a genius so exalted.

It was about the year 1415 that the "Imitation of Christ" commenced that beneficent and hallowing sway in the Christian community which it has ever since so increasingly exerted. The ignominious so-called "captivity of Babylon," lasting about seventy years, had been

followed by the fatal so-called "great schism," lasting about forty years,—to which the Council of Constance put an end, formally however rather than actually. After long being the chief foe of anarchy, the Papacy, by its folly and wickedness, had, for more than a century, been the chief source of anarchy. On itself, and on Christendom, the effects were unspeakably disastrous. In the Middle Ages the one supreme need was the need of order. From order, all virtues, all blessings sprang: whereas, in our own calmer times, order is merely one among many conditions of development: and it might almost be said that we are now too much the slaves of order. But when, in the fourteenth century, the very fountain of order was changed into a poisonous fountain of disorder, how terrible were the evils! What more monstrous than that the stern, inexorable anathematizer of schism should itself be the leading schismatic? An Italian poet has spoken with pathos and power of that death of every sublime idea which calls itself order: and we feel all the truth and significance of his words. Better almost the wildest turbulence, than a sort of bureaucratic repression, the apotheosis of the ukase, the canonization of espionage and the police. In the wiser, healthier, stronger days of the Papacy, however, order represented a moral principle, to the rule of which society and politics were subject. The collapse of the papal supremacy plunged men morally, still more than socially and politically, into the most helpless bewilderment. There could be no appeal to the individual conscience, to a code of ideal ethics, to any standard of duty. Of the moral, the theological was the foundation: the theological was incarnated in the hierarchy: and of the hierarchy the pope was the chieftain. Many were the causes of the horrible crimes and horrible miseries which afflicted Europe, and especially France, at the beginning of the fifteenth century: but foremost we must place the prostration of papal authority. Now the tone of the "Imitation" bears witness to the period of the book's advent: a period of infinite degradation and despair. From the anguish of Christendom, and the tribulations of the Church, as much as from the crucifixion of his own soul, the author had learned the vanity of earthly things. But his comforting, elevating lessons were addressed, primarily, to men of the cloister like himself. At the first aspect, there might seem to be in the book a tinge of mournfulness, an exaggerated picture of human wretchedness, along with an extravagant portraiture of the perfection attainable by man. But we should remember the tragedy which met the eye of the author everywhere, and the monastic purity which alone he deemed a shield against pollution, an impulse to celestial striving, and a lenitive to pain. To read the "Imitation," therefore, with delight and profit, we must feel as if the world were one vast cloister. Habitually to feel this, would lead us to the faith

that the world is one vast charnel-house: faith hostile to health and heroism. But to feel it at particular seasons augments our sense of the invisible, and our sympathy with our suffering race. There are three kinds of divine growth: that through harmony, that through battle, that through resignation. If we have the first, we do not need the second; and if we have the second, we do not need the third. It is the third that the "Imitation" paints and promotes.

John Gerson, Chancellor of the University of Paris, was a combatant, a politician, a partisan, a persecutor; the unfittest and unlikeliest man therefore to teach the doctrine of resignation in its benignest and divinest form, or to be the author of the benignest and divinest book.

Of the twenty children of Antony Arnauld, a distinguished advocate, and the implacable adversary of the Jesuits, many, the daughters as well as the sons, dedicated themselves to the service of God,—such as they considered the service of God to be,—were the ornament of Port-Royal, the bulwark of Jansenism, had eminent talents, the warmest piety, the most spotless reputation, and, while loathing Jesuitism, detested Protestantism. The youngest of the twenty children was Antony Arnauld, who was born in 1612, and died in 1694. He was called, and not undeservedly, "the great Arnauld," though few of us could be tempted, from our interest in the theological squabbles of the seventeenth century, to read the forty-eight volumes of which his works consist.

Several centuries before the time when the Arnaulds flourished, lived at Gerson, a small village in the diocese of Rheims, Arnulph Charlier. He married Elizabeth Lachardenière. Charlier and his wife were profoundly pious, and they were guided in the education of their children by those strict religious sentiments which they carried into everything. Four of their sons and four of their daughters, precursors, but not singular or solitary precursors of the Arnaulds, embraced the monastic life, which, if it did not always furnish internal peace, saved from external tumult. The eldest of the twelve children was John, born in 1363, who, on entering in 1377 the College of Navarre, took as surname, in accordance with a usage not uncommon, the name of his native place. An ambitious and indefatigable student, he speedily gained distinction and influence. In 1387, having previously taken the degree of Bachelor of Theology, he formed part of a deputation sent by the University of Paris to the schismatical pope, Clement VII., on some dispute connected with the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. The corruptions of the Papal Court at Avignon filled Gerson with horror and disgust. On his return to Paris, he fulminated from the pulpit his eloquent indignation at all the crying evils of the period, rebuking the silly subtleties

in which theological and philosophical speculation indulged, at the same time that he denounced abomination and iniquity. Soon the vagaries of a mad and melancholy king were to add to the general confusion and wretchedness. The reign of this unhappy monarch, Charles VI., offers a sickening monotony of turpitude, treachery, chaotic weakness, sterile plottings, and janglings. Often before, often afterwards, France presented the spectacle of kindred sins and sufferings, but never in the same appalling measure. The imbecilities of Richard II. in England, and the pranks of the Emperor Wenceslaus in Germany, helped to keep poor Charles VI. in countenance. But the wounds of Germany and England were not so deep, so unhealable as those of France. Ardent patriot however though Gerson may have been, he was still more a priest than a patriot, and his heart bled more for the dissensions in the Church than for the woes of his country.

In 1392 Gerson received the degree of Doctor of Theology, and in 1395, through the influence of the Duke of Burgundy, whose almoner he had been, he was appointed Chancellor of the University of Paris. He tried his utmost to escape from this glorious burden—not from lack of courage, but from despair of accomplishing anything, where so much was clamouring to be done. At last he resolutely entered on the duties of his office. Gerson was a sincere, a zealous, and, on the whole, an enlightened reformer: though not without that *doctrinaire* element which is so peculiarly French; which begets in the very best men pedantry, bigotry, tyranny, cruelty; which pushes a fixed symmetrical, intellectual scheme to all its logical extremes; which is as conspicuous in Guizot as it was in Calvin; which drives even champions of democracy and progress, like Edgar Quinet, vehemently to demand the suppression, by force, of obnoxious ecclesiastical institutions; which is ever ready to imperil the peace of the world for a crotchet, and which is the perennial source of fruitless revolutions. It was the *doctrinaire* element that impelled Gerson, in his impatience at the futility of ecclesiastical censures and penalties, to ask the intervention of the secular power for the punishment and eradication of every ecclesiastical abuse. Gerson would not have been unwilling to accept the aid of the secular arm for the violent furtherance of one of his noblest projects, the total transformation of the studies then common, rendering them more positive and practical, and banishing vain disputations. In another direction Gerson was no *doctrinaire.* He strove with indefatigable fervour to promote the moral and religious instruction of the people, and to give education to the poor. Often—a laudable innovation—he preached in French, that he might come into more living contact with the multitude. Many simple books of devotion he wrote in the vernacular dialect,—another innovation no

less laudable. Numerous versions of the Scriptures already existed in French. To the indiscriminate circulation of the Bible in the national tongue Gerson was opposed, not from any narrow prejudice, but because he feared that the people might be misled by faulty translations, by rash interpretations, and by commentaries swarming with error.

But the one grand thought, and the one grand illusion of Gerson's life, was the restoration of unity and harmony to the Church. His cry was "Peace! peace! let there be peace. I desire peace: for peace above all things I yearn." Valiant soul, he did not see that moral diseases can only be healed by moral means, and that it is useless to regulate, to organize, to chastise, without some puissant process of moral regeneration. When, during the latter half of the sixteenth century, from the impulse of the Protestant defection, the moral reformation of the Catholic Church began, that Church recovered, not indeed its ancient lustre and vigour, but somewhat of its ancient unity and harmony. The theories in reference to the Papacy, for which Gerson passionately contended, were wholly unlike those held by the modern Ultramontanists. He peremptorily and contemptuously spurned the infallibility of the pope, alleging that a council could challenge the pope's mandates, and could, if he were contumacious, or inept, or criminal, depose him. But the right to call the council remained an unsettled point; and here was the invincible difficulty. If, as Gerson argued, authority resided, not with *one*, but *oneness*,—not with the *unus*, but with the *unitas*,—how could an abstraction so vague be a guide at a stormy and distracted epoch? It was as easy to pronounce a council schismatical as a pope; and, whether schismatical or not, a council represented, incarnated, only a portion of the *unitas*. What Gerson really advocated was the submission of the Catholic Church to the Catholic hierarchy. The submission of the hierarchy itself to the head of the hierarchy,—the pope,—was to extend no farther than the pope was content to be the hierarchy's slave. The monarchical was to be subject to the aristocratical. It is foolish, therefore, to assert, as some French historians have asserted, that Gerson was in favour of democratic changes, of republican transfigurements in the Church. To accuse Gerson of mean selfishness would be absurd and unjust; nevertheless, it was the interests of the caste he so splendidly adorned which principally inspired him.

The schismatical pope Clement VII., was succeeded, in 1394, by the schismatical pope Benedict XIII., who, for thirty years and till his death at the age of ninety, was continually excommunicating and being excommunicated, met thunder with thunder, curse with curse, agitation with agitation, displaying altogether prodigious

energy and obstinacy. It would be wearisome to delineate in detail the career of Gerson, from his election to the chancellorship down to his appearance at the Council of Constance. Closely was that career interwoven with not a few momentous events in the history of France. Yet the deeds and the words of Gerson flowed in one almost unvaried channel; visits and appeals to Benedict XIII., denunciations of Benedict and of other schismatical popes; lamentations over the sores, the sorrows, the guilt of the Church, and the prevailing degeneracy. But there was one striking episode. Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, by no means an estimable personage, yet a man of undoubted political capacity, had for successor his son, John the Fearless. As the Carlovingian swept away the effete Merovingian race, and the Capetian the effete Carlovingian race, it seems to have been the design of the Dukes of Burgundy to get rid of the effete Capetian race, and mount the throne of France. But though bold and sagacious, they had not the kind of hardihood and skill needed; and they attempted that by intrigue and perfidious machinations which might easily have been achieved by one decisive stroke. They tantalized their supporters; they temporized; they flattered the populace, when they should have gained the solid sympathy of the people. The whole thing with them was too much an exciting game to be an athletic and victorious labour. John the Fearless was more really king of France than the maniac Charles the Sixth. Yet, coquetting with all parties, and relying on Paris mobs, he had no weapon except brutal violence when his cunning failed. Even Agincourt did not startle him into a noble and determined attitude. The Duke of Orleans, Charles the Sixth's brother, a daring and dashing debauchee, who wasted fine faculties in the lowest vices, and who was shameless enough to be the Queen's paramour, stood much in the Duke of Burgundy's way. On the evening of the 23rd November, 1407, the Duke of Orleans, after supping with the Queen, was riding quietly along a street of Paris. He was playing with one of his gloves and singing, when he was suddenly assailed by eighteen assassins, who had been hired by the Duke of Burgundy. It was not enough to murder him; he was hideously mutilated—as if the ruffians wished thoroughly to earn their wages. The moral sense of France was too languid to be roused by atrocities, however odious, by catastrophes, however fatal; yet the death of this brilliant prince, in his thirty-sixth year, stirred France, even if only for a moment, to compassion and anger. Apologists, paid and unpaid, of the cowardly assassination were not wanting. Among the former, the most notable and noisy was John Petit, a doctor of the university, who demonstrated, by the most approved rules of logical science and of rhetorical art, that it is lawful and meritorious to kill a tyrant. Petit's exe-

crable book convinced no one; but the fear of the Duke of Burgundy and of his faction sealed the most courageous and indignant lips. By-and-by, through the effect of the so-called Armagnac reaction, —a reaction against Burgundianism, and against democracy in its rawest, most rabid shape, the most timid gave breath to their vengeance. The book of John Petit was publicly burned, its doctrines solemnly condemned. Many funeral services were celebrated for the Duke of Orleans. On the 5th January, 1415, the whole court, in mourning, went to the church of Notre Dame; before this august assembly Gerson eulogized the deceased Duke of Orleans, attacked the Duke of Burgundy and the popular government, saying that all the miseries of France had come from the servitude of the King and the good citizens to the rabble, and vindicating a rational and regulated liberty. Gerson had already exasperated the Duke of Burgundy; by this discourse he embittered him still more. To tyrannicide Gerson does not appear himself to have been wholly opposed. He frankly proclaimed the right of subjects to resist the despotism of sovereigns, to repel force by force; quoted Cicero in confirmation of his views, and was not afraid to use the language of Seneca, that no victim is more grateful to God than a tyrant. The fallacy was in designating as tyrannicide a murder so dastardly and deliberate as that of the Duke of Orleans. What is and what is not tyrannicide, and whether tyrannicide is ever justifiable, are questions quite as puzzling to us now as they were to the schoolmen.

The failure of a council which had met at Pisa, and at which Gerson had figured, led to the Council of Constance, whose outward attributes were sufficiently magnificent, but whose achievements, when it broke up in April, 1418, were rather insignificant, and not specially meritorious. This lethargic council took three years and a half to burn two poor heretics—John Huss and Jerome of Prague; to pronounce the deposition of three schismatical popes — John XXIII., Gregory XII., and Benedict XIII.; and to elect a legitimate pope, Martin V., who did not prove more manageable than the counterfeits that had been thrust aside. Potentates, princes, nobles, and about five thousand priests of every rank might surely have accomplished a little more. Nothing was done for the reformation of the Church; schism, apparently extinguished, left the spirit of schism active; and the condemnation of John Huss and of Jerome gave birth to a bloody war. It is strange that Gerson was so active as a persecutor of Huss,—not because Huss was a heretic, but because he differed from the infallible Gerson in being a Realist instead of a Nominalist. This was a crime too heinous for the infallible Gerson to pardon. The dispute about Realism and Nominalism has slender

attraction for us in these days. At all events, we are not inclined to burn each other about it.

Gerson strove hard to force on the attention of the council everything relating to the murder of the Duke of Orleans. He wished the council to stamp its stern reprobation on John Petit's book. But he was not able to get the matter seriously discussed. The Duke of Burgundy bribed many members of the council, intimidated others. Besides, the council was not disposed to undertake more work, or to incur more risk, than it could help. All that it wanted was to get decently through its sluggard's holiday.

Not one of the lotos-eaters — one of the cravens,—Gerson left the council discouraged, crushed, unspeakably sorrowful. He could not turn his steps homeward, for his enemies were omnipotent in France. His doom was exile. Assuming the garb of the pilgrim, he wandered in the mountains of Bavaria and the forests of Tyrol. At Vienna he was welcomed by the Duke of Austria, who conferred on him a professorship in the University. The duration, however, of his exile was brief. On the 10th September, 1419, by the assassination of the Duke of Burgundy at the Bridge of Montereau, the murder of the Duke of Orleans was bloodily avenged. The one duke had been as treacherously ensnared to his doom as the other; and the one crime was, from its consequences, still more calamitous than the other. It was in the presence of the Dauphin, and, if not by his command, at least with his complicity, that John the Fearless had been slain. Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, was naturally thrown by the murder of his father into the closest alliance with Henry V. of England. But the death of this great captain and great statesman, in August, 1422, followed in a few weeks by that of Charles VI., saved France from the worst of the humiliations which threatened it.

Long ere the death of the two kings, Gerson had grown indifferent to political vicissitudes and disasters, to the afflictions of the Church, to all the affairs of the world. As soon as he heard that John the Fearless had been murdered, he left Vienna for Lyons, where the party of the Dauphin was strong, and where one of Gerson's brothers, called like himself John Gerson, was prior of a Celestine monastery. To this brother, who was about twenty years younger than himself, Gerson was tenderly attached, and he now received from him the hospitality and the protection which, after turmoil and warfare, he so much needed. Yet he did not retire to absolute solitude. And he showed that one link still bound him to that polemical realm which he had forsaken for ever, by writing a treatise on doctrines, in which he defended his favourite theory of the supremacy of councils. But it was to the composition of works of a

devotional and practical kind that he mainly consecrated the silence and the meditation of his cloister. He threw himself with zeal and love into a holier toil even than the production of pious books. Remembering Who had said, "Suffer little children to come unto Me," he summoned to him the children of the poor at Lyons, gave them religious instruction, taught them the rudiments of Latin, and made them repeat the touching prayer, "Almighty God, my Creator, have pity on thy servant, John Gerson." But an hour came when this simple petition went up to heaven no more. On the 12th July, 1429, Gerson passed into the more intimate presence of that God to whom he had taught the children to pray. He was buried in St. Paul's church. His tomb long attracted adorers as that of a saint, and a miraculous power was by the people of Lyons ascribed to it, and to the hallowed dust which it enclosed.

Gerson's complete works, which are tolerably voluminous, have appeared in a variety of editions,—the French works excepted, which have not yet, we believe, been published. His countrymen egregiously overrate his merits and importance. He was perhaps more naturally an orator than anything else. The integrity of his character, and the purity of his intentions, are manifest; much less manifest are robust originality of genius and statesmanlike grasp. Declaiming against scholasticism, he yet had not the strength to break its heaviest chains. Insight, foresight, we must refuse him; and in the absence of both, his was not one of those grand and massive minds which crush themselves deep into human affairs, even when they cannot guide them. Simply as a preacher of righteousness we esteem him; but perhaps the most appropriate place for him was that which he found at last,—the cloister. As a burner of heretics, however, he could scarcely take into the cloister the divinest charity, and much which the French writers say about his boundless tenderness of soul sounds like cant.

The French have written two or three hundred dissertations on the authorship of the "Imitation." Nearly all the dissertations demonstrate convincingly to credulous Frenchmen, that the author of the "Imitation" was John Gerson, and that he composed the book during his retirement at Lyons. We must confess that we do not find a particle of evidence confirmatory of this patriotic but utterly unfounded assumption. It will be best, however, before examining evidence, and pronouncing a verdict in Gerson's case, to glance at the life of the rival claimant.

Thomas à Kempis was born in 1380 at Kempen, or Kampen, in the diocese of Cologne. He was the son of an artisan. The name of his family was Hamerken, or "Little Hammer,"—in Latin, *Malleolus.* As John Charlier, therefore, was John of Gerson, Thomas Hamer-

ken, or "Little Hammer," was Thomas of Kempen. A mystical seal was on him from his boyhood, for in 1392 he entered the school of a mystical community at Deventer, the so-called Brothers of the Common Life. The founder of this brotherhood was Gerald Groot, who was born at Deventer in 1340, and who died there of the plague in 1384. In the thirteenth century, the battle between the popes and the emperors was decided, the Crusades came to a close, the papal power climbed to its zenith, scholasticism culminated, the Mendicant orders gained supreme influence—strengthening and then vulgarizing the Church,—and cities, and nobles, and kings were as yet so equally matched, that far-sighted indeed would he have been who could have foretold which of the three was finally to predominate. Action in the thirteenth century went in the direction of independence, and then of co-ordination, of settled institutions, to the extent that the fierce struggle for independence permitted; and thought went in the direction of system. Disruption, dismemberment, decay, ruin, despair, characterize the fourteenth century. As if to mark the whole century, with its famines, its earthquakes, its *Jacqueries*, its chaos, its cruelty, the so-called Black Death marches from Asia—in the very middle of the century—to devour in three years twenty-five millions of human beings. Yet this century, so tumultuous and so tormented, had the richest mystical vitality that Christianity has perhaps ever known. There is a common notion that mysticism is a sort of synonym for confusion of ideas. But there can be no true mysticism, except in those minds whose ideas are the clearest, and whose faith is the firmest. Mysticism may be pantheistic and passive, or sympathetic and practical. In either case the unknown must be the more adorable, the more the field of the known is vast, and the more distinctly it is beheld. The mysticism of the fourteenth century, then, so much deeper than that of the ages immediately preceding,—than that of Saint Bernard, or of Saint Bonaventura, —was not a mere reaction against the scholasticism of the thirteenth century: it was its natural expression. Sometimes making excursions into the unknowable, scholasticism had debated about the knowable till nothing was left for discussion. Then, lest scepticism should reign, mysticism left the knowable behind, and took possession of the unknowable. It was the customary development: idealism, empiricism, rationalism, or scepticism, had all spoken, and now mysticism had to speak. With one mystic of the fourteenth century (John Tauler) English readers who travel out of the ordinary path are not unfamiliar. Another (Henry Suso), who died a few years after Tauler, has been called a prose minnesinger in the spiritual kingdom: he had immense splendour and

exuberance of phantasy. The Germans still find in his books spiritual food; and perhaps the books may yet utter words of life to earnest English souls. Less gifted than Tauler or Suso, but with more of the genius and aspiration of the reformer, was John Ruysbroek, born at the village of Ruysbroek, near Brussels, in 1293. In 1318, having entered into holy orders, he became vicar of St. Gudula's Church, at Brussels. The constant study of the works attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, nourished his natural love for a solitary and contemplative life. To gratify this irresistible yearning, he, accompanied by many friends, retired to a monastic institution, situated in a large beech forest not far from Waterloo. Of this institution he was appointed prior: he governed it with paternal wisdom and kindness. His chief delight was to wander in the loneliest parts of the forest, and to abandon himself to ecstatic meditation—to ideas and feelings which he deemed the immediate inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Yet he did not shun the humblest manual labours, and though called the "*Doctor Ecstaticus*" by excellence, he rebuked the sterile quietism which is supposed to be identical with mysticism, or at least its necessary offspring. Without despising learning, he had not the ambition to be learned. All his works were written in Flemish, and had, like most of the mystical works of the period, singular titles. He taught that, in the state of perfect contemplation, man sees God by a divine brightness; that the soul is itself this brightness; that the soul is so transfigured and absorbed into its original essence, as to be finally identical with God; and that, when lost in this abyss, it is no longer recognisable. It has been averred that John Ruysbroek, while ardently mystical, avoided pantheistic excesses; but these words have certainly a pantheistic sound. Revered as a saint, consulted as a sage, John Ruysbroek had continually as visitors the most pious and eminent personages; John Tauler and Gerard Groot being of the number. At his abode in the forest, Ruysbroek died in December, 1381. Gerson first, and Bossuet afterwards, branded him as a heretic. But it would be well for the world if heretics like him more abounded.

Ruysbroek was of humble origin. Groot was the son of the burgomaster of Deventer. His talents were more brilliant than those of Ruysbroek: his education had been much more complete; his aims were loftier, though not purer. Having adopted the profession of priest, he obtained, through the influence of his family, several benefices, and lived for a time a life of mere luxury and routine. But suddenly the guilt of being a Christian teacher without giving a Christian example, flashed on him. Renouncing his benefices, he, with garb almost as simple as that of

John the Baptist, and with spirit almost as stern, passed from city to city of his native land, urging, like John the Baptist, men to repentance. Of those who have been called reformers before the Reformation—a huge host, only a small part of whose achievements can ever be chronicled,—Gerard Groot signally deserves our reverence, because he was totally free from the polemical and proselytizing temper, did not meddle with the dogmas or constitution of the Church, and wished only to be the apostle of morality and religion. Indeed the reformers before the Reformation, such as Gerard Groot, often displayed more that we can love, admire, and honour, than we find in the reformers belonging to the period of the Reformation itself. They had a sweeter, larger, more vital humanity. Gerard Groot made numerous converts. One of these, Florentius Radewin, a rich merchant, followed him from the moment of conversion, as a devoted disciple, ready to make all sacrifices and to face all privations. The reading of, the meditation on, the Scriptures and the Fathers of the Church, Groot enforced as a principal occupation of the Christian. That others besides scholars might possess the treasure, might taste the repast, Groot translated from the Latin into Dutch, the prayers most in use, and the psalms. To render their labours, as disseminators of holy books, the more fruitful, he and Radewin employed numerous copyists in transcribing and correcting the best manuscripts of the Bible and of the Fathers they could obtain. But the copyists were not mere hirelings, and it was not a prosaic, mechanical duty they were discharging: they viewed their toil, which required as much intelligence as patience, as a prolific, powerful, and elevated agency of human salvation. That, however, the generous task might have an additional sacredness, it was agreed that all engaged in it should live in community—after the fashion of the primitive Christians. Here we have the Brotherhood of the Common Life in its most rudimentary form, a form subsequently much modified and expanded, especially after Groot learned what Ruysbroek had been doing. Cut off prematurely, Groot did not succeed in bestowing on the brotherhood the mature harmonious shape he had designed for it: but Radewin survived till 1400, and realized what was noblest in Groot's scheme. In 1386 the central and controlling monastery of the brotherhood was erected at Windesheim, near Zwoll. Before the middle of the fifteenth century, about a hundred and fifty branches of the brotherhood, affiliated to the central monastery and governed by its laws, had spread themselves over Europe. Bound by no vows, the members of the brotherhood, nevertheless, practised the most rigid asceticism. To all sciences which had not a directly practical purpose,

they were indifferent rather than hostile; but five hundred years ago how few of the sciences had a directly practical purpose! It was as the educators of youth that the members of the brotherhood gained a renown which can never perish. They were the first modern improvers of education—of education not as the privilege of a few, but as the heritage of everyone. Of the numerous schools they established, that at Deventer was the most distinguished, receiving lustre from, and giving lustre to, such pupils as Thomas à Kempis, Cardinal Nicholas Cusa, and Erasmus. That they might the more effectually promote the moral and religious enlightenment of the people, and the regeneration of the Church, they vigorously insisted on the use of the mother-tongue whenever the ministers of the Church addressed the multitude. Spending much of their time in prayer, they made their whole life a prayer. Unwearied in preaching the diviuest truths by word and by example, they sought relief from the weight and sameness of asceticism in writing ascetical books, kindred in character to the "Imitation of Christ." The earnestness, conscientiousness, ingenuity, and true critical spirit they manifested, have caused them to be regarded as the creators of modern philology. They might have done much more, but the Obscurantists incessantly assailed, calumniated, and thwarted them. In some points the members of the brotherhood resembled the Essenians rather than the primitive Christians; in others they appear to have been leavened by Waldensian influences, though they shunned separatism, and always remained formally united to the Church. From taking Gregory the Great and St. Jerome as patrons, they were sometimes called Gregorians and Hieronymites. Through the Reformation they suffered woeful eclipse. A portion was absorbed by Protestantism; a portion was effaced altogether in the general upheaval: what remained was robbed of the original lineaments which had distinguished the brotherhood. Many of the schools fell into the hands of the Jesuits. Appropriating the schools, the Jesuits appropriated the art of education for which the brotherhood had been remarkable: so that the Jesuits were merely imitators in that wherein they have been most successful and praiseworthy—the education of the young. It is not however among Catholics, but among Protestants, that we must seek the legitimate heirs of the pious men who formed the Brotherhood of the Common Life. But the Moravian Brethren, let their graces and excellences be what they may, hold a rank far below that to which, by the most beautiful virtues, the members of the elder brotherhood ascended. The Moravian Brethren have not the same breadth and bounteousness of nature, the same generous sympathies, the same spontaneousness, the same godlike blending of the hero, the martyr, and the saint. As the life of

Gerard Groot was an example for all the members of the brotherhood to follow, so his death symbolized the brotherhood's design and deeds. One of his friends was attacked by the prevailing pestilence. Gerard Groot, who had some medical knowledge, watched by his bedside, prompt to minister everything that skill could suggest or love could inspire. It was while lavishing such succours on his friend that he caught the disease which tore him away from those who fervently revered him, and from that benignant enterprise, only the dawn whereof he had beheld.

The very year Thomas à Kempis was born, his elder brother, John à Kempis, entered, at the age of fifteen, the school established by Gerard Groot and Florentius Radewin, at Deventer. When not much more than twenty, John à Kempis joined the Augustinian order that was affiliated to the Brotherhood of the Common Life: unless, which does not seem quite clear, the order and the brotherhood were viewed as in a certain aspect identical; for they are sometimes spoken of as if they were one, and sometimes as if they were distinct, but closely related. Besides holding, with zeal, prudence, and charity, the highest dignities of the order, John à Kempis was celebrated as a copyist of manuscripts, and as a corrector of the text: he excelled likewise in the art of illumination. When Thomas à Kempis arrived at Deventer, he was received with the more warmth by Florentius Radewin, from the interest which his brother John had excited. Through Radewin's kindness, a wealthy lady gave Thomas the shelter of her hospitable roof for a number of years. Thomas prepared himself for the career of the ecclesiastic, not as the holiest, but that he might the better prepare himself for the contemplative life which he so much loved, and for the entire consecration of his spirit to God. He learned two things, very different from each other, but closely, in those days, connected—copying manuscripts and interpreting the Scriptures. So far as a scientific theology was possible at the period, he perfected himself therein. The more regular he was also in external religious exercises, the more he flung himself on the internal chastenings and consolations of the soul. It would be difficult to imagine a pilgrimage through the world so wholly uneventful as that of Thomas à Kempis. But if his days flowed unruffled and unvaried on, they had profound fertilizing force, for, dedicated to heaven, they were the richer for earth, and for the poor sufferers and wanderers there. In 1399 he entered, as novice, the monastery of Mount Saint Agnes, near Zwoll, of which his brother had for some time been prior. The manual labours which the noviciate imposed, he must have relished the more keenly, from the nourishment which they offered alike to humility and to interior and spiritual freedom. At the age of twenty-six he took his vows in his

brother's presence and six years after he was ordained priest. He is supposed to have written, on the latter occasion, what now forms the fourth book of the "Imitation;" and chapter fifth, on the dignity of the sacrament and of the priestly state, refers, it is believed, to his recent entrance into orders. Ere long, other ascetic treatises followed, including the first three books of the "Imitation,"—granting that Thomas à Kempis was the author of the work. His fame as a writer and preacher went fast and far, and the devout came from every quarter to place themselves under his spiritual direction. He was elected, in 1425, the sub-prior of that same monastery of Mount Saint Agnes in which, year after year, with humblest mind, he had held the humblest offices. The year 1429 brought serious troubles to the monastery. Rodolph of Diephold had been chosen Archbishop of Utrecht by the chapter of that city. But the Pope had refused him the *pallium.* The choice, however, made by the chapter, was approved by the nobility and the communes of the diocese, whereby the Pope was induced to treat the diocese to the tender mercies of an interdict. Only by the monasteries was the Pope's command to intermit public worship obeyed. Rodolph, and the powerful party which supported him, were indignant at what they deemed the slavish and unpatriotic submission of the monasteries. They therefore left the monks the choice, either of disregarding the Pope's order, or of leaving the country. Steadfast in what they viewed as one of the divinest of duties, obedience, they preferred the latter alternative. Thomas, and the other monks of Mount Saint Agnes, retired to Friesland. But in 1432, the dispute between the Pope and the Archbishop having been settled, Thomas and his brother returned to their beloved home. Here he resumed occupations which were as useful as they were unpretending. Modest as those occupations might in general be, yet Thomas à Kempis saw nothing incompatible between the duties of the moral and religious teacher, and human learning. A scholar, he had an intellectual delight in scholarship. He hailed the revival of letters in Italy. The barbarous Latin in which the books of his time were written he condemned, and he urged his disciples to study the ancient writers. All his own works were composed in Latin, not perhaps in Ciceronian Latin, but in the best and most elegant he was able to employ. Some of his pupils, such as Rodolph Agricola and Alexander Hegius, one of the masters of Erasmus, were active and daring soldiers in the great army of the Renaissance. Having reached the dividing point between a new and an old constitution of society, Thomas à Kempis died in 1471.

A few particulars, gleaned from two of his contemporaries, one of whom had been with him in the monastery of Mount Saint Agnes, are worth reproducing. Great in virtues, Thomas à Kempis was

short in stature. He delighted to be alone, but did not consider his time his own if he could console or instruct any one. In speaking and writing he aimed rather to rouse the affections than to sharpen the intellect. Of silence he was as fond as of solitude. Yet he was not morose, and when he conversed, he mingled, in the most natural way, the jocund with the grave. Exceeding were his mildness and affability. His entreaties and exhortations had a marvellous sweetness. Discourse on frivolous and worldly things he shunned. The counsellor of the tempted, the consoler of the afflicted, the friend of all the pious and the humble, he never rebuked any except the presumptuous and the impenitent.

Of the works of Thomas à Kempis many editions have appeared, but none is considered complete. The works are mainly on the subjects which lay nearest his heart—the edification of his brethren, and the mystical life. He wrote, however, a chronicle of the Mount Saint Agnes Monastery, and the lives of Gerard Groot, Florentius Radewin, and nine of their disciples. A collection of sacred songs, with the airs, was published not long ago, from a manuscript, in Brussels. Both the songs and the airs are ascribed to Thomas à Kempis, whose love of music was as warm as his acquaintance with it was profound. In addition to his other enormous labours as a copyist, he transcribed the whole of the Bible, in four folio volumes. This colossal monument of patience, skill, and industry, still existed in the seventeenth century, but it has since disappeared. A complete, or what professes to be a complete translation of the works of Thomas à Kempis, has been given in German.

Whatever attraction or instruction there may be in the history of John Gerson, of Thomas à Kempis, and of the Brotherhood of the Common Life, yet, in the least erudite, the least artistic form, and from sources accessible to every educated person, we have offered an outline of that history, in order to enable our readers to judge whether John Gerson, or Thomas à Kempis, or neither of them, was the author of a work which has gone through more than two thousand editions in the original Latin, and of which Michelet thus eloquently speaks:—

"In the first book the soul bids farewell to the world: it fortifies itself in solitude in the second: in the third it is no longer alone: it has near it a companion, a friend, a master; and of all, the most loving. A graceful struggle begins, an amiable and pacific war between extreme feebleness and that infinite force which ceases to be force by melting into infinite goodness. We follow with emotion all the alternations of this beautiful religious gymnastik. The soul falls; it rises again: it falls once more: it weeps. But *He* consoles it: 'I am here!' He cries, 'to aid thee ever. Courage! all is not lost. Thou art a man, and not a God: thou art flesh, and not an angel. How couldst thou remain always at the same height of virtue?' This com-

passionate intelligence of our feebleness and of our falls, indicates sufficiently that this great book was finished when Christianity had lived long, and had acquired a boundless experience, and a boundless indulgence. We encounter everywhere therein a powerful maturity, a sweet and rich autumnal savour; we find not the acritudes of young passion. To have arrived at such a point, it is needful to have loved much, to have then ceased to love, and to have loved and yet loved again. The passion which we meet in this work is grand as the object which it seeks: grand as the world which it forsakes. I do not merely feel here the voluntary death of a holy soul, but an immense widowhood, and the death of an interior world. This void, which God comes to fill, is the place in the social world which has entirely perished—body and possessions—Church and Fatherland."

Michelet also says,—

"The book is a Christian and not a national book. If it could be national at all, it would assuredly be a French book. It has neither the Petrarchesque impetuosity of the Italian mystics, nor the capricious phantasies of the German mystics, their profundity under peurile forms, their dangerous spiritual languor. There are more sentiments than images, which is a French characteristic."

There is a certain ingenuity in these words; but they do not aid us much in our main inquiry, and they are obviously dictated by that national prejudice by which Michelet is so often misled.

Another French writer, wishing perhaps to rob Thomas à Kempis of his glory, by making the investigation more complicated and difficult, has laboured to prove the long anteriority of the first book to the remaining books:—

"The calm and humble language of the first book would scarcely appear to be the utterance of that bolder mind, that mind more familiar with profane antiquity, that mind which delights in grand images and ample developments, in the third book; and neither the one part nor the other has the slenderest affinity to the learned and subtle theology of the fourth book."

To this it has been replied that the homogeneousness of the whole production is vindicated by the gradation of ideas, and the natural movement of a mind which, in proportion as it advances, grows bolder and more decided, enlarges its horizon, sees higher and farther. Besides, a man who rapidly passed from the instruction of the poorest poor to the deepest mysteries of the contemplative life, and from these to the converse with the acutest of the schoolmen, and the foremost authors of antiquity, would instinctively and unavoidably assume diversified phases of intellectual character when writing.

A primordial fact, which meets us in the very vestibule of the debate, is,—that the Netherlands and Northern Germany alone possessed, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the religious soil, the religious atmosphere, required for the birth and the growth of the

"Imitation." The Brotherhood of the Common Life, or rather the circumstances in the Netherlands and Northern Germany, out of which that brotherhood arose, created a religious opulence, a catholicity, a charity, a mystical longing, a mystical rapture, such as nowhere else in Christendom could at the moment be seen. The greatest things demand the greatest antecedents and accessories. What could Dante have been, unless as the embodiment, Titanic alike and poetic, of all the influences which had been warring in Italy for three hundred years? What Shakspere, except as a king among a race of kings? What Napoleon, if not as the master and the slave of the French Revolution? Now, allowing that Gerson was the fittest and likeliest man to write the "Imitation," France refused, more than any other Christian land, the religious soil, the religious atmosphere to which we have alluded. France was, in the most literal sense, a howling wilderness; it was a desolation, wherein beasts of prey, rending and roaring, alone broke the awful silence. The official church, wallowing in the mire, and hurling horrible maledictions, was impotent for good. In 1405 and 1406, during two winters and two Lents, no sermons were preached at Paris. Sorrow doubtless is the element in which the "Imitation" is steeped; but it is not a sorrow without hope, not a sorrow uncheered, unvaried, not a sorrow inspired by the monotonous spectacle of squalor, indigence, vileness, and pain. Some gleam of human goodness, of human nobleness was needful. Thus, then, we accept it as an intrinsic necessity that the "Imitation" could as little have come from France, as from the darkest den of a pirate ship, and that it was the product of the communities which were in direct or indirect connection with the Brotherhood of the Common Life.

This being accepted, it is demonstrable as a second intrinsic necessity that Thomas à Kempis must have been the author, for, of all those directly or indirectly members of the Brotherhood of the Common Life, no one known to us combined in the same manner or degree the moral and mental qualities, the Divine piety, and the Divine genius.

But we are not compelled to entrench ourselves in inherent necessities: neither are we forced to cover solid analogies with a drapery of conjectures. The proofs positive, distinct, indisputable, are overwhelming.

At Brussels exists a manuscript volume, entirely from the hand of Thomas à Kempis, containing, along with several treatises, the four books of the "Imitation." At the end of the volume are these words:—"Finished and completed in the year 1441, by the hands of the Brother Thomas à Kempis, in Mount Saint Agnes, near Zwoll." As the other portions of this volume are admitted to be the genuine

works of Thomas, it is difficult to see how Thomas could have put the "Imitation" beside them, unless he had been the author thereof.

The oldest of the manuscripts of the "Imitation" yet found, attributes the authorship to Thomas à Kempis, an authorship attested by many other manuscripts of the fifteenth century, which it would be tedious here to enumerate.

One of a class already familiar to us,—the reformers before the Reformation, was John Wessel, called also Ganzeroot, born in 1419 at Gröningen, where he died in 1489. Having studied under Thomas à Kempis, he taught philosophy in Paris and other famous cities. His learning obtained for him the name of "*Lux Mundi*," while, from the fierceness wherewith he attacked scholasticism, the Obscurantists scornfully called him "*Magister Contradictionum*." Many of his writings were burned as heretical after his death. Luther held him in high esteem, warmly approving his mode of expounding the doctrine of Justification. In 1522, at the most trying point of the Reformation, Luther published a selection from Wessel's writings, with a preface. Wessel had, as a disciple, Albert de Hardenberg. From the pen of Hardenberg we have this well-authenticated passage:—

"The reputation of the excellent brother, Thomas à Kempis, gathered round him many persons. About this epoch he wrote the work on 'The Imitation of Christ,' which begins, 'Whoso followeth Me.' Wessel was in the habit of saying that he had drawn from this book his first zeal for piety; and he was hereby induced to form a more intimate acquaintance with Master Thomas,—an acquaintance deepening into the closest friendship, to such a point that he embraced the monastic life in Mount Saint Agnes itself."

Elsewhere Hardenberg says:—

"The monks of Mount Saint Agnes showed me many writings of the most pious Thomas à Kempis. Among other productions of his, they have preserved the truly inestimable work on 'The Imitation of Christ,' from which Wessel confessed that he had derived his first taste for true theology. This book had determined him, when he was still very young, to go to Zwoll, to study there the elements of literature, and to enjoy the friendship of the pious Thomas à Kempis, who was canon in the house of Saint Agnes."

The anonymous author of a biography of Thomas à Kempis, written a few years after the death of the holy man, places, without hesitation, the "Imitation" among the works of Kempis. His testimony has been considered as conclusive as it is clear, from the fact that he journeyed with pious zeal to Mount Saint Agnes, with the express purpose of gathering, from the lips of persons long and intimately bound to the departed worthy, everything of interest relating to him.

A German translation of the three first books of the "Imitation"

was published in 1448 by Gaspard Pforzheim, who, as if stating a thing too obvious to be doubted, represents Thomas à Kempis as the author of the "Imitation." He could not have been courageous enough to do this if Thomas had not really been the author. Thomas was still alive. He was as remarkable for modesty as for other graces and gifts. Now it is surely monstrous to conceive that a man who practised, almost to a foolish extent, the precept given in the "Imitation," "Delight in being unknown," would have allowed the renown to shine on him which belonged to another, and would have made perfect copies of the work, without one word of protest or contradiction in reference to the undeserved glory.

John Buschius, a member of the monastery of Windesheim from 1420 to 1479, declares, in his chronicle of that monastery, that Thomas à Kempis wrote the "Imitation." All doubts and objections should fall before this invincible testimony. For fifty-one years Kempis and Buschius resided within a league of each other, in kindred monastic establishments. They had often occasion to meet, both officially and in less formal fashion. What evidence can be convincing if that of Buschius is refused?

In 1454, seventeen years before the death of Thomas à Kempis, Hermann de Ryd gave a description of the monasteries belonging to the *Canonici Regulares* of Windesheim. His intercourse with Thomas had been frequent and familiar, and we must listen to him as to a trustworthy witness, when he informs us that the author of the "Imitation" was Thomas à Kempis.

A monk, John Mauburne, made his noviciate at Mount Saint Agnes under Renier, who had been six years along with Kempis in that monastery. Mauburne quotes in 1491, as if written by Thomas, three passages of the "Imitation;" and among the works of Kempis he enumerates three books thereof.

About the year 1441 the work began to be occasionally ascribed, without the slightest evidence or authority, to Gerson. But apart from the controversies of modern times on the subject, the preposterous fiction was not, even in the fifteenth century, allowed impudently to travel uncontradicted. Prefatory to the French translation of the "Imitation," which was published in 1493, it is said,—"Here commences the very salutary book on 'The Imitation of our Lord,' which has been attributed by some persons to Saint Bernard or Master Gerson, though this is most inaccurate. For the author of this book was a venerable Father and very devout monk, called Thomas à Kempis." Now when this declaration was made, Kempis had been dead only twenty-two years, and, before his death, printing had been discovered, affording miraculous means of publicity, compared to those which had previously existed. The fame of the "Imitation," borne

by the printing press, came crowding on the monks of Mount Saint Agnes in many different shapes. Still less then than the German translator previously mentioned, could the French translator, without the most solid reasons, have conferred the authorship of the "Imitation" on Thomas à Kempis.

Petrus Schottus, a monk of Strasburg, published in 1488, still nearer the time when Thomas à Kempis died, the works of Gerson: yet it is thus he speaks, at a moment when so many companions or contemporaries of Thomas could have refuted an allegation so bold, if it had been false:—"There are treatises which have been erroneously attributed to Gerson. Such as the book 'De Contemptu Mundi,' for it is established that the work was written by Thomas à Kempis, canon regular."

An edition of the book, which appeared at Nuremberg in 1494, equally vindicates the claim of Thomas, and rejects that of Gerson.

The successor of Thomas à Kempis in the office of sub-prior at Mount Saint Agnes, was Francis de Tholen. Was he, or was he not, a competent witness? Certainly a witness most competent. Yet Tholen appeals in 1475 to the manuscripts of the "Imitation," from the hand of Thomas à Kempis, and open to every one's inspection, to show that Thomas was, and that Gerson was not, the author.

An argument in support of the theory which we deem the right one, does not appear to us to have much pith or stringency. It is averred that there are numerous Germanisms in the "Imitation." This would help to prove that the writer was a German; but it would not prove at all that the writer was Thomas à Kempis. Most amusingly, the Gersonians proclaim, as a chief literary feature of the "Imitation," its numerous Gallicisms. To this it has been very pertinently answered, that all the theological and philosophical science of the Middle Ages had for centre the university of Paris, whither came, from all Europe, teachers and students, and that the language of the schoolmen had thereby contracted a certain number of terms and expressions, adopted and adapted from the French language. The deduction is natural, that a writer in Holland could readily have made use of some Gallicisms which the monastic Latin had appropriated, but that it would not be easy to explain how a French author could have been able to employ strikingly characteristic Germanisms. The champions of the Italian origin of the book have not failed to find in it many Italicisms. It is from the style, as much as from the substance of the book, that Ernest Renan has pronounced in favour of Italy; has declared that the "Imitation" belongs to the thirteenth century, to the very flower, and not to the decay of the Middle Ages. Renan is perhaps more a philosopher than Michelet; but manifestly Michelet is incomparably more philo-

sophical than Renan, when representing the "Imitation" as the product of Christianity's maturest consciousness, when nothing remained except to look back in pain and in pity. Not much more importance is to be attached to Renan's words, when he says that the "Imitation" "has the genius limpid but not profound of Italy; a genius abhorrent of abstract speculations, but marvellously fitted for practical philosophy." These are meaningless phrases. Even if they were more than this, it would suffice to show how little Italy is to be considered in the discussion; that the Christian Italians, like the pagan Romans, were never inclined to religious enthusiasm; that, for instance, while the Normanized nations went into the Crusades with their whole heart, the Germanic nations only with half heart, the Italians, except when stirred on by contact with the ardent hosts around them, were indifferent to the Crusades, or looked at them only with an eye to material advantages. Religion has been for the Italians, ancient and modern, a political or rather a municipal organisation, a social power, a magnificent show, not a vitality of the soul. Yet what is the "Imitation," if not the offspring of religious enthusiasm?

The substantial agreement between the maxims of the "Imitation" and the doctrines taught by Thomas à Kempis, in the works of which he is admitted to be the author, is a point only to be pressed when we keep in view those two intrinsic necessities, in reference to the origin of the book at which we have formerly glanced. If, looking at all the agencies most prominent in the decline of the Middle Ages, when, in the dearth of political greatness, and not through, but in spite of scholasticism and the universities, the revival of classical literature became the one supreme fact as the herald of printing, as printing was itself the herald of the Reformation,—if, looking at all those agencies, we are persuaded that only from the rich bosom of the Brotherhood of the Common Life the "Imitation" could have flowed, and that Thomas à Kempis was the typical man of that brotherhood, —then, all the resemblances we can trace between the "Imitation" and the recognised productions of Thomas à Kempis, become so many arguments, strengthening the claim of Kempis to the authorship of the "Imitation." Now can it be a mere accident that twenty chapters of the authenticated treatises of Kempis have titles almost identical with those of twenty chapters of the "Imitation"? Can it be a mere accident that Thomas, when writing the lives of Gerard Groot, Florentius Radewin, and their chief disciples, and when expounding the principles he derived from his early teachers, discourses of moral regeneration in the tone, the temper, the language with which the "Imitation" has familiarized us? Or can it be a mere accident that a man, of whom Buschius says that he was the true apostle of the world in the days when he lived, and the origin of

all its recent reformation, of all its renewed devotion, abstained, while throwing the celestial fire of the "Imitation" into all his utterances, from any textual reproduction, great or small, of the book itself? Shortly before the death of Kempis, the first edition of the "Imitation" was published at Augsburg. We are therefore to suppose that during sixty years, from the time he was a young man of thirty, to the time he was an old man of ninety, Thomas à Kempis, the most religious man of his age, had constantly in his hands the most religious book of his age, that he made frequent copies of it, that perhaps, ere closing for ever, his eyes were gladdened by the sight of it in its printed form; that he hovered round this book, continually wrote what recalled it, never composed a work which was not in some sort a commentary and development of it, and yet that he never gave a single verbal quotation from the book—as if, by a strange perversity, grudging praise to what, nevertheless, he so passionately loved. Rather let us believe that the man's reticence and abstinence here were the natural expression of a modesty so great as to have grown proverbial. In connection with the argument drawn from the substance of the "Imitation," the valuable observations of the able and impartial M. Malou on the style of the book have a most pregnant significance:—

> "The 'Imitation' is really composed only of a series of pious thoughts, enounced, for the most part, in the form of aspiration, of warning, of meditation, of prayer. Every verse contains a complete doctrine, which has not always a necessary connection with the verse which precedes, or with that which follows. The very title which has sometimes been given to the 'Imitation' confirms the remark. In many manuscripts the work is entitled, 'Book of Sentences on the Imitation of Christ.' We find merely a succession of thoughts, counsels, maxims, without any perceptible concatenation. Well, then, such a style is exactly the style of Thomas à Kempis. This writer scarcely ever develops his subject, he never abandons himself to a headlong impulse, he accumulates sentences, he heaps maxim on maxim, he forms an agglomeration of pious thoughts, he never strives to bind his ideas together in such a way as to present them as a continuous chain, in which link is closely hammered into link."

By an unworthy trick the Gersonians, feeling how little can really be said in defence of the Gersonian theory, have tried to depreciate Thomas à Kempis as a mere copyist. Even if he had been a copyist, and a copyist only, the copyist was, as we have previously stated, no commonplace hack, but at least, in the Brotherhood of the Common Life, an accomplished and intelligent scholar. Besides, the principal occupation of Thomas was not copying. He took an active and responsible share in the government of a religious community: he instructed the novices; he preached on the most solemn occasions, and had a wide reputation as a preacher; and when not meditating on

the divinest things in his cell, he had countless ministries of mercy to fulfil.

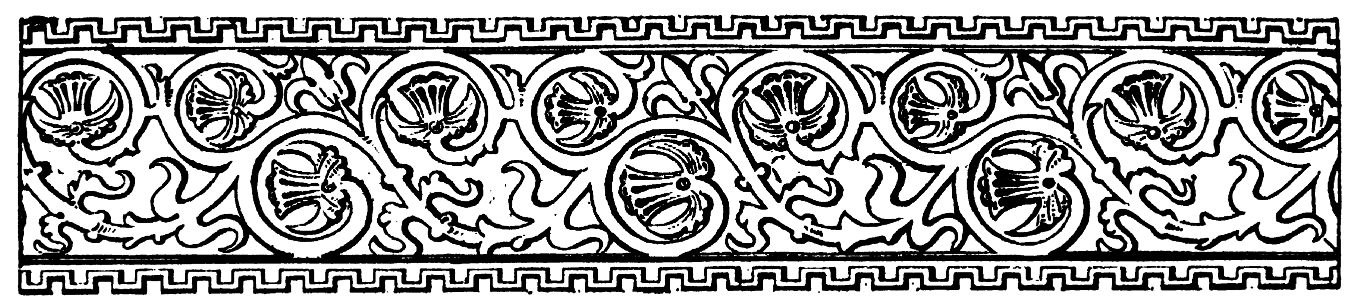
The Gersonians furthermore maintain that the "Imitation" is the outpouring of a passionate soul that had been tried in the fiercest furnace of affliction; that had encountered numberless vicissitudes; that had had bitter personal experiences, and had been wounded beyond healing by the tragical spectacle of public calamities; and that the character of Thomas à Kempis was as placid as his career was peaceful. But what gave birth to the Brotherhood of the Common Life? Was it not unspeakable wickedness and unspeakable woe? The brotherhood did not offer an asylum for the weak and the weary, but a citadel for the brave; and the members of the brotherhood were athletes, not anchorites. Seek not here a cold and colourless picture, having nothing in common with flesh and blood; or a moral atony; or the apathy which is only another name for poltroonery. Thomas à Kempis had known the terrible combats with passion and temptation: this he himself confesses: this his biographers state concerning him. He was accustomed to say, "I have sought repose in everything; and have found it only in solitude and in books." And what is holiness, and what is peace? Are they treasures that can be gained otherwise than by conflict and commotion? He alone, who has been tossed on the waves, and dashed on the rocks, can speak to us of the sheltering creek, where not even a bubble breaks on the water, and where the boughs, full of singing birds and of odours, arch overhead. In his own heart; in the heart of the young candidates for the stainless monachal robe, whom he had to instruct; in a world always sinning, but at the particular period, one hideous heap of pangs and of pollutions; in the godlessness of the Church,—Thomas à Kempis saw and felt all that of which the "Imitation" is the picture and the utterance, but for which it was also a balm. Nevertheless, though he may himself have wrestled with guilt and remorse; though he may have wept over the misery and the wrong, torturing, desolating all ages, and especially his own, when the "Imitation" first gleamed as a hope and a healing, yet he had always been a consoler, a comforter—never a persecutor; had always placed compassion infinitely higher than belief; had not, even in his most unripened period, been a zealot for dogmas; had evermore been merciful, alike from his love of mankind, and from the yearning in his soul for omnipotent mercy. Verily, only a breast burning with pity,—a breast that had never wounded another breast,—could have offered that incense to heaven, that dew to earth, which we name the "Imitation."

It is not without a sentiment akin to disgust and abhorrence that we turn from Thomas à Kempis to John Gerson. Except to gratify

French vanity, and prolong a profitless discussion, we know not why this man, with a reputation darkened by bigotry, by persecution, and who was too much a pedant and a dogmatist ever to enter the inmost sanctuary of life and truth, should be for a moment mentioned when the authorship of the "Imitation" is in question. All the inherent probabilities and necessities, as we have more than once hinted, tell irresistibly to Gerson's disfavour. The character and career of Gerson are sufficient to refute the Gersonian theory, even if there were a tittle of evidence to justify that theory, which there is not. The arguments against the theory have been pressed with victorious force by Renan, and many more. It is enough to give, in Renan's words, one or two points :—"The 'Imitation' does not figure in the list of the Chancellor's works by his brother himself: the style of Gerson has all the barbarism of the scholastics: the Latin of the 'Imitation' is not the most perfect, certainly, but it is full of charm."

Thus, then, if internal probabilities and external evidence are to be held of the same value here as in other cases, Thomas à Kempis was, and John Gerson was not, the author of the "Imitation," and the "Imitation" is forthwith struck out from the list of books whose authors are unknown. We should exceedingly rejoice if our earnest attempt to put an undisputed crown upon a great man's brow, should tend, in a degree however small, to kindle an interest about Thomas à Kempis, his works, and those deep mystical movements in the bosom, or by the side, of the Catholic Church, which have a far richer meaning than the events which ecclesiastical history is in the habit of recording.

WILLIAM MACCALL.



THE DIVINE RIGHT OF KINGS:

HISTORY OF THE DOCTRINE.

NEVER has there been a doctrine better written against than the Divine Right of Kings. It has been gravely combated by Locke, satirized by Defoe and Pope, and held up to the scorn of a later generation by Macaulay, long after the world had ceased to have any faith in it. Nothing on earth would seem at this day to be more completely exploded; for it is looked upon as something preposterously unreasonable, forged to support the despotism of the Stuarts by the instrumentality of a servile Church. One point, however, has not generally been explained. Before the accession of James I. such a doctrine was unknown. Till that time it never was and never could have been propounded. It seems, therefore, not unnatural to ask how it ever came to be invented. Opinions are commonly of slower growth touching the theory of the constitution. By what arts was the cunning fiction propagated, or from what Jupiter's brain sprang this full-armed Minerva?

As to the complete novelty of the doctrine in the days of James I. Macaulay has not stated the case too strongly. He says,—

"Most of the predecessors of James would, from personal motives, have regarded the patriarchal theory of Government with aversion. William Rufus, Henry I., Stephen, John, Henry IV., Henry V., Henry VI., Richard III., and Henry VII., had all reigned in defiance of the strict rule of descent.

A grave doubt hung over the legitimacy both of Mary and of Elizabeth. It was impossible that both Catherine of Arragon and Anne Boleyn could have been lawfully married to Henry VIII.; and the highest authority in the realm had pronounced that neither was so. The Tudors, far from considering the law of succession as a divine and unchangeable institution, were constantly tampering with it. Henry VIII. obtained an act of Parliament giving him power to leave the Crown by will, and actually made a will to the prejudice of the royal family of Scotland. Edward VI., unauthorized by Parliament, assumed a similar power, with the full approbation of the most eminent Reformers. Elizabeth, conscious that her own title was open to grave objection, and unwilling to admit even a reversionary right in her rival and enemy the Queen of Scots, induced the Parliament to pass a law that whoever should deny the competency of the reigning sovereign, with the assent of the Estates of the realm, to alter the succession, should suffer death as a traitor."

All this is strictly true. Yet no sooner was Elizabeth dead than the crown came to be regarded as an inalienable inheritance, and the succession as a thing which neither kings nor parliaments had any right to alter. The change of view is no less sudden than extraordinary, and we may well inquire by what means it was brought about.

I reply that it was only the natural consequence of the accession of James I. If James was not king by divine right, he was king by no right at all. Yet the nation had with one voice accepted him, and no other claimant ventured to put forward his pretensions. He was the successor on whom, even before the death of Elizabeth, the nation had mostly fixed its eyes. His priority in the line of true hereditary descent was free from all those ambiguities that had perplexed his predecessors, and nothing stood in the way but some acts of Parliament, which, though expressly devised to regulate the succession, were now regarded as of no account whatever. If, then, James was king at all, his right was superior to that of an act of Parliament. But in order to show more clearly how this state of matters came about, it may be as well to review briefly the history of the succession prior to the Stuart era.

So little is popularly known of our constitutional history that it will probably be as great a surprise to most people as it would certainly have been to James I. to be informed that England was originally an elective monarchy. Such, however, is the actual fact. The Saxon and Norman kings did not succeed each other either by divine right or even by the principle of inheritance. There was, undoubtedly, at all times a high regard paid to the claims of blood and lineage; but the succession was not determined by the principle of mere lineal descent. On the death of the king the throne stood vacant until his successor could be named by the witan, or lords of the council. The interregnum extended to days, weeks, and even months; and not

until the sacred rite of coronation did the new king commonly assume the title. The Saxon Chronicle relates distinctly how each successive king was elected by the witan, who, though they acknowledged some sort of claim in the next of kin, often allowed their choice to be determined by other considerations. In some cases they were influenced by the last king's will; in others the natural heir was set aside by reason of some manifest drawback or incapacity. It was still the same under the Normans. The Conqueror himself claimed his crown in accordance with the will of Edward the Confessor, and the claim was acknowledged. His eldest son was twice passed over in favour of younger brothers. Stephen was acknowledged because the next of kin was a woman, and John was preferred to his nephew Arthur as more competent to govern. All this was perfectly constitutional according to the theory of the times.

But the natural preference of Englishmen for an eldest son and a direct lineal descent gradually brought them to regard the crown as an inheritance. There was, perhaps, at the bottom of men's minds a belief, strengthened by such instances as that of the Black Prince, notwithstanding other instances to the contrary, that the sons of strong, manly fathers were likely to be strong and manly too. But the reigns which commenced with a minority by no means justified this expectation; they all proved singularly weak and unfortunate. The son of the Black Prince was no exception. One momentary spark of manliness at Smithfield alone redeemed the feebleness of his unhappy reign. So great, nevertheless, was the belief in blood, that Henry IV., to justify his usurpation, must needs attempt to show that he had a hereditary right superior to that of Richard II. He was descended from Edmund, surnamed Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster, son of Henry III.,—his second son according to historians, his eldest according to his descendant. Edmund, forsooth, had purposely been put back by his parents in the succession on account of his deformity, and his place had been taken by his younger brother, Edward I. When such arguments were used, the strength of a mere hereditary claim was in point of fact acknowledged. What wonder, then, that Mortimer was a name the haughty Bolingbroke could not endure to hear uttered? In the very act of grasping the crown Henry recognised the principle that was to overthrow his dynasty. "Kings in fact, but not of right," was the title given to the Lancasterian princes by their successors of the House of York;* and it is the first time we find such a distinction drawn. The right to rule over England had come to be acknowledged as an absolute property

* In the patents and charters of Edward IV., whenever a grant of Henry IV., V., or VI. is cited, the words "de facto, sed non de jure Regis Angliæ," are invariably added to the king's name.

vested in one or other family, and the only way to settle whose it was, was for the families to fight it out.

Peace was established by Henry VII. in the union of the Roses. And yet it was but an awkward compromise. Henry married the heiress of the House of York, but there were other claimants. The House of York had not been a united family, and the result of their quarrels was that the true heir was uncertain. Richard III. had succeeded for a time in casting the slur of bastardy on his brother Edward's children. Clarence, the other brother, who played the traitor, had left behind him a son and daughter, incapable of inheriting, indeed, if attainders were worth much; but Henry's own case showed that they were not an insurmountable obstacle. The Earl of Lincoln, whom Richard III. had declared heir to the crown, saw the prize snatched from his fingers. It was in vain Henry took care to have the young Earl of Warwick under very special keeping. False Warwicks were set up one after another, in England and in Ireland, to shake his throne. Then a rumour went forth that one of Edward IV.'s sons was alive, notwithstanding the supposed murder in the Tower; and whether it was true or false, Perkin Warbeck was an uncomfortable phenomenon.

Henry VIII., however, had the undoubted blood of both houses in his veins, and no pretenders ventured to disturb his throne. Still, the leading members of the House of York were watched with jealousy, and, whatever may have been their faults, came one by one under the axe of the executioner. The nation was thoroughly devoted to the new dynasty, and all desired to see it strong and stable. Events, however, were unpropitious. Out of we know not how many births only one child of Catherine of Arragon's got beyond infancy. That child, too, was a female, and a female had never yet sat on the throne. Then came the divorce, and the marriage with Anne Boleyn, who gave birth to Elizabeth; but the marriage with Anne Boleyn, too, was declared invalid. The only legitimate child of Henry was the son of Jane Seymour, the frail, weak boy, Edward VI. On his death the House of Tudor would have been extinguished but for the provisions made to meet the contingency during the lifetime of Henry VIII. For Henry, on his marriage with Jane Seymour, got his Parliament to pass an act authorizing him to regulate the succession by his will, in case of the failure of his own legitimate issue. With the concurrence of his Parliament, he afterwards arranged that if Edward died without issue, Mary should succeed, and Elizabeth in like case to Mary. The possibility of all three dying childless must then have seemed somewhat remote; but that too was to be provided for by Henry VIII.'s will, which it was enacted should have the force of law. And what Henry willed in that case was, that the crown should descend to the

heirs of his younger sister, Mary, in preference to those of his elder sister, Margaret, from whom James I. derived his claim. This arrangement was afterwards confirmed by an act of Queen Elizabeth's time.

Thus the course of the succession was fixed, as firmly as king and parliament could fix it, for posterity. Nor were the acts ever repealed, or the will declared null. Yet even Henry's two daughters had not untroubled possession of the throne. Every one knows the story of Lady Jane Grey, who for some days usurped the place of Mary. Elizabeth, through the greater part of her reign, was in danger of being supplanted by Mary, Queen of Scots. Sentimental historians, indignant at the tragic scene at Fotheringay, are apt to make but little account of the long trial endured by the English queen in the very existence of her rival. In the eyes of the Catholics, Mary was the rightful queen of England, and the Pope would have blessed the dagger which removed an obstacle to her succession. The loyalty of Englishmen, however, rose with the danger, and there grew up an enthusiasm for Queen Elizabeth such as no other king or queen in English history has commanded. Special acts were passed to protect her life, by which it was provided that any attempt against her in behalf of one who might possibly succeed to the crown should for ever bar the claims which that person might otherwise set up.

It was not wonderful, then, that devotion to Elizabeth's person became a part almost of an Englishman's religion. Later ages have discovered the fact that she had her failings—not only human, but in a special degree feminine. Unpitying biography, with captivating style and imposing show of research, has peered into her weaknesses, and held them up to view. Even the most superficial reader now can see the littleness of England's heroine, and can but marvel to think of genius, wit, and heroism paying monstrous, fulsome compliments to an idol like Elizabeth. O wondrous, free, and independent nineteenth century, which surely had little need of a Thackeray to write for its admonition a cynical "Book of Snobs!" Is it not painful to look back and think of Spenser, Raleigh, and Sir Philip Sidney—ay, even our own Shakspere himself—condescending to the arts of vulgar flattery? We have surely made great progress since that day!

But can we picture to ourselves an age when English royalty was something more than the top of our social life? The great cause of the Reformation, the still dearer cause of national independence, hung in the breath of Elizabeth's nostrils. She stood before the eyes of her nation the embodiment of all that was English, all that was free. In her, men seemed to see all that they cared to live for; in any other there could be but slavery and national degradation. She seemed to be identified with her people; for them she was to marry, or to remain the virgin queen. She chose the lot that seemed most self-

denying and least in accordance with her people's wishes, but it was doubtless for her people's sake. She felt, indeed, heart and soul with them. In some things, no doubt, the ideal Elizabeth was grander than the reality. But surely it is nothing contemptible in affection to magnify its object. This loyal devotion went far to prevent the succession being greatly talked about. But it was still an anxious question through the whole of that long reign. One thing only was clear to every loyal subject,—Mary Stuart must not be the successor, or she would succeed too soon. Her repeated refusals to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh were unmistakable indications of her aim. The succession of a Scotch sovereign would at all times have been distasteful to the nation; it was more so now than ever. The will of Henry VIII. was ratified by Parliament; and while the nation fondly hoped Elizabeth would marry, it was a comfort, if the worst should happen, that she could not be succeeded by Mary. It was made high treason to breathe a whisper against Elizabeth's right, or to declare that the Queen and Parliament could not limit the succession as they pleased. Moreover, as the Pope had absolved Elizabeth's subjects from their allegiance, it was made high treason for any one to be reconciled to Rome. As for that little project of marriage between Mary Stuart and the Duke of Norfolk, it would, no doubt, have helped the Scottish queen by giving her a native English husband of the blood royal, but that was put a stop to in the most effectual way. Norfolk, as every one knows, was sent to the block; but Mary's life was not taken till seventeen years later. In the interval, things had not improved. A project was well known to be entertained by certain leading powers of the Continent for bringing back England to the Catholic faith,—the massacre of St. Bartholomew showed pretty clearly how. And yet, what was the duty of a pious Catholic who believed his prince to be excommunicated and her rule a curse to Christendom? Had not the Pope absolved him from all allegiance? Was not allegiance to her a sort of crime? Whence had kings and queens derived their power that they should be obeyed to the destruction of men's souls? And so the plot went on, and never wanted agents. No former failures daunted new designs, till at last not a year could pass away without a fresh conspiracy in behalf of Mary.

Her death made one thing evident at least; it was not by the act of an assassin that England was to be brought back to Rome. The friends of papal domination had to change their tactics and make greater efforts if they were to do anything at all. What came of those greater efforts all the world saw in the fate of the Armada. The external enemy could then do little more; his strength was exhausted, and Elizabeth was left for the rest of her days in comparative tran-

quillity. But was there not an internal enemy too, almost as troublesome as the Jesuit priests?—men who, however different otherwise, agreed with the Jesuits in thinking there was an authority to be obeyed sometimes in preference to earthly kings? That was a true doctrine no doubt, but an awkward one to publish; and to go about issuing scurrilous pamphlets against bishops, likely to unsettle the foundations of Church and State, at the very time the foreign enemy was threatening our shores, was not the way to bring Puritanism into favour. Some of the principles set forth by the Puritans differed not a whit from the most objectionable doctrines of the Jesuits. They denied the Queen's supremacy, held her liable to excommunication, in which case her subjects were absolved from their allegiance, and might be justified in making war upon her if she did not reform the Church of England on the model of Geneva. Could that religion be a good one that spread dangerous doctrines like these?

Thus it was that Papists and Puritans were regarded as the two great enemies of the State. But even the most unpopular opinions have their weight. If continually ventilated, they always tell upon the public, and either meet with partial acceptance or provoke opposing dogmatism. Possibly both results followed in the present case, and had some influence on the question of the succession; for who was to succeed Elizabeth was still as far from being settled as ever. The subject, indeed, was not to be rashly spoken about, for it was one of those mysteries of State which were purposely kept in the dark. Elizabeth appears to have believed in her right to name her own successor, and she reserved the exercise of it to the last, with the full approval of politicians, who thought that an earlier declaration might be unsafe alike for herself and her nominee. But it was understood she favoured the King of Scots, and the general sense of the country looked in the same direction. The judges who had passed sentence on his mother had declared that her conviction did not prejudice his claims. Almost all the objections to a Scotch succession seemed to have passed away with Mary; and a hope began to be entertained that the union of the whole island under Protestant rule would give security to the reformed religion. Nor was the feeling in favour of James diminished by the efforts of factious Jesuits to set forth and magnify as much as possible the extreme uncertainty of the succession. A treatise was published by Father Parsons,* in 1594,

* "A Conference about the next Succession to the Crowne of Ingland. By R. Doleman." Doleman was a priest of the rival order of Secularists, who were less strongly opposed to the Church of England than the Jesuits. Many persons in England at this time were inclined to favour their milder form of Catholicism, and to think the breach with Rome not yet irreconcileable; but it was the object of Father Parsons, in thus writing under the signature of "R. Doleman," to get them into disfavour by making them responsible for some of his own obnoxious sentiments.

calculated to create the gravest anxieties as to what might take place on the death of Elizabeth. There were five different families that might pretend to the crown, and no less than twelve possible claimants: indeed others reckoned as many as fourteen. Of the house of Scotland there were King James and Lady Arabella Stuart. The former was undoubtedly next in succession, but then he was an alien, and since the days of Henry II. no alien had been king. James could not by law inherit an acre of English land; how, then, could he inherit the crown? Lady Arabella was of English birth, but besides some fancied doubts as to the legitimacy of her descent, there was an objection to a third female sovereign being preferred to so many male claimants. Then, if Henry VIII.'s will were valid, neither James nor Arabella could pretend a title. The heir must then be looked for in Edward, Lord Beauchamp, the representative of the house of Suffolk. But there was a question as to the marriage of his parents, which might transfer the rights of the Suffolk lineage to Ferdinando, Earl of Derby. The whole house of Suffolk, however, was open to objection on another question of legitimacy; for, extraordinary as the fact may seem, Charles Brandon had a wife alive at the time he married Henry VIII.'s sister.* It might, therefore, be advisable to pass over the issue of the Tudors altogether, and go back to that of the Plantagenets. But here there was the old controversy between York and Lancaster, more complicated now than ever. The male line of Edward IV. was extinct. The Earl of Huntingdon was supposed to have a claim as the representative of the line of Clarence; but his right seemed barred by several attainders, and even his pretence to be head of that house might be contested by the issue of Sir Geoffrey Pole. His leanings, besides, were towards the Puritans, which was enough to make his claim unpopular. Setting aside all these complications, it was urged that a clearer title might be found by going back to the original line of Lancaster, the issue of John of Gaunt by Blanche of Castile, instead of those descended, like the Tudors, from his ambiguous connection with Catherine Swynford. But this line descended one way through the kings of Portugal to the ducal houses of Parma and Braganza; by another it led through Philip II. of Spain to the Duchess of Savoy and the Infanta. This last princess was evidently the favourite with the Jesuit pamphleteer, who set forth her claims with particular minuteness, and showed that she was in many ways descended from the royal blood of England.

* This wife was a relation of his own, being what we call first cousin once removed. He afterwards obtained a bull of divorce from Clement VII. on the ground (much the same as Henry VIII. was at that very time urging in his own behalf) that the marriage had been within the prohibited degrees of affinity, and was therefore illegal. See Brewer's "Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.," vol. ii., preface, p. xxxiv., *note*.

All this looked serious enough when it was hinted that the rival claims could only be settled by the sword. The legal subtleties which enveloped the question—the difficulties regarding bastardy, attainder, and the succession of females—bore upon every claim that could be advanced, and were certain to appear formidable to any one not acquainted with the English quality of common sense. They might have their influence upon foreign princes or upon vain minds like that of Essex, who, great in the favour of the multitude, was encouraged by Parsons, in his dedication, to consider his own voice in the matter potent beyond all others. But to the nation it seemed simple enough. Mr. Bruce remarks,*—

"The people settled the case at their own firesides. Unseduced by the cavils or quibbles of Jesuits or lawyers, their common sense threw aside the difficulties piled up before them, and seized at once upon the true principle of a right determination. The line of Henry VIII. was about to fail. They must go back to Henry VII. James of Scotland was Henry VII.'s eldest lineal representative, his true and obvious and nearest heir. Building upon that foundation, the judgment of the vast majority of the people—it may be said the judgment of the nation—was clearly in his favour. Without polling-place or show of hands, without affronting the weakness of the Queen by a public discussion, the opinion passed from homestead to homestead by the electrical influence of an obviously right judgment, until from the Land's End to Berwick there was substantially but one opinion."

And certainly the work of a Jesuit like Parsons, who wrote under a false signature to gratify private malice, was not likely to make the nation change its mind.

After the death of Essex, people spoke more freely upon the subject, and no one seemed to have the smallest objection to accept James as their future sovereign. The Earl of Northumberland wrote to tell him so. "When we look," he said, "into your competitors at home, we find the eyes of the world, neither of the great ones nor small ones, once cast towards them; for either in their work are they contemptible or not liked for their sexes, [the people] wishing no more queens, fearing we shall never enjoy another like to this." The general expectation of James's succession had caused the wars in Ireland not to be so vigorously prosecuted, as it was conceived that whenever he came to the crown the Irish chieftains would lay their swords at his feet. The Scottish borders, too, were weakly guarded in comparison with former times.† The foundations had already been laid, before the death of Elizabeth, for a union of the two kingdoms under one king.

Such being the case, it is no wonder that James succeeded to the crown without a murmur of dissent. He was proclaimed within a

* "Correspondence of King James VI. of Scotland, with Sir Robert Cecil and others in England," p. xii., published by the Camden Society. † *Ibid.*, p. 5.

few hours of Elizabeth's death, and the first act of his first Parliament was to recognise his title. To recognise it,—not, as in the case of many of his predecessors, to confirm it; for it was clearly the doctrine now that the title of a king was higher than parliaments could make or unmake. Whatever pedants might think of the previous acts of succession,—whatever Jesuits might think of the Pope's right to annul allegiance,—the right by which James succeeded was such as the nation would not hear called in question. The first act therefore of James's parliament was to make this acknowledgment,—

> "That immediately upon the decease of Elizabeth, late Queen of England, the Imperial Crown of the realm of England, and of all the kingdoms, dominions, and rights belonging to the same, did, by inherent birthright and lawful and undoubted succession, descend and come to your most excellent Majesty, as being lineally, justly, and lawfully, next and sole heir of the blood royal of this realm."

These words contained a practical admission of the principle of divine right, together with another principle which was its necessary consequence, and is still admitted as part of the constitution. "The king," it is still said, "never dies." The moment a sovereign breathes his last, his successor begins to reign. His parliament does not ratify his title: his coronation confers no new powers; the sacred oil with which he is anointed has ceased to have any mystic virtue. He is king by the simple fact of birth, being next in the succession. But never till the days of James had royalty been so regarded; never till his days could such a doctrine have been recognised. It was the one clear principle that had been long desired to fix the constitution,—the happy settlement of questions which had made the throne a thorny seat alike to Tudors and Plantagenets. The repeated marriages of Henry VIII., his will, and the enactments confirming it, had all failed to give Englishmen that clear undoubted title for their sovereign which they had so long and ardently desired. The only way now to attain that object was to cast aside the former means as worthless. Acts of Parliament must no longer be regarded. Hereditary right must be treated as superior to them: it must be a right derived from God himself. The doctrine seemed not without Scripture warrant as well as warrant in expediency. It seized upon the mind with the force of a new truth, and had a kind of intoxicating effect. The best weal of the nation was thought to depend on their exalting the prerogative of the crown, and men seemed anxious to prostrate their liberties before the wheels of James's chariot.

But were there none, it will be asked, who upheld what seems to us the cause of common sense, who showed that kings reigned only by their subjects' consent, and that it was the natural right of every community to choose its rulers? Yes, undoubtedly, there were some,

or would have been, if they had dared to speak. Father Parsons had expressed those principles as clearly as the historian Hallam, and on them he had founded his arguments for the succession of the Infanta. Roman Catholic writers generally agreed that all power was from the people, and even contended that as they had given it originally to their princes they might resume it again into their own hands. But a man who should breathe such a sentiment in England was evidently a public enemy. The religion and the nationality of Englishmen gathered round the king as head both of the Church and of the State, and the only guarantee for the stability of the most cherished institutions was conceived to consist in upholding the prerogatives of the crown.

It was hardly seen at first how much these principles involved. Their consequences, however, could not long lie dormant. If they were to be thus recognised as constitutional, it was inevitable that attempts should be made to define more precisely than hitherto the nature of hereditary right and of the king's supremacy in Church and State. The matter concerned particularly two classes of men, divines and lawyers, to both of whom it was of the utmost importance that the true application of these principles should be clearly laid down. There was a difference, however, between the two professions, the latter being influenced by practical considerations from which the former were comparatively free. Convocation, accordingly, took in hand to counteract the obnoxious doctrines about Government upheld by the Jesuits, and, under the guidance of Archbishop Bancroft, began framing a set of canons on the nature of political and ecclesiastical authority. Divine right implied the doctrine of non-resistance, and non-resistance made it impossible for subjects even to scrutinize their prince's title. It was denounced as erroneous to assert that men were originally free until they chose themselves rulers,—that power in any way emanated from the people,—that coronation conferred any right upon a sovereign which he did not possess before, or that any resistance was lawful, even to an unjust and unlawful king. Common sense might rebel against these conclusions—with that Convocation did not care to trouble itself,—but such teaching was almost as hard to reconcile with Scripture as with reason. This, however, was actually attempted, and in a strange misty way the whole course of Old Testament history was expounded in accordance with the doctrines above specified.

One specimen of their mode of handling it will probably be enough. It is related in the Book of Judges how Ehud delivered the children of Israel from the Moabites by seeking a private interview with Eglon their king, and suddenly thrusting a dagger into his intestines. Convocation had no doubt whatever that the act was justified,—

which even a warm friend of freedom might question,—but considered that it was justified only by a special commission from God. The Israelites, it seems,—

"knew that it was not lawful for them of themselves, and by their own authority, to take up arms against the kings whose subjects they were, though indeed they were tyrants: and therefore they cried unto the Lord for succour: who, in compassion of their servitude and miseries, appointed Othniel to deliver them from the Aramites, and afterwards Ehud from the Moabites."

This was proved by the statement that "God raised them up" and made them "saviours to His people," so that there was no doubt of the authority on which they acted.

"If any man, therefore," it was declared, "shall affirm either that any godly and dutiful subject in the Old Testament did ever, by the direction of God's Spirit, account this fact of Ahud to be a lawful warrant for him to have murdered the king under whose subjection he lived, for any cause whatsoever, . . . or, that any person born a subject, and affirming by all the arguments which wit or learning could devise, that God had called him to murder the king *de facto*, under whom he lived, . . . ought therefore to have been believed of any who feared God; except (which is impossible) he should first prove his credit in so affirming to be equal with the Scriptures, and that men were bound as strictly to believe him in saying that God called and stirred him up to the perpetrating of that fact, as we are bound to believe the Holy Ghost, by whose instinct the Scriptures were written, when He telleth us that God raised up Ahud for a saviour to His people; he doth greatly err."*

To murder a king, certainly, is not an act which, under any circumstances, can be prompted by God; but Convocation meant to denounce armed resistance even to a tyrannical oppressor.

This was a little too much for common sense,—too much, it appeared, even for James himself. It seemed to make all sovereigns alike, whether lawful monarchs or usurpers. Had he no claim, then, to the obedience of his subjects better than that of a *de facto* king? Then, if the King of Spain should succeed in conquering England, it would be unlawful for his own subjects to attempt to throw off the yoke. James was touched to the quick, and, bristling with indignation, wrote in the following terms to one of the leading divines:—

"Good Doctor Abbot,—I cannot abstain to give you my judgment of your proceedings in your Convocation, as you call it; and both as *rex in solio* and *unus gregis in ecclesia*, I am doubly concerned. My title to the crown nobody calls in question, but they that neither love you nor me; and you guess whom I mean. All that you and your brethren have said of a king in possession (for that word, I tell you, is no worse than that you make use of in your canon) concerns not me at all. I am the next heir, and the

* Overall's "Convocation Book," 45-8.

crown is mine by all rights but that of conquest; and Mr. Solicitor has sufficiently expressed my own thoughts concerning the nature of kingship in general, and concerning the nature of it *ut in meâ personâ*, and I believe you were all of his opinion; at least none of you said aught contrary to it at the time he spoke to you from me. But you know, all of you, as I think, that my reason of calling you together was to give your judgments how far a Christian and a Protestant king may concur to assist his neighbours to shake off their obedience to their sovereign upon the account of oppression, tyranny, or what else you like to name it. In the late Queen's time, this kingdom was very free in assisting the Hollanders both with arms and advice; and none of your coat ever told me that any scrupled at it in her reign. Upon my coming to England, you may know that it came from some of yourselves to raise scruples about this matter. And albeit, I have often told my mind concerning *jus regium in subditos*, as in May last, in the Star Chamber upon the occasion of Hales his pamphlet, yet I never took any notice of these scruples till the affairs of Spain and Holland forced me to it. All my neighbours called on me to concur in the treaty between Holland and Spain; and the honour of the nation will not suffer the Hollanders to be abandoned, especially after so much money and men spent in their quarrel. Therefore I was of the mind to call my clergy together, to satisfy, not so much me as the world about us, of the justice of my owning the Hollanders at this time. This I needed not have done; and you force me to say I wish I had not. You have dipped too deep into what all kings reserve among the *arcana imperii*. And whatever aversion you may profess against God's being the author of sin, you have stumbled upon the threshold of that opinion, in saying upon the matter that even tyranny is God's authority, and should be reverenced as such. If the King of Spain should return to claim his old pontifical right to my kingdom, you leave me to seek for others to fight for it; for you tell us upon the matter beforehand, his authority is God's authority, if he prevail."*

This rebuke must have considerably astonished the clergy to whom it was addressed. It seems to have put an end to at least one absurdity. If men could still believe that tyranny might in certain cases be invested with God's authority, they no longer attempted to show that obedience was due to a usurper. But of course the authority of a lawful prince might be magnified as much as ever, and magnified it was, both by clergy and lawyers, a good deal beyond any former precedent. A law dictionary, entitled "The Interpreter," published by Dr. Cowell, professor of civil law at Cambridge, in 1607, afforded numerous examples of the growth of the new fanaticism. Under the heads of "King," "Parliament," and "Prerogative," it was maintained that the sovereign was above the law, and it was even rather strongly suggested that England was an absolute monarchy. The king had the power of dispensing with positive enactments, and was not actually bound to obtain the consent of Parliament to such laws as he himself might desire to impose. If he were not an absolute king he was not a real king. "And therefore, though it be a merciful policy, and also a politic mercy (not alterable without

* See preface to Overall's "Convocation Book," pp. 7, 8.

great peril) to make laws by consent of the whole realm, because so no one part shall have cause to complain of a partiality, yet simply to bind a prince to or by those laws, were repugnant to the nature and constitution of an absolute monarchy."

This was venturing upon rather delicate ground. Whatever the lawyers and the clergy might say, Parliament could not be expected to subscribe to such a doctrine. The book was brought under the consideration of the House of Commons, who urged the Lords to join them in pressing it upon the King's attention; but while they were deliberating, a message came from the King himself, declaring that he was much displeased with the doctrines contained in it, and would order the publication immediately to be suppressed. He owned that he was indebted to the law for his crown, and that he had no power to make laws of himself or exact subsidies without the consent of the three estates. Thus did King James himself, with all his own high notions on the subject, for the second time rebuke the extravagance of the over zealous friends of royalty. And if it had been left to James's subjects, undisturbed by any terror from without, the new doctrine of divine right would, in all probability, soon have found its level. But just about this time, Suarez the Jesuit was busily inculcating by his writings the right of subjects to depose and murder a king against whom sentence of deprivation had been pronounced by the Pope. "Good Dr. Abbot," who was now become Archbishop of Canterbury, made extracts from it, to show its bearing upon a political question that had risen up in Ireland, where the Government had been attempting to impose upon the Catholics disabilities altogether new. A deputation of Irish Catholics had come over to express their grievances to the King. The extracts made by Abbot were submitted to them, and their opinions asked upon the doctrines there set forth. One of those examined, William Talbot, would not positively contradict the doctrine of the Pope's power to depose princes, declaring it to be matter of faith in which he was bound to submit to the judgment of the Church; at the same time he fully acknowledged that James was his lawful and undoubted king, to whom he would bear allegiance during life. A more enlightened age would have been satisfied with this declaration; James's ministers were not. Talbot was committed to the Tower, and afterwards brought before the Star Chamber, where he was sentenced to a fine of £10,000, which, however, it may be believed, was afterwards remitted, as he was allowed to return to Ireland.*

It has now been proved by the experience of centuries that the loyalty of Roman Catholics towards a Protestant sovereign may be relied upon with perfect safety. But it was not easy to entertain the

* Gardiner's "History of England," ii. 315.

same amount of confidence in days when the heat of the great struggle of the sixteenth century had not yet abated,—when Europe was still split up into two hostile camps, and when Jesuits were publishing opinions like those of Suarez. At the trial of Talbot before the Star Chamber, Bacon, as attorney-general, prosecuted. He said to the judges,—

"I shall bring before you a cause concerning the greatest duel which is in the Christian world, the duel and conflict between the lawful authority of sovereign kings, which is God's ordinance for the comfort of human society, and the swelling pride and usurpation of the See of Rome *in temporalibus*, tending altogether to anarchy and confusion. Wherein if this pretence in the Pope of Rome, by cartels to make sovereign princes as the banditti, and to proscribe their lives, and to expose their kingdoms to prey,—if these pretences, I say, and all persons that submit themselves to that part of the Pope's power in the least degree, be not by all possible severity repressed and punished, the state of Christian kings will be no other than the ancient torment described by the poets in the hell of the heathen: a man sitting richly robed, solemnly attended, delicious fare, &c., with a sword hanging over his head, hanging by a small thread, ready every moment to be cut down by an accursing and accursed hand."*

There can be no doubt that Bacon spoke in these words the mind of the English people, who clung all the more strongly to the authority of a national sovereign and a national Church as they saw attempts made to supplant them by that of a foreign ecclesiastic. But any attempt to define the authority of Church or King was beset with dangers like those which had befallen Dr. Cowell and the Convocation. If the king was not altogether independent of Parliament it seemed doubtful where the sovereign authority lay; and yet to assert that he was so might bring on serious questions. There were lawyers like Bacon, who would have upheld the king's prerogative above all things, and there were lawyers like Coke, more jealous for the liberty of the subject and the privileges of the House of Commons. It was not till the succeeding reign that the theory of divine right, and the principles it involved, were elaborated into a system by Sir Robert Filmer.

Sir Robert was a country gentleman of Kent, who, for his loyalty to Charles I., had his house ten times plundered during the Civil War.† His writings were, in a later age, regarded as the great exponents of Tory doctrine touching the authority and the rights of kings. At the Revolution, Locke did not disdain to answer them, and it was made one of the charges against Algernon Sidney, that a MS. answer to Filmer's "Patriarcha" had been found in his possession. But their importance does not seem to have been discovered till the time when the Exclusion Bill was brought forward in Parliament to prevent the accession of James II. At this time the "Patriarcha"

* Montague's "Bacon," vi., p. 452.

† Hasted's "History of Kent," ii. 418.

first saw the light, after its author had been many years in his grave,* and it was at once received with approbation by a large and powerful section. On the other side various treatises appeared; and it is to be noted, among other things, that the weapons of the Romanists were skilfully turned against themselves by a republication of Father Parsons's book on the succession after Elizabeth. The right to exclude a Catholic from the succession was strictly in accordance with the principles which the Catholics themselves had most strongly insisted on.

Let us examine, however, what Filmer had to say for the indefeasible right of the lineal heir.

At the outset he sets himself boldly to controvert the doctrine that "mankind is naturally endowed and born with freedom from all subjection, and at liberty to choose what form of government it please; and that the power which any one man hath over others was at first bestowed according to the discretion of the multitude." This tenet, he declares, owed its origin to the early schoolmen, and had "been fostered by all succeeding Papists for good divinity." It was so plausible that it had found acceptance even with the divines of Protestant churches; and it recommended itself everywhere to the common people, as acknowledging the right of the meanest to some share of liberty, "never remembering that the desire of liberty was the first cause of the fall of Adam." Nevertheless, he holds, no such doctrine was to be found among the Fathers of the early Church; it was contrary to the whole teaching of Scripture, the practice of all ancient monarchies, and the very principles of the law of nature. It was bad divinity and dangerous as a political principle, though Calvinists and Jesuits had combined to affirm it, and had even carried it so far as to maintain that the people had the right to punish or deprive their king if he transgressed the laws of the kingdom. In this there was a wonderful agreement between the writings of Calvin and Bellarmine, between George Buchanan and Parsons the Jesuit. Nor did it appear that this serious error had ever been satisfactorily refuted. It was true the right of kings had been maintained, and Buchanan and Parsons had been confuted by many learned writers of that day, but none of them had ventured to deny the natural liberty and equality of men. This Filmer considered to be the radical error, the one fundamentally false principle on which the whole fabric of

* All our biographical dictionaries are in error as to the date of Filmer's death. Chalmers puts it in 1647, which is impossible, as Filmer wrote some observations on Hobbes's "Leviathan," which was not published till 1651. Rose gives 1688, which is equally inaccurate, as appears by a letter printed with the "Patriarcha" in 1680, from "the late learned Dr. Peter Heylyn" to his son Sir Edward Filmer, expressing his sense of the loss he had sustained by Sir Robert's death. The true date is doubtless 1653, as given in Hasted's "History of Kent."

sedition was built. It needed but to overthrow this sophistry, and there remained no longer the shadow of an apology for any description of treason whatsoever.

If Bellarmine's view were just, he maintains that a democracy would necessarily be the only lawful government; all monarchies and aristocracies would be usurpations on that supreme power of the people with which they were originally endowed by God. The Cardinal's logic even involved this absurdity, that, though an absolute democracy was the ordinance of God, the people had no power to use the power God gave them; they had only power to give it away to one or more persons who should be kings or rulers, to whom they then became bound by the same law of nature that originally made all men alike. Yet even this obligation was not consistently maintained. "It depends," said Bellarmine, "upon the consent of the multitude to ordain over themselves a king, or consul, or other magistrates; and if there be a lawful cause, the multitude may change the kingdom into an aristocracy or democracy." Thus the defenders of the natural liberty of the subject had to maintain, first, that no man was naturally under subjection to any power whatever; secondly, that the multitude could not but dispose of their natural sovereignty to one or more rulers; and thirdly, that though bound to those rulers they could change them (that is to say, they were bound and yet not bound).

But then this change was to be made only for a lawful cause. Who was to be the judge of its lawfulness? If the decision lay with the multitude themselves, the doctrine was evidently dangerous, and might give direct encouragement to sedition.

But what were the arguments, after all, produced in behalf of this doctrine of natural liberty? In all the writers whom he had consulted, Filmer had only been able to meet with one, which was stated by Cardinal Bellarmine as follows:—"That God hath given or ordained power is evident by Scripture; but God hath given it to no particular person, because by nature all men are equal; therefore He hath given power to the people or multitude." But Bellarmine himself had practically denied this doctrine of the natural equality of men on which the theory of natural liberty was founded. "If many men," said the Cardinal, "had been together created out of the earth, they all ought to have been princes over their posterity." So then it seemed nature did not make all men alike, but made each man prince of his posterity. Thus, not only Adam, but the patriarchs, had exercised royal rights over their children. The natural condition of mankind, therefore, was not one of democratic equality, but of patriarchal government. Adam was lord paramount, so long as he lived, over his children's children to the latest generation, and regal authority was an

ordinance of God himself, founded upon the subjection of a family to its head.

Thus civil power was really of divine institution, especially that which was handed down in succession from eldest parents; and there was no room left for any such compact between king and people as philosophers, even in Filmer's day, had begun to dream about. Instances are then cited from the Old Testament to show that the patriarchs exercised the power of life and death in their own families, commanded armies of their own kins, made treaties, and ratified them with oaths. The world was divided, after the Flood, among the three sons of Noah; and in the further dispersion of his descendants at the building of the Tower of Babel, "we must certainly," says our author, "find the establishment of regal power throughout the kingdoms of the world."

This, no doubt, was building a great deal on small and insecure premises. If it was meant to insist that King James was the true lineal heir of the patriarchs or of any of Noah's grandsons, it hardly required Locke to answer it, or Lord Macaulay to devote three pages of his history* to point out the weakness of such an argument. The logic was only worthy of Bedlam. Sir Robert knew as well as any man that usurpations were not uncommon facts in history; that even in that of the Jews, Jacob was not the eldest son of Isaac, and that in that of England there had been many departures from the strict line of hereditary descent: nor was he so foolish as to uphold a theory which would make allegiance due only to some unknown heir of Ham, Shem, or Japhet. He admits that princes have owed their power sometimes to usurpation and sometimes to election; he even admits that sovereign power belongs sometimes to a body of men instead of to an individual; but in all these cases, he maintains, it is still the natural authority of a father. "There is, and always shall be continued to the end of the world, a natural right of a supreme father over every multitude, although, by the secret will of God, many at first do most unjustly obtain the exercise of it." The actual king, therefore, has a divine right over his subjects, even though his ancestors or even he himself may not have obtained it fairly.

> "If it please God," says our author again, "for the correction of the prince, or punishment of the people, to suffer princes to be removed, and others to be placed in their rooms, either by the factions of the nobility, or rebellion of the people; in all such cases the judgment of God, who hath power to give and take away kingdoms, is most just, yet the ministry of men who execute God's judgments without commission is sinful and damnable."

And who can say that a view like this is irrational?

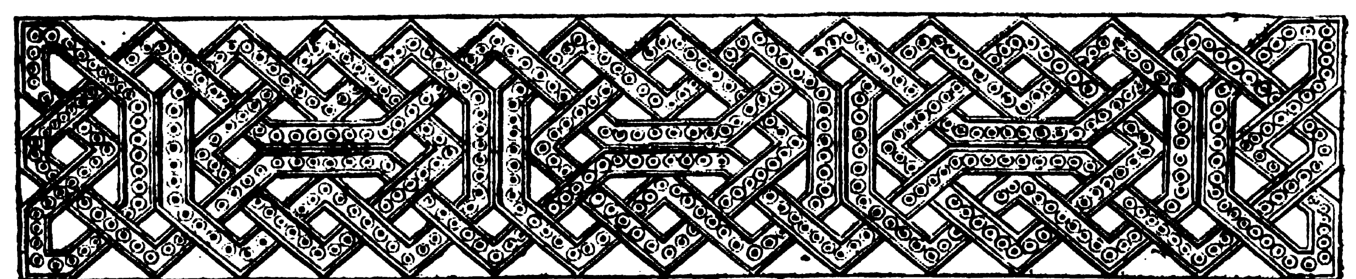
* "History of England," i. 70-3.

But what if the king died and left no heir? Did not the kingly power devolve to the people then? The answer was, that there must always be a true heir, and it argued negligence on the part of the people to lose sight of him; but it did not follow that the power devolved upon the multitude. It escheated in such cases "to the prime and independent heads of families." Families were the elements of a kingdom; it was by a union of great families or petty kingdoms that larger monarchies were originally formed, and into such they were sometimes again resolved by the course of events. Wherever, therefore, the true line of inheritance became involved in obscurity, it lay with those prime heads of families to confer the crown on whom they pleased; "and he that is so elected," says Filmer, "claims not his power as a donative from the people, but as being substituted properly by God, from whom he receives his royal charter of a universal father, though testified by the ministry of the heads of the people."

There is here implied a divine right of aristocracies as well as of monarchies; yet even the nobility could hardly claim to be lineal successors of the patriarchs. Kings, however, had a right to remedy the defects of obscure lineage, and most princes had thought fit at times to adopt as heads of families, or create peers, such as seemed qualified for the position by their special merits or fortunes.

Such was the theory of Sir Robert Filmer touching the origin of government,—a theory which it seems to me quite as easy unduly to depreciate as it proved possible to over-magnify it in the seventeenth century. Admitting that there is something fanciful in the derivation of kingly power from Adam, the analogy which Filmer sought to establish between the authority of a king and that of a father ought itself to have preserved his theory from giving countenance to those absurdities for which it was made answerable. Is a father's command to be absolutely obeyed even though it be weak, foolish, and unjust? Are there no limits to paternal sway, even when sons have grown up and fathers have grown feeble? The relation between ruler and ruled does resemble that between father and son,—much more, I venture to think, than that of parties to a contract, as Hobbes and Locke represented it to be. The best answer that could have been made to Tories and Jacobites ought to have been found in Sir Robert Filmer's argument.

JAMES GAIRDNER.



NAPOLEON'S HISTORY OF JULIUS CÆSAR.

VOLUME II.—THE WARS IN GAUL.

SECOND NOTICE.

IF men are generally made what they are by the force of circumstances, yet most men have a natural bent of genius, which it requires only circumstances to bring into play and prominence. The Emperor Napoleon III. will be celebrated hereafter as a keen and dexterous statesman, as a shrewd observer of men, and of the means of influencing and ruling them. But the talents of this kind, for which he is so eminent, have been developed by the position he has found or made for himself. Under the ordinary circumstances of life they would have remained concealed from the world, and probably from himself; they would have existed only in the germ. If surrounding events had allowed him the career indicated for him by the natural bias of his genius, he would probably have been distinguished as a civil or military engineer. His earliest speculations were those of a scientific artillerist; and since he became the ruler of a nation, besides applying his mind to the improvement of fortification and gunnery, he has embarked on practical experiments for arresting the rainfall in its progress to the large watercourses, and suspending the inundations which periodically ravage the great valleys of the Loire and other capricious rivers of France. And accordingly, he enters upon the "History of Julius Cæsar" with the spirit of the engineer no less than that of the statesman. It will be thought by many that he has done better service in the one capacity than in the other, as far

as the book before us is concerned; that as an engineer he has taught us a good deal which we could hardly have learned from any other, while as a statesman he has given us no new ideas of any value whatever. It would seem that the writer has made his otherwise fantastic division of his volume into an "analysis of the 'Commentaries'" and a "sketch of political affairs," with the view of giving himself free scope for the examination and discussion of topographical matters connected with the operations and military works of his hero. In tracing Cæsar's marches, in discovering his positions, in measuring the length and breadth and depth of his ditches and earthworks, and identifying their sites, his genius has thus had free course. Though not wholly untrammelled by theories, as we shall see eventually, yet here he has had generally no end to serve and no part to play but that of strict and honest inquiry, and the results he has produced, humble as they may seem to many, will have, to some congenial minds at least, a great and a lasting interest. "And this is much, and all that shall not pass away."

The most interesting portion of the "Commentaries" is that contained in the seventh book, in which the conqueror of the Gauls relates his great campaign against the combination of native states, which, after the whole country seemed to have been reduced, tribe by tribe, was found and directed against him by the national hero Vercingetorix. At last Cæsar has found a man of genius to oppose him; at last the spirit of combination has been roused, and an instrument has arisen capable of wielding it. At last Cæsar's genius is on its trial. He is surprised, but his energy and courage baffle his surprisers; assailed at a disadvantage, he returns blow for blow, and becomes himself the assailant. Checked, outmanœuvred or outnumbered, stricken by a great disaster, and himself left for a moment in the hands of the enemy, he withdraws from his defeat one moment before it had become a rout, and recovers by a second operation, under the greatest perils, more than he had lost by the failure of the first. The laurels lost at Gergovia are recovered at Alesia. The ruin of the Roman arms, within an ace of its accomplishment on the one spot, is succeeded by the destruction of the Gaulish confederacy on the other. The supremacy of Rome is restored, and the conquest of the mightiest of her provinces finally secured. The bark which carried "Cæsar and his fortunes" is righted, and rides triumphantly into its haven. The subject is in itself an epic, and deserves its sacred poet. In Napoleon it has found certainly no poet, but if he has kindled our imaginations, and taught us, with his own spade and levelling line, to build up in our mind's eye the towers and ramparts before which or behind which the triumph and the overthrow of the nations were accomplished, if he has made

Cæsar and Vercingetorix live again in the vestiges still remaining of the actual work of their hands, we owe him a debt the same in kind as if he had built for us the lofty rhyme, and raised to his hero a monument of imperishable verse.

The present generation have had the advantage of learning their geography from events. The greatest nations of the world went to war in the Crimea to teach us the coast-line of the Black Sea, the courses of the rivers which convey their waters into its basin, the position and relative importance of all the cities on its shores. To most of us the interior of India was first practically opened in tracing the dates of the telegrams which dealt out to us the first fragmentary accounts of the progress of the mutiny. We never realized perhaps the great physical features of America, till they were made familiar to us by the great civil war of the Western hemisphere, and we have just freshened up much which we had forgotten of the geography of Central Europe from the great civil war of the Eastern. In the same manner, any one who will take the trouble to follow Cæsar's campaign against the confederate Gauls, with the aid afforded him by an excellent series of maps in this present volume, will make himself insensibly familiar with the geography of central Gaul. The events of the war take place almost entirely along the channels of the Loire and Seine, with their tributaries, from the central seats of the Ædui, the power and strength of the confederacy, in Burgundy, to the Arverni in Auvergne, the Carnutes in the Beauce and the Sologne, the Remi on the Aisne, and the Lingones at the sources of the Marne and Meuse. Bibracte, their capital (identified by Napoleon with Mont Beuvray, near Autun), is as it were the key to Gaulish geography. From thence the eye is led down the great valleys in every direction, and this spot, the point of articulation of the Cevennes and the Vosges, in a country of low hills and high plateaux, the watershed between the Mediterranean and the German Ocean or the British Channel, forms the nucleus of the geographical system of modern France.

To the geographical interest of this campaign, which comes next, as we have seen, to the historical, Napoleon has now added a third. He has traced the topography, in all its details of its most stirring incidents. He has made it his business to examine, by agents specially deputed for the service, the indications which may still exist of the military works minutely described by Cæsar at Gergovia and Alesia, Uxellodunum, and other spots of less importance. The mere description or statement in the "Commentaries" could leave little impression by itself on the modern reader. It is difficult, indeed, to conceive what object the writer proposed to himself in making it, even for his own contemporaries, if unaccompanied, as we must suppose, by plans of the localities. The bare

narrative of the movements incident to a battle or siege, is generally found to be both obscure and dull. With all his clearness, and all his vividness of description, Cæsar himself is not exempt from this contingency. But lay the ichnography before us, and the "Commentaries" are at once animated by a new spirit. Up to the present time it can hardly be said that either Gergovia or Alesia had been more than mere names to the students of the Gaulish campaigns. The localities themselves had hardly been fixed to the full satisfaction of all inquirers. Within the last few years there have been repeated attempts to settle them definitively. M. Saulcy, General de Gœler, and the Duke of Aumale, have contributed, quite recently, to the solution; but the demonstration, at least, has been reserved for the Emperor, from actual examination of the sites, and the discoveries made upon them. Stories are told of the sorrows of imperial aide-de-camps, who have found themselves abruptly torn away from the luxuries and amusements of metropolitan quarters, and hurried off to pass weeks or months measuring and excavating in the melancholy retirement of Auvergne and Burgundy. But these martyrs of science have done us good service, and we tender them our best acknowledgments. We may henceforth rest in the conviction that Gergovia, the scene of Cæsar's great repulse, is a spot within a few miles of the left bank of the Allier, four miles south of the village of Clermont-Ferrand, and just thirty-three miles in the same direction from the now celebrated baths of Vichy. It was an "oppidum," or stockade, occupying the nearly level summit of a hill of considerable elevation, surrounded by the hills and streams distinctly indicated by Cæsar, and by remains of military works, fully sufficient for its identification. The results of the Emperor's explorations occupy two or three maps in the atlas which accompanies the volume, and are themselves, from their beautiful and careful execution, a high treat to the genuine topographer. But it would be useless to state the results we obtain from them, without having the plans themselves to present to the reader of these remarks. Nor less complete is the identification of Alesia, which was a Gaulish fortification of similar character, and is now proved to be the site of the modern village of Alise Ste. Reine, at the western extremity of the "Plateau de Langres," midway between Dijon and Tonnerre. This identity, which had been before conjectured, from various data, besides the similarity of the names, may now be said to be demonstrated by local examination. "The excavations carried on round Mont Auxois," on which the oppidum must have stood, "from 1862 to 1865, have brought to light, in nearly all points, the fosses of the Roman entrenchments." The result, in the discovery of the camps and other works, actually described by Cæsar, and corresponding fully with the description, is

most complete and satisfactory; but it would serve no purpose to particularize it here. One note, however, shall be cited, to show the splendid find of antiquities which rewarded the excavators:—

"There have been found, on a length of two hundred metres, in the bottom of the upper fosse, ten Gaulish coins, twenty arrow-heads, fragments of shields, four balls of stone of different diameters, two millstones of granite, skulls and bones, earthenware, and fragments of amphoras in such quantity that it would lead us to suppose that the Romans threw upon their assailants everything that came to hand. In the lower fosse, near which the struggle was hotter after the sally of Labienus, the result has surpassed all hopes. This fosse has been opened for a space of five hundred metres in length; . . . it contains, besides six hundred coins, fragments of pottery, and numerous bones, the following objects:—ten Gaulish swords, and nine scabbards of iron, thirty-nine pieces which belonged to arms of the description of the Roman *pilum*, thirty heads of javelins which, on account of their lightness, are supposed to have been the points of the *hasta amentata;* seventeen more heavy heads may also have served for javelins thrown by the *amentum*, or simply by the hand, or even for lances; sixty-two blades, of various forms, which present such finished workmanship that they may be ranged among the spears. Among objects of defensive armour, there have been found one iron helmet, and seven cheekpieces, the former of which are analogous to those which we see represented on Roman sculptures; ambos of Roman and Gaulish shields; an iron belt of a legionary; and numerous collars, rings, and fibulæ."—(P. 387, *note.*)

These remains, it will be observed, have been found in two spots only, and others of similar character and interest have rewarded the search elsewhere, all combining to show that the collision of the two nations took place at numerous points, converging around the central hill on which stood the Gaulish fortification of Alesia. The mountain plateau of Auxois, surrounded by various eminences and washed by two streams, all indicated by Cæsar, together with the lines of defence distinctly traceable—those of the Gauls on the crest of the hill and at the foot of the slope beneath it—those of the Romans on the surrounding summits, and comprising also a circumvallation strengthened by various forts against the besieged on the one hand, and a countervallation parallel to it to check the advance of succours on the other,—these present altogether the great features of the struggle so completely, that few military operations even of modern times can now be followed with greater satisfaction. We may look with great interest to the result of the Emperor's examinations at other localities which his succeeding volumes will bring before him. Cæsar's famous campaign on the Ségre in Spain deserves to be studied on the spot. It is probable that some traces may even yet be discovered of the immense works with which he hemmed in Pompey's army at Apollonia. Above all it is desirable that the field of Pharsalia should be thoroughly explored. It seems hardly possible at present to reconcile the local features with the account of the battle in the "Com-

mentaries," and Colonel Leake's solution has been, as it would seem, very justly discountenanced by Mommsen. But if the vestiges of Cæsar's and Pompey's camps are still visible to the experienced eye of a scientific antiquarian, one of the hardest problems of ancient military history may yet admit of an explanation.

To the Emperor's decisions, where he has no personal or political bias, we may look with very great confidence. He combines the scholar with the engineer: he enjoys the best assistance both in the one capacity and the other. If he is great in earthworks and military machinery, in ramparts and palisades, in "wolves' pits" and "lilies," he has made some good remarks also in pure questions of Latinity, as in his explanation of the phrase "altero die," "the second day *exclusive*" (p. 299, *note*); and his explanation of the duration and appointed term of Cæsar's proconsulate (p. 519, foll.) is a valuable piece of sound and subtle criticism. But unfortunately neither science nor learning is proof against Napoleonism. It had been fondly expected that the Emperor would have entered fairly and fully into the vexed topography of Cæsar's descent upon Britain, and applied all his resources to decide impartially between the conflicting judgments which have been passed upon it. We had forgotten or overlooked the fact that the first Napoleon, in his "Précis des Guerres de César," following the common opinion of his day, had pronounced *obiter* for the landing at Deal, and we had disregarded the circumstance of his having prepared for his descent from Boulogne. It seems that to the Napoleonic mind "res judicata est." The historian is no longer an inquirer or a judge: he is simply the interpreter of a foregone conclusion. Candour is no longer respected; Latinity is no longer regarded.

This is a great disappointment, and the genuine inquirer will feel and speak strongly upon it. It only remains to justify his indignation by a survey, at some length, of the Emperor's treatment of the question. That portion, indeed, of the reading public which cares for matters of this kind has already been saturated with the literature of the subject before us, and it will not be necessary to add another review in this place of the various data from which such conflicting opinions are to this day deduced and maintained in regard to it. On the whole it may be allowed, on a full consideration of the arguments on both sides, that for the point of embarkation nothing conclusive can be alleged, as between Boulogne and Witsand; that for the place of landing, every datum may be applied almost equally well for Deal and for Hythe, *excepting one.* The first point, it would seem, we must be content to leave undecided, with little or no hope that anything further can be said to incline the balance in the one direction rather than in the other. As regards the second, the various

pros and *cons.* may perhaps be fairly set off one against another;—all but the one palmary argument from the setting of the tide on the day and hour indicated by Cæsar himself. These must be regarded as fixed by the incontrovertible authority of the "Commentaries," as interpreted by the observations of modern science, to the afternoon (two to three or four p.m.) of August 25th (B.C. 55). The hour is expressly stated, and the day, as is well known, is ascertained from the subsequent notice of the occurrence of a full moon so many days after the landing, which full moon may be calculated to have occurred in the early morning of the 31st. Nearly two hundred years ago the astronomer Halley fastened on these precise statements, and from the known phenomena of the *rise* and *fall* of the tides off Dover, asserted that Cæsar's flotilla must have been carried eastward from that point with the flow, and thus brought to the coast at Deal or Walmer. Till within the last ten years this conclusion was generally undisputed; the question was supposed to be settled on scientific authority, and there was little or no difficulty in making the other data accord with this solution. The reopening of the question is due to Mr. Airy, no less an astronomer than Halley, and in this case certainly a more careful observer. Mr. Airy was able to point out, from observations on the spot, which probably his predecessor had neglected to make, the important fact, so often popularly overlooked, that the rise and fall of the tidal waters do not correspond in narrow seas with the flow and ebb of the current. At a short distance off Dover it is now ascertained that these phenomena differ respectively by three or more hours. It appears, accordingly, that during the *rise* of the tide which Halley expected to drift Cæsar eastwards, there was actually a current retiring and bearing him in the contrary direction. Hence it became obvious that the statement of the "Commentaries" pointed not to Deal, but to Hythe or its vicinity, for the place of Cæsar's landing; and as, again, it was found that the other date might be accommodated, in some respects more, in others less easily, with this conclusion also, the hypothesis of the western landing, most ably argued as it was by Mr. Lewin, has been, provisionally at least, very generally accepted. It was indeed still open to the malcontents—and the tenacity with which opinions on subjects of this kind are maintained by the instincts and prepossessions of poor antiquarian human nature is surprising—to cling to the idea that the tidal current might vary much according to the distance off shore, a point on which the data were at least indistinct, or according to the force and direction of the wind, or may have been affected by the shifting of the coast-line or of the sea's bottom in the course of twenty centuries; in short, to evade the force of scientific deduction by a merely arbitrary assumption. And in this evasion Dr. Cardwell and Dr. Guest

have undoubtedly evinced remarkable dexterity. Nevertheless, whatever possibilities they have indicated, and however, were the other data irreconcileable with the new hypothesis, we might be compelled to take up with mere possibilities, there is certainly no such compulsion now put upon us; and we seem bound to acquiesce, however much against the personal wishes of some ardent theorists, in the solution to which a full and accurate scientific exploration appears to have led us:—"The final result of this scrutiny," says Admiral Smyth (February, 1863), referring to "the recent tidal researches made by the Admiralty at the request of Earl Stanhope," as President of the Society of Antiquaries, "is, that on the fourth day before the full moon, the tide turns to the westward off Dover between noon and one p.m., soonest near the beach, and latest in the offing." Accordingly, as the current of the ebb-tide continues to flow (westward) for six and a half hours, it must have been setting in that direction between two and four p.m., when, as Cæsar tells us, he ordered his vessels to steer with wind and tide, and eventually effected his landing some eight miles farther off.

It would seem that, to a writer who was determined to cling to the easterly hypothesis, only one course now remained open. Such, as has been already intimated, is the case with the Emperor, and we will now see how he proceeds to adopt it. After settling, in the usual way, the period of the year when Cæsar sailed on his first expedition, *i. e.*, the latter days of August, he continues,—

"We have, relative to the day of landing, the following indications:—After four days past since his arrival in Britain . . . there arose suddenly so violent a tempest . . . That same night it was full moon, which is the period of the highest tides of the ocean. Post diem iv. quam est in Britanniam ventum . . . tanta tempestas subito exorta est. . . . Eadem nocte accidit, ut esset luna plena, qui dies maritimos æstus maximos in oceano efficere consuevit."

Upon the first clause of this quotation he adds the following note:—

"Word for word, this expression signifies that the ships set sail four days after the arrival of the Romans in England. The Latin language often employed the ordinal number instead of the cardinal number. Thus the historian Eutropius says, 'Carthage was destroyed seven hundred years after it was founded—Carthago septingesimo anno quam condita erat deleta est.' Are we, in the phrase 'post diem quartam,' to reckon the day of the arrival? Virgil says, speaking of the seventeenth day, 'septima post decimam.' Cicero uses the expression 'post sexennium' in the sense of *in six years*. It is evident that Virgil counts seven days after the tenth. If the tenth were comprised in this number, the expression 'septima post decimam' would signify simply the *sixteenth day*. On his part Cicero understands clearly the six years as a lapse of time which was to pass, starting from the moment in which he speaks. Thus, the 'post diem quartam' of Cæsar must be understood in the sense of four days accomplished, without reckoning the day of landing."

Such is the verbal criticism on which the Emperor founds the following statement:—

"According to this, we consider that the tempest took place after four days, counted from the day of landing; that the full moon fell on the following night. . . . Thus we believe that it would be sufficient, for ascertaining the exact day of landing, to take the sixth day which preceded the full moon of the month of August, 699 (B.C. 55); now this phenomenon, according to the astronomical tables, happened on the 31st, towards three o'clock in the morning. On the eve, that is on the 30th, the tempest had occurred; four full days had passed since the landing: this takes us back to the 26th. Cæsar, then, landed on the 25th of August."

Having thus arrived at a date for the landing two days earlier than that is really assigned to it, the Emperor enters into calculations by which he can show, as he thinks, that the current had turned eastward, on the 25th, by the time of day at which Cæsar's flotilla left its moorings. His reasoning, indeed, upon this point seems loose and unsatisfactory. It is difficult to see, admitting the conclusion of the Admiralty observations as to the turn of the tide on the 27th, how it could be made to correspond with the data for the 25th. But this point may be passed over, and the more so as it is understood that application has been made to have the observations repeated and confirmed. There remains the question of the Emperor's Latinity. Does the phrase "post diem iv." mean the fourth day inclusive or the fourth day exclusive, *i. e.*, the fifth, or even the sixth day? The later limit, the 31st, being fixed, can the earlier limit be the 25th or even the 26th? must it not be absolutely confined to the 27th?

We have seen just now how the Emperor reasons about it. It will be readily allowed that his citations from Eutropius, Cicero, and Virgil are altogether beside the mark. Not one of them presents the idiom actually before us. If the "post sexennium" is really parallel to it, it tells against the Emperor's argument; for it is, as he himself admits, *inclusive*, = "within six years." Yet this is the only reply Napoleon makes to the reference with which Mr. Lewin had furnished himself from Cicero ("Philipp.," ii. 35), to show that the phrase must be taken inclusively,—"Neque te illo die, neque postero vidi . . . post diem tertiam veni" ("Invasion of Britain," p. 26). Now this passage, taken with the context, is amply sufficient to show that the phrase *may* be inclusive. But can it be otherwise? Does there ever occur an instance where it is exclusive? It may be difficult to prove the negative, though the Emperor's utter failure in producing such an instance may give us a strong suspicion that the affirmative cannot be sustained. But let us look more closely into the authorities.

In the first place, it may be remarked that the dictionaries, such as Ainsworth's and others, as far as we have examined them, give the inclusive sense, and that only. How may this decision be supported?

1. Cicero, "Philipp.," ii. 35, has been already cited by Mr. Lewin.

2. Cicero, "Pro Milon.," 16: "Audistis Clodium dixisse . . . periturum Milonem *triduo* . . . post *diem tertium* gesta res est quam dixerat;" *i. e.* within three days.

3. "Livy," vi. 1: "Quidam quod postridie Idus Quint., non litasset Sulpicius. . . . neque post diem tertium objectus hosti Rom. exercitus esset;" *i. e.* neither the day after the Ides, nor the next day to that, = the third day inclusive.

4. "Q. Curtius," iii. 6, 3: "Post diem tertium medicamenta sumpturus erat; . . . inter hac cogitationes biduo absumpto, illuxit a medico destinatus dies;" *i. e.* the third day. And this medical use of the phrase confirms this interpretation in the many passages in which Pliny speaks in the same way of the effects to be produced by medicines: indeed, the tertian and quartan ague mean, in medical language, ague fits recurring the third and fourth day inclusive; *i. e.* every other day and every third day.

5. Hirtius, in "De Bell. Alexand.," 6: "Ipse navem conscendit A.D. vi. kal. Jan. [Dec. 27], et reliquas naves statim est consecutus. Ita vento certo celerique navigio vectus post diem quartam cum longis navibus in conspectum Africæ venit." This day (Dec. 30) he landed and summoned Adrumetum to surrender; "una nocte et die ad oppidum consumpta; . . . [he withdraws] . . . "itaque castra posuit ad oppidum Ruspinum kal. Januarii," *i. e.*, on the 1st January he arrived before Ruspinum; on the 31st December he lay before Adrumetum; therefore it was on the 30th that he had landed there; and this was "post diem iv." from his sailing, December 27.

6. Such are a few passages which have appeared on a slight examination of the Latin authors, and certainly none have occurred to us which can favour the Emperor's interpretation. It would be needless to multiply citations. One more only shall be given, as it is from Cæsar himself, and shows, unmistakeably, that he too used the phrase inclusively. In the "De Bell. Gall.," vi. 33, he says, "Discedens post diem vii. sese reversurum confirmat; . . . dies que appetebat vii., quem ad diem Cæsar reverti constituerit;" *i. e.*, dies vii., = post diem vii.; or, as it may be translated, "meanwhile the seventh day, the period fixed for Cæsar's return, approached;" and this, it so happens, is the translation here given by the Emperor himself ("Hist. of Jul. Cæsar," ii., p. 285), without hesitation or remark! This is perhaps enough; but it may be worth while further to remind the reader that the idiom "post diem," &c., is exactly analogous to that of "ante diem," so often used in computing the days of the calendar, the precise meaning of which has never been questioned. Ad. iii. kal., can only mean the third day inclusive, the next but one before the 1st of the ensuing month, the last but one of the current month; and so com-

pletely was this usage established, that we find such a phrase in Livy and elsewhere as, "dies ante diem iii. kal," with exactly the same meaning.

Now the Emperor, as before said, is by no means a bad scholar, and here it is perfectly clear that he has deliberately sacrificed his scholarship to his theory. One further instance must be given of his want of candour in justice to a really honest and single-minded inquirer among ourselves. If, as really appears to be the case, we must in our present state of knowledge on the subject accept the hypothesis of Cæsar's landing to the west of Dover, there has nothing yet been adduced, either by Napoleon or his predecessors, to determine, as between Boulogne and Witsand, the point of his departure. The Emperor indeed, obliged by his antecedents, has decided very peremptorily for the former. He says (p. 206):—

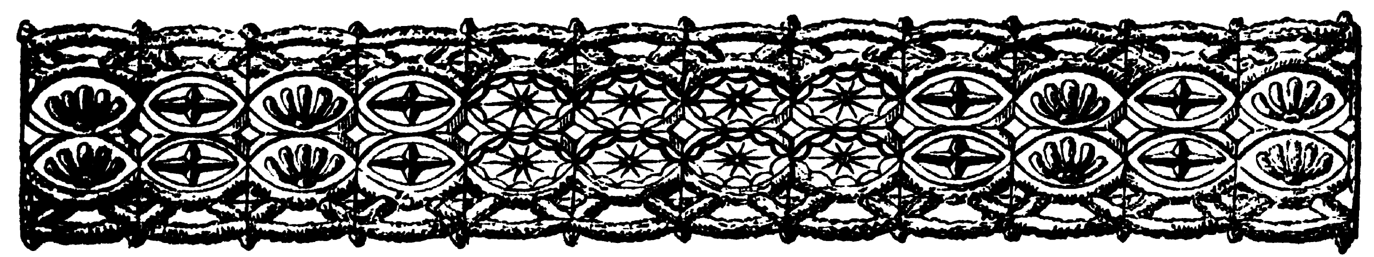
> "None of the ports situated to the north of Boulogne could serve as the basis of Cæsar's expedition, for none could receive so great a number of vessels, and we cannot suppose that Cæsar would have left them on the open coast, exposed," &c. . . . "At Calais he would have found nothing but flats and marshes, at Wissant nothing but sands, as indicated by the etymology of the word."

It happens, however, that while the Emperor was forming his conclusions or arraying his arguments in support of them, Dr. Guest was also studying the question of the place of embarkation on the spot, and in the summer of 1863 he read a paper on the subject before the Archæological Institute, at its meeting that year at Rochester. In this paper he showed conclusively that the port of Wissant, however insignificant at present, must in all probability have been very extensive at the period referred to. There are the strongest indications in the configuration of the coast that in former times there was at Wissant a large landlocked backwater, with one or two outlets to the sea, similar to that which now exists at Shoreham on on the coast of Sussex, and in various points on that of Suffolk, which would have afforded ample accommodation for Cæsar's flotilla, as well as a most secure and convenient haven. In the same paper Dr. Guest refuted quite satisfactorily some other minor objections which are advanced against this point of departure, while he also put the case for Deal on the other side as the point of landing with some force and novelty of argument.

Now the Emperor, the subject of Dr. Guest's intended communication being previously brought to his knowledge, sent over M. Maury, an officer of the French navy, on a special mission to attend at the meeting of the institute, and hear and report to him Dr. Guest's views. By some accident M. Maury failed to be present at the reading of the paper; but when he attended at the dinner which followed *en régle,*

he made a speech, at which he referred to the interest which his master took in the question, intimated the nature of his own commission, and after expressing his regrets at his own accidental absence, assured the company that the arguments and remarks of Dr. Guest, which had been communicated to him privately, should be laid before the Emperor. It cannot be doubted, then, that Napoleon has been made fully aware that the Wissant of to-day is very different from the Wissant of nineteen centuries ago, and that his argument from its existing condition has absolutely no force at all. Yet not only does he abide by this argument, but he advances it without any notice of Dr. Guest's counter statement, and, as under such circumstances may be supposed, without any mention whatever of Dr. Guest. The polemics of literature present to us a good many ugly incidents, but few that are uglier than this. On matters of purely literary interest, the author of the "History of Julius Cæsar" has furnished us with some valuable discoveries, which deserve, no doubt, our grateful acknowledgments. We hope that he may yet do more for us in the progress of his work. But our vexation and disappointment are at least equal to our satisfaction, and we are bound to declare that, wherever the smallest element of political interest can be imported into a question, we have nothing to look for from his respect for himself or for others.

C. MERIVALE.



NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Kabbalah: its Doctrines, Development, and Literature. An Essay. By CHRISTIAN D. GINSBURG, LL.D. 8vo. London: Longmans. 1865.

THE members of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool may well claim either our admiration or our pity: our admiration, if they were able to follow the learned essayist in his description of Kabbalistic doctrines; our pity if, unable to comprehend many of its details, they had to endure the infliction of so long an essay on so abstruse a subject. But whether they demand our admiration or our pity, we certainly owe them our thanks for the permission which they have given to the author to reprint from their Transactions what is, for its size, probably the best and most complete account of a system which has at times greatly influenced the course of thought, from the date of the Neo-Platonic school of Alexandria down to the sixteenth or seventeenth century of our era. The account of the Kabbalistic doctrine is carefully and on the whole well done, all the important statements being supported by extracts from the Sohar, the commentary on the Sephiroth, and other books of acknowledged authority, the Rabbinic originals being given in notes at the foot of the page. It is perhaps not to be wondered at that with so much Hebrew a few misprints should be found; they are for the most part easy of correction, the one of chief importance being at p. 74, where what ought to have been Note 10 has disappeared, and a portion of Note 12 has been inserted in its place. There are, however, errors in the Latin and Greek as well as in the Hebrew; and the author or his printer seems to have an especial objection to the use of the diphthong *æ*. On one or two points we think Dr. Ginsburg might with advantage have given further information, as on the use to be made of the tables formed out of the words of Exod. xiv. 19—21, and generally on the employment of words and phrases of Holy Scripture by the Kabbalists as a kind of *memoria technica.* The sketch of Kabbalistic literature is full and very interesting, especially that portion of it in which Dr. Ginsburg proves (conclusively on the whole, though we do not admit the relevancy of all his arguments) that the Sohar, which claims to have been written in the first century of the Christian era, is a compilation of the thirteenth. But we can

hardly call the sketch complete, since it gives no account of so distinguished a man and so profound a Kabbalist as Spinoza. We do not suppose the omission to have arisen from ignorance, as Dr. Ginsburg shows some acquaintance with the writings of that philosopher. In fact, the author of this essay, though himself a Christian, has regarded his subject from a purely Jewish point of view, and has treated of the internal development of the system, to the almost entire exclusion of reference to its external bearings. A second essay might well be devoted to tracing the Kabbalah from its real, not its mythical, origin, which is probably to be looked for about the time of the Babylonian Captivity; and indicating the relation of its doctrines to those of the Zend-avesta, and the early Brahminic and Buddhist systems of India; of its mathematical speculations to the arithmetic of Pythagoras; of its statements respecting the Supreme Being to those of Plato, Proclus, and Philo Judæus; and of its theory of emanations and intermediate creative agencies to the heretical γνώσις of the Ophites and Valentinians.

A Summer in Skye. By ALEXANDER SMITH, Author of "A Life Drama," "Alfred Hagart's Household," &c. (Popular Edition.) London: Alexander Strahan.

MR. SMITH'S book has already run the gauntlet, as people say, of the critical press; but a word is due to this charming edition in one volume; and indeed, we really do not know that "A Summer in Skye" has even yet received as much praise as it is entitled to. It is as readable as a very good novel, and, in the best sense of that abused word, suggestive,—just because it is a full book, the production of a man who has plenty to say, and a gift of speech which is even too much for him. It is crowded with picture, legend, anecdote, incidental discussion, and felicitous criticism, and contains some genuine poetry. A better book to put in a carpet-bag or knapsack—if there is only room for one besides *the* one—we do not know in recent literature. It contains much more than an account of a summer in Skye; but we are not sure that we can wish much away that lies between the first page and the last, except some very disagreeable matter about Glasgow riots and the like towards the end of the book. There are a few passages besides in which there are jarring notes, but not many.

It is, however, in poetry that Mr. Smith is at his best. His prose is so very clever that occasionally the theme of the writing is dwarfed by what is said about it. You miss, at these moments, something of the simplicity of perfect truthfulness, and the stream of thought has to wait while the musical eloquence of the author spreads into unexpected pools of effusive breadth. True, there is something of the light of poetry on them all, and much of that light on many; but sometimes—to change the image—you would rather be led simply through the avenue straight on than have to stop while Mr. Smith is hanging his purple and gems on the plane-tree. In speaking of a work so rich in what is bright and beautiful, it seems almost ungrateful to say this; but we will stake something on the truth of this criticism—that Mr. Smith's greatest want as a writer is the want of the self-control which would prevent the beautiful stream of his writing stopping so often to make these wide, shining pools. Having said this, and because we do, not because we don't, sincerely respect the genius of the man, we thank him once again for a delightful work, which we can recommend to our readers as a book to buy and to keep.

Our Curate's Budget. Edited by the Rev. WILLIAM MITCHELL, M.A. Incumbent of Chantry, Somerset. Frome Selwood: Hodges. London: Parkers.

THIS little volume contains from No. 13 to No. 18 of what we suppose to be a large series of parish stories. They are of the best kind, capitally told: vigorous and lifelike in description, manly and honest in tone, bold but yet charitable in their assertion of Church principles. They belong to the school which the locality of their printing naturally suggests: but are free from all nonsense and mawkishness, which is more than can be said of many books of the same family. In one place only has the author lifted the veil a little injudiciously from the practices of his school; and as seen there, they certainly do not appear to advantage. We are sorry to cite from such a thoroughly good book for blame rather than praise: but the warning from such a description should not be lost:—

"It was at the later morning service that David was to be formally admitted into the choir. His mother was very busy, as it was such a fine day, and she kept him till past ten o'clock. As soon as she let him go he was off like the wind, and when he reached the church he found the other boys standing about the vestry. They gave him a kind welcome among them. In a little while the door was opened, and all went in. The clergy were already there, and the older members of the choir, and Mr. Carter gave David a pleasant greeting, which made him more at home than he had expected.

"David was told to go into the church, and to stand just outside the chancel screen, for a few minutes. So he did as he was bid, and waited wondering, till two of the choristers in their surplices came out to fetch him back to the vestry. He was made to stand in front of Mr. Carter, while a short lesson was read from the second and third chapters of the First Book of Samuel. Then the priest, taking the boy by the hand and bidding him kneel, said to him,—

"'David, I admit thee to sing as a chorister in this church, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.'

"After this David felt the priest's hand on his head, and heard the words of benediction pronounced. He rose from his knees, scarcely able to keep from crying, and took his place among the rest while they chanted the eighty-fourth, the hundred and twenty-second, and hundred and thirty-fourth Psalms. After which all knelt down, while a few more prayers were said, and by the time they were ended eleven o'clock was on the point of striking. David Reeves was now a chorister boy of St. Stephen's Church, wearing a surplice, and sitting in the chancel with the singing men and the clergy."

Now all we can say is that if such are the self-prescribed forms of admission into the lowest offices of the Church, the solemnity reserved by the Church herself for the admission into the highest is thereby obliterated. Thus do extremes meet: and the excess of reverence everywhere induces, as we so often see in bad practice, reverence nowhere.

But we cannot conclude with blame. "Fustian Jenny" is as truly a story of Christian pathos as the "Crofton Cricket Club" is of manly English interest. If the rest of the series are like these, "Our Curate's Budget" must be a treasure for grown up as well as for younger Churchmen.

Cornelius O'Dowd upon Men and Women and other Things in General. First, Second, and Third Series. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons.

Sunnyside Papers. By ANDREW HALLIDAY, Author of "Everyday Papers." London: Tinsley Brothers.

CORNELIUS O'DOWD is the gayest of rattlebrains, and exhibits, besides, method in his madness. He is a careless fellow, and avows it in his motto,—

> "I care not a fig
> For Tory or Whig,
> But sit in a bowl and kick round me;"

but he is a very long way from being a buffoon, and there is much more in these daring spurts of his than at the first glance appears. It is not true, however, that he cares not a fig for Tory or Whig; he is at heart a Tory, and a very instructive specimen, too, of the Tory intelligence, "conditioned" by humour, knowledge of the world, and the liberal leanings of the man of letters. Nobody can read him without laughing, and when the laugh is over the man is a study in himself, even if he have not said something worth remembering. But, in truth, he is often a sound critic of what is going on in the world; and the only things that every one distrusts are his occasional speculations, which are always so imperfectly thought out as to be misleading. He maintains, for instance, that "the man" is always less than "the work," while "the woman" is greater. In trying to make out his case he writes a great many clever, empirical things; but the little theory is dangerously, and, by good fortune, obviously, false. Some men are less than their work, some are greater. We have heard a living man of genius say that nothing struck him more strongly in his intercourse with the late Mr. Thackeray, than the fact that he was much greater than his books. We believe that nobody of *chastened* mind can help feeling that men and women too are better than their words, and better than their deeds, and that much of the tragedy of human story lies bound up in that discrepancy. But Mr. O'Dowd brings, avowedly, an *un*chastened mood to his work, and his animal spirits are always betraying him into these blunders.

Mr. Halliday has even less speculative power than Mr. O'Dowd, and he is a sketcher rather than a rattler; but his little volume is bright, readable, and sometimes informing. Of course a writer for *All the Year Round* must not be too implicitly trusted as to his "facts," and there are plenty of small things to find fault with in "Sunnyside Papers"—matters of style and taste, for example,—but we prefer only to say that Mr. Halliday has a quick eye and some genuine humour. His book is not a book for the student's library, and must not be judged, in any respect, by library standards; but it is often entertaining, and it would be of no use to point out the errors and weak points. These come of conditions which cannot be altered now, and Mr. Halliday would repeat them in other shapes in his next book. The preface is the worst part of the volume, if we except some passages in the article about Lord Mayor's Day,—in which the same weakness (not an attractive one) is exhibited. To be "praised" by "the critics," or to have "the *pas*" of an alderman, is not a thing to purr about.

The Difficulties and the Organization of a Poor Metropolitan Parish. **Two Lectures, delivered to the Students of the Theological College, Cuddesdon. By the Rev. Robert Gregory, M.A., Perpetual Curate of St. Mary the Less, Lambeth. London: Rivingtons.**

We welcome this pamphlet as coming from a clergyman who is no mere theorist about the poor, but who has been himself working for thirteen years in a pauper parish of London. He is able to tell us, if any can, wherein lie the difficulties of such a work, and how far there is hope of these difficulties being overcome. We are glad that he shuns all vague talk

about "numbers," and "indifference," and "contagion of evil example," and goes straight in his first lecture to the real and tangible data of the problem.

Here is the description of his district:—

"Imagine ten or twenty thousand persons congregated in a very limited space—say a hundred to a hundred and fifty acres; they are living near to one another quite accidentally; their occupations lie far asunder; perhaps no two persons in the same street, within the same shop or factory; there are long lines of houses tenanted by operatives; no masters or wealthy men live near; everybody is afraid of being thought to know his neighbours."—(P. 22.)

Let us follow him as he goes below the surface of these appearances, and traces out the actual points in which a poor parish in London differs from one in the country. First and foremost of these is the isolation of the poor in London. Too much can hardly be said of this as a hindrance to Church work. "It reduces the hillock over which the clergyman is appointed to watch to the atoms of which it is composed, each one of which requires a separate share of his attention" (p. 8). Seeking for the causes of this isolation we find one to be the absence of all parish distinctions in London. The parish exists indeed on the vestry map, but in no other sense. If you were to ask a poor man what church he "belonged to" you would be stared at. He might tell you what church he went to, or what clergyman visited him, but that there exists a relation between him and any particular church boundaries, he cannot comprehend; and no wonder,—the thing is obsolete. Again, the force of other relations which used to bind labouring men together is lessening day by day. The employer delegates all superintendence to the foremen of different departments. Personally he knows nothing of his men, and those men themselves own no social tie among themselves. Occasionally there is a combination to effect some object of common interest; it is gained or lost, and the combination ceases; the members of it drift off hither and thither as the competition of the day carries them. This fluctuation of labour is another of the isolating causes we are in search of. With a change of employer comes a change of residence. The London workman hardly knows what a home is like. If he lodges in one house for six months it is a long residence to him. We have ourselves met with such cases constantly. We have visited a street from house to house in hope of gaining our people's acquaintance—then we have come again in a month's time, and found one family at least in every house changed. And this is increasingly the case. Each of those new railroads that enters the precincts of London displaces a wave of population which eddies from Westminster to Whitechapel, seeking some yet unfilled nook or cranny to shelter in. The garden fields beyond Battersea Park are fast becoming a nineteenth century Venice, peopled by the waifs and strays from the mainland of London. If these are some of the causes of the isolation of the poor in London, let us see what consequences accompany this state of things. Primarily, distrust of one another. The landlord will enter into no more dealings with his lodger than he can possibly avoid, and he has many an instance to produce in his own justification where he has trusted and been deceived. Neighbour ignores neighbour: the fear of being begged of, or somehow compromised, masters even curiosity, and we can remember ourselves several instances of what Mr. Gregory says: "It is no uncommon thing for a clergyman to go to a house to which he has been summoned by some sick or needy person, and to be told, on knocking at the door, that there is no such name in the house, and this without any intention of deceiving; the fellow-lodger, or possibly the occupier of the tenement,

not knowing the names of those resting under the same roof" (p. 8). So we reach this result of our inquiries; there is no influence from without to act upon the mass of London poor, and they have no cohesion among themselves; they live as individuals, and must be dealt with as individuals. Coming down to the special question of Church work, we find that it both loses and gains by this isolation. It loses by reason of the difficulty of penetrating through these separate atoms. In the country, let a night school or a clothing club be set on foot, and next day the fact is known over a parish of twice the extent of any in London. In London any such scheme finds no medium of communication for itself; let handbills be printed, few will read them: let notice be given out in church, it will not reach a tithe of those for whom it is meant, and those who have heard it will not care to repeat it. Let the effort be started, it gains no momentum from numbers, it has to be always fighting its way and making itself known afresh. It takes years before it can look round and find itself a recognised institution. But the Church also finds some gain in this individualism. Nowhere are the visits of the clergymen so welcome as to the poor of London. Mr. Gregory is very sensible of this:—

"There is a yearning in their hearts for sympathy, for some firm rock or hand on which they may rest, and for the notice of their superiors. More than ordinarily shut out from the former, inasmuch as they have fewer of the gossiping acquaintances so generally contracted in smaller parishes, they do welcome with peculiar zest the kindly thought and attention which are bestowed upon them, and which could not be prompted by self-interest. Whilst the longing for the friendly notice of those better educated and more highly placed in the social scale than themselves, slumbers, but never dies, it is an influence which may always be counted upon."—(Pp. 17, 18.)

We come to another kind of difficulty to be encountered in poor metropolitan parishes,—and we are glad to see it stated boldly here,—that is, the interference of city missionaries. It may sound sad and strange to count these as a difficulty, but those who know what Church work in London is are most sensible of it. The city missionary often comes to a parish not to work but to counter-work. He leaves a district indifferently provided for, and comes to one where the people are carefully visited. He acts there not merely independently of the appointed clergyman, and introduces a duplicate machinery, to the distraction of both priest and people; but, if we are to credit Mr. Gregory, he frequently makes a hostile use of that machinery to subvert the teaching of the clergyman:—

"With an offensive pretence of neutrality, they really do their best to undermine the Church's teaching, and, in my opinion, their work is productive of almost unmixed evil." —(P. 20.)

Mr. Gregory's second lecture is devoted to the consideration of the means available to meet the difficulties which the first has stated. We will class his remarks under two heads,—the workers and the work. The first need of a clergyman set down in such a parish as we are considering, is to multiply himself, to find those who may in some way represent him throughout the parish. Of these there are paid helpers and volunteer helpers. Of the former we have here no mention at all; and yet surely Mr. Gregory, speaking as he is to the students of a theological college, might well have spared a special word about curates. He might, doubtless, have showed from his own experience how much a London incumbent suffers now-a-days from their migratory habits—how they try their "'prentice hand" at the work, and as soon as they have begun to understand the machinery of a parish, so as to be worth their teaching, and to work with some heart in it, they are

off to a more congenial sphere. The spirit of fluctuation has seized upon them too. The matter of curates will speedily pass into the chapter of the difficulties of a metropolitan parish, if it has not done so already. Then as to the Scripture reader, surely he deserves a mention. We think most London incumbents would place his helpfulness above that of a curate; sometimes they would go so far into the table of measures as to say, One Scripture reader equals two curates. He has no restlessness to better himself; his whole time is at command; he is a repository of parish ways and traditions. He, if any, will keep charity from being bestowed unworthily; there is a hardly a case of sickness but he hears of and reports it; he feels the way for the clergyman to follow; he knows the pulse of the people, for they do not pretend before him. Perhaps we write partially, in view of a particular case, where the parish has the help of a man of wonderful instinct and perseverance; still, speaking generally, there is a foundation-work which none but a Scripture reader can do; and if his help is not sought, the result will be an ugly blank in any scheme, and a failure to meet the wants of the lowest strata of the population.

Passing on to the volunteer helpers in a parish, Mr. Gregory has many and wise precepts about training them for their work, but he has little to say about the preliminary step of choosing them: *hoc opus, hic labor est*,—where are we to find fit assistants? And by fit we do not mean necessarily persons of education, but persons of some judgment and aptitude for the work. If lady visitors are sought, and if any can be found who will bestow the time, the chances are that the work they do contains many seeds of mischief: one that is rich will be carried away by her impulses, and give out of all proportion to the need; she creates, most probably, a family of professional beggars at once. Another will give on the spur of the moment to some worthless case, and the clergyman's credit will be shaken—those only who know London can tell how much shaken—by that one act of indiscretion. But let him, in terror of lady visitors, seek his helpers from a lower grade, and he falls out of Scylla into Charybdis. The poor know a lady at sight, and welcome her. They will be very shy with one nearer their own station, and it will be seldom indeed she wins their sympathy. It takes but a slight experience of London to convince any one that the gulf between the middle and the lower classes is more impassable than that between the lower and the upper. We wish Mr. Gregory had been fuller in dealing with this point. In most parishes it is the greatest cry of all—find the right workers, and the right work will follow. They will initiate or modify schemes to suit particular needs. We are bound to state that this part of Mr. Gregory's pamphlet, from which we had hoped much, gives us no practical suggestions at all. The work to be carried on by the clergyman's fellow-helpers ranges itself under two great heads—relief and education. As to the former, we have some sensible remarks on the immense importance of discreet almsgiving. Mr. Gregory, having but £100 a year to dispense in charity, was forced to be as careful with it as possible. In order to minimize the cases of imposture, he instituted a labour-test of needlework. Material was bought, cut out, and distributed to be made up; so made up, it was sold to the poor at the cost of the material. The women felt they earned what they received; and it needed hard work to earn it. The plan deservedly succeeded; but the drain on the available funds became greater every year, till in 1862 a Government contract was offered to the parish. Nothing could have been better suited to their needs; the cost of making, which was the only cost involved, was taken off their hands. That

year, 13,000 shirts were delivered in. The number has now reached 60,000. A woman who perseveres can earn 9s. a week at it,—a Dorsetshire labourer's wages; and the whole parish may well be proud of the fact that there has not been a sovereign lost, since the contract began, by any failure to return the work given out.

We must notice one more result of all the pains taken with this Lambeth district. The schools have become to a great extent self-compensating. With only £120 a year received in subscriptions, 1,000 children are educated, and Mr. Gregory adds that he hopes in time to double his numbers without seeking additional external help. Here is the secret:—"The poor are not all equally poor; some can afford to pay a remunerative price for the education of their children. If there are only schools for the poorest, the superior portions of the labouring classes will turn aside from them, and send their children to private schools. In our own parish, where the people are all poor and funds scanty, we have large schools educating the higher class of the poor, and costing us nothing." And if to these were added a still higher middle-class school, we doubt not a surplus would overflow to the other sections, or a still lower school might be added absolutely free. Surely that would be the perfection of a well-balanced scheme, which provided an education for all the children of the parish, graduating them according to their requirements, bringing in the shopkeeping classes to aid the labouring, and giving each an interest in the teaching of all. Mr. Gregory has added to his schools an evening drawing class, which is attended by from 200 to 300 young mechanics; also a working men's club and reading room. By these he gains access to two portions of his population very difficult to reach, and he does so in the most real and hopeful manner, by showing them that he cares for their comfort, that he has sympathy with their occupations, that the Church does not confine itself to one narrow groove, but is concerned with whatever is honest and pure, true and of good report. Every parish is a many-celled heart, beating with manifold life. If the Church would touch and have an answer from all her children, she must show herself ready to meet every desire for knowledge, and independence, and light; not stand on her dignity, but be found at every corner of the street by those that seek her. To those who would know what further plans Mr. Gregory has in view—indeed, to all whose hearts are stirred by hearing of good work nobly done—we commend this pamphlet. It is cheering to find that young students for Orders have such sound advisers; men who do not elaborate principles in their studies, but who arrive at them by personal out-of-door contact with the poor, and having done so, are not given over to them bound hand and foot, nor wish to throw them wholesale down a neighbour's throat. Let us part from Mr. Gregory with one more quotation, and let any of us who has a parochial theory weigh it well:—

"Success depends upon adapting what we do to the wants that have to be provided for. Much disappointment and failure have resulted from men copying what others have done, without considering how far such schemes were suited to the new soil into which they would transplant them. A little thought, with earnest perseverance and careful watching for opportunities, nurtured by ceaseless prayer, will accomplish what is needed, if men will but make their parish and their work the supreme object of their care and of their labours."—(P. 46.)

"*Elijah:*" *a Poem.* By Washington Moon. London: Hatchard & Co.

A certain refinement of language, a great dulness and prolixity like the old version of the 119th Psalm, or, worse still, a certain popular com-

mentary upon the same,—these are the only positive qualities which we have discovered in Mr. Moon's poem. The greater part of it is not poetry at all; the rest is bad poetry. Of course every cultivated man can write poetry, even though it be bad poetry; that is, he can express some kind of impassioned thought, or thought coloured by feeling, in some sort of metre. Every one can act charades somehow, we suppose, but a bad actor is always either absurd or dull. Mr. Moon is both. His feeling is commonplace when it is not out of place, and out of place when it is not commonplace. Mr. Moon is an amusing and clever prose writer, but he should not attempt poetry; at all events not sacred epics. We are not surprised if a man who walks about in the dark falls down; we pity him, but we also blame him; we say he should not have walked in the dark. A man who starts to write an epic without any imagination and very little poetic insight of any kind, must tumble down, and becomes at once the object of our commiseration and reproof. Mr. Moon has no notion of a poetic narrative; there is no selection of events, no special colouring of incidents—the narrative is utterly prosaic, utterly unsuggestive; the dreary tableaux succeed each other, or rather run into one another, like bad water-colour painting. There is not a trace of the ideality of a Gustave Doré. Mr. Moon's scenes rather remind one of Martin's bad and elaborate literalism, without his coarse but undeniable power. But again and again we are startled out of all gravity by the effrontery of Mr. Moon's style:—

> "Either the Syrian monarch ascertained
> That he had no cause to congratulate
> Himself upon the treasures he had gained,
> Or else," &c.

Mr. Moon, in his Preface, remembers that Milton somewhere enjoins simplicity of style. He is indeed simple, but it is the simplicity of a little child, which, however admirable in religion, cannot be too strongly deprecated in Art,—

> "But Obadiah, full of kindly thought,
> One hundred hid by fifty in a cave.
> . . . .
> Then Obadiah ran and told the king ?
> Who with surprise cried, 'How!—Elijah here,'
> 'Most true, O king!'"

We are surely listening to John Parry at the seaside—"What! you here?" But this is really miserable doggerel! Indeed we do not want to use hard words, but what is the critic to do when he is asked to write his impressions of such stuff as this? We can pardon Mrs. Browning's want of judgment, because there is passion and sweetness; we forgive the morbidness of Poe, because there is polish and individuality; we try to swallow some of Mr. Swinburne, because of his force and melody; but there is nothing to redeem the unconscious and degrading commonplace of Mr. Moon. He has not grasped one of his characters, he has not graced one of his events. As we read, the vivid personalities of Elijah, Ahab, Jezebel, become attenuated myths; we yawn over them and their doings, and insensibly lose all sense of reverence and majesty and power. No preachments about Elijah and his trust in God and his sublime mission can elevate the miserable shadow that Mr. Moon brings on the stage; the few words he incautiously allows him to utter display at once a hopeless want of dramatic power and a feebleness of conception here as elsewhere quite remarkable. The solemn dignity and mournful, almost abstract contemplation of the brief words, "Do it a second

time," "do it a third time," is exchanged for the voluble gabble of a conjuror on the point of surprising his audience; and we must further exchange the sad, sublime prophet in coarse raiment for the charlatan in spangled coat, with his sleeves turned up, before we can imagine him saying,—

> "'Now lest a thought that fire is hid there should
> Dwell in the heart,' said he, 'of any one,
> Again, do so!' 'Twas done *so that there*
> *There could be no fire there*," &c.

"Ladies and gentlemen, it's impossible! you see there's no deception!" This is really too strong, but it is Mr. Moon's conception, not ours. One little touch of true pathos—the only one in the book—occurs when the angel awakes Elijah in the desert,—

> "'Arise and eat,
> Because the journey is too great for thee.'
> O wondrous grace! O words most kind and sweet!
> O vista, through which heaven appears to me!
> So, Father, speak Thou in eternity:
> With words of love sweet as a parent's kiss,
> Wake thou thy sleeping child."

When Dr. Livingstone found himself in the sandy plains of Africa, he eagerly swallowed anything he could find in the shape of a bulb, and thought it delicious; this is the only bulb in Mr. Moon's book.

Ahab is more within Mr. Moon's reach. There is not much to describe in that feeble, weak, vacillating character, and that little is described to some small extent; but even here the childish element is entirely missed—his pettishness and small selfishness and utter want of common sense and common self-control, exhibited in such little traits as his going to bed and blubbering like a great schoolboy. The contrast of Jezebel, who at least knows her own mind, with the wretched creature her husband, who won't do right, and is afraid to do wrong, one would have thought sufficiently obvious to strike most minds. But the drawing of Jezebel is false throughout; false as regards the king, and unfair as regards herself, *e.g.*, the king is made to think

> "That loss were gain if loss meant losing Jezebel."

This poor point is made at the entire sacrifice of truth. There is no trace of Ahab's being disaffected towards his wife or wishing to lose her; he could not possibly have got on at all without her. His worship of her was probably as complete as her dominion over him and over the royal household and kingdom. Indeed the Sidonian princess is one of the most tragic and remarkable women in history, sacred or profane. Possessed of great personal attractions, indomitable courage, an individuality strangely unaffected by Jewish influences, and an untiring devotion to her own nation, she impressed her theory of life upon the king and court, imported her own priests, and introduced into Israel the splendid materialism of the greatest mercantile nation in the world. The armies of the living God seemed to quail for a moment before such a phalanx of heathen might. Jezebel believed intensely in her theory of life, the Jews had lost faith in theirs; and that is why for a moment the true went down before the false: it was the victory of faith. Jezebel loved the world, and believed in it with all her might. She knew of no better joys than its joys; she intended, so help her Baal! to drink these to the dregs and die hard. At once the Semiramis and Cleopatra of Israel,—a strange thing which dazzled and bewildered the

narrow-minded Jew,—she drove him from his central stronghold of spirituality, and then led him captive at her will. In the last grand scene of her life, so full of the wildest excitement and tragedy, Mr. Moon displays the most incredible tameness. It is here the greatness of Jezebel culminates; a kind of pity rises in us as we read of the shattering of so sumptuous a wreck. The aged queen has survived her husband, her son, her popularity, her beauty, but not her unapproachable fortitude in calamity and proud contempt of fate. As one who prepares a beloved body for the grave with sweet spices and clothing gay with the brightness of past life, so she lavishes all the resources of Syrian art upon her person, and "paints her face and tires her head." With all the semblance of past greatness about her, surrounded by fawning and treacherous slaves, this indomitable woman prepares, without a trace of emotion, to throw her last die, and as the usurper's chariot, with panting steeds and heated warriors, wheels round into the courtyard, she quietly looks out of the window, and pronounces her own death sentence with a smile of the bitterest scorn and derision: "Had Zimri peace who slew his master?" Of course all this is thrown away upon Mr. Moon, who blunders over the narrative with flimsy attempts to moralize, and weak decoctions of fact, in the very worst style of Mr. Spurgeon's worst imitators. We need not say much more. We have thought it right, in finding fault with Mr. Moon's treatment, to point out some of the splendid dramatic elements which he has missed. We have no time to pause over his commissions; they seem to us often dull and irreverent to a degree. The prayer for rain on Carmel, so thrilling and solemn with intense emotion; the great scene of the Baal altars, the wonderful vision in the rock, the fiery chariot,—all is degraded. It is not impossible for a poet to paraphrase worthily sublime prose—Tennyson has succeeded in the "Idyls,"—or to moralize on sublime events—F. W. Robertson's sermon on "Elijah" is a sublime moral poem.* Neither is it impossible to recast a sacred story for the purposes of art—Mendelssohn's "Elijah," both libretto and music, is almost a perfect example. But Mr. Moon has neither the spiritual insight of a Robertson nor the intuitive art of a Mendelssohn, therefore his prayer for rain is feeble rhodomontade, his great sacrifice nothing but a sham gone through by unimpassioned mimes, his vision in the rock a tedious dialogue accompanied by stage lightning, his fiery steeds the properties of some stage manager, and Elijah himself little more than a magnified conjuror.

H. R. Haweis.

Modern Theories of the Life of Jesus, as contained in the Writings of Strauss and Rénan, and in "Ecce Homo." By the Rev. W. F. Wilkinson, M.A. Bemrose, Derby and London.

Mr. Wilkinson is a vigorous and independent thinker, and writes with unusual clearness and force. There are few men whom we should more gladly welcome to the field on which this pamphlet shows us that he is disposed to enter. We learn from the title that it was read as a paper "at the sixth annual conference of"—an institution otherwise unknown to us—"the Church of England Clerical and Lay Association, for the maintenance of evangelical principles (midland district)," and is now "published at the request of the association." Written for delivery to such an audience, it is necessarily very short, and avoids all questions of detail. Here and there, too, it exhibits some of the faults which, not historians only, but the critics

* For quiet graphic power the article "Elijah" in Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," by Mr. George Grove, is perhaps unequalled.

of would-be historians, might well learn from Thucydides to dread as cleaving to all composition which partakes of the nature of the *ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα ἀκούειν.* The very passages which probably were most effective with an assembly of eager partisans seem to us, as we read them calmly, least worthy of the author, and of the subject on which he is so capable of writing instructively.

We need scarcely say that we hold as dear as himself those great Christian verities which Mr. W. is anxious to maintain in their purity. In most of his criticisms on Strauss and Rénan we entirely agree with him. But we cannot accept with equal satisfaction all the arguments which he has employed, even when we agree with him in his conclusion. And we think that truth and candour require a different estimate from Mr. Wilkinson's of the two other works which he notices—the one with unmitigated reprobation, the other with praise so mingled with grave reprehension as to seem far more like blame than praise.

Mr. Wilkinson, like the greater number of the party with which he acts, regards "Ecce Homo" as simply false and mischievous. Nay, more, "I am compelled," he says, in opening the main subject of his paper, "to place the author of 'Ecce Homo' *in the same category with Strauss and Rénan.* His work is essentially rationalistic, *that is, irrational, unchristian, dishonest in the treatment of its great subject*" (p. 8). This is language as little just as charitable. Strauss almost denies any historic existence of Christ; Rénan starts from the assumption that the supernatural is impossible, denies all authority to our Lord's teaching, and makes the Christian church and religion take their origin from imposture, or delusion wilfully fostered. To place "in the same category" with them a writer who, whatever the errors or defects of his book may be, entirely believes the reality of our Lord's earthly life and death and resurrection, acknowledges the authority of His legislation, recognises in Him the Lord and Judge of mankind, and the supreme object of unbounded personal love, is to confound distinctions which are essential, and to deal so unjustly with the object of attack as to enlist the sympathies of all fair-minded men in his favour. If the author of "Ecce Homo" believes no more than appears on the surface of his book, his creed is very far short of the Christian creed. But still there is a very broad line between him and those with whom Mr. W. classes him.

While recognising in a recent notice the singular power and interest of "Ecce Homo," we have been careful to notice also some capital errors and defects. We have noticed, especially, its silence or very imperfect utterance on the two cardinal points of our Lord's claim to be the Redeemer from sin and to be the Giver of the Holy Spirit. But we have been careful also to remember that the author has himself disclaimed the intention to treat of the theology of his subject, which he reserves for another work. We have not, therefore, considered it fair to take his silence as expressive of disbelief, or even to press his words, ambiguous as they sometimes are, or even suggestive of a wrong meaning, rigorously into their consequences within the realm of theology. Now we cannot find in Mr. W.'s few pages any intimation that he has noticed the author's limitation of his plan. He thinks, and justly, that no discussion of the subject which excludes its theology can be satisfactory. Yet such a discussion, however imperfect, is legitimate in itself, and may have its use in some cases and for some persons. Paley's evidences scarcely indicate any knowledge of many of the most momentous matters of Christian faith. Yet no man would think it fair to charge Paley, therefore, with denying the truth which he has not brought forward,

because (rightly or wrongly) he has judged it to be alien from his immediate purpose.

Mr. Wilkinson's argument in pp. 8, 9, powerful as it is, and in its own proper place conclusive, ceases to be just if it be applied to a discussion of our Lord's life and character addressed to those who are at present *without* the circle of Christian faith. We cannot claim from them that they shall receive truth on an authority which they do not yet admit. Now we are convinced that "Ecce Homo" is to be read as an argument addressed to men at present unbelieving or in doubt with regard to our Lord's divine nature and mission, and addressed to them by one who has known doubt, and worked his way out of unbelief. It argues *toward*, not *from* the full truth of his person and work as the Redeemer. Few minds will rest, none ought to rest, at the point where the author leaves them. Yet it is something to have been led through a few early stages of the journey which should end in the truth itself. *To Christians*, the natural order of the study of our Lord's life is that which Mr. Wilkinson prescribes. But to those who are in doubt, and inquire that they may find ground for belief, the order of investigation must be reversed. They must study the indisputable facts of our Lord's public life first, that they may ground on them the belief of His divine nature and authority. And in general the miracles which come first in time and in logical sequence will in fact be last received by him who is working his way towards faith. The Resurrection will be to him the basis of conviction; the Incarnation its crown and completion.

Having frankly expressed our belief that Mr. W. has dealt unjustly with the special object of his criticism, we gladly quote a passage, in the general sense of which, with the above reservation, we cordially agree :—

"One thing these writers have rendered abundantly clear, and that is, the difficulty, the impossibility, of making out a probable or intelligible 'Life of Jesus,' and still more, a probable or intelligible account of the connection between that life and Christianity, if we exclude from consideration the facts of his incarnation, his miracles, his atonement, his resurrection, his Deity. On the other hand, if these facts are received and acknowledged on the authority of the New Testament, or, I would say, of the Gospels—from which they cannot be eliminated without violence, without leaving the whole record a mere ruin,—then the life of Jesus becomes a reality and a power; the Gospels are seen to be entirely consistent in their representations of Him; the doctrines of the apostles correspond with the personal history; the establishment, success, and duration of Christianity are accounted for.

"The only theory of the life of Jesus which commends itself to the unvitiated reason, and to the honest and good heart, and is justified by human experience, human consciousness, and human history, is the theory supplied by Revelation, that He who came of the seed of Abraham according to the flesh was and 'is over all, God blessed for ever,' and that he came to manifest God to man, and to take away the sins of man by the sacrifice of Himself. If Christ be the manifestation of the Deity, then how clear the object, how immense the value of the records of the Gospels! It is understood that his life on earth, his acts of power and love, his familiar intercourse with men, are a transcendently efficacious means, a most Divine provision for bringing us acquainted with God, and enabling us to draw near to Him, and hold communion with Him. And if Christ be personally the object of faith, as in his death the atonement for our sins, in his resurrection and perpetual intercession our justification, then again his life on earth, in its infinitely varied relations with our whole nature and condition, is seen to be, at the same time, indispensable and all-sufficient, through the grace of His Holy Spirit, to give us that knowledge of Him, and to create and sustain that trust and confidence in Him, and that love towards Him, which are essential to our spiritual life, our peace, and our salvation."

In the case of M. de Pressensé we think that Mr. W., though his opinion is more favourable, has done almost equal injustice. We quote the whole of the short notice with which his learned, thoughtful, and deeply Christian work is dismissed. It will be found in a note at the end of the pamphlet:—

"The important work of M. de Pressensé, to which allusion is made in page 4, would be relieved from much inconsistency and embarrassment by the recognition of that theory of the life of Jesus which I have described as the theory of revelation. This work is most valuable as a learned and logical refutation of the theories of Strauss and Renan, and, by anticipation, of 'Ecce Homo.' But its weakness and failure are conspicuous in its attempt to give a reasonable representation of Christ's character and mission, *without the unreserved acknowledgment of His perfect Deity and expiatory sacrifice.*"—(*Note* iii. p. 18.)

Here again we must remind our readers that it is not fair to expect in a history of our Lord's life and work on earth a full confession of faith, or a treatise on the theology of the Incarnation and the Atonement. It will be enough if we find those truths nowhere contradicted, everywhere presupposed, and somewhere distinctly recognized. We should scarcely have thought it possible for any intelligent and candid reader to deny that these conditions are amply satisfied by M. de Pressensé.

As to the first point, the true divinity of our Lord, we can only refer to the chapter on the doctrinal bases of the life of Christ. We are not disposed to vindicate every expression in that chapter. We have taken exception formerly to one or two. But on the cardinal points of our Lord's true divinity and humanity we should have thought the author's utterance sufficiently explicit. We give a sentence or two, which seem to us entirely decisive,—

"Les développements dogmatiques et proprement théologiques ne rentrent pas dans le cadre de ce livre. *Je n'ai donc pas a établir la grande doctrine qui est pour moi le point capital du Christianisme, je veux dire la divinité du Christ et son incarnation.* . . . D'ailleurs, c'est de l'ensemble de notre exposition que sa divinité doit ressortir comme rayonnant de chaque manifestation de sa personne aux temps évangéliques."—(*Livre* I. ch. v. p. 252. Second French Edition.)

Any full discussion of what is, strictly speaking, the *doctrine* of the Atonement, evidently belongs rather to the history of apostolic teaching than to an expository narrative of our Lord's earthly life. Mr. W. has no right to expect more from M. de Pressensé, *in the present volume*, than that the great purpose of our Lord's death should be distinctly recognized in the narrative. This we think it is. We give a few lines,—

"C'est précisément cette sainteté parfaite qui éleve sa mort à la hauteur d'un libre sacrifice. Quand l'homme pécheur exhale son dernier souffle, il subit le châtiment qu'il a mérité, il paye sa dette à l'éternelle justice. Au contraire, Jésus, en mourant, reçoit le châtiment d'autrui, il souffre pour la race a laquelle il s'est identifié, et cette généreuse souffrance, qu'il a volontairement acceptée, est un acte d'amour et d'obéissance. Voilà pourquoi elle a un caractère réparateur et rédempteur."—(*Livre* II. ch. v. p. 641. Second French Edition.)

But incidentally, in the opening of his paper, Mr. Wilkinson has raised a question considerably more important than that of the merits or demerits of any particular book upon the life of Christ. He is not satisfied with pronouncing that every attempt hitherto made "to give a true, definite, and consistent conception of our Lord's character and work, by presenting the facts of His history in a single continuous narrative, or under a systematic arrangement," has in fact been a failure. He maintains that every such attempt "*must necessarily* result in failure," because it is "an attempt to do differently, or to do better, the work of the Spirit, in giving us four distinct narratives of our Lord's life and teaching" (see pp. 1, 2).

It is strange surely, if the greatest of all subjects must be abandoned to the sceptic and the theorist. Yet such might seem to be Mr. W.'s desponding conclusion. Considerations which his own argument suggests might have led him to an opposite result. We entirely agree with him in recog-

nising the divine appointment by which our Lord is presented to us in the Gospels "under a diversity of aspects, each perfect in itself, and agreeing with and involving the others," and thus forming in their true combination "the true image of Him in whom is exhibited the supreme and manifold grace of God." But if this be so, then surely it follows, first, that every intelligent student of the Gospels not only may, but ought to try to obtain from them that image for his own contemplation. Of course he succeeds very imperfectly. But he may obtain a conception which shall be true though incomplete, and which, being true so far as it goes, will also be full of instruction to his own mind. Otherwise the Gospels have been given to us in vain. And then it will follow, further, that what every educated Christian *must* do for himself, as perfectly as he can, *that* some men, having received gifts which fit them for the work, may and ought to attempt to do for others, or at least to help others in doing for themselves. And even though it should be felt that past attempts have failed (and here we think Mr. W. speaks much too strongly), it will by no means follow that we, made wiser, as we hope, in this as in other cases, by the very mistakes of our predecessors, shall not be somewhat more successful, and that others who come after us shall not approach yet more nearly to achievement.

Some of the causes of failure in past attempts are easily assigned. The "simple harmonies of the four Gospels" have usually been produced by an almost mechanical dovetailing of the words of one Gospel into the framework furnished by another. They have been encumbered by artificial hypotheses devised to reconcile apparent discrepancies. The sculptor will not produce a real likeness by merely transferring to his marble every line which he finds in three or four pictures of his subject, taken from different points of view. Every "Diatessaron," regarded as a portrait of our Lord, involves a similar fallacy. The more elaborate biographies of our Lord have often so completely separated different aspects of his life and work from each other as to deprive the account of all unity and progression. But as in other undertakings difficulty is not impossibility, so neither is it in the historic conception of our Lord's life and character.

We believe that the work is one to which God especially calls His church in our own day. If so, the presumption will lie not in undertaking, but in declining it. Where others have failed we may fail also; but we shall have learnt something, and have taught others something, by our very failures. It is our part to make the attempt in the humility of faith, not to abandon it in despair.

EDWARD S. VAUGHAN.

Plain Papers by Pikestaff. Vol. I. London: Trübner & Co.

THE laudable purpose of this shilling book is stated in its preface thus:—

> "The task which the writer of these papers has set himself is to supply a widely-felt want. To place before the plain man a plain page, which may help him to pass the time he can call his own, to his own profit and his own pleasure,—no less than to the profit and joy of his wife and children,—in lieu of the village green, the city music hall, the nowhere absent pot-house."

But in the carrying out of this purpose, our author seems to have forgotten the existence of various children's and school books, where it is answered equally well, and sometimes better than by his volume. The "third" and "fourth" books of our National Society, or the corresponding works on the Dublin Society's list, are full of useful information conveyed in language quite as plain; and possess the additional advantage of being written for those who will read

them, whereas this book is written for readers who are not in the least likely to read it. Fancy any man, however plain, continuing his reading after the following sentence:—"Yet even then the ship struck a sunken rock about an hour after, though not hard enough to break through the bottom. *If it had, no more would have been heard of her, her crew, or our friend Captain Cook*" (p. 74). This is a little *too plain* for any who are past wearing pinafores. Sometimes our author is not quite *plain enough*: as, for example, when he says (p. 15), "The people of Stratford sometime after made Garrick, the great actor, free of their town, and gave his freedom in a box of wood cut out of this tree: *upon which* Garrick, in honour of Shakspere, went down to act some of his plays on the very spot where he was born. *This* was in the autumn of 1769, and *lasted three days.*" "*Upon which*"—upon *what?* the box? or the tree? or the occasion? "*This* . . . *lasted three days:*" what? the giving Garrick his freedom? or his journey on the tree, or the box, or the occasion? or the acting of the plays? or the birth of Shakspere? Again (p. 19), "It was many hundred years before the people living in Europe knew that there was such a *place* as America." We should imagine that nobody except Mr. Pikestaff knows it now. But for him, his own country is too narrow; for he says (p. 20), "in a *small place like England* there could be no mountains worthy of the name." We remember the meaning of the word "place" in an Act of Parliament occasioning serious discussion and uncertainty: but certainly no one ventured to apply it to a whole country.

At p. 28, we are informed that "the earth is a *nearly perfect round* ball, often said to be like an orange: but the orange is much more flat at the top and bottom. *The same, though very slightly flat, points* in the earth are called the *poles, because we liken* the line through the middle of the ball, on which it turns once every twenty-four hours, *to a pole pushed through the ball.*" Surely, the pikestaff was pushed through the ball containing the poor man's brains, before he wrote this stuff. What part does the word "perfect" play in the opening of the sentence? What are "*the same*" points, and how can a *point* be *slightly flat?* And where did he get his marvellous derivation for *poles?* In the same page he tells us that hemisphere is "from the Greek *hemisos*, half" (*sic*).

One would think that a very plain book should at all events observe the rules of the language in which it is written. How far this is the case with the "Pikestaff Papers" may be seen by the following examples:—"Many seeds which had been taken out in the ship were planted about the islands, *and which* it *has since become known took root*, and grew well." "Captain Cook was himself now seized with illness, and for some days it was feared his life was in danger. *Being without meat, a pet dog was killed*, and boiled to yield him broth and food, as he could not take the salt junk." One would think that the poor dog, which according to this sentence was killed because there was nothing for it to eat, must have "*yielded*" very lenten broth and food for the sick captain. In p. 91, we read that "the north-west passage remains a *myth.*" Is this one of the words which the man, whom these pages are to tempt away from the pothouse, is to find as plain as a pikestaff?

In the paper on Shakspere we are informed that the praise of Queen Elizabeth and King James I. in the latter part of "Henry the Eighth" proves that "the last-named prince had come to the throne before that play was made public." We had always thought that the lines in praise of James I. were added by Ben Jonson. In illustration of the mistakes made

in editing Shakspere, we have the following most marvellous congeries of blunders :—

"In the play of 'Hamlet' some of the hero's friends come to question him, by his mother's desire, under the notion that he is mad. But he, seeing their drift, says to them, 'You are welcome, but my uncle-father and aunt-mother are deceived: I am but mad north-nor-west: when the wind's southerly, I know a hawk from a hernshaw.' Now this, it is easy to see, was a common saying at a time when hawking was the most common sport of the gentry. *A hernshaw was a kind of hawk or heron* (!) *which preyed upon fish:* while the hawk, a heron proper, was used for killing birds. It would therefore be a disgrace to a keen sportsman, did he not know one from the other: and such would be a very *apt contract to use in speaking of a sane man, rather than one out of his senses* (what English!). And yet we find in many copies of Shakspere's works this word 'hernshaw' printed '*handsaw:*" and what is still more strange, we hear it so spoken by actors on the stage."

On the astounding ignorance here betrayed, we need not remark. But we will remark, that the corruption in the proverb, which turned "herneshew" into "handsaw," was probably current in Shakspere's time, and adopted by him. But enough. The paper "on reading aloud" contains some very rich absurdities : but they are not worth the space it would occupy to comment on them.

Has this poor man no friends?

The Anti-Sabbatarian Defenceless; or, the Sabbath Vindicated. By the Rev. J. G. Stewart. Third Edition, enlarged. Glasgow : Robertson.

The modest purpose of this little book may be gathered from its statement in the preface :—

"In this little volume the arguments of the enemies of the sabbath are not so much sought to be destroyed, as their destruction to be completed. What the generous victor did not seemingly deem it necessary further to exact in the shape of reprisals, the author has been cruel enough to seek to perpetrate—he has sought to take every inch of ground from beneath the feet of his opponents. Had they been common enemies, or the ground debated common ground, such a course might, perhaps, have been both unnatural and unnecessary, but upon such a subject, and with such enemies, the victory attempted, he thinks, can never be too complete.

"The defendant (*sic*) of the Sabbath, it is to be feared, has too often looked upon it from a friend's point of view, and when he has satisfied his own mind, has thought that he has also necessarily satisfied the minds of others. He has contented himself, seemingly sometimes with merely turning the tide of battle, or indicating the course of victory, when he ought to have pursued it. He has too often seemed to regard certain things as beneath his notice, and which (*sic*) in themselves are perhaps so, but upon which the sceptical minds of many are not disposed so to look. And this the enemies of the Sabbath, wise in their generation, have not been backward to notice, and to draw from it, almost their only remaining source of strength. Even a Whately has not shrunk from condescending so very far as to notice and avail himself of it."—(Pp. v, vi.)

After such a flourish of trumpets, hardly any surprise will be felt at discovering that these pages contain nothing but the most self-confident restatements of the arguments on the sabbatarian side, and that there is literally nothing in them, bluster only excepted, which has not been before the public again and again in better and sounder expression. The writer "goes for" the most rigid observance that ever entered into the mind of the most rigid Scotchman; so rigid, that he seems reluctantly to allow even medical attendance, where it can possibly be avoided. Let the following words show to what extent he would carry his prohibitions :—

"Everything, therefore, that partakes of the nature of mere recreation or amusement, thus stands expressly condemned at the bar of God's holy word; and this whether it be in the shape of pleasure parties, giving entertainments, making calls, or in whatever other

form is the case. In that word we are in effect told, and that by God himself, that we may violate that holy day, as well in the recreation walk or ride, or in the friendly letter written or read, as in engagements of business: as well in travelling by the cab, or the family equipage, as by the omnibus, the railway carriage, or the steamboat: as well by lounging along the public walks, or in the museums, or crystal palaces in England or Scotland, as by engaging in the dance, or attending the theatre in gayer and more godless France.

"But having said thus much, in general condemnation of recreations and amusements—there is one against which we would now be permitted to lift our solemn protest, and this especially as it is one which, we fear, is too much overlooked by all. It is the practice, so alarmingly prevalent about all large towns, of young men and young women meeting and walking together, either in the way of idle gossip or of courtship, upon that day which God has declared holy, and which He has so solemnly set apart for his own service. Oh, we would ask, can such expect the blessing of God to follow this conduct? Or can they expect that step, which of all others here below, perhaps, is to them the most momentous, to be a happy one, when taken in connection with such circumstances? Alas! how seldom, it is to be feared, that step, taken in open defiance of God's authority, and in violation of his holy day, is found ultimately to be a happy one!"—(Pp. 135-6.)

In order to enforce this, he does not scruple to have recourse to statements of mere fictions as matters of fact (*e. g.*, that "in the literature and history of the most ancient nations of the world there is evidence that time was measured by them also by weeks—that the seventh day was regarded as sacred, and a day to be observed as a day of rest" (p. 13), and to interpretations and applications of Scripture which, if he knows anything of the texts he is handling, he must know to be altogether wrong. It is really a little too late in the day for a writer to be found upholding a sense of the much-abused Heb. iv. 9, which simply rests on a mistranslation of ἀπολείπεται;* or to be told, because our Lord said that the son of man was Lord of the sabbath day, on account of that day being made for him, not he for it, that He "gave Himself the title of the Lord of the sabbath."

We also find the usual amount of unfair statements and assumptions, without which the rigid sabbatarian argument cannot for a moment hold together: as, *e. g.*, that when we read that our Lord went into the house of one of the chief Pharisees "to eat bread on the sabbath day," it was "rather immediately after than literally and really upon the sabbath." This view it is true the author himself does not adopt as his own; but he favours it, by stating that "not a little might be said in support of it," instead of honestly denouncing it as scandalous wresting of the plain narrative. The whole of the special pleading on this point is worth quoting:—

"But the matter may be looked at in several lights. And first, the vindication of the Saviour on this occasion may be satisfactorily rested upon the simple fact, that those He went to eat bread with were professedly religious persons. Simply to go and eat bread in the house of such can be affirmed by no one as inconsistent with proper sabbath observance. Yet here it was not only a religious person, it was a *Pharisee*, who invited Jesus—one who, by his very name and profession, was to be presumed to be a most strict observer of the sabbath. Nay, there was more even than this, for it was just on account of this man's zeal for sabbath observance, or desire to have an opportunity of watching Him, that the invitation was given, and this the Saviour seems thoroughly to have known.

"But though this be the case thus viewed—it may now be asked—if in the light of the labour involved, Christ's course was what might have been expected?

"Now here the responsibility, viewed in its simplest form, lay obviously, in the first

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* "And lastly there is the declaration in the ninth verse of the fourth chapter to the Hebrews, which is to the effect, that there is not only a sabbath *still to be observed* by the Christian, but that the day of its observance is the first day of the week (!)." Whereas the true rendering of απολείπεται, "is in reserve," "is not yet come," gives the sentence (if it has any reference at all to the subject in hand, which it has not) exactly the opposite meaning.

place, entirely with him who gave the invitation. It rested with him entirely to say whether there should be labour at all—and also, if so, what should be the amount of it. But when the character and principles of him who gave this invitation are conceived of as so thoroughly known to Christ, as well as his object in the way of seeking an opportunity of watching him with regard to the very matter of sabbath observance, there is that which, even in this light, entirely vindicates the Saviour.

"But further, what has been brought forward—though with a different object—by the objector himself, as showing how rich the feast might be in such a climate as Palestine *without any labour at all*, or need even of a fire for cooking, shows the same thing—and in yet more striking and complete form. Indeed, this, taken in connection with the fact that it was in a Pharisee's house, and one who had brought Christ there through professed zeal for the sabbath and its proper observance, or with intent to watch and judge of Him as one with regard to whose procedure in relation to sabbath observance he had doubts, sweeps entirely away in this respect the veriest shadow of ground for objection."—(Pp. 83-4.)

Is this, we ask, to be the kind of argument by which Christians are to be persuaded to their duties? We have, of course, the ordinary quibbling and gratuitous assertion about the fiction of the change of day from the seventh to the first: the author actually maintaining that "the seventh day" cannot mean any one particular day, because of inapplicability to different portions of the globe, and not perceiving that this proves, if anything, not what he wants to establish from it, but the manifest restriction of the command to one people only, inhabiting a limited portion of the earth.

Again, a very rich bit occurs in reference to the cripple at Bethesda being ordered to carry his bed on the sabbath :—

"But I have further to ask here, how the objector came so surely and smoothly to the conclusion that the carrying of the bed on the part of the poor cripple, as he calls him, was neither a work of necessity nor mercy? Perhaps to Archbishop Whately, in the midst of his princely luxuries and abundance, it might appear a small matter to leave a couch like this poor man's to its fate! But would it appear so to the poor man himself? In that humble, perhaps tattered couch, we are bound to conclude lay his *all*, or nearly all he had in the world!—And could he be expected to strip his mind of anxiety in regard to it? Yet who was to care for it? He had none on the spot, we are told, to care for himself,—and could he expect to have any to care for his couch?* Yet not to speak of the *violation* of the sabbath therein involved, would the objector not have regarded it as a serious privation—as a very hard matter indeed, had he been chained down a whole day at this particular spot watching his couch? And how much more this poor old man, who had been found waiting and watching here for thirty long years,—his heart long since sick and worn out with 'hope deferred!' O let me ask, was it not an act of mercy to allow this poor man not only to go home with the use of his limbs on this the first day of his release, but with his couch, that he might thus spend the day happily, without any vexing care; and with the hope of resting his frame in peace and comfort upon it at night? By the mind that can, in any degree, like the Saviour judge righteous judgment, and not according to the appearance, instead of a violation of the sabbath, how much is to be seen here in the highest sense calculated to establish it, and at the same time to endear to the heart all the more that Saviour who could thus judge and act in relation to the sabbath! Would that when the strict letter of the sabbath law is by us departed from, it were always upon pleas of necessity or mercy as well founded and real as the present one—then would the sabbath be well kept—then would there be few violations, indeed, of its sacred and holy rest."—(Pp. 81-2.)

The following may serve as an example of the *rhetoric* in which Mr. Stewart indulges :—

"But if it is thus that these things, which so long have been presumed insuperable objections, upon approach collapse and dwindle into something like contemptible nothingness—is it right in the view of this, that such masses of men should be so cruelly—so relentlessly immolated before such huge nothings—such Juggernauts—such ill-proportioned —ill-stuffed—ill-fledged conventional scarecrows?"—(P. 125.)

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* But how this view fits the analogy of the case of the paralytic who was "*borne of four*," and was also bidden to "take up his bed," our author takes care to keep out of view.

The kind of English in which this ignorant farrago is presented to the public is at least remarkable. We read of Jewish converts being "*wed* to the former ritual"—of a certain course of procedure on the part of our Saviour being "*advancive*" of His divine work: we have "another reason why this verse *be* held a proof of the sabbath is," &c. And in one place occurs the strong Scotticism of a matter being "condescended to," meaning "treated of."

But these things are mere trifles compared with the lamentable indications of the state of intelligent apprehension of Holy Scripture and of the Christian dispensation given by this book, as well as the demonstration of absence of common fairness and honesty. It is one consolation to the advocates of God's truth, to reflect that such works can only in the end promote its recognition, by appealing to the indignant feelings of all who have not sacrificed their better selves to the interests of party theology.

Modern Characteristics: a Series of Short Essays, from the "Saturday Review." London: Tinsley Brothers.

The author of "Modern Characteristics" says, in a prefatory note, "It is obvious that none of the following short essays can pretend to be anything more than suggestive. If they have any value, it must be of this kind." We think this rather an unlucky preface, for suggestiveness is the very last quality we should attribute to the papers collected in this volume from the *Saturday Review*. A cold, level, exhaustive manner seems to us to be the characteristic of this essayist. To be "suggestive," a writer must be fertile, and not wanting in movement. The author of "Modern Characteristics" appears to us to have no fertility of conception and no tidal activity of thought; his plan is to take up some point of moral, literary, or mixed criticism, and work it into paragraphs, which would scarcely be redeemed from dulness if it were not that the author has read well, has probably been felicitous in his early culture, and has sufficient of the irony and anecdote of an educated man of the world to make the reader laugh now and then—upon a *first* reading; he will never smile, we think, upon a second. In every case, however intelligently a subject may be discussed, the light in which it is shown to the reader is wholly from without; generally, if not always, a cold light, except sometimes when it is a little too much like gas. Of subtlety, tenderness, or imagination, the writer does not exhibit a trace. His constructions, though not unjust, unless sometimes through defect of subtlety, are always hard; he rarely, if ever, condescends to a figure of speech, and his style is curiously unmusical. His power of crowding adverbs and qualifying words into a sentence is remarkable. For example: "A *permanently* sound disposition may *infallibly* be engendered by the *continuous* action of linen *invariably* unstarched, shirt-buttons *always* neglected and trains *constantly* missed." He deserves praise, too, for the variety which he throws into his "common forms" or safe general statements,—"it is not very easy to understand on what principle;" "there can be nothing much more interesting;" "the wise man will" do so and so; and the like. But these peculiarities are to be expected in a writer of essays in the *Saturday Review*. In that periodical it is superfluous to say that there is, nearly every week, powerful and admirable writing from truly original pens; but the bulk of its writing has the characteristic which Mr. Alexander Smith some time ago attributed to it; it reads as if it had all been garden-rollered by somebody who was determined on making his contributors write as much alike as possible.

We have already observed that these essays are evidently the work of a cultivated and intelligent man, and they contain a few gleams of humour; but we are sorry to have to add that instances of fast or gent's fun are pretty numerous. For instance:—"We fervently congratulate a poor curate upon the eleventh little stranger with whom his wife has just presented him, though we are very well aware that the little stranger is a source of serious lamentation to the recipient of our hypocritical congratulations." Again:—"Are babies and bad port wine to be set down as merely minor tribulations, or as catastrophes?" Again:—"Many a stout matron who now," &c., &c., "used twenty years ago *to distend herself* (!) with all sorts of high resolves." Again:—"Religion, with us, forms a topic of characteristic prominence, . . . and young women will even (!) ask you what you think of Bishop Colenso and the Pentateuch, just as they might ask you whether you liked M. Fechter's acting or Madlle. Patti's singing." Again:—"Some few have enjoyed the good fortune (!) of David Copperfield, and *being providentially relieved of the fool*, have rushed into the arms of common sense. But from the nature of the case this must be *a rare privilege*, and when you have once made the silly Dora your own, it is too much to expect that *a timely consumption*," &c., &c.

In spite of the frequency with which such flippancies as these occur in "Modern Characteristics," so that the "Tartar" shows underneath the scratched "Cossack"—which inspires the reader with an invincible distrust,—the book has good qualities. The author means to be just, and has a clear head, considerable resource, both of intellect and culture, and no leaning to *display* of resource. But he is not only untender, and without subtlety or imagination; he hugs his untenderness; and he is just, not like a Bayard, but like an umpire at a prize fight. Pages so destitute of grace and colour, the undulations and generosities of fine moods, we scarcely ever read; and thus, though we agree with the majority of the writer's opinions, we so much dislike the cold, clever untenderness with which he manipulates certain topics, that we shall not *commend* the volume to our readers, though we refrain from saying anything stronger.

Foreign Travel; or, Cautions for the First Tour: with Anecdotes to illustrate the Annoyances and Shortcomings, Impositions and Indecencies, incidental to Excursions abroad. Addressed to Husbands, Fathers, Brothers, and all Gentlemen going with Female Relatives on "Trips to the Continent." By Viator Verax, M.A., M.R.I. London: Ridgway. Fifth Edition.

There is much that is useful in this little book; but there is also a good deal of nonsense and exaggeration. The writer seems to be one of those puffing, fussy patres-familias whom one never fails to see among one's fellow-travellers to Dover and beyond: a gentleman who imagines that everything on earth must be made for the English, and that whatever is not according to our peculiar national habits must be bad. His idea of an English gentlewoman is precisely that current among men of his kind; that she is a poor defenceless creature, from whom half the things on earth must be kept secret that her delicacy may not be offended: and who is never to risk doing without a single comfort or luxury which she enjoys at home. Will it be believed, that one of the grievances paraded in the fore-front in this little book, is the difficulty of obtaining, immediately on arrival at a foreign hotel,

hot water in a kind of vessel to which English eyes are accustomed? With our fussy friend, every departure from our conventional shape of vessel is a grievance. Sometimes you get the water "in a brass can like that in which workmen fetch their beer:" sometimes in one "like an inverted bell." At these portentous incongruities the "delicate English female" is supposed to be shocked!

Many of our author's annoyances may be obviated by the simplest care in providing at home. All the vain search for "bains de pied," for example, might vanish at once in the presence of an india-rubber bath, which may be got at any of the Macintosh-shops, and will be found also most useful, inside-out, as a wrapper for the writing or dressing-case. We have for years carried one of these in all directions on the Continent, and have found the chambermaids perfectly familiar with emptying and drying it. The fact is, that a good deal of our friend's annoyance has arisen from his carrying the English habits of half a century ago on his travels, and expecting to find them complied with. The "bain de pied," to mention but one instance, has happily been superseded in our English chambers by the more complete bath for the whole man: and this he would find no difficulty in carrying with him and getting served with water, at any decent inn on the Continent. Then again as to his extreme difficulty in procuring hot water. If this really be so (we have never found it the case of late years), why not try to put up with *cold?* It is more wholesome, and if the traveller only carry the proper soap with him, quite as cleansing.

Our author's description of the *table d'hôte* dinner is a libel. Once perhaps in twenty times a meal such as he describes may occur; as ostentatious, scanty, and ill-served. But very long experience enables us to testify that the average *table d'hôte* is a thoroughly good meal: ample in quantity; wholesomely cooked and well-served. If this prove not to be so, it is probably because the *table d'hôte* is not the custom of the place, as, *e. g.*, at Paris, where a first-rate dinner may be had at the Diner Européen, or Richard's, or any of the similar restaurants, in or about the Palais Royal, at half the price paid in the great hotels for a meal vastly inferior.

There is much truth in one, and that not the most pleasant, part of our author's indictment against foreign inns. But here too there is some exaggeration. In the best hotels, which he professes always to frequent, this department is vastly improved in the last few years. The two great hotels in Paris are almost unexceptionable in this respect. Our author spends much virtuous indignation on the "trous Judas," or treacherous holes bored for inspection in chamber-doors of foreign hotels. And certainly, supposing them to be as frequent as he represents them, there is not an indignant word too much. But here again he is making a trouble of that which we believe to be exceedingly rare. In the course of thirty years' touring in all the frequented parts of the Continent, we have never observed a single instance.

In one part only of his book are we thoroughly at one with him. The foreign railway arrangements are a disgrace to civilization and to common sense. No allowance for difference of national habits can ever reconcile an Englishman to the amount of bullying blackguardism which he meets with at every railway station where he happens to embark or alight. The neglect, and absolute cruelty, shown to ladies on the French lines, could hardly be believed, except on the evidence of one's own sad experience. That they, however weak, and even incapable through illness, should be obliged to gain their seats by a general scramble in which every Frenchman pushes before them into the best places, is a fact lamentable to witness, and one which

cannot be remedied by the employment of *laquais de place*, or couriers, who are not admitted to the platform.

But we may venture to affirm, that in nine cases out of ten of "gravamina et reformanda," of which "Viator Verax" complains, common sense and good temper will bring an effectual remedy; and we will also venture to say that, in the same proportion of cases, a race of women whose tenderest and fairest think no scorn of bedside-tending in hospitals and the cottages of the sick poor, will let offences, which have horrified our fussy "Viator," glance harmless from the surface of their higher and truer delicacy.

To the Editor of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

SIR,

Will you allow me to correct a remark in the article of your *Review* for this month, headed "The Cambridge Classical Tripos." The writer (Mr. Markby) has misunderstood a short sentence from a paper on the same subject which I lately addressed to the resident members of the senate:—

"The reduction of the translation papers from six to four in number will be felt as a great relief by all parties concerned. *Nor will it be difficult for examiners to include in their selection of pieces the same number of authors as at present, if in each paper the passages set for translation be increased in number and diminished in length.* Of the minor authors it will be easy to vary the selection from year to year."

Though I most earnestly advocated the retention of two verse composition papers, I also concur with Mr. Cope's remarks (quoted in this article), on the value of classical translation. My object, in the italicised sentence, was to suggest a method for retaining the comprehensive character of these translation papers, while diminishing their length. This sentence Mr. Markby seems to ignore, for he proceeds to ask me, "How I propose to keep out luck?" But if the same number of authors be retained as at present, how will any new element of "luck" be introduced? We do, as it is, "vary the selection of the minor authors from year to year," but this, I think, rather discomfits than assists the "speculative candidate."

Far be it from me "to mean to say that the present minimum standard for Honours ought to be lowered." No such idea will be found in my paragraph to which Mr. Markby alludes. According to the general regulations, after the year 1868, a pass class will be attached to the Classical Tripos. The scheme proposed by the Orator and Mr. Burn (with which I fully and cordially agree), will, if carried, affect the studies of these pass candidates. I only called attention to this. The minimum standard for Honours is a matter of university tradition, and not likely to be altered.

The rule respecting composition papers is that three examiners look over each paper, and the average of their marks is given to the candidate. Mr. Markby seems to fear they are looked over by one only.

I have the honour to remain, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

CAMBRIDGE, *August* 6, 1866.

ARTHUR HOLMES,

Fellow and Lecturer of Clare College, Classical Lecturer of St. John's and Emmanuel.

THE CHURCH IN THE CATACOMBS.

NO phase of Christian antiquity speaks so little to the eye, and yet none is so full of significance for the mind, nor so important to high interests, as the Art found in Rome's Catacombs—the pictorial and sculptured evidence to the life of the primitive Church, supplying illustrations of inestimable value, and pleading with silent eloquence for much that has been laid aside, while opposed to much that has been adopted, in ecclesiastical usage. Here is indeed manifest to the thoughtful observer an ideal far from consistently conformed to at the present day by any religious system, Catholic or Protestant; for the conviction that the true manifestation of the perfectly evangelic Church is yet to be looked for as future, and that all institutions hitherto pretending to that character are destined eventually to give place to a reality nobler and purer, as the morning star fades before the lustre of the risen sun,—this is what forces itself most strongly upon minds capable of bringing impartial judgment and independent reason to the study of such monuments. Lately exerted activity in the research and illustration of the records of ancient Christianity at Rome—fresh impulses given to learning and speculation in this sphere, and favoured by the liberal patronage of Pius IX.,—tend, perhaps without the consciousness of those immediately concerned, to prepare for a new era in faith and devotion, whose spirit will probably prove adverse, in various respects, to the teaching or practice

of Rome, if not irreconcilable with her now admitted claims for the hierarchic order. That all which is holy, useful, morally beautiful, and adapted to humanity's requirements in that ably organized system of church government, whose triumphant successes are due to the talents and zeal exerted at this centre, and long assuredly favoured by Providence, with ever-renewed proof how invariably

> "The way is smooth
> For power that travels with the human heart,"—

that all this may, as to essence at least, be retained in the final developments of divine religion, none can more earnestly desire or hope than those who look with full confidence for a more perfect acceptance and embodiment in the future of the truth taught by the world's Redeemer.

We have to observe the deeper significance attaching to this term *Catacomb,* than to any by which places of sepulture were known to paganism,—from the Greek to *lull or fall asleep;* also to the phrase common to epitaphs above Christian graves, *depositus* (interred), implying *consignment,* the temporary trust of a treasure to the tomb, in hope of another life—with sense utterly wanting to the funereal terms *conditus, compositus,* and others of pagan use. The records these cemeteries contain cannot be appreciated from any sectarian point of view; but alike command interest from all Christians by their luminous and paramount testimony to those divine truths in respect to which the followers of Christ are universally agreed,—here far more strikingly manifest than is aught that bears evidence to dogmas or practices around which discords have arisen among those who acknowledge the same Divine Author of their faith. It is a noble presentment of one momentous phase in the story of humanity that these sacred antiquities afford to us. Amidst circumstances of unexampled trial, amidst all the provocations of calumny, persecution, the liabilities to degrading punishment and torturing death; while the Christians were accused of atheism, considered to be, as Tacitus says, convicted of hatred against the human race,—not one expression of bitter or vindictive feeling, not one utterance of the sorrow that is without hope can be read upon these monumental pages, but, on the contrary, the intelligible language of an elevated spirit and calmly cheerful temper, hope whose flame never burns dim, faith serenely steadfast, a devotional practice fraught with sublime mysticism, yet distinguished by simplicity and repose—altogether a moral picture, evincing what is truly godlike in man!

At a glance we may go through the entire range of scriptural, and almost as rapidly through that of symbolic subjects in this artistic sphere, both circles obviously determined by traditions from which the imaginative faculty was slow to emancipate itself. From the Old

Testament,—the Fall of Adam and Eve, and the judgment pronounced on them before their expulsion from Paradise; Noah in the Ark; the sacrifice of Abraham; Moses receiving the tables of the Law on Sinai; Moses striking the rock; the story of Jonas, in different stages; Daniel in the lions' den; the three Israelites in the fiery furnace; the ascent of Elias to Heaven, and a few others less common. From the New Testament,—the Nativity; the adoration of the Magi; the change of water into wine; the multiplication of loaves; the restoring of sight to the blind; the healing of the cripple, and of the woman afflicted with a bloody flux; the raising of Lazarus; Christ entering Jerusalem seated on an ass; St. Peter denying Christ, between two Jews; the arrest of St. Peter; Pilate washing his hands; in one instance (on a sarcophagus), the soldiers crowning our Lord in mockery, but (remarkable for the sentiment—the preference for the triumphant rather than mournful aspect) a garland of *flowers* being substituted for that thorny crown mentioned in the Gospel narrative; in another instance, the Roman soldiers striking the Divine Sufferer on the head with a reed; but no nearer approach to the dread consummation being ever attempted—a reserve imposed, no doubt, by reverential tenderness, or the fear of betraying to scorn the great object of faith respecting that supreme sacrifice accomplished on Calvary. Among other subjects prominent in the fourth century (though not for the first time then seen), are two persons whose high position in devotional regards henceforth becomes more and more conspicuous with the lapse of ages—the Blessed Virgin, and St. Peter. The mother of Christ, as first introduced to us by art, is only seen in her historic relation to her Divine Son, nor in any other than the two scenes of the Nativity, and Adoration of the Wise Men—later she appears like other of those *orantes*, or figures in the attitude of prayer, and sometimes between the apostles Peter and Paul—occasionally, indeed, with naïve expression of reverence, on larger scale than these latter, an honour, however, not *exclusively* hers, but also given to certain other virgin saints, especially St. Agnes. The first example of the "Madonna and Child" picture, destined for such endless reproduction and extraordinary honours, is seen over a tomb in the Catacombs of St. Agnes: Mary with veiled head, arms extended in prayer, and the Child, not apparently seated, but *standing* before her, on each side being the monogram of the holy name, XP,—which symbol (rarely in use before the conversion of Constantine) suffices to show that this picture cannot be of earlier date than the fourth century, as the absence of the nimbus to the heads both of Mother and Child indicates origin not later than the earlier years of the next century, before which that attribute scarcely appears in Christian art. An event in ecclesiastical history explains how this

pictorial subject, the Madonna and Child, attained its high importance and popularity—became, in fact, a symbol of orthodoxy, displayed in private houses, painted on furniture, and embroidered on garments. It was in the year 431 that the Council of Ephesus, in denouncing the adverse opinions of Nestorius, defined that Mary was not merely the mother of humanity, but to be revered in a more exalted sense as the mother of Deity in Christ.

Turning to the purely symbolic, we find most frequently introduced —the lamb (later appearing with the nimbus round its head), and the various other forms in which faith contemplated the Redeemer: namely, the good shepherd; Orpheus charming wild animals with his lyre; the vine; the olive; the rock; a light; a column; a fountain; a lion: and we may read seven poetic lines by St. Damasus enumerating all the titles or symbols referring to the same Divine Personality, comprising, besides the above, a king; a giant; a gem; a gate; a rod; a hand; a house; a net; a vineyard. But among all others, the symbol most frequently seen is the *fish*, with a meaning perhaps generally known, but too important to be here omitted—its corresponding term in Greek being formed of the initial letters of the holy name and title, "Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour." We find also the dove for the Holy Spirit, or for beatified spirits generally; the stag, for the desire after baptism and heavenly truth; candelabra, for illumination through the Gospel; a ship, for the Church,—sometimes represented sailing near a lighthouse, to signify the Church guided by the Source of all Light and Truth; a fish, swimming with a basket of bread on its back, for the eucharistic sacrament; the horse, for eagerness or speed in embracing divine doctrine; the lion, for martyr fortitude, or vigilance against the snares of sin (as well as with that higher allusion above noticed); the peacock, for immortality; the phœnix, for the resurrection; the hare, for persecution, or the perils to which the faithful must be exposed; the cock, for vigilance—the fox being taken in a negative sense of warning against astuteness and pride, as the dove (besides its other meanings) reminded of the simplicity becoming to believers. Certain trees also appear in the same mystic order; the cypress and the pine, for death; the palm, for victory; the olive, for the fruit of good works, the lustre of virtue, mercy, purity, or peace; the vine, not only for the Eucharist and the Person of the Lord, but also for the ineffable union of the faithful in and with His Divinity. The lamp in the sepulchre implies both the righteous man and the true Light of the World; the house represents either the sepulchre, or the mortal tenement we inhabit in life; and the anchor is taken not only in the sense understood by paganism, but also for constancy and fortitude, or as indicating the cross. Another less intelligible object, the wine-barrel, is supposed

to imply concord, or the union of the faithful, bound together by sacred ties, as that vessel's staves are by its hoops. The lyre, sometimes in the hand of its master Orpheus, is a beautiful symbol for the harmony and mansuetude produced by the subjection of evil passions through the divinely potent action of truth. The four seasons appear with higher allusion than could be apprehended by the Gentiles—winter representing the present life of storms and troubles; spring, the renovation of the soul and resuscitation of the body; summer, the glow of love towards God; and autumn, the death by martyrdom, or life's glorious close after conflict, in anticipation of "the bright spring-dawn of heaven's eternal year."

In order to understand such a subject as the Eucharist, in its supreme place as presented by this primitive art, we must endeavour to realize what this ordinance was to the early Christians,—the centre, and it seems daily recurring transaction of their worship,—the keystone of the mystic arch on which their whole devotional system may be said to have rested. On every side appears evident the desire at once to convey its meanings through symbolism to the faithful, and to conceal both its dogma and celebration from the knowledge of unbelievers: never introduced with *direct* representation either of its institution or ritual, but repeatedly in presentment for the enlightened eye through a peculiar selection of types—as by the fish placed, together with loaves marked with a cross, on a table; or still more significant, the fish floating in water, with a basket containing bread and a small vessel of wine on its back—thus representing at once what I might describe in the words of the Anglican Catechism, "the outward and visible sign," *and* "the inward part or thing signified,"—the elements of the Eucharist, with the very Person of the Redeemer. Another naïvely expressive symbol, less intelligible at first sight, is the pail of milk, designed to signify the celestial food prepared by the Good Shepherd for his flock: this mystic sense sometimes made more clear by the nimbus within which the pail is seen; or by its being placed on a rude altar, beside which is the pastoral staff, without the figure of the shepherd, who is elsewhere seen carrying this vessel; the lamb also being sometimes represented with the pail on its back. A symbolic picture of the Eucharist in the form of fish and bread, at the Callixtan Catacombs, is referable, beyond doubt, to antiquity as early as the first half of the third century; and a similar one in those of S. Lucina is assumed to be not more modern than the second century—perhaps of even earlier date. Another subject, in the same reference, though less directly conveyed, is the *Agape*, that fraternal (and once sacred) banquet, for whose practice in the apostolic age we must refer to a remarkable passage in one of St. Paul's Epistles, that at once explains, and is explained by, this ancient usage so often

pictorially treated in catacombs. And a mournful testimony indeed are the Apostle's words to the rapid deterioration of the holiest ordinance through the perverseness of men:—"When ye come together into one place, this is not to eat the Lord's Supper: for in eating every one taketh before other his own supper; and one is hungry, and another is drunken. . . . Wherefore, my brethren, when ye come together to eat, tarry one for another. And if any man hunger, let him eat at home, that ye come not together unto condemnation." This feast, with which, throughout the first century, the eucharistic celebration was incorporated, is represented in the art here before us without any sign of religious purpose,—a company either seated or reclining at a lunette-formed table, partaking of food, bread and fish, sometimes with wine; the only symbolic detail being the cross marked on loaves, but not of a kind peculiar to Christians—such bread, called *panis decussatus,* thus divided by incisions into four parts, being of common use among the Romans.

As to the very complex indications of date, no era proper to Christians is found for our guidance in the earlier catacomb monuments; but about the end of the fourth century appears the year of the Roman bishop, *e.g.*, "Salvo Siricio Episcopo," or "temporibus Sancti Innocentii:" the last formula, no doubt, adopted after the death of the pope named; or (proof of the comparative equality in episcopal rank according to primitive ideas) the date by the years of other bishops also, in inscriptions belonging to their several dioceses; and from the beginning of the sixth century are indicated the years, not only of bishops, but priests, deacons, or even the matrons presiding over female communities. Date by consulates was rarely adopted in these epigraphs before the third, but becomes common in the two next centuries, again falling into disuse after the middle of the sixth century; and the year of the emperor, which was enjoined for the dating of all public acts by Justinian, A.D. 537, scarcely in any instance occurs before that period. We follow with interest in these chiselled lines the last traces of the existence, and the gradual dying out, of that proud institution, the Roman consulate; the unostentatious language of these Christian epitaphs here supplying the last monumental evidence to this once great historic reality. The consulate proper to Rome expired in the year 531, after being held in the last instance by Decius Paulinus; in the following year, however, reappearing when assumed by Belisarius after his Italian victories. From 534 to 544, only one consul (for the Eastern Empire) is on record; and in that last year the office was suppressed by Justinian, though once more assumed, in his own person, by an emperor, namely Justin, in 566: up to which date the computation, since the act of suppression, had been according to the years (as we see in these epitaphs) "post

Consulatum Basilii" (after the consulate of Basilius), who had last held that office at Constantinople. Curious in this lapidary style is the use of the epithet "divus," long given to defunct emperors without scruple, as a mere *civil* honour, by their Christian subjects. Together with characteristics of brevity and simplicity, we notice, in these epitaphs, a serene spirit of resignation that never allows vent to passionate utterance; the word "dolens" is the strongest expression of sorrow, and this but rarely occurring. As the colder formalities of the classic lapidary style were gradually laid aside, ecstatic ejaculations of prayer and hope were admitted—"Vivas in Deo," most ancient in such use; "Vive in æterno;" "Pax spiritu tuo;" "In pace Domini dormias," frequently introduced before the period of Constantine's conversion, but later falling into disuse; "In pace" continuing to be the established Christian formula—though also found in the epitaphs of Jews; while the "Vixit in pace," very rare in Roman inscriptions, appears commonly among those of Africa and of several French cities, —otherwise, that distinctive phrase of the pagan epitaph, "Vixit" (as if even in the records of the grave to present life rather than death to the mental eye), does not pertain to Christian terminology. Various usages of the primitive Church, important to her history, are attested by these epigraphs—as the classification of the clergy into bishops, priests, deacons, acolytes, exorcists; and the recognition of another revered class, the pious widows, "matrona vidua Dei," of one among whom we read on her epitaph that she "never burdened the Church;" here also do we find proof of the dedication of females, the "ancilla Dei," or "virgo Dei,"—first type of the consecrated nun,—sometimes, it seems, so set apart by the vows of their parents from infancy. Interesting is it to trace the growth of a feeling which, from the utterance of prayer for the dead, passed to the invoking of *their* intercessions for the living,—as "Vivas in Deo et roga;" and the recommending of their spirits to some specially revered saint, rather as a formula of pious valediction than the expression of anything like dogma in regard to human intercessors, as, "In nomine Petri, in pace Christi."

The faith of the primitive Church as to the Divine Being, her Founder and Head, is clear, as in letters of light, on these monumental pages: we read it (to cite one remarkable example) conveyed in the strangely confused Latin and Greek not unfrequently found among Christian epitaphs, with the following distinct utterance,—

ΖΗΣΗΣ ΙΝ ΔΕΟ ΧΡΙΣΤΟ ΥΛΗ ΙΝ ΗΑΚΕ

i. e., "Mayest thou live in God Christ, Sylva, in peace;" we read it in the formulas where this holy Name is otherwise accompanied with

what declares belief—as, "in Christo Deo," or "in D. Christo;" or in the Greek—εν Θεω Κυρειω Χειστω (*sic*).

Again, alike distinctly expressed in other formulas, at the epitaph's close, as "in pace et in"—with the monogram XP, implying the obvious sequel, "Christo;" also in the rudely traced line with which one inscription finishes: "Nutricatus Deo Cristo marturibus;" in one curious example of the Latin language's decline: "Regina vibas in Domino zesu;" and in the Greek ιχθυς, sometimes at the beginning, evidently intended as dedication in the name of God. Alike clearly, though less frequently, enounced is the worship of a Divine Spirit, as an aspect, or in more strict theologic phrase, Person of the Deity, *e. g.*, "in pace cum spiritu sancta" (*sic*) "vibas in Spiritu sanc." And indeed no moral truth could be more convincingly established by monumental proof than the unanimous belief with which the Church, at this first and purest phase in her history, directed adoring regards to the "Logos," the perfect Image of the Father, as true and essential Deity.

Below the surface of the Roman Campagna, it is supposed that from 800 to 900 miles of excavated corridors, interspersed with chambers in various forms, extend their marvellous ramifications; and between six and seven millions is the assumed number of the Christian dead here deposited during primitive ages.* In much the greater part it is certain that these hypogees were formed for Christian worship, instruction, and interment, before the period of the first converted emperor: but it is also indisputably proved that they continued in use for devotional purposes, and received many pictorial decorations, long afterwards; likewise that works of excavating were in progress till so late as the beginning of the fifth century. The idea that they ever served for the *habitation* of numbers, during persecution, is erroneous, assuming indeed what is materially impossible, owing to the formation of their far-stretching labyrinths, small chapels, and story above story of narrow passages. We read, it is true, of the martyrdom of saintly bishops while in the very act of officiating at their humble altars; of several among the earliest Roman pontiffs, who, during extreme peril, took refuge in such retreats—as did Alexander I. (A.D. 109-19), Stephen I. (253-7), and Sixtus II., who was put to death in one of these subterranean sanctuaries (A.D. 258); and Pope Cajus (283-96) is said to have actually lived for eight years in catacombs, from which he only came out to suffer martyrdom (296). With Mr. Northcote (whose work is a *vade mecum* for this range of antiquities) we may conclude that not the *multitude* of the faithful, but the pontiffs alone, or others especially sought after by myrmidons of power, were at any time resident

* Father Marchi, who makes this conjecture, considers it to fall short of, rather than exceed, the truth.

for long periods in these retreats, in no part of which do we see anything like preparation for dwelling, or for any other purposes save worship and interment; though indeed an epitaph by St. Damasus, in the Callixtan Catacombs, implies the fact that at some period those cemeteries were inhabited:—

"Hic habitasse prius sanctos cognoscere debes."

But that saint (elected to the papacy 366) cannot be cited as a contemporary witness to ages of persecution; at periods subsequent to which, however, we read of Pope Liberius taking refuge (352), in the cemetery called after St. Agnes, from the outrages and insolence of the then ascendant Arian sect; of Pope Boniface I., so late as between 418-22, passing some time in a similar retreat, to withdraw from the faction that supported his rival Eulalius; considering which facts, we cannot deny that the evidence as to the *occasional* habitation of catacombs is too conclusive to be set aside without rejecting much that claims belief in "Acts of Martyrs," and other received authorities. Of St. Urban we read ("Acts of St. Cecilia"), "latebat in sacrorum martyrum monimentis;" of St. Hippolytus ("Acts of St. Stephen," A.D. 259), "vitam solitariam agebat in cryptis." Baronius states that the same Pope Urban "used to celebrate masses and hold councils in the crypts of the martyrs;" and an epitaph to St. Alexander, in the Callixtan Catacombs, contains the sentence, "O tempora infausta, quibus inter sacra et vota ne in cavernis quidem salvari possumus!" In one terrific persecution a multitude of the faithful suffered death in catacombs on the Salarian Way, by order of the Emperor Numerianus; sand and stones being heaped up against the entrance, so as to leave buried alive those victims, of whose fate was found affecting proof long afterwards, not only in the bones of the dead, but in several silver cruets that had served for the eucharistic celebration. An impressive circumstance accompanied the martyrdom of Pope Stephen: the ministers of death rushed into the subterranean chapel, where they found him officiating, and, as if struck with sudden awe, waited till the rite was over before they slew him in his episcopal chair. As catacomb sepulchres became gradually filled, those sections or corridors no longer serviceable used to be blocked up with soil, in order thus both to separate the living from the dead, and to avoid the necessity of leaving accumulations outside. Granular tufa, which, with lithoid tufa and pozzolana, forms the material of the volcanic strata around Rome, is the substance (easily worked, but quite unsuitable for building) in which all Roman catacombs are excavated, except those of St. Pontianus, outside the Porta Portese, and of St. Valentine, on the Flaminian Way, which are in a soil of marine and fluvial deposits, shells, fossils, &c.

From the ninth century till a comparatively late period most of these catacombs were left unexplored, perhaps entirely inaccessible, and forgotten. Mediæval writers usually ignored their existence. That strange compilation, so curious in its fantastic suggestions and blindness to historic fact, the "Mirabilia Urbis Romæ" (written, some critics assume, in the tenth, others in the twelfth century; first published about 1471), enumerates, indeed, twenty-one catacombs. Flavio Biondo, writing in the fifteenth century, mentions those of St. Callixtus alone; Onofrio Panvinio, in the sixteenth century, reckons thirty-nine; Baronius, at date not much later, raises the number to forty-three. Those of St. Priscilla, entered below the Salarian Way, belonging to that mother of the Christian Senator Pudens, who received St. Peter; also those of SS. Nereus and Achilleus, near the Appian Way, have been referred to an antiquity correspondent with the apostolic age; and if those called after St. Callixtus were indeed formed long anterior to that pope's election, A.D. 210, we may place them second in chronologic order. That several continued in use as cemeteries long after the first imperial conversion, is evident from the fact that Constantine's daughter ordered the embellishment and enlargement of those called after St. Agnes, which became in consequence more than ever frequented—so to say, fashionable—as a place of interment during the fourth century: a circumstance manifest in the superior regularity and spaciousness of corridors; in the more laboured execution, but inferior style, of paintings seen in those catacombs. Other facts relevant to the story of later vicissitudes may be cited: Pope Damasus (*v.* Baronius, anno 384) ordered a *platonia* (pavement of inlaid marbles) for that part of the Callixtan Catacombs in which for a certain time had lain the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul. Pope John III. (560-73), who abode for a time (*v.* Anastasius) in the catacombs of SS. Tiburtius and Valerian, ordered all such hypogees as had suffered from barbarian spoliation to be repaired; also provided that a regular supply of bread, wine, and lights should be furnished from the Lateran Basilica for the celebrations still kept up on Sundays at the altars of these subterraneans. Towards the end of the sixth century, St. Gregory the Great indicated, among places of assemblage for the faithful on the days of the Lenten "Stations," organized by him with much solemnity and concourse, some of the cemeteries as well as principal churches of Rome. The evidences of art may be here cited, to prove comparative modernness in decorative details: the *nimbus*, for instance, around the heads of saintly figures, indicates date subsequent to the fourth century; and in the Callixtan Catacombs the figure of St. Cecilia, attired in cumbrous finery, jewelled head-dress, and necklaces, as also those of SS. Urban and Cornelius, besides a sternly expressive head of the Saviour, with

marked characteristics of the Byzantine school, suggest origin certainly not earlier than the sixth or seventh, if not so late as the eighth century.

The practice of frequenting these cemeteries for prayer, or for visiting the tombs of martyrs, continued common till the ninth, nor had entirely ceased even in the thirteenth century, being certainly more or less in prevalence under Honorius III. (1217-27). Yet the process of transporting the bodies of martyrs from these resting-places to the city, for safer and more honoured interment, had begun under Pope Paul I. (757-67), who took such precaution against the pious frauds practised by the Longobards, whilst investing Rome, led by Astolphus, —a king particularly bent upon relic-stealing: so devout in this respect were the fierce invaders of papal territory. At later mediæval periods the Catacombs fell into oblivion, till their ingresses became, for the most part, unknown even to the clergy; and one of the earliest records of their being visited in later ages is found in the names of Raynuzio Farnese (father of Paul III.) and the companions who descended with him, still read, beside the date 1490, in the Callixtan Catacombs. Not till late in the next century was the attention of *savans* directed by new lights from science, and through the revived study of antiquity, towards this field of research; subsequently to which movement, excavations were carried on at intervals from 1592 to 1693; the most important and fruitful in results being the labours of the indefatigable Bosio, who, after patient toils, pursued enthusiastically for thirty-three years, died (1600) without completing the work projected for transmitting their profits to posterity. Its first publication was in 1632, under the title, "Roma Sotterranea," compiled from Bosio's MSS. by Severano (an Oratorian priest); and a few years subsequently another Oratorian, Arringhi, brought out, with additions, the same work translated into Latin. Next followed (1702) the "Inscriptiones Antiquæ" of Fabretti, official *custode* to the Catacombs; and the learned work, "Cimiteri dei Santi Martiri" (1720), by Boldetti, the fruit of thirty years' labours, surpassed all hitherto contributions on this subject alike in vivacity of description, extensive knowledge, and well-sustained argument. Only next in merit and authority is the "Sculture e Pitture Sacre" ("Sacred Sculptures and Paintings from the Cemeteries of Rome"), by Bottari (1737-54), an illustrated work evincing thorough acquaintance with its theme. The "Manners of the Primitive Christians," by the Dominican Mamachi, one of the most valuable archæologic publications from the Roman press (1752), comprises, though not dedicated to this particular range, a general review of catacomb-monuments, together with others that throw light on the usages or ideas of the early Church. Interesting, though incomplete, is the contribution of the Jesuit

father, Marchi, "Architettura della Roma Sotterranea Cristiana," or "Monuments of Primitive Christian Art in the Metropolis of Christianity" (1844), which the writer only lived to carry to the close of one volume, exclusively dedicated to the constructive and topographic aspects of his subject—this publication having been suspended, long before his death, owing to the defection of subscribers after that year '48, so fatal to the interests of his religious order. The merit of his argument, in throwing light on its theme, is, that it entirely sets at rest the question of supposed connection between the Christian Catacombs and pagan *arenaria;* and establishes that in no one instance were the former a mere continuance or enlargement of the latter, as neither could the quality of soil in which these cemeteries were opened have served for building, nor their plan and dimensions have permitted the extracting of material for such purposes. One could not, indeed, desire clearer refutation of the theory respecting the identity of the two formations than that which meets the eye in the St. Agnes Catacombs,—ascending in which from the lower story, that originally formed for Christian purposes, we enter the pagan *arenaria* above those corridors sacred to the dead, this higher part being totally distinct in plan and in the dimensions of winding passages, as requisite for extracting the fine pozzolana sand.

Another valuable illustration to the same range of sacred antiquities is the work by Padre Garrucci, "Vetri Ornati" ("Glasses adorned with Figures in Gold, from the Cemeteries of the Primitive Christians"), with engravings of 318 tazze, all presenting groups or heads, gilt by a peculiar process on glass. As to the use of these, Garrucci differs from Buonarotti and others, who assume all such vessels to have served for sacramental purposes; his view referring many of them to remoter periods—to the second and third, instead of exclusively to the fourth century, as was the conclusion of previous writers. Among the figured designs on these glasses are several of great significance; and of their subjects one of the most frequently repeated is the group of SS. Peter and Paul side by side, usually as busts, and with not the slightest indication of superiority in one over the other apostle,—rather, indeed, a perfect parity in honours and deserts, as implied in the single crown suspended, in some instances, over the heads of both; or in their simultaneous crowning by the Saviour, whose figure is hovering above the pair alike thus honoured at the Divine Master's hand. Between these two apostles is often placed the Virgin, or some other female saint, especially Agnes, admitted to like honour; and in certain examples, either Mary or another female, in attitude of prayer, appears on a larger scale than the apostles: such naïve treatment being intended to convey the idea of *relative,* not, of course, absolute

honour, and very probably (as indeed is Garrucci's inference), expressing the still loftier ideal of the Church, personified in the prayerful Mother as the great earthly intercessor, supported by the chief witnesses to divine doctrine. It may be assumed that the origin *in art* of that supreme dignity assigned to the Virgin Mother (a source of such anti-evangelic superstition in practice), may be referred simply to this tendency of idealizing, not so much her person, as her position amidst the hierarchic grouping,—thus to personify the intercessory office, the link formed by prayer between simple-minded faith and theologic infallibility. Mary also appears on other tazze, standing between two trees, or between two columns, on which are perching birds, symbols of the beatified spirit, or of the resurrection; and in one instance only do we see the nimbus round her head—proof that this representation at least must be of comparatively late origin.* Among other uncommon subjects, we see Daniel giving a cake to the dragon, from the book, "Bel and the Dragon," considered by Protestants apocryphal (found also among reliefs on Christian sarcophagi); and—striking evidence to the influence from that pagan art still overshadowing the new faith in its attempts at similar modes of expression—Dædalus and Minerva superintending groups of labourers at different tasks; Cupid and Psyche (no doubt admitted in appreciation of the profound meanings that illumine that beautiful fable); Achilles and the Three Graces, here introduced with some sense not so intelligible. This choice of a comparatively gay and mundane class of subjects seems to confirm what is conjectured by Garrucci, as to certain among these tazze being appropriated *not* to the sacramental solemnity, but to various occasions in domestic life,—the nuptials, the name-giving, the baptism, and funeral, besides the *Agape*, that primitive blending of the fraternal feast with the eucharistic rite and communion, so frequently represented in catacomb paintings, that show the symbolic viands, the lamp, or the fish, and loaves marked with a cross, spread before companies of the faithful, seated round a *sigma* (semicircular table).

As to the literature illustrative of Rome's Catacombs, the last and most precious addition—a yet incipient work, which may be expected in its completeness to supply the fullest investigation of its subject—is De Rossi's "Subterranean and Christian Rome," executed with all

* The nimbus was originally given, in Christian art, to sovereigns and allegoric personages generally, as the symbol of power, distinction; but with this difference, that round the heads of saintly and orthodox kings or emperors, it is luminous or gilded; round those of Gentile potentates, coloured red, green, or blue. About the middle of the third century it begins to appear, and earliest on these glasses, as the special attribute of Christ; later being given to the heads of angels, to the evangelists, to the other apostles; and finally, to the Blessed Virgin and all saints, but not as their invariable attribute till the seventh century (*v.* Buonarotti, "Vasi Antichi").

the ability and erudition to be looked for in a writer of such eminence. We find here the fullest history of researches carried out in catacombs from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century; the learned author assigning four epochs to the story of these cemeteries, commencing from apostolic times, and successively extending over the third century,—over the period of the newly-attained freedom and peace guaranteed to the Church through Constantine (A. D. 312),—and over the fifth century, whence dates the gradual abandonment and decay of all such sanctuaries, owing to their then condition, impaired by shocks of barbarian invasion, devastated by Goths and Lombards, till at last, towards the close of the ninth century, they fell into neglect or oblivion.

The first impression on descending into catacombs, when the light of day is suddenly lost, and the eye follows the dim perspective of corridors lined with tier above tier of funereal niches, partially shown by torchlight, is one that chills and repels. Imagination calls up what reason rejects, and sports, as if fascinated, with ideas of danger —mysterious, indefinable—corrected, indeed, by the higher associations and reminiscences that take possession of the mind in any degree acquainted with that past so replete with noble examples from the story of those who *here*,—

> "In the hidden chambers of the dead,
> Our guiding lamp with fire immortal fed."

We may, perhaps, descend into these abysses from some lonely spot, whence the Vatican cupola is distinctly visible; and certainly nothing could be more glorious, from the Roman Catholic point of view, than the confronting of such a monument to triumphant religion, with the dark and rudely adorned subterraneans once serving as sanctuaries of the Church subsequently raised, at this same centre, to such proud supremacy. Another thought that may spring from this range of antiquarian study, and invest its objects with still deeper interest, is that of promise for something higher than either Catholicism or Protestantism, in the Christianity of the future.

As to the primitive mode of interment, the early Church may be said to have taken as model the Redeemer's sepulchre—a cavern, with entrance closed by a stone, in which but One Body lay; and in the especially honoured tombs of martyrs, or other illustrious dead, the form called *arcosolium*, like an excavated sarcophagus with arched niche above, supplied the *norma* for the later adopted altar of solid stone (instead of the plain wooden table in earliest use), with relics inserted in a cavity under the *mensa;* the practice of consecrating the Eucharist over such martyr-tombs having passed into the universal discipline of the Latin Church, through a decree of Pope Felix

(269-75), ordering that henceforth the mass should ever be celebrated over such burial-places of the holy dead :—

> "Altar quietem debitam
> Præstat beatis ossibus,"—

as Prudentius testifies to this ancient usage. From the same poet ("Hymn on St. Hippolytus") we learn that these subterraneans were not originally, as now, in total darkness, but lighted, however dimly, by those shafts (*luminaria*) still seen at intervals piercing the soil above our heads, though no longer in every instance serving for such purpose. The circumstances under which they have been rediscovered within modern times, form a singular detail in their vicissitudes; and it is remarkable that the period of greatest religious conflict among Christian nations was that which witnessed the revival of this long-forgotten testimony, conveyed in monumental language, to the faith and practice of the primitive Church. Energetically as these hypogees were explored in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, little was accomplished, in comparison with results quite recent, by any earlier undertakings; and much of the wealth secured was lost through Vandalic spoliation or inexcusable neglect. It was in December, 1593, that the first exploration was commenced by Bosio, in company with Pompeo Ugonio and others; and subsequently, between that year and 1600, were explored by the former all subterraneans into which he could find access along the Appian, Salarian, Flaminian, Ostian, Latin, and Portuense Ways. In the library of the Oratorian Fathers at Rome are four large folio volumes of MS., entirely written by Bosio, comprising the vast material for the work he did not live to produce; and another example of industry, frustrated by fatal accident, was the compilation intended to comprise all the art objects, epigraphs, &c., from catacombs, on which Marangoni and Boldetti had been occupied for seventeen years, when the whole fell a prey to the flames in 1720; the few fragments saved being, however, turned to account by the former, and brought out as an appendix to his "Acta S. Victorini," 1740.

Bosio, in the course of his long labours, discovered only one *group* of sepulchres historically noted (in 1619); another such was found by Boldetti in 1720; and in 1845 Father Marchi accomplished a like discovery in the tombs of the martyrs Protus and Hyacinthus. The catacombs called after the Christian matron Lucina, were reopened by the accidental sinking of the soil in 1688; and access to those of St. Tertullianus, on the Latin Way, was alike due to mere accident. In 1849 the Cavalier de Rossi began his task of directing excavations, for the costs of which a monthly subvention had been assigned by the Pope. Soon afterwards, Pius IX. appointed an "apostolic visitation," for ascertaining the condition of all Roman Catacombs; and a

more practically important step, that soon followed, was the creation of a "Committee of Sacred Antiquities," with charge and superintendence over all works and objects within that sphere, under whose direction the first excavations were commenced in 1851. By this arrangement was superseded the ordinance of Pope Clement X., dated 1672, entrusting the care of all these hypogees to the Cardinal Vicar, under the authority of whom, and that of the papal sacristan (a prelate), subterranean works used to be directed by *custodi*, as official deputies.

Even whilst that earlier organization continued, the loss and destruction of monuments from catacombs reflects most unfavourably on those responsible. Marangoni, after long experience as assistant *custode* with Boldetti, tells us that thousands of epigraphs were taken from these cemeteries to the church of S. Maria in Trastevere; seven cartfuls to S. Giovanni de' Fiorentini; two cartfuls to another church of S. Giovanni in Rome; yet, at the present day, only about a score of epitaphs remain in the portico of the former, not *one* in either of the two latter churches. Mazzolari ("Vie Sacre," 1779) describes what he had himself seen,—the deliberate destruction of a corridor and *cubiculum* (sepulchral chapel) in the Catacombs of St. Lawrence, almost immediately after they had been reopened in the long-inaccessible cemetery on the Tiburtine Way.

The works carried on within recent years have led to most interesting results. First of all may be classed, for importance, the discovery of the vast hypogee which took its name from St. Callixtus, though of origin still earlier; not founded, but enlarged, by that Pope, and in which all the Roman bishops were interred during the third century; the first mention of this, as a cemetery whose possession was legally guaranteed to the Church, occurring under the reign of Septimius Severus. About two miles beyond the Appian Gateway stands, on elevated ground, an old brick edifice with apse and vaulted roof, long used as a gardener's storehouse, now identified as the chapel raised for his own sepulture by Pope St. Damasus. Near this were begun, in 1844, the researches that led to the opening of those long-unexplored catacombs, at a short distance from the Basilica of St. Sebastian, below which extend other subterraneans long supposed to be the real Callixtan. Some years previously had been found, near this spot, a broken marble slab, with the letters of an inscription, "NELIUS MARTYR;" and the discovery of the tomb of St. Cornelius soon rewarded the labours here undertaken; the missing fragment, with the letters "COR . . . . EP" [iscopus], within a *cubiculum* dimly lighted from above, being soon found near a tomb, beside which are the painted figures of St. Cornelius and St. Cyprian of Carthage, near the figures of two other saints; one

designated by the written name "Sixtus," another martyred pope; the two first being thus associated, because commemorated by the Church on the same day, having both suffered on the 16th of September, and having in their lifetime held frequent correspondence. These four figures have all the nimbus, also the same characteristics of style; and a period not later than the sixth or seventh century can be assigned to these, as to other paintings in the same subterranean.

In considering the selection to which this primitive art was so strictly confined, we are struck by two predominant features,—the avoidance of those subjects invested with most awful sacredness, as the Crucifixion, Resurrection, Ascension, the institution of the Eucharist; also the pervading mysticism, which ever led to prefer such themes, in miracle, type, or historic incident, as suggest more than they represent; for, in fact, the more frequently recurring scenes, as here treated, *always* imply a truth or principle addressed to the moral sense of the believer, lying far too deep for the apprehension of the uninitiate. In sculpture this is more strikingly carried out; and in this walk of early sacred art we have the finest example in the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, prefect of Rome, who died a neophyte, A.D. 359, and was buried at St. Peter's, where his beautifully chiselled tomb was rediscovered, after ages of oblivion, during the works for the new basilica, still being left near its original place in the crypt.

In freedom of design, in conception as well as execution, these reliefs surpass all others of the same epoch: ten groups are ranged along two files, divided by pilasters, the lower under canopies alternately circular and pointed; the subjects historic; the principal and central figure that of the Saviour, in form a beautiful youth, seated between two apostles, with his feet upon the earth, this latter being personified as an old man just emerging from the ground, and holding over his head a canopy of draperies. The Sacrifice of Abraham, the Sufferings of Job, the Fall of Adam and Eve, Daniel in the Lion's Den; Christ entering Jerusalem seated on an ass, again seen before Pilate, who is washing his hands; the Denial of St. Peter, and the Arrest of that Apostle, are the representations ranged around. But more curious still are the groups of sheep, minutely sculptured between the arches, serving to attest both the simplicity and earnestness of minds to which such art-treatment could be addressed; these animals being here seen to perform acts mystically selected from both the Old and New Testaments, and thus naïvely admitted to personify, in type, Moses, John the Baptist, and the Redeemer himself. A sheep strikes water from the rock; another performs the miracle of multiplying loaves; another gives baptism to a similarly typical creature of its kind; a sheep touches a mummy-like figure with a wand, to represent the raising of Lazarus; and a sheep receives the tablets of the Law on the mount.

Turning to the collection in the Lateran Museum, we observe the most interesting sculptured series on a large sarcophagus brought from St. Paul's, where it was probably placed at the time of the building of that basilica in the fourth century, the groups in relief on its front presenting a valuable record of religious ideas; but we are shocked to find here the traditional reverence of earlier days so soon departed from in the admission, among the now larger art-range, of such a subject as the Supreme Being, manifest alike in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, under the aspect of humanity, with identity of type, strongly marked and severe, indicating middle age, in each of the co-equal Three. First in order is the creation of Eve out of Adam's side, by God the Son, in presence of the Father and Spirit; the former seated, and in the act of blessing the new-born woman; the latter standing behind the Father's throne. Next appears the Son awarding to Adam and Eve the symbols of labour, which was part of their punishment,—a wheatsheaf to the man, a lamb (for spinning wool) to the woman; and it is remarkable that in this instance the second Divine Person wears a different aspect, more youthful and beautiful than when associated with the Father,—thus to announce the mystery of his Incarnation. Successively follow the miracles operated by our Lord upon water, bread, and wine; the Adoration of the Magi (the Virgin of a somewhat severe matronly type), with the Holy Spirit (again in human aspect) standing beside the chair of the Mother and Child; the Restoring of Sight to the Blind; the Raising of Lazarus; St. Peter denying Christ; St. Peter between Two Jews (his arrest probably intended); Moses striking the Rock; the story of Jonas; Christ entering Jerusalem; Daniel between the Lions—and this last of very original treatment, for, besides the personages essential to the story, another is also introduced, on each side of Daniel, meant (as we infer) for the third Divine Person, holding by the hair of his head the prophet Habakkuk, who brings the bread (here an admitted type of the Eucharist) for Daniel's sustenance (see the book "Bel and the Dragon"). As to the selection from the miracles of our Lord (constantly repeated in others as in these reliefs), their deeper significance is admitted in the following instances:—the healing of the paralytic implies absolution from sin; the giving of sight to the blind, illumination through faith; the multiplication of loaves and fishes, as well as the change of water into wine, the Eucharist; Moses striking water from the rock implies baptism; the adoration of the wise men, the calling of the Gentiles to Christ. Job is introduced as a witness to the resurrection of the body; and especially conspicuous is the type of the Saviour's resurrection in the story of Jonas. Elias carried up to heaven signifies the ascension of Him whose last sufferings and triumphs on earth are reverently shown under veils of symbolism.

On two sarcophagi in the Lateran Museum is seen the Labarum, guarded by soldiers, with birds (symbols of the apostles, or of beatified spirits) on the arms of the cross supporting the holy monogram; and on another such sculptured tomb here are details of architecture, where we recognise a Christian basilica and a baptistery of circular form, no doubt correct representations of such sacred buildings in the fourth or fifth century. Turning from this museum, we find another remarkable example of funereal sculpture in a small, almost dark chapel, no longer used for worship, at St. Peter's—the tomb of an illustrious wedded pair, Probus Anicius, prætorian prefect, who died A.D. 395, and of his wife Proba Falconia, whose virtues are commemorated, with those of her husband, in several poetic tributes still extant. On their sarcophagus here we see the Saviour, youthful and beardless, with the book of the Gospels, standing on a rock, from which issue the four rivers of Paradise (a type of the Evangelists); beside him St. Peter and St. Paul; and, divided by colonnettes, the other Apostles, in that attitude, with one uplifted hand, understood to express assent or reverential attention. Elsewhere, at St. Peter's, S. Maria Maggiore, S. Prassede, are to be seen ancient Christian sarcophagi, adorned by observable sculptures.

But the museum founded by Pius IX. at the Lateran contains so rich an abstract from this primitive art-range, that it is to that centre we should turn, rather than any other, in order to study and appreciate. Here are the facsimiles of paintings that have been judiciously selected for their mystic interest; besides the most complete series of sculptured sarcophagi, in the greater number, no doubt, of the fourth century, though some may be supposed earlier—of the third, or even the second. Agincourt points out merits of treatment in some of these sacred reliefs—*e. g.*, the Ascent of Elias to Heaven (in this museum), the Crossing of the Red Sea, the Bestowal of the Keys on St. Peter,—that led him to assume for them origin within the first two centuries of our era; and in the sarcophagi that stand first and seventh, left, in this gallery, one with vintage scenes divided into compartments by figures of the Good Shepherd in higher relief; also in one of the statues here, the "Pastor Bonus," are artistic qualities that seem to indicate date anterior to the fourth century (Perkins, "Tuscan Sculptors"). The Christian Museum at the Vatican is rich in lamps, with sacred emblems, from catacombs; also in bronzes of early periods, and in terrific instruments of torture, that impress us with the reality of what has been suffered for our Faith. Here too is the most complete series of Christian glasses with gilt figures, the very specimens so well explained by Padre Garrucci,—objects rarely to be seen elsewhere, though a few are in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence, and another set, from a Sicilian museum, were recently purchased at Rome

by the British Government. The museum at the Collegio Romano contains, among antiques of various classes, some interesting art-relics of the primitive and mediæval Church—among the earliest, a marble vase, with the Adoration of the Magi in relief. In the Propaganda Museum are a few of those gilt glasses from catacombs, one with the group of the Virgin Mother between the two Apostles: and objects of various description from the same subterraneans, as well as copies from paintings in their chapels, are to be seen at the "Custodia" of relics in the Apollinare College, made public for the Lenten Stations on the Thursday before Holy Week.

Besides those above named, there is another remarkable range of subjects serving to illustrate doctrine or religious usages; and the judgment of competent critics, who assign to certain paintings antiquity so high as the first or second century, enhances the interest we naturally feel in such examples. Among these may be noticed the group of two men, one kneeling, supposed to record the story of some person *lapsed* during the period of persecution, or other notorious sinner, publicly reconciled to the Church before death. The five Wise Virgins (Catacombs of St. Agnes) are represented with torches instead of lamps, conformably to Roman practice, but each carrying also a vessel for oil. A group of the Saviour in the midst of the Twelve Apostles (Catacomb of SS. Nereus and Achilleus),—two only, SS. Peter and Paul, being seated, whilst the others stand,—seems evidence to the idea of superiority alike shared by those co-founders of the Church in Rome. A banquet, at which are seated guests waited upon by two allegoric personages, Peace and Love (Irene and Agape), whose names are written near, is supposed to represent the joys of Paradise. A group representing two persons, male and female, the latter with arms extended in prayer, beside a tripod table, on which are laid a fish and loaves marked with the cross (Catacomb of St. Callixtus), is a strikingly expressive illustration of the eucharistic doctrine, with not only the proper substance of that sacrament in one kind, but also the mystic emblem of our Lord's person—the Divine Presence—associated with it: another sacramental subject in the same catacomb, a man pouring water over the head of a boy, while both stand in a river, conveying proof that infant, or at least pædobaptism, was the practice of the ancient Church. It is, indeed, in the aggregate, a grand and affecting ideal of primitive Christianity that this monumental series, painted, sculptured, and chiselled, presents to us—a moral picture of purity and peace, earnestness without fanaticism,—mystic ordinances undegraded by superstition, true devotion manifest in the supreme sacrifice of the heart, the mind, and life. The varied and mystic illustration of sacraments, the select representation of such miracles as convey lessons of Divine goodness and love, or confirm

belief in immortal life, may be said to revolve around one subject, that dominates like a star whose hallowed light illumes the entire sphere—namely, the Person and Office of the Redeemer, towards Whom all hope and faith tend, from Whom proceed all power, all strengthening and consoling virtue.

The idea of a headship vested in St. Peter appears occasionally with decided expression, though indeed tempered by other proofs of an admission to spiritual equality for those co-founders, SS. Peter and Paul. In the sculptures (the greater number referred to the fourth and fifth centuries) this idea of St. Peter's supremacy becomes more manifest, as natural at periods when the Roman bishopric was rapidly advancing in power and grandeur. Moses and the Apostle constantly appear in juxtaposition,—the one striking the rock, the other standing between two Jews; the aspect of both absolutely *identical*, and the wand, symbolic of authority, as often held by the Apostle as by the Lawgiver. In an enamel on glass this becomes an absolute interchange of offices, St. Peter (designated by name) striking water from the rock in place of Moses.

In regard to another vast range of monuments—the epigraphy of the Catacombs—we must turn for the best of authorities to De Rossi's "Inscriptiones Christianæ Urbis Romæ," an immense compilation, intended to comprise nearly 11,000 epigraphs, all collected by the writer during twenty-one years of assiduous research, and to be eventually classified, under the same gentleman's direction, in the Christian Museum at the Lateran. De Rossi infers that numerous decorative details hitherto ascribed to the third century are really of much higher antiquity, approaching even the apostolic age; proof of which he sees in the classic style of various frescoes and decorations on stucco, also in the *constructed* (not merely excavated) chambers and corridors, provided with ample recesses for sarcophagi, instead of the usual sepulchral niches; lastly, in various epitaphs wanting the known Christian formulas, and with nomenclature quite classic, found in certain hypogees. Till the latter years of the third century no spoliation had impaired these cemeteries, no intolerant edict had driven the faithful from their limits; but during the persecution by Diocletian all places of Christian assemblage were burned down or devastated, all ecclesiastical books given to the flames, the Roman See being left vacant for more than six (if not seven) years. That tempest was stilled by the relenting policy of Maxentius, A.D. 306, but the restitution of what the Church had lost did not ensue before 311.

The legalized possession of cemeteries, and that of their churches likewise, by the Christians under pagan government, is one historic point clearly established by De Rossi's arguments and proofs. Valerian forbid to the faithful even access into these sacred retreats,

but Gallienus restored such sites to the bishops, implying the recognition of an aggregate claim; and during the third century, at latest, that possession was generally guaranteed. The Christians of Antioch applied to Aurelian in order to compel a bishop deposed in council, the heretical Paul of Samosata, to quit "the house of the Church," and in the sequel the decree of a Catholic synod was enforced by a pagan magistrate. An ingenious suggestion in the "Roma Cristiana" is that originally, perhaps, it was under colour of associations for mutual aid and charitable interment that the Christians obtained the first conceded tolerance, gradually extending to their places of worship as well as those of sepulture.

The chronology of primitive Christian art cannot, of course, be brought within bounds of distinct definition, and has been subject of various conjectures. Its earliest forms were purely symbolism,—sacred emblems, the lamb, the dove, the ship, the lyre, worn on rings or bracelets, or embroidered on vestments (*vide* Clement of Alexandria, second century); if any human figures were represented, no other save the Good Shepherd, mentioned by Tertullian early in the third century, as sometimes seen, probably enamelled, on chalices. But it seems certain that all attempts at portraiture were prohibited till after the time of Constantine, and Mabillon concludes that ten centuries had passed before images were permitted to appear above the altar.

The beauty of the social picture presented by those ages of faith could indeed be little appreciated were we only to regard ritual and æsthetic aspects apart from life's daily realities and practical duties. It is well known how the economies and charities of the primitive Church were regulated, one-third of ecclesiastical revenues going to the relief of the poor, another to the bishops and clergy, another to public worship and sacred edifices. Before the end of the fourth century existed hospitals for the poor and aged, foundling asylums, and *xenodochia* for travellers, all supported by the several communities, and mostly founded by bishops, who were their local superiors. The Christian stranger was always at home among his fellow-worshippers, and maintained gratuitously if he brought letters of recommendation (*epistolæ formatæ*) from the bishop of his diocese. In each city now rose, beside the episcopal residence, an ample edifice open to all strangers, with separate wings for the sick, for infants, and the aged, each under its proper administration. "There," says St. Gregory of Nazianzen, "disease is endured with calmness; adversity becomes happiness." In the observance of fast-days it was enjoined that the economies of the table should be set aside for the relief of widows, orphans, or others in want (*vide* the "Pastor" of Hermas). The religious instruction of children was from an early period provided for on system. Proof how promptly was condemned by the Church,

and, to the extent of her means, put down, that great social evil of paganism, slavery, is supplied with striking force in Christian epigraphs: among the entire number, about 11,000, belonging to the first six centuries, scarcely six (and, as Mr. Northcote shows, two or three among these doubtful) containing allusion, in their brief and simple language, to this fundamental division of ancient Roman society, whilst *alumni* (adopted foundlings) are named in a greater number of Christian inscriptions than in the entire range of those from pagan monuments—a further proof of the prevailing beneficence, the new-born domestic virtues, to which so many outcast children owed their maintenance and even life, as members of the Christian community.

Before the nineteenth year of Diocletian,—the date of the persecuting edict which enforced the destruction of all Christian churches,—the new worship is said to have been celebrated in forty buildings publicly dedicated to sacred use in Rome.

The clergy, till the end of this primitive period, continued to officiate attired in the classic white vestments common to Roman citizens, but distinguished by the long hair and beard of philosophers; and not till the Constantinian period did the bishops begin to wear purple; not till the ninth century was that primitive white costume (which sometimes was slightly adorned in purple or gold) laid aside by the priesthood generally.

An example of superiority in the constructive character of a catacomb, conveying proof of comparatively late origin, is seen in that of SS. Peter and Marcellinus, which communicates with the mausoleum of St. Helena, but can now be only entered, and to slight extent penetrated, in the villa of Signor Grande, about two miles from Rome, on the Via Labicana; the portion of this cemetery here accessible having been reopened in 1838, as described by Marchi. Entering, we are struck by the unusual width and loftiness of the corridors, and the ample arched recesses, evidently destined for sarcophagi, instead of the narrow sepulchral deposits elsewhere seen; but most remarkable is an ornamental detail, not found in any other catacomb, of rich mosaic pavement, for the greater part in diamond-shaped cubes of black and white stone, one compartment adorned with a dove holding an olive branch, well designed in coloured marbles. Diverging from this principal corridor are others now entirely filled with soil, one permeable to some extent, but becoming narrower and lower as we advance, till further progress is impeded. Above one of the two entrances, from each of which is a descent by marble stairs, are the ruins of an oratory in antique Roman brickwork, with some traces of architectural ornament—cornices, mouldings, fragments of sculptured frieze, broken columns of marble and peperino. Another instance of

superior constructive style is seen in the Catacombs, reopened 1852, of Domitilla (entered from the estate of Flavia Domitilla, a Christian matron), where a façade and vestibule present characteristics of the best imperial period; and arabesque paintings here—birds and winged children—are distinguished by beauty and truthfulness entitling them to rank beside the most graceful fresco adornments in the columbaria of the Augustan age, or those recently discovered in the villa of Livia at Prima Porta.* The Catacombs of S. Priscilla, referred to the highest antiquity, are also remarkable for details of their plan and art-works. Entered from a vineyard of the Irish College on the Salarian Way, these were found permeable in only one of the four stories into which they are divided, and in some parts their interiors are supported by walls in firm brickwork that appears of the fourth century. Admirable among ornamental features here are various graceful stucco-reliefs, garlands, and designs of the *guilloche* character, reminding of the finest similar details in classic art. The largest oratory, in form a Latin cross, is called the Greek Chapel, from the inscriptions in that language there read. Among the most interesting paintings is a group where a veiled female is seen in act of being crowned by two others; and again in prayer, amidst other figures, one of whom seems inviting her to enter a species of tabernacle,—conjectured to represent the entrance of the soul, received by the Saviour, into eternal bliss; another group being formed of the Blessed Virgin and Child, with St. Joseph, who is bearded but not aged-looking, perhaps here for the first time introduced in sacred art.† Another is interpreted by Bosio (the first to explore these catacombs) as the ceremony of giving the veil to a consecrated virgin—namely, the daughter of S. Priscilla,—by Pope Pius I., who is seated on a massive episcopal throne; St. Hermes, his brother, and Priscilla herself attending; and opposite these persons the Madonna seated with the Divine Child, as if manifest in order to give highest sanction to that religious act. Conjecture has assumed antiquity so high as the first century for some paintings in these catacombs, and in their treatment both composition and costume awaken classic reminiscences. In the winter of 1854 were discovered both the long-buried basilica and catacombs of Pope St. Alexander on the Nomentan Way—the hypogee in this instance extending on the same level with the ruined church from which we enter it,—less interesting than others, as no monuments of artistic character are found here, but still well worthy of being visited.

There seems reason to conclude that both pictures and sculptures had begun to appear, though not in very common use, among the ornaments of sacred buildings prior to the last pagan persecution,

* See De Rossi's report, in his "Bullettino di Archeol. Cristiana," May, 1863.

† See De Rossi on the earliest representations of St. Joseph, "Bullettino" for April, 1863.

and that it was in consequence of the outrage inflicted on such art-objects under Diocletian, that the Council of Elvira, A.D. 303, passed the variously-interpreted decree, "Ne quod colitur et adoratur in parietibus depingatur."

The actual number of catacombs has been very differently reported. Arringhi, followed by other writers, first raised it so high as sixty, but without proof adduced from personal experience. De Rossi sets the question at rest by supplying a list in which are reckoned forty-two, —not more than twenty-six being of vast extent, and five shown to be of origin subsequent to the peace secured for the Church under Constantine,—all within a circle three miles distant from the walls of Servius Tullius, though indeed other such hypogees are known to have been formed beyond that radius. The name *ad catacumbas* was originally given exclusively to that of St. Sebastian on the Appian Way; and *catacumbæ* was the title proper to a small oratory behind the extramural basilica of that saint, still extant, built about the middle of the fourth century, for consecration of the spot where, according to legend, the bodies of SS. Peter and Paul reposed for a time after the attempt to remove those revered relics to the East; a sacrilege thwarted (as the legend narrates) by a violent thunderstorm, which detained the emissaries from the East till certain Roman Christians arrived who rescued the bodies, and here gave them interment. To the same spot, it is said, the relics of St. Peter were a second time transported, in the fear of profanation, when a new circus, on the Vatican hill above the Christian cemetery, had been projected by Heliogabalus. This ancient chapel, circular in form, and very inferior in masonry, has a plain altar in its centre, above the deposit in which the Apostles' bodies are said to have lain for a year and seven months, according to some writers :* for not less than forty years, as one chronicler states. Round the walls are several *arcosolia*, apparently made to receive sarcophagi, and once adorned with painted stucco in style of an early mediæval period, but now barbarously covered with whitewash. Another oratory, at higher level, in form and construction similar, still retains fresco

* The sepulchre, now covered up, is a square aperture measuring between six and seven feet on each side, and the same in depth, lined in the lower part with marble, and divided into two equal compartments by a marble partition. This crypt-chapel is supposed to have been founded by Pope Liberius, and completed under Pope Damasus. The legend of the attempted theft of those apostolic relics, in the time of St. Cornelius, is given by Petrarch ("Lives of the Ancient Pontiffs"), with all its romantic embellishments: the sacrilegious Greeks had succeeded in bringing their stolen treasure from the Vatican to this stage on the Via Appia, when voices were heard crying from the penetralia of all the pagan fanes in the city, "Hasten, Romans, your gods are being carried away!" both Christians and heathens took the alarm (an anticipative idea of saint-worship as to the former), rushed in multitudes, overtook the spoilers on this road, and found the bodies thrown into the Catacombs.

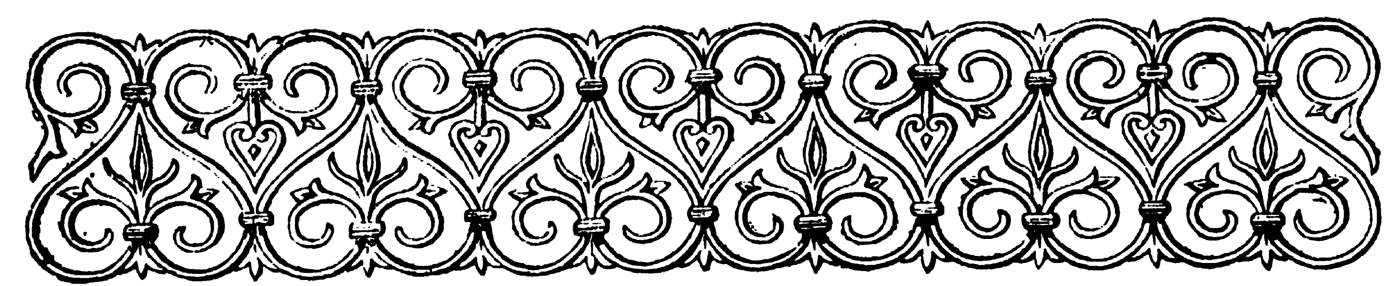
pictures on a low vaulted roof, evidently of very remote origin, described by Nibby as Greek works: the Saviour in act of blessing; SS. Peter and Paul; the Divine Master, represented in a large head of solemn expression, within a nimbus; a Crucifixion, not without merit in design, though indeed rude in execution.

The range of Christian Catacombs is not confined exclusively to the Roman neighbourhood. Those at Naples, named after St. Januarius, and formed alike in tufa stratifications, are of great extent, but have hitherto been little worked or illustrated, though their corridors, and especially one large chapel here, contain many sacred paintings and symbolic ornaments, engravings from some of which are given by Agincourt, who ascribes the more remarkable among these pictures to Greek artists of periods earlier than the ninth century—not undertaking farther to determine date. More extensive, and still less known or illustrated, are the Catacombs of Syracuse, which communicate with, or diverge from, several churches both in the city and extramural—the most spacious and easily permeable being under S. Giovanni, beyond the walls. In their aggregate these have never yet been explored; and among their more valuable contents, the antique vases, found here from time to time, have been mostly removed, many to pass into the possession of the Duke Bonanni, as he tells us in his work, "Antiche Siracuse" (1717). Here also have been discovered numerous coins and Greek inscriptions; but not (that I can ascertain) any Christian paintings of remarkable character. These are probably the vastest in extent among all subterraneans ever applied to sacred purposes by the Church; and are excavated entirely in the living rock, at different periods, and, as assumed, during the more flourishing epochs of the once great Sicilian capital—not therefore of Christian origin, as is indeed apparent from the pagan subjects of some designs, representing funeral ceremonies, rudely scratched on their walls. Throughout their whole extent, these hypogees show characteristics totally different from the Roman, and are described as resembling a complete subterranean city, with streets, rectilinear or curving, several of which converge at open spaces, whence is descent to lower stories; or at spacious circular chambers, some twenty-four feet in diameter, under domical roofs pierced by orifices for giving light. The corridors are lined with arched recesses, divided into parallel tombs by stone partitions; but many of the deposits are sarcophagi, placed isolate on the ground, or at different heights along the rock-walls. Though generally, no doubt, formed anterior to Christianity, characteristics of the first centuries of our era are apparent in the barbaric attempts at architectural detail in some chambers (perhaps used for worship); and still more clearly in the sacred symbols on certain tombs. But in other respects, the singularities of formation are such as to have

led antiquarians to conjecture different races as the authors, and different epochs for the date of these extraordinary works. The artist traveller, Houel, who explored them to a considerable extent, and gives the fullest report I have met with, tells that he found the corridors throughout lighted by shafts communicating with the open air; but that at many points progress was impeded by the falling-in of the scaly rock. When at Syracuse, before the late political changes, I could find no *cicerone* capable of acting as guide to any extent, or giving any desirable information, in these mysterious subterraneans. That such retreats were early required amid the perils of the primitive local Church, we may infer from the religious history of this island. We know that martyrs suffered under Nero; that the Decian persecution raged with utmost violence, giving occasion to the self-sacrifice of many heroic witnesses, in Sicily; and the tradition seems credible that it was in that range of more spacious corridors below the S. Giovanni Church that the faithful of Syracuse used to take refuge from the persecuting storm; that it was there one of their first bishops, St. Marcian, died a martyr's death. Pagan worship is believed to have been suppressed, or at least its principal temples for ever closed, in Sicily, under the reign of Honorius.*

CHARLES J. HEMANS.

* For the history of Persecutions, *vide* Ruinart, "Acta Sincera;" Tillemont; and Milman, "History of Christianity." For the Catacombs and Primitive Art (besides the works above cited), Gerbet, "Esquisse de Rome Chrétienne;" Gournerie, "Rome Chrétienne;" Martigny, "Diction. des Antiq. Chrétiennes;" Didron, "Iconographie;" Guénebault, "Diction. Iconog.;" Houel, "Voyage Pittoresque des Isles de Sicile," &c.; Raoul Rochette, "Catacombs de Rome;" Pelliccia, "Christ. Eccles. Politia;" Cantù, "Storia Universale," Appendix on Archæology.



ANCILLA DOMINI: THOUGHTS ON CHRISTIAN ART.

IV.—ART-SCHOOLS OF THE FUTURE.

WE have brought our historical, or rather genealogical, sketch of the ancestry and connections of English art almost to our own schools, so called. They seem to be distinguished by two leading features or modifications. The serious or high grotesque of Hogarth has ramified first into various domestic styles, where oil painting is still employed, generally with considerable technical skill; and secondly, into caricature, rather humorous than serious, and almost always done in rough light-and-shade. We have to notice the works of one or two more men in the latter way of work.

No doubt domestic subject may be grand enough in strong hands. Mr. Hook's Fishermen, and Mr. Madox Brown's Navvies, are to our minds real ideals, which exemplify the great function of realist art, namely, "getting the ideal out of the actual"—in other words, contriving to see and to show to others the nobility and beauty which is in the common virtues of common life. With these of course we put Mr. Maclise's men of Trafalgar. But we must lament the conspicuous absence of anything like high aim in so much modern work, which is in fact neither domestic nor grotesque, but only vulgar, if not venal. As regards real influence on men's minds, the caricaturists bid higher and effect more than the common run of *genre* and landscape painters. And the mention of landscape brings us to the other great and novel characteristic of the English school—its power over inanimate nature, and that vast influence of the works of Turner,

which has not yet shown us all its results. For there is no doubt that with the works of Turner and the writings of his chief interpreter, there has arisen such interest and feeling for art, in the instructed and partly instructed classes, as will give it an acknowledged place in popular education. Art has been really popularized: all the world have been shown something in it which they can understand, and with which they have real sympathy. An ordinary Britisher may think Hogarth ugly or vulgar, and he may think Rafael Popish: or he has probably been lectured into conventional and faint admiration of the wrong thing in the latter, and wonders silently if all other art must necessarily be so hard to care for. But he has seen clouds and mountains, and sunset and storm, and big trees, and waves and rivers; and one day he finds that Cox will carry him off under green leaves, and that Fripp and Richardson will lead him across the moors. He is sure to begin with these men's work, or some of the more popular forms of art; but he has at least a chance of advancing to the study of Turner, and he is also encouraged to make some attempt at drawing from nature himself. And in thinking about art as a means of education, we must consider not only how the artists are to be trained for their work, but what sort of pictures we want them to paint for us; how their pictures may be made means of popular education; and lastly, how far the amateur or non-professional study of art should be a part of liberal education.

Now the present tendency of painting, on the whole, is increasing skill in oil and water-colour, and decreasing vigour. Partly from over-insistance on technical perfection, partly from want of strong, hard, book-education in early life, painters do not care enough for lofty subject. They plead that original subjects will not sell. Then let them give half or three-fourths of their time to the best kind of subjects that will sell, and keep an hour or so of their day to do their own minds justice. There is no harm in art's being subject to laws of supply and demand, nor is an artist who is without much original power to be blamed, if he does good studies from nature and sells them when done. But we think it is time to put in a protest in favour of Thought, and against the endless multiplication of pretty pictures, with no thought in them, for the market. Here is an acknowledged means of instructing, or of imparting thought, loose among us as it were, at a time when education is the question of the day. Look at the old function of art in religious education. Are men so changed since it was used to teach them so much of the history of their own souls? In losing its office in religious teaching, art has ceased to be thought of as instructive at all: and those who practise it have lost dignity and self-respect. It has outgrown, or fallen from, the church walls which sheltered and upheld it in

old days—or are they crumbling? But now it seems to run wide and wild, without frame to grow to, or high point to grow at. We do not say all art is to be religious. We say it was so once; and that Beauty is of God, and should bear witness to Him. We certainly observe in the history of the Quest of Beauty, which is the history of Art, that seriousness of mind and aim has generally carried its possessor beyond others, and taught him to do more for others: and also that such seriousness of aim is strongly connected, at least, with the old religious view of art as God's service. No doubt all man's work may be done in a spirit of obedience to Him; and laborious life is as sacred as artist life in itself. Still the fact remains, that in all teaching the use of the symbols of form and colour comes next in power to the use of letters and "sweet articulate words." The former, used by their true masters, are only second in effect to the highest utterances of poetry, if second to them at all. And our generation does not use them as it should. Nobody at this day wants to confine our painters to religious subject, or to encourage the weak and well meaning to try to dedicate powers which they do not possess. There is a regular market for pious pictures of a certain stamp, and a large share of the commercial canvases which yearly adorn our Academy walls are produced to supply it: we only trust they are not as demoralizing to their simple-minded purchasers as they must be to their venal producers. We "only" want to enforce high thought and purpose. A fairly good system of technical art education in its elementary forms is now set on foot almost throughout the country, and some kind of higher training, which shall not be delusive or hurtful, may perhaps be hereafter to be expected of our Royal Academy, or Central School of Painters. Technical instruction will soon be provided for. What seems wanted is that some large number of educated and thoughtful men should take up art for their profession in good earnest, and that as a rule (subject to exceptions, where a Blake or a Turner may knock unexpectedly at the Academy doors), a fair amount of book education should be required, *in limine*, or during their academic studies, of those who are to be our professional painters. We do not know if it will come to pass in our time that either of the Universities will consider art a sufficiently important means of general education to deserve encouragement as a recognised study. It would be a certain means of raising the position and the aspirations of all painters, by filling their ranks with well-read and severely-trained men, who would choose subjects worthy of a man's thought. Classmen are not likely to content themselves with painting buff coats, and feathers, and over-dressed children; and the public would gradually discover that pictures which contain ideas are, *cæteris paribus*, superior

to pictures without any meaning,—unless, indeed, they really take the same view of paintings as of sermons, and own their preference for a safe style of utterance without any ideas at all.

Whether the Universities ever give any direct encouragement to art or not, their gates are open wide to fairly well-taught boys, and will be opened yet wider. Nor can we conceive of a better preliminary training for any lad who has the painter's innate qualities of eye, hand, heart, and industry, than a fair amount of Greek accurately got up; including plenty of Homer, "Plays," and Plato, and followed by a keen attempt at a class in the Oxford Modern History School. He may get through all that in very little more than three years, and keep laying the foundations of technical art knowledge all the time: and if he does start a little behind the regular art student in point of dexterity, his brains are better educated than his thumbs, and he will be able to learn the "finger language" of the painter all the better for having something to say in it.* We may here refer to the late Mr. Harding, who enjoyed one great advantage in the line of art he pursued, that it brought him into frequent contact with highly educated pupils, who had something in them besides studio:—

> "Seeing that the young man (candidate for admission into the Academy) is to exercise an intellectual art, he at least ought to have had some scholastic culture. Those persons whom I have taught with most effect are those who have received such an education. It is quite astonishing what a marked difference I have found. In the case of those gentlemen who have been to our colleges, and received an academic education, it is quite extraordinary to notice the rapidity with which they learn what is taught them, and the marvellous way in which they acquire power in a short time." †

It may be that art is not sufficiently recognised as a means of education to be made an object to educate for in Oxford or Cambridge. The Universities may be said as a rule to teach little more than the art of teaching to a large proportion of their better pupils. That is to say—making due exceptions for the lawyers and the physicians,—future clergy, schoolmasters, and book-writers are a very large portion of the reading men of either University. Now when, or if ever, the artist is encouraged to think that his pictures will be as books, conveying real instruction, he will put all the thought he can into

* R. A. Commission: "Evidence," p. 396; *Ans.* 3681.

† "*Q.* 3682. Your experience in teaching, which is varied, and extends over a considerable time, has led you to the conclusion that the persons who have gone through a general education, and have been highly educated, are, as art students, more apt, and more likely to make good artists, than persons who have not received such an education?

"*A.* In a most marked degree.

"*Q.* 3683. Should you be in favour of exacting from all the students who come to the schools of the Royal Academy, which ought to be the highest art school in the kingdom (an art university as it were), some standard of general education previous to their admission?

"*A.* Distinctly. Out of an uneducated mind ideas can hardly come."

them. And when, or if ever, university authorities shall realize that true ideas are true ideas, however conveyed, and that thoughts and knowledge of facts may, in many cases, be better passed from mind to mind by pictorial expression than by any other means of expression—then they will probably feel it their duty to organize instruction by means of pictorial expression, or picture language.

What our children may look forward to, if we may not, is such a school, or number of competent masters and their pupils, employed all over the country, as shall bring within reach of the public eye series of historical pictures from their own history: secular history in secular places, histories of Greece and Rome in the larger schools, the spiritual history of their own souls in churches. This may be long delayed, though it is by no means so impossible as it seems; and it is by such means that art will become a means of general instruction and information. But there is no doubt that it may be also made a valuable means of education or training of mind, hand, and eye; though it be applied to people who are never likely to produce instructive pictures, or any pictures at all.

We distinguish throughout between educating a man that he may produce instructive works, and teaching colour and form to amateurs of all ranks, that they may be able to recognise and enjoy beauty when they find it. With the former view, when we educate our painters, we must educate them as teachers, as persons who are hereafter to take an important though perhaps unrecognised part in public education. On this principle, it stands to reason that they should have a fair amount of classical and general reading, and have acquired some share of that accuracy of mind which is, at least, fairly well taught in our Universities. In other words, it takes some amount of hard reading, generally speaking, to make a painter. This proposition will probably be admitted with limitations;—but we want its corollary to be admitted also, that the educated painters will produce works worth reading. Having educated our artist's brain, eye, and fingers, let us make use of him: let him have his share in general education: let him be employed in teaching his generation something, at least, which they had better learn. Let us see what amount of liberal education for all classes may be got out of art instruction.

Something we have said already about public frescoes, and we hope to return to the subject, which is, we think, exhausted in the Royal Academy blue-book, by the joint evidence of Mr. Ruskin, Mr. Armitage, Mr. Watts, Mr. Maclise, and Sir Coutts Lindsay. But we wish our readers would consider for themselves the advantages of the study and pursuit of beauty to any person whatever, in our own time and among our own people. Lord Bacon says that he who has taken a wife and has children, "hath given hostages to fortune." We have

often thought, that to have gained some power of pictorial perception or expression, is to have taken hostages from fortune. This is literally true, of course, when a man has got far enough to produce saleable pictures. It is a further question, what the poor or busy man has gained, who has been taught a little correct drawing. We say he has gained something of liberal education; something which may lead him to original thought and invention. Liberal education is said to be liberal, or to make free, because it secures a man independence of thought or imagination, and a certain mental kingdom of his own. And a little practice in art makes a man "free" of the world of beauty. Thoroughly believing in the moral function and nature of art, we do not mean to insist upon it now; and from the first we have pleaded for it as a means of general rather than of specially religious teaching. Believing in one only source of all beauty, let us see whither the quest of beauty will lead us,—whether the search be analytic, as from Plato to Jouffroy, or creative, as from Phidias to Delaroche;—whether we ask, with the metaphysician, What is beauty? or try, with the painter, to produce something beautiful. The moral and intellectual influences of any pursuit may be separated, no doubt: no doubt there have been bad men who were good painters, as there have probably been undevout astronomers who were not mad. But, practically speaking, the powers of the mind and the higher impulses of the heart can be trained and improved together, through right study of nature by means of art, and of art as a means of interpreting nature. And landscape drawing, and pre-Rafaelite study, may be thus made means of instruction to very large numbers of our own people. How great a part of the real education or training of a man's soul depends on accuracy of observation, on the "heart which watches and receives"! Our own generation has perhaps more need than its predecessors of the great sixth sense of admiration, whether that sense be aroused by the observation of pure beauty of form, or of structural beauty. And to teach a man to draw is to teach him to observe both beauty of form and of structure. Of course we prefer the first: an anatomist's notion of Beauty in animal life would be very different from a painter's; and as Mr. Ruskin says, a geologist and a sketcher would not understand each other's enjoyment of mountain scenery. But, get it how you will, high or enlightened admiration is one of the highest forms of human enjoyment. And the real office of art in this generation is to show how this great pleasure of all is within reach of all. Without dwelling now on what we think the important truth, that from admiration to aspiration there is but a step, let us only consider the importance, to all our middle and lower classes, of the love of natural beauty as a strong and innocent enjoyment. That a person cannot see the beauty of common things till he is told of it, does not make it less beneficial

to him when he is told it; that is to say, when he is taught to find it out for himself. Having begun thus, he will make progress. A new line of recreative thought is opened to him, and a new stimulus for pleasant exertion given to his mind. He soon comes, as we all do, to take more pleasure in the little store of facts and feelings he has acquired for himself, than in all which has been put into him by other men's teaching. Every one will see that it is an important educational step, when any person is enabled to find out facts for himself, and is raised above the stage of mere lesson-learning. And there can be no doubt that drawing from nature, or from good models, soon brings a student to the stage of original discovery, as soon as he can find out beauty for himself. And there are many in all classes of life for whom it would do even more, and lead them forward to invention or creation of beauty by fresh combinations of their own. The fact is, that any person who pursues an art with vigour and feeling, has "a mystery" of his own, a private hope and object of thought, which ought to be really a means of "elevating," or "liberal" education to him.

Speculations on art as a means of liberal education come fairly in our way now that we have reached the subject of the popular schools or cliques of our own time. We cannot help feeling that they are too popular by half, for want of a little knowledge. They simply depend for encouragement on public taste alone; and public taste is unthoughtful and ill-read, and for that reason is too much influenced by the views of picture-dealers. Rising men who have painted one successful picture, are drawn irresistibly to repeat themselves, and pass their time in virtually reproducing the work which first caught the eye of the public or the tradesman. The effects of a well-organized art education, carried on by the Royal Academy, or some public body of recognised importance, can hardly be overrated. Some standard of public taste would then exist; the picture-buying world would acquire some originality and feeling of its own, and the exclusive demand for familiar or vulgar subject would be at an end. When we see photographs and engravings in every print-shop which give us an idea, at least, of the aspiration and high hope of men like Gérome and Leys, we feel towards most English pictures as Alexander Selkirk felt about the birds and beasts, that "their tameness is shocking to us." And the fact is, that popular patronage has a strong tendency to encourage works which are on the wrong side of the narrow boundary between realism and vulgarism, the domestic and the trivial; and the unfortunate young painter is apt to turn humility into conceit, and to think that because Rembrandt ennobled vulgar subjects, and Rafael familiar ones, that he too can do himself justice by never painting anything but saleable trivialities. No man, we fear, has done justice to his own gifts till he has stretched them to their point of failure.

A national school is wanted which shall, *first*, provide training and encouragement for those who are capable of producing original or impressive works, such as may make them aware of their own powers, and consequent responsibility: and *secondly*, which shall place such an education in form and colour within reach of the people as shall enable any person to ascertain and develope his powers of observation and imitation; or in other words, of pictorial expression, direct or symbolic. We should then have an historical or "grand style" school, which would neither be inflated nor trivial, and a domestic or grotesque school, which would neither be mawkish nor vulgar: and this latter would find free scope for original etchers, engravers, and workers in light and shade generally, as well as revive the old grotesque carvings, and call out all the dry wit which lies under paper caps. Caricature may go back to stone from woodcut, as it has been transferred the other way in our time. Leech, Doyle, and Tenniel are our last triad of workmen in black and white. The first was supreme in observation and correct rapidity. The second combines originality with high refinement, and wonderful power of seizing and exaggerating the leading feature of a face. This probably is great part of the reason why his works always make one laugh so very much. He is the inventor, we rather think, of Mediæval burlesque caricature (lately revived by others with the greatest spirit in the "Ballad of Brauninghindis" in *Punch*). His "Continental Tour of Brown, Jones, and Robinson" showed great power over national expressions of face; and his Derby and Brighton crowds seem to us a good deal better than Mr. Frith's, at a much cheaper rate. Mr. Tenniel is in many respects the most accomplished character draughtsman who is left to us. Like John Lewis, he seems to have learned very much from careful study of animals, at some early point of his career, in the way of subtle expression; and as *Punch* is in the hands of all adults, and "Alice's Adventures" are the delight of all children (and parents), the illustrator of both those works needs little comment from us. It is hard to say how great a loss we have sustained by Leech's early death. Had he been honoured as well as paid,—had he been recognised by the Academy as the head of our modern school of domestic character drawing in black and white, he would not have passed away, as he seems to have done, unaware of his great powers and their possible influence for good. We may be said to have lost in him the man of all the world who produced the greatest amount of beauty with the least amount of trouble; who showed the greatest rapidity and the greatest subtlety; who could create without seeming to know it; who could draw a woman in her beauty, a man in his strength, and a horse in his stride; who could treat degrading subject without being degraded, and often lift things out of vulgarity or imbecility by

humour, or tenderness, or pathos, or righteous indignation, or even sublimity,—or by inextinguishable laughter; whose range of feeling was never ascertained or spanned, who drew and delighted old, young, and middle-aged, and never gave a hint of evil pleasure; and yet who seems to have had no notion but that it was good for him to illustrate the adventures of Mr. Soapey Sponge. As it does equal honour to both artists, and to another who has lately died full of years and honours, we must needs quote the words of Mr. Millais in his Academy Commission evidence:— " . . . All great artists should be members of an institution like the Royal Academy. I think that Mr. John Leech, one of the greatest artists of the day, should be a member. Mr. Hunt, the water-colour painter, is another instance." We ought to have paid some tribute before this to Mr. Hunt's delightful pictures of English country faces, which are remarkable instances of the combination of a tender kind of grotesqueness with consummate power of colouring and realization. Entirely different as were their means of working, he shared with Leech the gift of humour and feeling which enabled him to raise the commonest subjects above the reach of vulgarity. It is a dismally easy transition from elevating subject by treatment, to maltreatment of subject, or vicious choice of subject. And here, as we are on the subject of woodcut, and of rapidly multiplied art-works for popular use, we cannot avoid the painful subject of M. Gustave Doré's great successes. Of course we are aware of that artist's fertility of fancy; and we wish his fancy could be fertilized with something besides blood. And we do honour to his power of drawing, and the difficulties he contends with,—we sometimes, like Dr. Johnson, wish they were impossibilities. He has made good use of Continental training in form; and the technical improvement is marked, between the "Legend of the Wandering Jew," where nothing was in drawing, and the "Dante," where there is a high degree of skill and cleverness, to say the least. But we own that M. Doré seems to bring the bad points of French art before us into rather startling relief: and they are more or less obvious points. He delights in darkness without gradation, and the light he loves is always the light of fire,—hell-fire by preference. His humour all runs to grimace, and to the *bizarre:* sometimes to abominable gesture, unmeaning ugliness, and phantasms, not of pure horror, but impure. He seems to have scarcely any knowledge or enjoyment of inanimate nature, or care for beauty, or indeed power over it, unless the coarse study of Francesca in the "Inferno" may have a claim to it. And we remember Watts's Francesca, and Delaroche's—but Delaroche is dead, and cares not any more what mockeries of his work are done here. The fact is, M. Doré has given himself over entirely to the pursuit of excitement, for himself and others; and mere excitement as an avowed end for art, naturally

degenerates, and grows first morbid, then immoral, then infernal. And it is one drawback to commercial patronage of art, that purveying morbid excitement is so very paying a trade. But we can hardly say that this artist has been tempted into his present style. His earlier works are just as full of murder and mutilation as his later, the "Contes Drôlatiques" containing the worst specimens of all. We suppose this is the art of the Revolution; Robespierre patronized David, and Hebert would have delighted to honour M. Doré. Marat said his views of politics could not be carried out without the fall of 150,000 heads; and about that number, with a proper quantity of hands, feet, and intestines, seems necessary to M. Doré's inspiration. Let him illustrate the Reign of Terror. A "Noyade" would be quite in his way; and there are some details about the tannery at Meudon, where men's skins were made into leather breeches, which would exactly suit him. His muse is quite a sister of the old Erinnyes—not Eumenides; and Apollo's words suit her well. Their drift is pretty clear, hopelessly corrupt as the passage is;—the god is warning off the Furies from his temple, the house of light, and art, and beauty:—

> *οὔτοι δόμοισι τοῖς δε χρίμπτεσθαι πρέπει·*
> *ἀλλ' οὗ καρανιστῆρες ὀφθαλμώρυχοι*
> *δίκαι, σφαγαί τε, σπέρματός τ' ἀποφθορᾷ*
> *παίδων κακοῦται χλοῦνις, ἠδ' ακρωνία,*
> *λεύσμος τε, καὶ μύζουσιν οἰκτισμὸν πολον*
> *ὑπὸ ῥάχιν παγέντες· ἀρ' ἀκούετε*
> *οἵας ἑορτῆς ἔστ' ἀπόπτυστοι θεοῖς*
> *στέργηθρ' ἔχουσαι;**

Sir E. B. Lytton's "Zanoni" contains a sketch of an artist of apparently similar tastes. It will never do to be surprised at anything; and we suppose it is not, after all, an unexpected event that the country of Delaroche and Coignet and Ary Scheffer should have produced M. Doré; but it cannot be very gratifying to the many Frenchmen who love pure thought and unpolluted form, to possess him. And we dare say it is natural that the country which produced Blake, and would not pay him, should enrich M. Doré for illustrating the Book of Holy Scripture, for which its respect is so extreme. To us, the fact seems to border on the hideous. We were aware that Satan could quote Scripture; it is a further discovery that Moloch is the proper person to illustrate it. Sensation art is no new thing, after all, and older painters than M. Doré have ministered to the lower forms of cruel and sensual passion, ever since the time when the Chaldean chiefs were first portrayed with vermilion on the wall for the eyes of Aholibah

* Æsch. "Eumenides," 185.

(Ezek. xxiii. 14). We had hardly supposed, however, that the illustrator of the "Contes Drôlatiques" would have been employed, to give them new thoughts and conceptions of the history of their faith, by the most decent (or rather most squeamish) race of men under the sun.*

But were all woodcut ever so pure, instructive, and cheap, it would not take the place which proper mural decoration by historical painting may hereafter occupy in national education.

We shall use the word Fresco as a general term for decorative painting, applicable to walls, and in "permanent materials."† In setting up frescoes for popular instruction, the State or the Academy must at least attempt to put serious work before the public. Fresco is not made for fools, either as workmen or spectators. Mural paintings, set up by public bodies, must first be paintings involving careful colour, which secures a certain completeness of treatment; and secondly, they must be paintings of subjects sufficiently important to deserve constant recurrence on the part of the public mind. In mural painting you mostly get rid of the sensualist and the buffoon. Large coloured works scarcely admit of broad humour or caricature. The most extensive attempt of this kind we ever saw, is in the strictly moral, but highly appalling, allegories outside the new Munich Gallery (if Munich has not risen against them since we saw them in 1854). Their wit reminds one sadly of Hood's well-known sketch of a very fat German dressed as harlequin, with the motto,—

> "The unwieldy Elephant
> To make them mirth used all his might."

After all, that which is to elevate the public taste must be a little above the public taste. Popular illustrations of daily life cannot be so; and we have hardly any black and white illustrations of higher aim, in which the artists have really done their best. Popular work seems to have a kind of centrifugal tendency away from beauty and nobleness, which are the centre of the painter's attraction. It is always slipping off from these rather grave things, and into the zone of commonplace, or the joker's limbo. Except in the case of rare and very strong and happy inspirations, like Leech's "General Février," men cannot be expected to exert themselves very seriously on works which are only to be glanced at, and then thrown aside. It is only tempting our best men, and undervaluing what they can do for us, to keep them to illustration. It makes them work on other men's ideas when they have thoughts of their own; and it tempts them to appeal, not to the

* We are glad to say that all M. Doré's Scripture illustrations seem quite blameless; and that some of them show fresh powers, especially in the direction of landscape. We can only say, "Macte novâ virtute!"

† Ruskin's Evidence, R. A. Commission, *Ans* 5100.

people, but to the madness of the people, by idle mockeries or degrading horrors. We do not think we have said one word too much about M. Doré's sacrifice of himself to the modern lust of sensation. We may appeal to Mr. Maclise's "Trafalgar" as a contrary instance of terrible subject nobly treated.

The spectator's feelings can hardly be led wrong by this picture. He must understand that the blood and wounds in it are accessories, and not the motive, or main subject. That is the altogether ennobling thought of universal daring and self-sacrifice, discipline stronger than death, and the measured wrath of skilful combat. It is a very different thing to teach people "to love to look on torture, and fear to look on war," which is (if any) the tendency of M. Doré's work, and to make them feel, as women feel before Maclise's picture—"These fought for me;" or as men—"I would that I were there." It is not in our way just now to express all the pleasure we feel at Mr. Maclise's great success. His subject is peculiarly well adapted to his nervous and severe style. The set and highly-strained expression of the various faces is exactly what is wanted, and exactly what suits that vehemence and intense "sturm-und-drang" of the painter's own mind, which has, to our thoughts, often injured other works of his.

We congratulate the country on possessing frescoes like that of which the oil picture last mentioned is a specimen. Such painting will gradually teach the public, once more, how much of history may be learnt in terms of form and colour, and how powerful that teaching is which appeals to the higher feelings instead of the lower. Men will not believe that great ideas can be conveyed to their minds easily, impressed on their hearts and not mastered by their intellects; and doubtless it is quite right to insist on study and thought, and almost to forbid sentiment, to those who have time to labour on facts and ideas. But those who have no time to read many books may have time for picture-books of history. We apprehend that history was not made at such fearful expense, only to be wrangled over by the learned. Nor is the poor man, moved by pictures of the death of Nelson, much worse off in his historical estimate of the dying man, than he who is well up in all the scandals about Lady Hamilton; and who knows all about Nelson's so-called vanity and childishness; and who stands astonished that the King, Lord, and Ideal of all sailors behaved on shore much as other sailors behaved in his day.

Many objections have been made to what is called superficial knowledge, which are perfectly right as applied to persons engaged in serious study, but which do not hold as to the world in general. The whole nation cannot, of course, be instructed thoroughly in its own history; yet it is highly expedient that as many of us should know

as much of it as we can. Our own generation above all things stands in need of high thought of its own past, which it seems to have almost forgotten; perhaps no western race ever was so sunk in the scepticism of ignorance about the story of its own glory. It is not only the Sacred Histories which men doubt of in our days; it is of them only that men express their doubts, from their paramount importance. As to secular history, men's minds, in all classes, take their ease altogether, and think nothing about it. Almost everybody has read the History of England in his youth, and everybody may be supposed to have read the "Arabian Nights." And most men in English middle life, if they examined their own minds and told us the results, *sans phrase,* would confess that the two narratives seem about equally real to them. One reason is, that the fictions are associated in their memories with illustrative pictures, and the true history is not. Perhaps many of us have had, in the imagination of our childhood, a better idea of what a Genie may be like, than what an English archer of Crécy or Agincourt really was like.* It is on representations of the ordinary facts of history that popular historical art, such as Mr. Watts proposes for us, will take its stand. He has shown that it is practicable: and our own concern with it is, that of all means of general education, it is easiest and most elevating.*

Considering the amount of rhetoric which is made use of in popular histories, lectures, educational addresses, and the like, we do not see why ideas should not be administered in a wrapping of form and colour as well. Men talk of its being visionary and fanciful to think that farmers in a corn-exchange may be put in the way of learning facts in their country's history by frescoes on its walls. They do not think it fanciful to use any quantity of rhetorical colour, description, exaggeration, or indeed fallacy, to impress any view of their own on the very same men. Are we all so wise—have we all so much true knowledge, as to be superior to being taught anything by the eye? Between eloquence and sarcasm, we are perfect slaves to the ear.

* The heads of his scheme are nearly thus ("Evidence on the R.A. Commission):—

"There shall be an Academy so far reformed, as to its teaching functions, as to be under the direction of some one man of nearly consummate technical knowledge. The best students of Art Schools and others shall be admitted to it; and as they reach the highest teachable degree of technical skill, they shall be employed, under the head of the school, or some other competent designer, as Mr. Maclise, for example, in painting, under inspection, series of historical paintings in public places. In particular the larger public schools should be thus adorned with classical subjects. The expense would be so slight that failures might simply be painted over again; but the beginnings might be elementary enough to preclude failure. Flaxman's designs might do to begin with."

Mr. Armitage appears to prefer the French *atèlier* system of teaching, where the pupils work actually from the first under the eye of the leading painters of the day, each of whom is, in fact, a *Maître d'Ecole.* It is highly desirable, of course, and we wish we could see him at the head of such a school in England, as he tells us his master Délaroche's was in Paris.

If only boys and women are carried away by fluent or vehement oratory, very few men are proof to an epigram; though they may have learned to take what we conceive to be the proper measure of rhetoric. The fact is, that paintings are highly suggestive, though not exciting; and they share the fate of most sermons and lectures which have the same quality and defect. Excitement saves the hearer from thought; suggestiveness awakens it in him; and thought simply frightens many exemplary persons. They have given up the notion of ever trying to think anything out, to exhaust any subject, or to form a decided or modified conviction of their own on any matter. Their view of thought is, repeating the usual commonplaces expected of people in their position. They look on a person who is trying to present new ideas to their minds, as a large and hitherto prosperous caterpillar is said to contemplate the ichneumon-fly who is going to lay eggs in him; that is to say, with extreme disgust, and every form of resistance of which his imperfect nature is capable.

Mr. Arnold's remarks about his countrymen are, without doubt, open to unfavourable comment. But there can be no doubt of the truth of a great deal of what he says about Philistinism, ideas, and so on. All who are trying to teach grown people or adolescents—all quasi-educators, like him, the painters, or ourselves, know that his statements deserve attention, and also have a practical bearing. It is quite true that the minds of a very large part of the middle and lower classes of the country are, as he says, drugged with business and monotonous labour. Rich men and poor pass life in a manner which they themselves feel to be unmeaning. Holding the Christian faith in many cases with earnestness, or with willing acceptance, they fail to see the connection between it and the every-day compound of anxiety and monotonous speculation without thought, wearied exertion, and compelled inactivity, which is their life. We do not care to dwell on Mr. Arnold's contemptuous despair of the elevating or comforting power of the Christian faith for English people: he seems to consider its effects another form of drugging. But we began these papers by calling art "Ancilla Domini"—a means of serving God, and of teaching His service to man,—and we really wish to point to the real and actual testimony which is borne to Him by beauty, and by man's pursuit of it in this world. Beauty can be observed, and, to all practical purpose, proved: and admiration, and also aspiration, whatever they are, are demonstrable facts. No one can conceive of such a change as the withdrawal of the elements of beauty and admiration from the outer physical world and the inner nature of man; but, were they withdrawn, something would certainly be found missing, which at present strangely corresponds with and confirms God's

actual revelation of Himself to man. The evidence of beauty, and the analogous evidence of honour, or moral beauty, are things not to be neglected in any age: in many times they have formed the whole of the witness left in the heathen. Man's search for and discovery of beauty is called Art: let it bear its own witness. Let us so train our painters that they shall not deface art with cruelty or voluptuousness; but do not let us confine them to what we have called religious art in the narrower sense, any more than we forbid our poets to write anything but hymns. Christian art was first defined as "art produced by Christian men, working with a purpose worthy of their faith;" and the purpose of producing works which shall contribute to instruction and information about truth may surely be considered a worthy one. Now man feels himself the root and crown of things, the chief being in the visible world. And the power of admiration, which is in him, is continually bearing witness to him of something—that is to say, some personal Being—infinitely above himself, yet with whom he holds relation; therefore, to admire is to aspire, in the view of most theists, at least. Anyhow, Christian education is a part of Christian work, and Christian art should work in education. And we cannot now go off, where this would lead us, into questions about the relations between work and worship, or compare the "merits" of labour dedicated by the spirit of the labourer, and work of its own nature sacred; nor can we, in other words, distinguish between doing good and acting rightly. Hooker says, "The ways of well-doing are in number even as many as the kinds of voluntary actions;" and following a trade is ministering to the needs of society, as almsgiving is ministering to the needs of an individual.* We are most of us, perhaps, subject to oscillations between giving too much or too little importance to the difference between Christian work and specially religious work in art, as in other things.

But it is matter of history that all religious systems whatever have made use of art in one of two ways; and generally speaking in both of them. We think that art may be used in churches for impressiveness or devotion, and also for instruction and Christian education. And we apprehend that the suspicion which many English people feel about church paintings, may turn very much

* See Mr. Stephen's "Essays." His crucial instance is that of a stockbroker or a publican, "who," as he says, "if they pass the whole day in buying and selling shares or in serving customers, pass their time in doing good, just as much as the most zealous clergyman or sister of mercy." This, though strong doctrine, may be true as far as it goes—that is to say, true in the exclusively politico-economical point of view. But take two stockbrokers or publicans, equal in honesty and industry, and let one of them give money to some deserving poor man, and the other give beer to somebody who wants it, the others not. We submit that there is a difference between drawing beer for charity and drawing it for money, and that there is a balance of "goodness" in favour of the freegivers.

on this distinction. Rightly or wrongly, our countrymen deeply feel that single figures of great beauty, by their very impressiveness, may tend to a kind of idolatry. Pictures of facts or events in Holy Scripture are not open to this imputation, and, as we think, would not excite suspicion. We think that in all Reformed Churches men's minds need re-assuring as to the danger of improper use of decorative paintings or mosaic on church walls. Indeed, in the Eastern Church, the precaution so frequently taken, of covering the whole surface of a picture, except faces and hands, with gold or silver work, bears witness to alarms of this kind.* Nor are they unreasonable. Church painting and sculpture has degenerated in all ages, even from allowable symbolisms, into pure idolatry. In all forms of worship, to pray before or by the help of any representation or image whatever, seems to come, sooner or later, to praying to it. There is a kind of Pagan's Progress which has been made again and again. Ninevite and Egyptian personifications, from being to one generation symbols of God's power and knowledge and rule over creation, came to be worshipped as fetiches in another. The Greek images, which once perhaps witnessed to thoughtful men of beauty and manhood, and of Him who made man in His own image, became types of abomination, and their worship the worship of devils. Christian symbolism has always been kept in some degree, and in many instances, pure from taint of idolatry; yet we all know what incessant confusion the natural desire for a sign, for some token of Deity—in a word, for some visible thing to worship—has made between dedicated art and simple paganism. In how many cases has the perfectly natural and plainly pious wish for splendour in church decoration at last led men's souls away from earnest worship, and art been made the people's mistress and not the Lord's handmaid. It is essential for the revival and success of any great and powerful school of art among us, that men's minds should be satisfied on this point. Great and believing men will not work at art unless they can dedicate it, unless they can think they are somehow giving spiritual testimony and instruction by it. Whether the hope be expressed or understood in the work he does, the Christian painter, when he is doing his best, does it in Christ's name; and though he will not trade in sacred subjects, or sanctimoniously reject secular or any subject at all, still he will aspire at least, all through his days, to do some work which may call out aspiration and devotion. It always has been so: since Egypt and Assyria, the fundamental

* The principle, we are inclined to think, is this: The features (of the Madonna or St. Peter, for example) are traditional or historical in the Greek Church. (See Curzon's "Monasteries," which contain much valuable information on Byzantine Art.) It is felt to be good for all men to see the real likeness of saints when on earth; but still they must have no scenic *entourage*, as if visibly present; and no ornament of ideal beauty—nothing to lead to creature worship.

motives of every school or system of noble art have always been religious or spiritual. Not only has it always been felt that beauty is some kind of type or symbol of some divine quality, but before men ever analysed their own minds enough to put such a notion into words, they used the best beauty they could produce to the glory of whatever name they were led to give their gods.

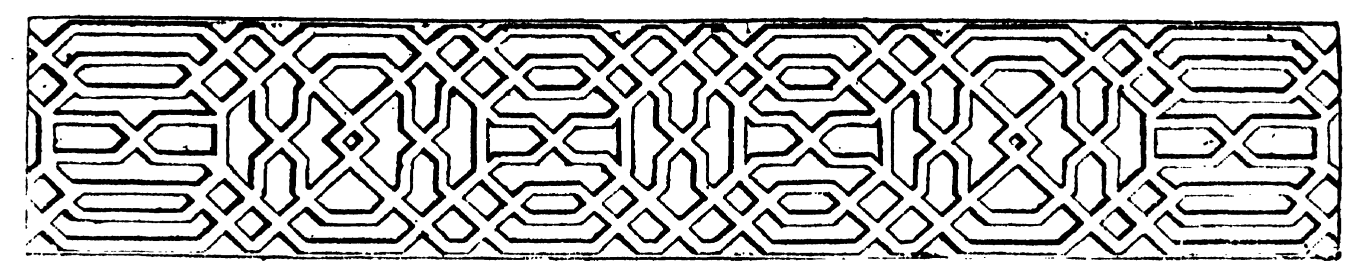
Now it is clear that in our own time and country the thoughts and feelings of all classes, educated and half-educated, necessitate great caution in the use of sacred pictures. The cry of "No Popery!" is enough to overthrow any art school, because it will exclude its fresco (which we take to be its most important work) from churches, which are obviously among the most important places for it. We want English history in common places of resort, classical history in schools, the history of man's hope after death in churches. And in pleading for the latter we must insist on our distinction between devotional and educational subjects for fresco,—though it will seem fine-drawn to one party and irreverent to the other. Until a new Angelico arises to do it for us, we cannot help having misgivings about the very attempt to stimulate religious feeling by physical beauty; and we look with more satisfaction on his angelic choirs, themselves adoring, and on his historical New Testament pictures, than on his (comparatively few or small) single figures of saints. It is one thing to use painting to stir thought into activity, another to appeal by it to sentiment. It seems very like despising the little ones, to use the common plea about their "simplicity" requiring an "easier" worship. Because an imagined contadina or supposed lazzarone is too "simple" to think of praying to a God whom he or she cannot see, they are to be allowed to worship, first, through the Blessed Virgin as Mediatrix, because she was once a visible woman,—as if God had never been made man; secondly, they are to worship through and by means of an image, which is to be made beautiful in such a way as shall suit their "simple" notions of beauty. So their image is set up for them. With china-blue eyes, and dead-gilded hair, and a gilt crown of wooden stars, and a plaster lily, painted green and white, with long robes all starred and striped with bad colour, with pink cheeks and the smirk of a lay-figure—such are the images which modern ultramontane art sets up to represent the mother of our Lord; much relying also on carmined little cherubs, velvet hangings, artificial flowers, *et si qua alia.* We saw this, indeed, in Mr. Pugin's chapel at Clapham; and we know it distressed us quite as much as that gentleman's architectural contrasts can have distressed him. This is indeed making art a handmaid. She will not be fit for any other service after this. This is mere false concession to the dulness of the people. And we think that Correggio, and even Titian, make one as equivocal to the fancy of the rich and luxurious; whether the

beauty of St. Sebastian or St. John be used to awaken the sentiment of women, or hot-blooded men be invited to look at the unwasted forms of voluptuous Magdalens. "Corruptio optimi pessima;" but we apprehend that purely historical pictures of the events of the Old and New Testaments are not subject to corruptions of this kind, and ought to give no cause for alarm. When the picture of an event is set up, it represents a development of God's will and purpose for man. "This hath God done." All the men and women in the picture are in a subordinate position. It is this which makes the great difference, on which we wish to insist, between pictures of saints doing something, and saints standing alone, as it were, to be adored. And we really think most congregations would feel the difference between one kind of subject and the other. Historical paintings of this kind are educational and instructive—not devotional. We fear that, strictly speaking and as a principle, *devotional* art is not admissible into Anglican or Reformed places of worship; at all events we know that very few Anglican congregations will endure it. Not much delighting in either term, we prefer the word Puritan to the word Protestant; and there is no doubt either that the strong Puritanism of all England is capable of producing and delighting in realist art, or that it scents idolatry in purist work often, and probably too often. Many works of Ary Scheffer—that one in particular which represents the Lord enthroned, "drawing all men unto Him," with the chain of sin falling from their outstretched hands,—should be acceptable, for what we see, to all members of the Christian Church on earth. It is a high symbolic representation of an awful and most glorious though practical fact. It is felt as a great symbolism. The motive of the picture is the forgiveness of sins, and the end of all sorrows, as simultaneous events,—or rather as an identical event. It awakens devotion; but *not* directly by means of physical beauty. In as far as it represents an event, it is historical; and it is purely symbolical, as the chains are typical of sin, and all the figures are ideals of various human forms of trial and endurance.

We have wandered far and reached our limit,—we had wished to say something of the permitted images of cherubim in the Temple of Solomon, and of the mystic compound form called cherubic, connected as it is with Ninevitish and Egyptian symbolisms, and with the griffins of Verona. We can only ask any reader who likes the subject to compare Mr. Henry Hayman's article in Smith's "Biblical Dictionary," *s. v.* "Cherub," with chap. viii., vol. iii., of Ruskin's "Modern Painters," verifying at least all the scriptural references. He will see how the later writer's (Mr. Hayman's) conclusions fall in with the earlier's, quite independently and unconsciously. Both are of the greatest interest. What we want all this to come to is much as

follows. Art ought to be recognised and worked as an important means of national education: and to this end men must be trained in it who will educate others by their works. This should be done, either by our Universities or by a great metropolitan art school. We will hope for a time when the functions of art may be separated from those of speech-making and dinner-giving in the body which is now called our Royal Academy or Art School, *quasi lucus à non lucendo.* But really, very much might be done in the Universities, as they will supply the special need of English art,—high spirit, high training, and high aim. We do not say that art ought to have preceded Anglo-Saxon, international law, entomology, or microscopic anatomy at Oxford. But we really think her turn might come now, to bring in her tribute to nature and wisdom, like one of her own Canephori.

R. ST. JOHN TYRWHITT.



RENAN'S "LES APÔTRES."

SECOND NOTICE.*

Les Apôtres. Par ERNEST RENAN, Membre de l'Institut. Paris: Michel Lévy Frères. 1866.

THE task which M. Renan has set himself is a noble one, whatever we may think of the performance. To write the history of the beginning, the establishment, and the spread of Christianity; to show the effects of that Divine Revelation upon those who first received it, and the moral change which it brought about in the world; to follow the course of the Church's missions, and to draw a picture which shall be true of the moral, social, and intellectual state of the Roman Empire, to which those missions were directed, this is a great work, and worthy of a great ambition. Our own time possesses its own advantages for undertaking it. Never before have the Scriptures of the New Testament been so critically and literally studied; and our knowledge of the history, literature, laws, institutions—of the inward and outward life of many peoples of the Roman Empire, is wide and accurate. And besides this, Eastern literature other than sacred is slowly giving up its treasures; and the long-buried wealth of ancient tombs and monuments, with their coins, medals, inscriptions, all of which were unknown to former students, have been made intelligible, and sp[illegible] to us. And these serve to throw a new light upon the history of the Christian Church.

No one will deny M. Renan's many high qualifications for the task

* We cannot forbear inserting this second, and independent, notice of M. Renan's book, sent us by a contributor from a distant part of the world.—ED. *C. R.*

which he has taken in hand. To his honour be it said, he has made the study of the Semitic languages his own, a study which rarely earns fame or reward, and which exacts no slight self-denial from so passionate an admirer of the old Hellenic spirit. He is a writer who evidently spares no toil, whose reading is immense, who knows how to illustrate his subject from modern instances, and who writes in a style not merely pleasant to read, but for clearness and point inimitable.

When he tells us of his aim, we recognise it as the highest which the historical student can keep before him,—"to find out the truth and give it life, to labour in order that the great events of the past may be known with the utmost exactness possible, and be presented in a manner worthy of them."

One qualification we miss, and the want of it mars every other. M. Renan would be the historian of Christianity; that is, as Christians believe, of the Divine will and character, manifested to men by Jesus Christ, the Son of God. An historian should be in sympathy with his subject: to understand rightly the subtle and mysterious nature of a religious faith he must believe in the truth and reality of it; and for this end he must stand towards it in the position of a learner. But M. Renan is critic and judge of the marvellous history from the first. He cannot even become a believer in it, with the progress of his inquiries. Before ever he begins to write, the question of the truth and reality of his subject is closed. He has brought it to a test and found it wanting. It stands condemned. And so it comes to pass that M. Renan is the historian, according to his own view, of no actual revelation, but the dream of one—the strange, beautiful, baseless dream of these 1,800 years. From the outset M. Renan will not let us forget that he is the author of the "Vie de Jésus." The unsound and arbitrary theory on which that book was written still holds him captive,—the theory which makes the history of Christianity, in the true sense of the word, impossible, which degrades it to the history of a world-famed delusion. We shall not on this account examine M. Renan's "Apôtres" with less coolness and impartiality. Our one aim will be to do justice to the author and his book, and where he has anything to teach us, gladly to learn from him. Denunciation is neither our part nor duty—not where the writer offends the convictions and hopes which are most dear to us. And if we say at once that the book is the offspring of a theory, and therefore, as we think, untrustworthy, it is only because M. Renan tells us so.

We propose to examine the author's treatment—(I.) of the sacred narratives which he holds in a measure to be authorities, (II.) and of the events contained in them which properly form the subject of his book; (III.) to meet him next on the more open field of the missions of the Apostles, their course and direction, and the events

which made ready their path beforehand; and then, (IV.) to glance with him at the state of the Roman world in the middle of the first century, when those missions began.

M. Renan has not changed his opinion concerning the authorship of the fourth Gospel, and its historical value. "If we wish to find," he says, "a consistent and logical narrative (of the resurrection), which permits us to conjecture what is hidden behind the illusions, it is there (in St. John) that we must seek it." *

Further, M. Renan does not doubt that the author of the third Gospel and of the Acts is the same; that the latter work is a continuation of the former; that the writer was St. Luke, the companion of St. Paul. On these *data*, this author must have been acquainted with eye-witnesses of our Lord's life; he must have been present at many of the scenes which he describes; and he must have enjoyed the best position possible for writing what he proposed, a true narrative of the things which had taken place before and after the resurrection. We should have inferred this from M. Renan's own admissions, but in vain. M. Renan has a theory according to which St. Luke may have been a compiler of legends, a skilful advocate, a partisan writer, but no true historian, for "he believed in impossibilities." But let this pass for the present. M. Renan supposes that St. Luke wrote at Rome about the year 80, the age of the first Flavians, when public feeling was favourably inclined to the Christians. The principles of the Roman Church, then as ever after, tending to the hierarchical and political character, weighed heavily on him. He wrote in the interest of that Church, and in the tone of an apologist. Too loyal to condemn his former master, St. Paul (whom yet he will not directly call Apostle), his wish was to smooth down the differences of the two apostles, Peter and Paul, in a way the most acceptable to the official side.† "Dans une telle disposition d'âme," he was quite incapable of representing events as they really happened; indeed he had no care for historical fidelity; edification was his single aim.‡ He changed the complexion of facts to suit the requirements of his subject, and added on to authentic traditions many a pious legend. This is especially the case in the twelve first chapters, "the most open to attack of all the New Testament Scriptures." In the second portion of his work, where he is directly an eye-witness, his authority is great, and towards the close the narrative becomes wonderfully accurate; "the last pages of the Acts are the only completely historical pages which we possess on the origin of Christianity." §

* P. ix. † P. xxiv. ‡ P. xxiv. § P. xxvii.

It does not appear that M. Renan means to accuse St. Luke of deliberate falsehood. Rather he supposes that St. Luke could not have written otherwise, living as he did in the second generation of Christians, in another world than the first Christian society, being a Hellenist, "très peu Juif," and slightly acquainted with Jewish life.* In short, "the Book of the Acts is a dogmatic history, drawn up in support of the orthodox doctrines of the times, or to inculcate ideas which were most pleasing to the piety of the author."†

This view is not new. It is that of a foreign school of criticism, remarkable for daring boldness of conjecture, as well as for much research and no little dogmatism. M. Renan's clear and eloquent exposition may give it currency, but will not make it credible among us. For indeed there is one insuperable difficulty to our receiving it, and that is the sacred text itself. Does the book leave on the reader's mind the impression of having been written by a skilful advocate in support of his brief, viz., "the lawfulness of the call of the Gentiles, and the divine institution of the hierarchy;" or by a man "who pushed his principles of reconciliation so far as, in two or three instances, to give a false turn to the life of St. Paul?"‡ There is surely much inconsistency in M. Renan's view of St. Luke's character. Would tender piety and good faith, quick sympathy, a conciliatory temper, love of the poor and lowly, even an extreme prepossession for the wonderful and supernatural—would these be the most prominent traits in the character of the clever historical romancist, or of the Church politician, which M. Renan makes him out to have been? Is a work which bears the clearest traces of the writer's sincerity and simplicity likely to have been, perhaps on this view, the most wonderful work of art in all ancient literature?

But M. Renan affirms that these conjectures of his are no mere suspicions or extravagances of defiant criticism, but views based on solid inductions. St. Luke's narrative, he says, is convicted of being "faulty and written on a system" when we can bring it to a test. The Epistles of St. Paul supply the test. If the two are at variance, it is the Acts which are convicted. Now in two most important circumstances the Epistles strikingly expose the particular tendencies of the author, and his desire to destroy the trace of the divisions which had existed between Paul and the apostles of Jerusalem.§

According to the Acts, says M. Renan, St. Paul went up to Jerusalem after his conversion, when his conversion was hardly known, and lived with the apostles on terms of the greatest cordiality. Jerusalem is made his capital, whence he sets out; where he is the associate of the apostles and preachers, to the general satisfaction; and his doctrine is so far identical with theirs that in some measure

* P. xxviii. † P. xxix. ‡ P. xiv. § P. xxx.

he can preach as their substitute. In all this the writer's object is evidently to soften down the asperities of the rigid Apostle, and present him as the fellow-worker with the Twelve. Now St. Paul's own account in his Epistle to the Galatians is very different. . . .*

Careful reading and comparison of the two will show that this charge of inconsistency is quite unfounded. The book of the Acts does not say that St. Paul received his commission from the Twelve any more than the Epistle says it: nor does it bring him into connection with the apostles till some time after his conversion. The Epistle to the Galatians *does* say ("il est vrai") that he went up to Jerusalem after three years to become acquainted with Peter, and does relate his intercourse and fellowship with the chief apostles, of which, according to M. Renan's theory, there was little or none. And so far from the writer of the Acts wishing to make out a hasty, hollow unanimity between St. Paul and the Twelve, it is in the Acts, and not in the Epistle, that we read how all were afraid of him at first, until Barnabas introduced him, and stood, as it were, sponsor for him. It may be asked whether it is probable that a writer who composed his book on purpose to depreciate St. Paul, or at least to lessen his relative importance in the Church, and who held loosely to historical truthfulness, would have thrice recorded the narrative of that apostle's wonderful conversion?

Nor does the omission from the Epistle of one or more visits to Jerusalem strengthen M. Renan's argument. It is unreasonable to expect that in so brief a survey of his own personal history, written with a direct and avowed object, the Apostle should introduce events which were irrelevant to that object. And with regard to the differences of doctrine between the two apostles, on which our author lays such stress, a careful reading of the text of the Epistle is sufficient answer. (1) Paul affirms that the one Master wrought effectually in each, and assigned to each one of them his own sphere of action; (2) that James, Cephas, and John gave to him "right hands of fellowship;" and (3), from the narrative of what took place at Antioch, it is evident that St. Peter's own belief and usual practice was that which the first council had decreed; but that temporarily, from fear or excessive caution, or to avoid offence—motives which are in keeping with his character,—he was betrayed into inconsistency, erred, and was condemned. Had Peter always Judaized, and in principle differed from Paul, the rebuke of the latter would have been meaningless.

These are some of the ostensible reasons on which M. Renan builds his argument that St. Luke wrote with a fixed party purpose, and so far is untrustworthy. But it is really on wider and deeper grounds

* P. xxxi.

that he rejects him as an historian. "What!" he asks, "is it required that we are to accept literally documents in which impossibilities are found? The twelve first chapters of the Acts are a tissue of miracles. Now it is one absolute rule of criticism not to admit in historical narratives any miraculous circumstances."* The rule appears to us to be the author's own invention, and the reason alleged for it, from his own point of view, utterly unscientific. He defines the miracle to be "a formal derogation from known laws, in the name of a particular will."† If this definition means that the miracle is something above the known laws of the natural world, or the world of sensible phenomena, the definition is true. But M. Renan will not say that the action of the Infinite One is confined to those few laws with which we are acquainted. He admits that every life and every soul is of an order superior to nature. He speaks presently of that heavenly Father under whose protection are the proscribed, whom men have banished from their churches: to whom, as the Judge, he solemnly appeals. Surely the existence of One who does not leave the world to itself implies the possibility of an action which may lie far beyond the reach of any known laws. M. Renan believes Him present in the All that is, and therefore in each single thing that is; how then can he consistently deny in human history the working of a particular supernatural force, according to His own will? As a man of science M. Renan will not affirm that all the laws of the phenomenal world are known; nor can he affirm that what belongs to another sphere, to the supersensual, is at variance with the laws of the universe, because beyond the reach of such as are known to us.

Further, M. Renan challenges the possibility of a miracle on the ground of insufficient proof. "No miracle," he says, "is now wrought openly at Paris, before competent scholars, which would put an end to doubt." It is evident that his thoughts are upon the lying wonders invented as props, and claimed as proofs, of legendary and modern impostures: and it is no less evident that M. Renan is altogether mistaken as to the cause and character of the miracles of the New Testament. It has been often shown that these were never wrought as mere wonders and portents, that they were rather the signs and witnesses of some divine fact to be revealed; acted truths and manifestations of the glory of Him who was, in and through them, declaring the Father. Where the people had neither faith nor love to receive the truth within them, no miracle was wrought. "He did no mighty work there because of their unbelief." M. Renan evidently confounds the miracles of the Gospel with the pretended miracles or unexplained marvels of later times. The untruth of the latter blinds

* P. xliii. † P. xlvii.

him to the truth of the former. But the miracle being possible from the existence of God himself, it should not be difficult to distinguish between the two. In the one case there is a cause; and if Christianity be, as our author believes, "the religion of humanity," and "the single unequalled (*unique*) fact in human history," surely a sufficient cause—nay, a necessity. Other asserted miracles are not rejected because they are impossible, but because no adequate reason is given why they should have been wrought.

M. Renan is no less unscientific than inconsistent when he denies the truth of documents because they contain miraculous deeds, and on the ground that these are impossibilities. The theory which stains all his writings is destructive of anything like fair inquiry and criticism. For the "hypothesis" becomes indispensable to account for the facts; and the history is reconstructed and written not according to the documents which contain it, but according to M. Renan's own imagination.

II.

We proceed to examine our author's version of some parts of the history. It need hardly be said that the resurrection and ascension of Christ are inseparable from the life of the apostles. To understand the conduct and character of the apostles we must revert to the person of their Master—the living centre from which their energy proceeded.

It was their one calling to be witnesses to the world that He who had died and risen again was alive for evermore at the right hand of God. The very word "witness" is the key-note of the Acts, (it is characteristic of M. Renan that he barely notices it), and the great Christian society still exists to witness to the same facts. The resurrection and ascension of Christ, with the coming of the Holy Ghost, are the groundwork of the Church's creed, and the articles of faith which unite all who call themselves Christian. They stand on a different footing from the doctrines, even most clearly apostolic, which have been derived from them, and the limits and shades of meaning of which have been and are points of difference to all churches. Take these facts away—let no Christ have risen and ascended—and there is no reason for the existence of the Christian Church.

Space compels us to condense M. Renan's account of the great fact of the resurrection; but we will endeavour to represent it fairly, keeping as closely as possible to the very words of the author.

With the death of Jesus the apostles thought that all was ended, and grieved for an irreparable loss. But love and enthusiasm refuse to recognise any such state of things. Rather than cease to hope, they will trifle with the impossible, and do violence to reality. The true existence is that which survives in the hearts of those who love us:

Jesus had lived too deeply in those who gathered round Him for them not to affirm that He was ever living. Their choice lay between despair and an heroic affirmation (" une affirmation héroïque ").* A keen observer might have predicted from that sabbath day that Jesus would rise again. " The small Christian society on that day worked the real miracle: *it* raised up Jesus in its heart through the intense love which it bore Him." † Such love is stronger than death; and as passion quickly communicates itself and spreads indefinitely, so, in one sense, Jesus had already risen. It needed only a trifling material fact to give belief that his body was not here on earth, and the dogma of the Resurrection would be established for ever. And thus it came to pass. The faith of the future was the work of Mary of Magdala. She came on Sunday to the tomb, found it open, and the body no longer in it. . . . Peter and John are brought thither, find what she had said to be true, and depart in much trouble. Mary remained, possessed by one thought, Where have they laid His body? Then she heard a slight noise behind her. A man is standing there, whom she took for the gardener. She spoke to him. The only answer is, " Mary," uttered by the voice which so often had thrilled through her. . . . Gradually the shadow disappears, and the miracle of love is wrought. Mary had done what Cephas could not—evoked life, the sweet and piercing voice, from the tomb. She has seen and heard, and the resurrection has its first witness.

The merit and glory of the resurrection rest with Mary. The others do but follow her example. Peter saw only the empty tomb and the graveclothes. It was Mary who loved passionately enough to outstep the bounds of nature, and restore life to the phantom of her Master. " Hence, after Jesus, it is Mary who has done most for the foundation of Christianity. The shadow created by the fine senses of the Magdalen yet hovers over the world." ‡

The other women, on the same day, experienced similar hallucinations and told their visions. The different accounts crossed one another: the most opposite sentiments prevailed; but all the disciples expected new visions.

Had the whole Church been assembled, those who knew the secret of the disappearance of the body would probably have protested against the error. Our author afterwards suggests, in answer to the question, which he deems insoluble and immaterial, that some of the disciples who left at once for Galilee may have carried away the body with them; and when the belief in the resurrection became general, held their peace; or that the gardener may have removed it, or the Jews; or—and this is the supposition to which he seems most to incline—that a woman's hand can be traced as the cause, perhaps

* Does this mean that when each witness made the affirmation, he was "splendidè mendax"? † P. 5. ‡ Pp. 1-13.

that of Mary of Bethany: and thus the women connived at their own illusions, and were not only deceived themselves, and able to deceive others, but actually created the deception.

Such is the marvellous hypothesis to which M. Renan's theory has driven him, and which he thinks sufficiently credible to pass for history. Here is another example:—

When the two disciples who had journeyed to Emmaus returned to Jerusalem, the disciples were assembled around Peter. It was already night. They related their impressions, and the general belief was in favour of the resurrection. When the two disciples reported their recognition of the Lord, the imagination of all became still more excited. The doors were shut; the silence was profound. The expectation was universal, and the least sound was interpreted in the sense of that expectation. "L'attente crée d'ordinaire son objet." During one still moment a breath of air passed over the faces of those who were present. They thought they heard sounds. Some said they distinguished the word "*shalom*" (peace). It was Jesus' ordinary greeting. Doubt was no longer possible. Jesus was present. He was there in the assembly, . . . and it came to be an acknowledged fact that Jesus had appeared before his assembled disciples. Some pretended that they had seen on his hands and feet the mark of the nails. . . .*

But enough, and more than enough. This will show our author's treatment of the text of Scripture, and his reading of the great events of the first Easter day. Apart from his theory of the impossibility of a supernatural event, and of the necessity of hypothesis to explain any truth which may underlie it, his reasons for rejecting the resurrection appear to be the following:—The many inconsistencies which are found in the Gospel narratives: "the incoherence of the traditions, and especially the contradictions which they present."† The state of nervous, feverish excitement in which the disciples were at the time when they were subject to these visions, and exhibited them; and further, their low state of intellectual culture, ignorance of positive science, and consequent credulity and proneness to superstition;—"that which we call weakness of understanding is easily joined to great goodness of heart."‡ The contagiousness of the belief in apparitions, and the analogy between what happened then and what has since happened among persecuted French Protestants, English and American revivalists, and still occurs in assemblies where all present agree in the belief that they witness the same illusions. Expectation, and the disposition to believe, create the object of belief, and explain the phenomenon, when it is not the result of fraud. §

We are not careful to answer the denial which M. Renan founds on alleged inconsistencies and contradictions. For the truth is that these

* Pp. 21-3. † P. 6. ‡ P. 17. § P. 22.

narratives in particular have been more searchingly analysed and tested than any other human composition, and that by men of calm judicial temper and of vigorous common sense. It is not claimed for them that they are perfectly harmonious, or that there are not many divergences in them; but it is claimed, and it has been proved, that such divergences are only what we should reasonably expect in the reports of independent witnesses, which vary in details, but are quite consistent with each other, and make up one history. Supposing that each writer had his own end in view, his omissions are naturally explained: nor does it follow that he is ignorant where he is silent. No number of omissions in the separate evidence of many witnesses will make the sum of their evidence contradictory.

M. Renan explains the resurrection as the result of the disciples' temper and expectations, the outcome of their love and despair. If this were the case, we should expect the Gospels to be, primarily, the record of the disciples' feeling and frame of mind. Incidentally, indeed, they describe the alternate sorrow, amazement, doubt, and joy of the disciples, but only incidentally; had these been wholly omitted, the narrative would remain substantially the same. The Gospel is not the record of human emotions, but of the awful facts which called them forth. M. Renan is quite sure that the disciples were credulous of miracles, and in good faith might easily come to believe the reality of their own illusions. But this is not the impression which the narrative makes upon us. It is not true that the appearance to Mary of Magdala was readily believed by the rest. The body of disciples were hard to be convinced that the Lord had risen.* M. Renan has his own way of treating Thomas's doubt and its satisfaction. "*On dit que* huit jours après il fut satisfait." The saying (*dicton*), "Happy are those who have not seen, and yet have believed," became the favourite phrase ("le mot de la situation"). "*Dicton*" bears another meaning, which we are reluctant to think our author intended.† But certainly this is a cavalier way of treating so important a section of a document which the author allows to be, in some sense, historical. It is quite true that fanaticism quickly spreads, and is contagious; and that visionaries of all sects, and in all times, have persuaded multitudes of the truth of their own convictions. But we think a philosophic inquiry would show that, however much the imagined wonder first arrested the attention, it was not the wonder which retained permanent hold of the minds of the people, but the neglected truth which dawned through it. The results of such manifestations, and those which followed the

* St. Luke xxiv. 11, 37; St. Mark xvi. 13.

† We fear that the writer's charitable hope is misplaced. We give the explanation of *dicton* from *Landais' Dictionary*:—"*Dicton:* Mot sentencieux qui a quelque chose de proverbe. *On ne le dit qu'en plaisantant:* 'C'est un vieux dicton.' Raillerie, mot piquant."
—Ed. *C. R.*

foundation of Christianity, prove how unsuitable the comparison is. Indeed, our author subsequently more than once admits the differences to be radical, and almost apologises for placing the two in contrast.* It is very probable that the apostles were ignorant, as M. Renan says they were, of the positive science of their time; but that they were men of narrow and weak understanding is quite another thing. Christian apologists have too often lent themselves to such a statement; thinking to magnify the greatness of the gifts which the Holy Spirit conferred, the more they depreciated the natural gifts of the first founders of the Church: and the words *ἀγράμματοι* and *ἰδιῶται* have been strained to the utmost.

If the apostles Peter, John, and James were not only inspired men, but amanuenses of the Holy Ghost, so overborne that no trace of human mind or character is perceptible in their writings, the statement may be true; otherwise, not. It is, at least, unworthy of M. Renan, who believes the fourth Gospel to have been written by St. John, to make it. But throughout his treatment of the resurrection, he makes too great demands upon our credulity. He would have us believe, not only that the women—among whom was the mother of Jesus—imposed their illusions upon the disciples, but that the apostles, singly and together, "after many infallible proofs," were self-deceived, and with them a great company of Galilæans, who had known Jesus during his ministry. More than five hundred persons "étaient déjà groupées autour du souvenir de Jésus" (whatever that may mean), "and believed that they saw Him on the mount."†

M. Renan asks us to accept such an "indispensable hypothesis" as though it was sufficient to explain the wonderful beginning of the Christian Church. He offends against the truth of history, and denies the satisfaction of man's best instinct, "the deep crying of the poor," and the prayer of the sorrowful for One to redeem them from death. And he does this on grounds which two Scripture sayings are enough to remove,—"Why should it be thought a thing incredible with you, that God should raise the dead?"‡ And, "It was not possible that He [Jesus] should be holden of it," *i. e.*, death.§ The resurrection is an historical fact, and as such is capable of historical proof, which has satisfied men as skilled in science, as averse to superstition, and as free from orthodox prepossessions, as M. Renan. But the resurrection is more than that, and is believed on deeper grounds. It was "*not possible*" for the holy and sinless One, on whom the Father's good pleasure rested, who manifested Himself the Son of the Highest by deeds mightier than death, and by words which still comfort the hearts and rule the consciences of men,—it was not possible, in the nature of things, for such an one to perish for ever in the grave. And the resurrection and

* Pp. 62, 69. † Pp. 34-5. ‡ Acts xxvi. 8. § Acts ii. 24.

ascension are the results from, and fitting close of, the life which never before or since has been lived on earth. Whereas, according to M. Renan, a few men, "petits, étroits, ignorants, inexpérimentés," invented the truth of which the Christian society has been the witness, for which the best of men have lived and died. There is no risen Lord to worship. The Christian at best kneels down out of affectionate memory at the tomb of One who, while He lived, was the friend of man; who died, and was buried, and did *not* rise again.

It is consistent with such an hypothesis that the Holy Ghost did not descend; that the heavenly Father imparted no spiritual gifts to men.

The Spirit's advent, indeed, was looked for, but then every emotion of enthusiasm, courage, and joy, was supposed to proceed from Him. The idea of his operations was drawn from Old Testament images. "The hallucinations of touch being very frequent among persons so nervous and excitable, the slightest current of air, accompanied with trembling in the midst of silence, was regarded as the passage of the Spirit. One believed—soon all believed—and the enthusiasm was communicated from one to the other."* M. Renan describes with much care, and we think, on the whole, correctly, the gifts of prophecy and tongues; but according to his view, no Divine Spirit energized and called them forth; they were but the strange results of a contagious religious enthusiasm, such as later ages and our own have produced. Now if these "wonderful gifts of a wonderful age" were nothing more than the creations of ardently excited minds quickened by sympathetic enthusiasm, the wild cries and ravings of men prostrate from physical weakness, and of diseased imagination, like those exhibited by later fanatics, how comes it that the teachers of the Church, who were eminently endued with such gifts, valued them not in the least for display, but as means of edification? How comes it that the very apostle who "spoke with tongues" more than they all, esteemed above every other gift that of charity? Truly, M. Renan may well say that there is a wide difference between these apostolic phenomena and those of the sects. To us, the difference is unaccountable on the hypothesis which reduces such phenomena to the utterances of natural emotion.

The same grievous fault discolours our author's description of the first Christian society, and of the Church as a social institution. The denial of a Divine Spirit who evoked love and wisdom, who gave gifts and joined the disciples in one fellowship, necessitates a theory of explanation. Denying the supernatural, how account for the lives of charity, devotion, self-denial, of numbers of the early Church? for the wisdom which, our author acknowledges, was manifested in its institutions? That is the problem; the solution is far from satisfactory or consistent:—"These Christians lived in a state of constant exaltation;

* P. 61.

ecstasy was their ordinary condition. . . . They lived in the supernatural: they acted only under the influence of visions: dreams, the most trivial occurrences, appeared to them to be intimations from above."* Like all mystics, they led lives of fasting and austerity, and ate little food, and this helped to keep them under excitement. In support of these statements M. Renan cites St. Luke ii. 37, and 2 Cor. vi. 5; xi. 27: but the former passage refers to the Jewish prophetess Anna, and the latter is the recital of St. Paul's trials,—"watchings often, hunger, thirst, fastings often, cold and nakedness," all which were willingly undergone for Christ's sake; but it is very doubtful whether they were self-imposed. M. Renan's account of the character of the first Christians is not true to that Pattern from which it was moulded, nor is it true to the character which the apostles desired for, and recommended to, their converts. The tendency of the mind in the first joy of conversion, and at a time of "great stirrings of heart," would be to indulge in vehement emotion. The dangers of such a temper are too well known to those who have witnessed the spiritual licentiousness and the immoralities which have followed the "revivals" of the sects in our own and other countries. And it seems to have been the wish of the first Christian teachers to guard against this very temper by insisting on those virtues which counteract it, and of which the enthusiast is most impatient. But the sobriety, calmness, patience, industry, contentment, which the apostles recommended, have no place in M. Renan's picture; nor does he mention the care taken to regulate the exercise of "the wonderful gifts," and to preserve them from excess. When our author comes to describe the social life and institutions of the Church, there is much beauty, clearness, and truth in his narrative. There are passages in the fifth and seventh chapters from which we may all learn. In vindicating the sacredness of family life, Protestant writers have overlooked those other needs of society which that life fails to satisfy. They have been slow to appreciate the great principle of association, implying, as it does, the sacrifice of individual comfort and interest to the common good, which belongs to the very essence of a church. M. Renan considers the Cœnobitic life the true ideal of the Christian, and to have been that of the first Church at Jerusalem. He says,—

> "But the Christian monastery was not one of separation and seclusion; no mediæval prison, in which the two sexes were divided, but an asylum in the midst of the world, a space set apart for the spiritual life, a free association or small intimate brotherhood, drawing a fence around it in order to keep off the cares which trouble the liberty of the kingdom of God."†

But when he affirms that Christianity is in one sense a reaction against the too narrow constitution of the family in the Aryan race, he affirms more than the truth; he forgets the testimony rendered by

* P. 73. † P. 75.

the Epistles to the strictness and obligations of the family ties. Had not the Church been regarded in some sort as a family, it would hardly have been a qualification for the ministry that a man should be married, a good householder, and a good parent. "If a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the Church of God?"* implies that the groundwork of the constitution of the Church was laid in that of the family. M. Renan's protest against our family life as a circle narrow, closed, stifling, "un égoïsme à plusieurs," as withering to the spirit as "un égoïsme à un seul," is wrongly directed against the institution itself; but there is a truth in his claim for different states of life in society with a view to the general good, which is greatly forgotten. He exaggerates, again, when he tells us that the Christian religion is founded less on a common belief than on social needs. Would those first believers have given the model of a perfectly unselfish polity had they not been held together by one faith in, and one love for, their Divine Master, whose Spirit was present with them in One Body, and whose witnesses they were? M. Renan describes with genuine admiration the way whereby the greatest social needs of the time were met by the new position given to women in the organization of the Church. Will he not see that the men who planned such an organization could not have been the visionaries, deceiving and deceived, which he has represented them? that "the excellent gift" which they wonderfully brought into action must have been not only "unique," but divine? Our author's words on this subject are worth quoting, and our readers will thank us for the passage:—

"The tact which guided the primitive Church in all this (viz., the employment of women as deaconesses) was admirable. These simple and good men, with deep knowledge, because it came from the heart, laid the foundations of that which is the great Christian virtue *par excellence*, charity. There was nothing to supply them with the model of such institutions. A vast ministry of beneficence and mutual aid, to which the two sexes brought their different qualities and joined their efforts together, with a view to alleviate human misery, this is the sacred creation which proceeded from those two or three first years (of the Church). Those years were the most fruitful in the history of Christianity. . . . Women were naturally eager to join a community in which the weak were surrounded by so many securities. Their position in society at that time was humble and precarious:† the widow especially, notwithstanding protective laws, was most often abandoned to misery, and little respected. Many of the doctors were opposed to a woman's receiving any religious education.‡ The Talmud places on the same level, among the world's scourges, the tattling, inquisitive widow who spends her time in gossiping with her neighbours, and the virgin who wastes her time in prayers. § The new religion created for these

* 1 Tim. iii. 5.

† Wisdom ii. 10; Ecclus. xxxvii. 17; Matt. xxiii. 14; Mark xii. 40; Luke xx. 47; Jas. i. 27.

‡ Mischna, Sota, iii. 4.

§ Talm. Bab. Sota, 22 a. Cf. 1 Tim. v. 13. Buxtorf, Lex. Chald. Talm. Rabb., words צלינית and שובבית.

poor 'disinherited' ones a safe and honourable asylum.* Some women held high rank in the Church, and their houses served for places of assembly.† Those who were homeless were constituted an order or body of women attached to the presbyterate ;‡ this order comprised most probably the virgins, and had most to do with the regular distribution of alms. Institutions which we now consider to have been the slow fruits of Christianity, such as the congregations of women, the Beguines, the Sisters of Charity, were one of its first creations, the source of its strength, the most perfect expression of its spirit. Most of all is the admirable idea of investing unmarried women with a kind of sacred character (consacrer par une sorte de caractère religieux), and of subjecting them to a regular discipline, altogether Christian. The word 'widow' became synonymous with 'a religious person' who was devoted to God, and afterwards with 'deaconess.'§ In those countries where the wife at twenty-four has lost her beauty, and where there is no middle time for her between youth and old age, it was like the creation of a new life for that half of the human race which is most capable of devotion. The time of the Seleucidæ had been a terrible period of female dissoluteness.‖ Never had there been so many domestic dramas; such a series of adulteresses and poisoners. The wise at that time could regard woman as no better than the scourge of humanity, as a cause of shame and baseness, as an evil genius whose single object was to oppose every germ of nobleness in the other sex. Now Christianity changed all this. At an age which we consider to be still youthful, but when the life of the Eastern woman becomes so mournful, so fatally abandoned to the suggestions of evil, the widow might become, by surrounding her head with a black shawl,¶ a respected person, worthily employed, and the equal of men of highest honour. Christianity elevated the difficult position of the childless widow, and rendered it sacred.** She became almost the equal of the 'virgin.' (Why 'almost' and not 'altogether'?) She was the καλογρία 'the good old woman' (the name given to the 'religieuses' in the Eastern Church), full of good works, reverenced and treated as a mother. These women, continually going and coming, were admirable missionaries of the new religion. Protestants are mistaken when they bring to their appreciation of these facts our modern spirit of individualism. When Christian history is concerned, it is socialism, cœnobitism, which are primitive."††

III.

M. Renan's account of the course of Christian missions in the sixteenth chapter of his work is much more satisfactory than any of the former part. There is much to be learnt from it. He seems to move more freely; to be less hampered by theory; to tread firmly the ground, which he does not make for himself, which is purely historical from his own point of view, and which he can throw light on from the stores of his own reading and observation.

* Acts vi. 1. † Acts xii. 12. ‡ 1 Tim. v. 9 *et seq.* Cf. Acts ix. 39, 41.

§ 1 Tim. v. 3 *et seq.*

‖ Eccles. vii. 26; Ecclus. vii. 26 *et seq.*; ix. 1 *et seq.*; xxv. 16 *et seq.*; xxvi. 1 *et seq.*; xlii. 9 *et seq.*

¶ For the costume of widows in the Eastern Church see the Greek MSS., No. 64 of the Imperial Library, fol. 41. The costume is still almost the same at the present day; the widow being the type of the Eastern "religieuse," while the virgin is that of the Latin nun.

** Compare the "Shepherd" of Hermas, Vis. ii., ch. 4. †† Pp. 122-5.

The events which favoured, and the causes which determined the direction of these missions, are well stated. They tended westward, and the Roman Empire was their chief theatre,—perhaps, as M. Renan puts it, their limit. The highway of communication, which the Mediterranean, freed from piracy, and with a large coasting trade, then was; the safety of the Imperial routes; the dispersion of the Jews in all the chief cities; the use of the Greek language,—were causes which made the map of the Roman Empire that of the first Christian missions, the Roman "orbis" becoming, or about to become, the Christian "orbis." M. Renan seems to us to be too positive in his statement that the march of missions was altogether westward. The Jews were as widely scattered in the East as in the West;—according to tradition, touched India, as well as Germany and Spain. He explains the Babylon of 1 Pet. v. 13 to mean Rome. With Bengel and Dean Milman, we think otherwise. And he gives way to his weakness for theorizing when he intimates that Christian missions would have failed altogether in countries which had not first been Romanized. "Imagine the apostles brought face to face with an Asia Minor, a Greece, an Italy divided into a hundred small republics; or with a Gaul, Spain, Africa, Egypt, in possession of old national institutions, and we cease to imagine their success, or rather we no longer imagine that their project could have been formed." Not at all. We easily imagine it, and also that their difficulties would have been not insuperable, but greater.

North Germany, Scandinavia, Switzerland, England, not to mention other countries, were Christianized independently of Roman civilization and institutions. Had the fulness of time for the people of those countries come, the apostles would not have shrunk from doing what Boniface, Augustine, Columban, Gallus, and a host of other heroic and Christian men did centuries afterwards. The unity of the Roman Empire was an immense help to the course of evangelization, but it is too much to affirm that it was the one necessary condition for preaching the Gospel, which, M. Renan himself insists, "placed itself above the nationalities."

But the Jewish emigration to all lands was by far the greatest preparation for the course of apostolic missions, and we think it the chief merit of M. Renan's work that he has given so prominent a place to this fact, and minutely and graphically pictured the life and character of the dispersed Jews; the intense feelings of hatred and curiosity which were felt towards them; and the attraction which drew men, in spite of themselves, to their society and belief. Here we meet M. Renan on open ground, where he no longer constructs history after a theory, but becomes a real inquirer from whom we are glad to learn:—

"For one hundred and fifty years, Judaism, which before had been confined to the East and to Egypt, had taken its flight towards the West. There were important Jewish settlements in Cyrene, Cyprus, Asia Minor, the cities of Macedonia, Greece, and Italy. The Jew gave the first example of that kind of patriotism which the Parsees, Armenians, and to a certain degree the modern Greeks, were to exhibit in later times: a patriotism extremely energetic, although unattached to one particular soil: the patriotism of merchants who were everywhere scattered abroad, and everywhere acknowledged one another as brothers; such patriotism as tends to form no large compact states, but small autonomous communities in the centre of other states. Closely allied with one another, the Jews in the different cities formed communities which were almost independent. In some cities they had an ethnarch or alabarch invested with nearly sovereign rights. They inhabited separate quarters, which were withdrawn from ordinary jurisdiction, and greatly despised by the rest of the world, but in which none the less was happiness felt. They were rather poor than rich: the time of the acquisition of large fortunes had not begun: these did not commence till under the Visigoths in Spain."—

Results of the administrative incapacity of the Barbarians, and of the laws of the Church against usury. Our author describes the strong popular antipathy to these settlements, caused for the most part by the Jews' own jealous spirit of isolation and vindictiveness, and by their unsocial habits. The aversion was further increased by the pamphlets of writers like Apion, who pretended to make known the secrets of the people, and helped to bring them into ridicule and dislike.

"The Jews seem to have been quarrelsome and querulous. They had all the appearance of being a secret society, ill-affected towards the rest of mankind; of which the members pushed themselves forward at all risks, to the injury of others. Their eccentric customs, their aversion to certain kinds of food, their uncleanness, their equality of rank, their disgusting smell, their religious scruples, their minute sabbatical observances, were treated as subjects of ridicule. Outcasts from society, the Jews naturally had no care to appear as gentlemen. They were to be found everywhere, travelling about clad in their dirty finery, of clumsy gait, with wearied look, prominent bleared eyes, and hypocritical countenance, forming separate groups with their wives and children, their bundles of clothes, and the basket which made up all their property. In the cities they carried on the meanest trades; they were mendicants, rag dealers, petty brokers, and match-sellers. Their law and history were unfairly depreciated. At one time they were accounted superstitious and cruel, at another atheists and despisers of the gods. Their aversion to images appeared pure impiety. And circumcision most of all furnished a theme of endless raillery."*

Every trait in this picture is drawn from the literature of the time: there is another side to it, which M. Renan paints with no less skill and truth. These were the superficial judgments of the most cultivated writers from Cicero to Tacitus; but they were not universal. The Jews found friends as well as detractors, and especially among that great multitude whom the Roman Empire had taken into itself, but who remained outside both Roman and Hellénic culture, strangers

* Pp. 288-91.

and indifferent to either. There were those who felt that the Jew, however strange, had yet something superior in him; who were touched by the examples of union, charity, mutual assistance,* industry, attachment to one's calling, even the pride of poverty, which the Jewish society presented.† "The poor Jewish hawker of the Transtiberine quarter‡ (of Rome), who went out in the morning with his basket of wares, often returned in the evening enriched with the alms of a pious hand.§ Women especially were attracted to these missionaries in rags."||

Had the influence of these men, who were in some measure forerunners of the Christian missionaries, been confined to one section of Roman society, it would not have engaged the attention of satirists and historians. But it extended to every class,—to all those in the palace, the camp, the workshop, who yearned for the spiritual truth which the despised Israelite could teach. The intimacy between the Herodian princes and the Roman Court worked to the same end; and notwithstanding the contempt of the lettered class, and the repulsion of the main body of nobles and people, the conquered Israelites, like the Greeks, "gave laws to their conquerors."

Nor is it the Jew only whose presence and power in the Roman Empire it is necessary to remember, if we would rightly estimate that empire's preparation for hearing the Gospel. The Syrian was no less an agent "in the conquest of the West by the East." We are indebted to M. Renan for assigning his true place in the history of the middle of the first century, nor do we remember any other such lifelike picture as he has given us of him:—

"It was especially at Rome that the Syrian in the first century carried on his keen pervading industry. Engaged in all the smaller trades, *valet de place*, agent, letter-bearer, the *Syrus*¶ penetrated into every quarter, bringing with him the language and usages of his country.** He had neither the pride nor philosophic dignity of Europeans, still less their vigour. Of weak body, pallid, often feverish, unable to eat or sleep at regular hours, after the manner of our heavy stolid races, eating little meat, living on onions and gourds, sleeping little and but lightly, the Syrian was constantly sick, and died young.†† That which was really natural to him was humility, gentleness, affability, and a certain goodness of disposition: without solidity of character he had much charm of manner; little good sense except when his business was concerned, but surprising eagerness, and a seductiveness altogether feminine. The Syrian, never having enjoyed political life, has a singular aptitude for religious activity. That poor Maronite who is half a woman, humble and ragged, has brought about

* Tacit. Hist., v. 5, "Apud ipsos fides obstinata, misericordia in promptu."

† P. 293.

‡ Martial, Epigr. i. 42; xii. 57.

§ Juvenal, Sat. vi. 546 *et seq.*

|| P. 292.

¶ See Forcellini, under "Syrus." This word designated in general "Orientals." Leblant, "Inscript. Chrét. de la Gaule," i., pp. 207, 328-9.

** Juvenal, iii. 62-3.

†† Such is at the present day the temperament of the Syrian Christian.

the greatest of revolutions. His ancestor, the Roman *Syrus*, was the most zealous evangelist to all the oppressed. Every year brought to Greece, Italy, and Gaul, colonies of these Syrians, driven thither by their natural love of petty trading.* They were known on board ship by their large families; by the troops of pretty children, almost of the same age, who followed them; the mother, with the childish looks of a girl of fourteen, clinging close to her husband's side, submissive, gently smiling, hardly taller than her eldest sons.† There is no marked expression in the heads of that peaceful group: certainly there is nothing of Archimedes, of Plato, or of Phidias. But that Syrian trader, when he has reached Rome, will be a good and merciful man, charitable to his countrymen, the friend of the poor. He will chat with the slaves, and open to those unfortunates, reduced by Roman severity to the saddest loneliness, an asylum in which some slight consolation may be found. The Greek and Latin races—races of masters, created for great things—knew not how to make the best of a lowly station.‡ The slave of those races passed his life in revolt, in the desire of evil. The ideal slave of antiquity has every vice: he is a gourmand, a liar, a mischief-maker, and the natural enemy of his master.§ By these very vices he proved in one way his nobility: he protested against a state which is contrary to man's nature. The good Syrian did not protest: he bore the shame, and tried to make the best of it. He won his master's favour: dared to talk with him: knew how to please his mistress. This great agent of democracy went on thus unravelling mesh by mesh the network of ancient civilization. The old societies, founded on disdain, inequality of races, military valour, were perishing. Weakness and humility are becoming privileges—aids to the perfecting of virtue.‖ Roman nobility and Greek wisdom will struggle on for another three centuries. Tacitus will approve the deportation of tens of thousands of these unhappy ones: 'Si interissent, vile damnum.' ¶ Roman aristocracy will be angered that such a rabble should have its gods and institutions. But the victory is written beforehand. The Syrian, the poor man who loves his fellow-creatures, who shares his means with them, who associates with them, will gain it. The Roman aristocracy will perish for want of pity." **

There is a reverse side to this eloquent description which our author omits. The Syrian brought with him to Rome the worship of Astarte, and the revolting rites incident thereto. It is fair to add that M. Renan believes, and has written to prove, that monotheism underlay the Syrian mythology, and several inscriptions sustain his assertion. But there is no doubt that many of these Syrians were more or less Jewish proselytes, and that the spirit of brotherhood and association gave them a real moral superiority at Rome and elsewhere. It is certain that, in the later history, they obtained great influence, chiefly

* Inscriptions in the "Mem. de la Soc. des Antiquaires de Fr.," xxviii. 4 *et seq.*; in Leblant, "Inscript. Chrét. de la Gaule," i., pp. cxliv., 207, 324 *et seq.*, 353 *et seq.*, 375 *et seq.*; ii. 259, 459 *et seq.*

† The Maronites still form colonies in nearly all the Levant, like the Jews, Armenians, and Greeks, although on a smaller scale.

‡ Read Cicero, "De Offic.," i. 42. Dionys. of Halicarnassus, ii. 28; ix. 25.

§ See the types of slaves in Plautus and Terence.

‖ 2 Cor. xii. 9.

¶ Tacitus, Ann. ii. 95. The words are "si ob gravitatem cœli interissent."

** Pp. 299-302.

through the remarkable women who rose up from among them to be wives, mothers, and sisters of Roman emperors. "The Mussulman woman of our day, a brawling shrew, a stupid fanatic, living for little else but evil, and almost incapable of virtue, must not cause us to forget the Julia Domnas, Julia Mæsas, Julia Mamæas, Julia Soæmias, who brought to Rome a tolerance in matters of religion, and instincts of mysticism, hitherto unknown." * That dynasty was so favourable to Christianity that some of its members were accounted Christian. In tracing the rise of this remarkable Syrian influence at Rome, M. Renan has opened an instructive and neglected page of Church history.

IV.

Our author's survey of the moral, social, and political state of the Roman Empire is perhaps the most brilliant chapter of his book, and seems to us the really valuable portion of it. We regret that we can but glance at it. The middle of the first century, which witnessed the apostles' labours, was the most mournful in human annals. M. Renan endeavours to bring out whatever good was latent in the society both of Rome and the provinces. And though he thinks St. Paul's condemnation, in his Epistle to the Romans, too severe, and inapplicable to the highest class of Roman society, his own studied narrative—to say nothing of the "Annals" of Tacitus—fully justifies it.

He traces the causes of the degradation to Cæsarism itself—a power too tremendous for the best man to be trusted with, and an instrument of awful cruelty and oppression in the hands of the bad; to the assemblage of vast masses of people together in Rome and the great cities with no common ties of country and religion; to the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few, and the consequent deep poverty of the poor; to the weakening of old religious bonds, the widespread unbelief; to the universal want of anything like public instruction; to the passion for cruel and licentious spectacles, which came at last to be the occupation of the people. Over and against these evils must be set philosophy, especially the Stoic, which, "with bared breast," entered her protest, and dared the wrath of Cæsar. But philosophy could only encourage resignation, and teach men to die calmly in face of evils which seemed irremediable; and, strange to say, while it instilled generous views of human brotherhood, it had no voice to reach the masses. Other leaven of good there must have been, or society would have perished utterly.

Inscriptions on tombs, the funeral orations of the time, prove that both in Rome, and much more in the provinces, the virtues of domestic purity, conjugal faith, charity, and beneficence, still lived and were held in honour. "Mater omnium hominum, parens omnibus sub-

* P. 299.

veniens;"* "Duobus virtutis et castitatis exemplis;"† "Hominis boni, misericordis, amantis pauperes;"‡ πτωχοὺς φιλέοντα,§—may have been no more than affectionate epitaphs, but yet they indicate what the sense of those virtues was.

The most remarkable feature of the Roman world to which our author gives prominence, is the spirit of fraternity, which expressed itself in the colleges or clubs, founded ostensibly for the purpose of burial, but really for mutual assistance, society, and pleasure. The "collegium," answering in some respects to the "confraternity" of the middle ages, was, to the poor, what name, country, and tradition were to the rich:—

> "The documents tells us that these 'collegia' or 'cœtus' were composed of slaves, of old men, of the poor and needy (*tenuiores*). There was perfect equality in them between the freeman, the freedman, and the slave. Many women were members. At the risk of a thousand annoyances, sometimes of the severest penalties, men were desirous of being members of one of these 'collegia,' wherein they lived in the bonds of cheerful brotherhood, found mutual assistance, and contracted ties which lasted after death."||

The Church met such wants as these by its common ties of fellowship and communion, which held together poor and rich, slave and free, lettered and ignorant, so that to the world outside at Rome it seemed to be no other than a funeral "collegium."

But certain it is that the Church met deeper wants than these. The divine instinct for purity and goodness had revived in the hearts of many who groaned under the weight of evil, and looked round for deliverance from the sickening mass of corruption on every side. The illusions of any number of benevolent visionaries would have been ineffectual to convert men who needed the righteousness of God. If Christianity had been, as M. Renan supposes, the creation of man's own imagination,—at best his feeble cry to the Infinite for goodness and truth, with no voice in heaven or earth to answer,—it would have been as powerless as Hellenism was to change the moral state of the Roman world. The fulness of time had come, and with it a new commandment. The Gospel of the kingdom of Heaven was preached, and men embraced it, and lived and died in it, not because it was the tenderest, most devout expression of the best piety of the age, but because it was the message which God gave through His Son.

S. STEAD.

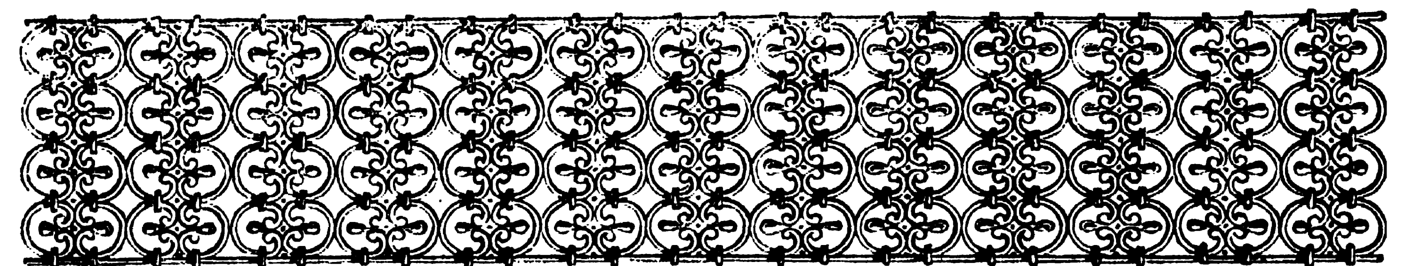
* In Renier, "Inscr. de l'Algérie," No. 1,987. Compare *ibid.*, No. 2,756.

† Mommsen, "Inscr. R. N.," No. 1,431. "Not. et Mem. de la Soc. de Constantine, 1865," p. 158.

‡ Epitaph of the jeweller Evhodus, "Corpus inscr. Lat.," No. 1,027, inscription of the century of Augustus. Compare Egger, "Mem. de l'Hist. Anc. et de Phil.," pp. 351 *et seq.*; Perrot, "Exploration de la Galatie," &c., pp. 118-19.

§ P. 317, n. 3; p. 320, n. 4.

|| P. 357.



HOME AND SCHOOL EDUCATION.

THE fruit of the Royal Commission on Public Schools has not ripened as rapidly as was hoped by its friends and feared by its enemies; the general feeling, that sufficient time ought to be taken for the consideration of so important a subject, has been more fully realized than seemed probable when Lord Clarendon last year brought forward his bill in the House of Lords. The Select Committee, to whom the bill was very wisely referred, could not complete its labours in time for legislation last year; the disorganization of Parliament consequent on a change of ministry has now postponed it to another session; and we cannot help still rejoicing that the subject will receive that further discussion which further delay can alone secure to it; we feel this the more, because we are not at all sure that what is proposed is the most satisfactory or most promising way of dealing with the subject. No bill, perhaps, ever came out of Committee so thoroughly altered from what it was when it went in, as the bill of last year on public schools. As it was originally framed, the voice of the legislature was heard in somewhat arbitrary and decisive tones, changing, enacting, providing; important principles were dealt with, important interests touched, insignificant details entered into. In the bill introduced this year, Parliament simply abdicates its function of legislating on the subject, and leaves it to be dealt with by commissioners, who, if the several governing bodies refuse to co-operate

with their views, are empowered to legislate at discretion, the only limit to this discretion being that their ordinances must receive the sanction of the Privy Council; but that once obtained (and it must be a very strong case in which an expectation of this sanction being withheld would be a reasonable one), the *sic volo* of the Commission becomes an authoritative *sic jubeo.*

We confess that we see a good many objections to such a course. First we see a constitutional objection to Parliament delegating its legislative functions to Commissioners; but this opens a wider question than the one which is before us, and the practical objections are to our mind sufficiently weighty. The Commissioners proposed are, we may be sure, as good and fit men as the framers of the bill could think of; they are—at least, most of them—sound, practical men, without that overweening sense of the value of any view or suggestion of their own, which so often makes even clever men dangerous as meddling administrators: but some, at least, are men who have enough on their hands already. It is hard to see, for instance, why more work should be heaped upon the Archbishop of York, which he can hardly attend to sufficiently without neglecting other duties more peculiarly his own, which His Grace with reason complains are too heavy for him to discharge properly. Moreover, not one of them has any practical acquaintance with the difficulties which surround the administration of any large school. Not one of them has any knowledge of boy nature beyond the recollection of their own schoolboy days, and their limited acquaintance with the schoolboy life of their own children. Such knowledge is only gained by having had to deal with boys, and successive generations of boys, day after day, year after year. It may have been necessary to give weight to the Commission by some weighty names, but we confess that when there are such ex-schoolmasters as Dr. Vaughan, Dr. Goulburn, the Deans of Peterborough and Christchurch, and though last not least, Dr. Kennedy, it might be as well to have the benefit of their acquaintance with and experience in dealing with the details, if not with the principles, of the matter. Another objection is, that this mode of handing the matter over to a Commission excludes the benefit which could arise from the measures they propose being debated and discussed. It seems to us important that many minds, of different tone and calibre, should be brought to bear upon the questions which must arise. Measures framed by a body of clever men are not always, or even generally, the best in practice. The views of second-rate men, nay, even of men who have no pretension to the name of clever, are often necessary to the practical success of brilliant devices and suggestions. We think the permissive part of the bill very good; nothing can be more sensible and just than at least to enable

governing bodies to carry out the reforms which they think to be necessary; and if they obstinately turn a deaf ear to the remonstrances and requirements of public opinion, then, perhaps, it is fitting that others should be empowered to step in to do for them what they cannot or will not do for themselves; but we would limit the power of the Commissioners to framing statutes and regulations, to be by them submitted to Parliament: of course such statutes and regulations, brought forward under their auspices, would come before Parliament with great weight, and with every chance of passing—but the discussion of the several questions would not be carried on only in a committee-room, with closed doors. It is clear that the disadvantage of questions being thus discussed and disposed of was what induced the majority of the Lords to exempt the constitution of the governing bodies from the operation of the autocratic powers given to the Commission, and we confess that we think that there are other points, more nearly connected with the welfare of the schools, on which any commission, similarly constituted, is likely to propose undesirable changes, or at least changes the desirableness of which is not so palpable as to supersede the necessity of Parliamentary discussion and amendment.

At all events, should the rearrangement of our scholastic system be confided to such a commission, we cannot help hoping that they will not feel themselves bound by the suggestions and recommendations of the Royal Commission contained in the Blue Book report; for, in spite of the ability with which the report was drawn up, it was, we think, very generally felt that it did not satisfy the expectations of those who hoped to see some practical remedy devised for the evils the pressure of which they felt in the education of their children; in fact, it did not hit the right nail on the head. It went into almost too minute provisions as to the people by whom the horse was to be led to particular waters, but devised little or nothing for the horse's being made to drink, beyond a somewhat superfluous statement, that "every part of the course should be promoted by an effective system of reward and punishment;" a scholastic maxim which has, we suppose, been familiar to every schoolmaster since the days of Orbilius, but which only states the difficulty without solving it. In many cases it was proposed to introduce changes in the governing body, casting thereby grave reflection on those by whom the system had been hitherto administered, and transferring the administration to new bodies, the composition of which in some places seemed likely to make the machine work worse instead of better. To take Eton as an instance; it does not seem likely that it would conduce to a vigorous or wise administration of the school to place on the governing body five men distinguished for position or attainments, not

required to reside, nor to be present at more than one-fourth of the meetings during the year. The result of such a scheme is obvious. These non-resident literary gentlemen would be periodically interfering with the resident working members; coming up from a distance (their expenses being paid) to carry some party crotchet or support some party move, which would entirely derange the arrangements of the working members. Every one connected with the working of Boards knows the evil of the intermittent presence of non-resident members; and the evil is not likely to be exceptionally less when the intermittent members will be men who *ex officio* will be expected to be meddlesome. We well remember Dr. Hawtrey,—than whom Eton never had a master more unselfishly anxious for the interest of the school,—complaining bitterly of the obstacles thrown in his way by the despotic obstinacy of Provost Goodall. We remember congratulating him, soon after Provost Hodgson's appointment, on his having at last a free course. His answer was, "I was better off before; I then had one spoke in my wheel, I now have seven." We have no doubt that fifteen will be worse than seven; it is a simple rule of three sum. We hope then, that if scholastic reform is to be delegated to a Commission, they will not feel themselves bound to carry out all the recommendations of the Blue Book. The former Commission deserves high credit for the ability with which the evidence was elicited and digested, and the evidence in itself is of infinite value; and of this, of course, the new Commissioners can avail themselves to the utmost, without adopting the conclusions or the measures which were founded on it.

We have no abstract objection to changes in the governing bodies, if they are in themselves necessary or desirable. We only object to them when they are introduced on the pretence of doing what they can never do. We do not believe that any change in the governors and trustees will do that which it is desirable and necessary to do, viz., increase the amount of work actually done, so as really to educate and train those who are hereafter to govern the country, or at least to occupy influential positions in it, in order that they may be willing and able to respond to the call for a more effectual and thorough performance of their duties; that they may be able, by their superior intelligence and acquirements, to secure the positions which their birth, or possessions, or professions, give them. We believe this is, at the present time, a moral and political necessity, and will become so more and more; and if this change for the better in our school system can be effected at all, it surely can be effected without experimental changes, savouring perhaps somewhat of particular views in Church and State, which must always excite a certain amount of suspicion, not only in the public mind

in general, and the parliamentary mind in particular, but also in those places where they are introduced, and where it is most important that whatever measures are introduced should work smoothly. If, for instance, it is desirable to secularize any of the Eton fellowships, or introduce a new system of managing the college revenues, let it be done; but let not these political or semi-political changes be hung as a dead weight round measures, the simple object of which should be to foster learning, to raise the standard of education, and to remove whatever is the cause of our boys spending so many years with so little profit.

It certainly cannot be charged on the apathy of the present generation, if the next is not as perfect as education can make it. From the commencement of the century the subject has occupied the attention of the philanthropist, the statesman, the divine. Sunday schools first attacked the barbarous ignorance in which the pariahs of our social system were encased; National schools then took the working population in hand. The Universities have given both impulse and guidance to middle class development, and the public mind is now directed to what may be called "first class education," which is practically the subject reported on by the Commission,—the education, that is, of the smaller but more important class of the community, who, in after life, are to steer or man the ship of state, or to occupy, as legislators, or magistrates, or members of a learned profession, positions of influence. It is impossible to overrate the importance of the subject; and perhaps the best way of expressing it is to say that its importance is as great as its difficulty; and possibly it may not be without its use to devote some of our pages to a consideration of that first class education, on a part of which legislative experiments are in contemplation, taking the manner and method in which this education may best be carried on, rather than the subject-matter of which it ought to consist; and in the course of this consideration of the subject we shall see whether some remedy cannot be devised for the public school part of it, less open to objection in itself, and more likely to effect the desired object, than that which found favour with the Royal Commission.

We have said that we shall turn our attention rather to the manner than to the matter; it seems, however, necessary so far to enter upon the latter, as to ascertain briefly what education ought to aim at in the upper classes. It may be said generally, that it ought to fit a man, not only for performing the duties which may fall to his lot, but also for taking his place in a society in which civilized refinement is carried to a higher pitch than in any former age, and to as high a pitch as in any country of present times. The object of first class education should be to turn out men of the world, in the

best and truest sense of the term. A man should be so trained as to be able not only to form sound and comprehensive judgments on social and political subjects, but also to have a sufficient acquaintance with the liberal arts and sciences to take his part in the rational conversation of civilized society; and as this society is daily passing out of its peculiar and national aspect, and becoming more and more European, or rather cosmopolitan, it is clear that an acquaintance with such of the European languages as are current in this enlarged society, is a necessity to an educated gentleman. And thus a large range of studies is opened out; but the system which is to prepare a man for this sphere of life may, we think, be much simplified—is, in fact, much simpler than would seem at first sight. For wherever we create mental activity, there the mind is ever ready to grasp at fresh subjects of interest, and to feel an interest in whatever promises to furnish it with occupation. It is only mental indolence which paralyzes and neutralizes that mental curiosity which is assumed by all philosophy of all ages to be a fundamental principle of human nature, and which figures more or less in most philosophical treatises under its familiar name of "a thirst for knowledge." Now this mental activity, if it is not actually created by, at least very much depends on, the mental powers being developed sufficiently to master the several subjects so as to insure success, differing, of course, in degree, according to the natural capacities of the human mind; but success, or at the very least a prospect or hope of success, is necessary to the feeling an interest in any subject or pursuit; and to pour the principles or details of a subject into a mind before the mental energies are developed, or at least without developing them, is not education, but cram. It is often supposed that the effects of this mental indolence can be neutralized by directing the student's attention only to those subjects on which he accidentally feels an interest. But very often,—indeed, we may say generally, as long as the scholar is *in statu pupillari*,—the subject in which most interest is taken is simply that which promises least disturbance to mental indolence, and requires least mental exertion, or the special attraction arises from something amusing, accidentally joined to it, rather than from any desire for, or love of, any knowledge to be acquired by it. We do not, of course, mean that a boy should be discouraged from, or not encouraged in, any subject towards which he has a natural bias, but we think it is a mistake to allow him to devote his attention to this, to the exclusion of other subjects towards which he has no such special inclination, but which, nevertheless, would probably demand from him more mental exertion, and therefore bring with it more mental improvement than the one he happens to like. To allow him thus to devote himself to one and neglect others would, we

think, be rather to confine and cramp the mental powers in general, rather than to develop and strengthen them. It seems evident that this playing up to the hand, so to speak, of mental indolence, is a very different thing from rousing or fostering that mental activity which seeks knowledge for its own sake, and is therefore always ready to take up subjects which promise to bring it forth. Hence we may see that the education which is to fit a man for the civilized life of our day, ought mainly to aim at the development of the mental powers and the encouragement of mental activity, and by whatever system or subjects this is most certainly and completely accomplished, and the mind at the same time stored with knowledge without being overloaded or crammed, these are, mentally speaking, the best: so that it would seem that such education will be mainly, though not exclusively, gymnastic; that is, will consist mainly in calling out and exercising the several mental powers on subjects more or less abstract, to prepare and fit them for the grasping any subject-matter which may come before them; to create in the mind a capacity for all knowledge, rather than an acquaintance with any particular subjects or branches, at all events in the earlier stages; and this is all the more practicable in first class than in middle class education, because in the higher classes a greater number of years can be given to the work than is possible where a man is to enter on any of the middle class paths of life, a circumstance which ought to give the upper class a great superiority—a much greater superiority than generally exists.

When we turn to the mode whereby the work of education can be successfully carried on, the first problem which presents itself for solution will be, whether the boy shall be educated at home or at school,—at least, up to the age when he ought to go to the University; for there can, we think, be no doubt that a young man in the class of life of which we are speaking ought to go to the University, and if possible take his degree: the former at all events, the latter also if he is designed for a learned profession: and even in any line of life in which a man is to mix in educated society, he is all the better for having the University stamp upon him; and in no case is it more valuable than where his line of life is cast on debateable ground; that is, one which does not, in the eyes of the world, stand quite on an equality with a learned profession, and which may therefore give a man a certain distrust of the exact position he occupies in society. It is of great consequence that a man so situated should have an Oxford or Cambridge degree; it puts all question about him, all doubt about himself in his own mind, at rest. We hold that, at the present day, any man may take to any line of life or trade he pleases, without losing caste, provided he has passed through the University.

In that case he raises the line of life which he has chosen, otherwise there is some danger lest it should sink him; and in an age in which many who would, some years ago, have taken to a learned profession, are now directing themselves to more lucrative occupations, we are sure that the considerations we have been urging are well worth the attention of those whom they may concern. Even those who go into the army, as a gentlemanly way of passing a year or two which they do not know what to do with, are all the better for a degree, especially after they have left the army and entered on the duties to which their several stations in life may call them. We happen to know that the late Duke of Wellington had so decided a view on this point, even before he was Chancellor of Oxford, that he would always, if possible, give a young ensign or cornet leave in order that he might complete his University course by a degree. We well recollect the sensation produced in the schools at Oxford by a young Life Guardsman presenting himself before the examiners with a ferocious moustache, in the days when an undergraduate would as soon have thought of wearing a ring in his nose.

As to the time before which a boy should not go to school, we have a very decided opinion that it is useless, if not worse, to send him before he is ten, or, at the earliest, nine years old. He is not fit for it, either physically or morally: it is too early to withdraw him from the daily influence of home affections; he is in great danger of being spoilt, either by the petting or bullying of bigger boys; and even after this age, up to the time when he is ready for a public school, we are inclined to think that there is much to be said in favour of home education, provided, of course, that the means of good instruction and discipline are attainable at home; but if they are not, then we should prefer a small school of some ten or a dozen boys, where a warm-hearted, watchful master may exercise a personal and almost parental superintendence over all and each, to a larger school, where a master is necessarily ignorant of the individual boys, and the tastes and pursuits of each; and the evil is aggravated if the out-door discipline is intrusted to ushers, who, *exceptis excipiendis*, do not and cannot be expected to take a real and affectionate interest in those who regard them only as their paid watchers, and very seldom treat them with the respect and consideration which is their due.

It must, however, be borne in mind that one difficulty in home education is the getting the home-taught boy into a good groove of work,—the getting his working powers into form, so to speak, so that he may learn to work methodically as well as regularly and steadily. A boy who has been well trained in this respect will get over a far larger amount of work in a given time, and with far greater profit, than the

boy who is left to work in a desultory and methodless fashion. This is one of the great secrets of a good master, and generally speaking, results only from much scholastic experience. But the difficulty may be met by sending the boy for a year or so to a thoroughly good school, such as we have spoken of above. Here he will be taught, not only to work, but how to work to the best advantage; and when he returns home, the method will come with him and in him, and will be easily taken up by his home teacher, and adapted to his studies as they go on.

The question, however, becomes more pressing, and decision more difficult, when a boy arrives at the age at which he is old enough to go to a public school—say Eton; and we take Eton because it is confessedly the type of the public school, and the one at which the Commission was specially aimed, and, moreover, it happens to be the one with which we ourselves are most practically acquainted. We confess that it seems to us that the question between home and public school education does not stand on exactly the same ground as it did formerly. Some forty, or even thirty years ago, a boy who was educated at home had in most cases a very narrow sphere for thought or practice; he had little or no opportunity of social intercourse beyond his immediate home circle or neighbourhood; he had but little chance of forming a practical view of life, of learning new notions or correcting old ones; he necessarily had a very imperfect knowledge of his own position, and of his relations to others out of his own immediate circle; he was rarely, if ever, brought into contact with others of his own age and position; he had little opportunity of developing or correcting his character by the insensible influence of others on his free-will; he was ignorant of the way in which boys lived with boys, and consequently of the way in which men lived with men; he was in leading-strings when he ought to have been learning to stand by himself; his tastes and dispositions were kept in check by the constant watchfulness of authority, and were not unlikely to burst forth all the more strongly for having been pent up. These reasons, and some others like them, were generally considered as decisive in favour of the public school, and it not unfrequently happened that each generation of undergraduates furnished an instance of the failure of home education; and though there were not wanting instances on the other side, yet as these were not attended with the *éclat* which distinguished vice creates for itself, they told for nothing in settling the question. We think that now this is much altered. The disadvantages of home education are neither so many nor so great as they used to be. Railroads, which have worked so many changes in our social system, have not been without their effect here; not only have the facilities of

intercourse been increased to an almost incredible degree, but the spirit of intercourse has increased also. The town and country are no longer opposed but harmonizing spheres of life. The circle of a home neighbourhood is enlarged, and a boy who is educated at home has far greater opportunities of finding companions and mixing out of his own family with other people, both those of his own age and those older than himself, with whom he comes into contact more on a footing of equality, because he does not stand to them in the relations which require obedience and submission as a duty. He hears the topics of the day discussed, and insensibly every day enlarges his acquaintance with what is going on in the world: he is no longer excluded from the school of life, for his experience of men and manners is nearly as large, and perhaps more true, than that of the public schoolboy. He is not tied to his own home—he goes to town, or abroad, or pays visits, during which he is obliged to act on his own will and his own responsibility. We do not mean to say that the disadvantages of, and objections to, home education are so entirely got rid of as to make a wise man decide unhesitatingly in its favour, but we do say that they are diminished to an extent which will justify anyone in not deciding unhesitatingly against it, supposing that other circumstances recommended it.

And, on the other hand, we are inclined to think that the advantages of a public school are not so much without alloy as formerly, even in that which is its strong point, the healthy development and formation of the character. The tone of even the best public school does not exercise the same kind of influence which it did. The very same circumstances which have removed or lessened the disadvantages of home education have created or increased those of school life. The facilities of intercourse with the outer world, acting co-ordinately with the independence of a public school, have a tendency to force the boy into premature manhood. The lesson of life is not so true a one as it was. An over-persuasion of a man's being able to do as he likes is the result of the removal of much of that restraint which arose from circumstances rather than discipline. An over-confidence in their own knowledge of the world and their own wisdom, is the result of the boys' being able to see much of at least the surface of life, combined with their having so much freedom of thought and will and action, with but little check or guidance. An over-reliance on their own judgment is the result of the modern system of governing the school very much by the boys themselves; a system the advantages of which are so patent as to be insisted upon by all, but which, nevertheless, has its disadvantages. Self-government is an essential point in a perfect or even a good character, but it must not be carried so far as to destroy the notion of the existence of, and the habit of submission to,

external government, for this is absolutely necessary to a right understanding of a man's position and destinies, and to his well-being in life.

In one point, certainly, we think the advantages of a public school have been much over-stated. We hear of the advantage it is to a boy to form connections at Eton; the matter of fact is, that school connections very seldom indeed last into life. If any Eton man were asked whether his most intimate friends and familiar acquaintances were first known at school, it would, we suspect, be found, in nineteen cases out of twenty, that these friendships began at college, or in some of the after pursuits of life, and that he scarcely knows what has become of his "cons" at school.

There are, of course, the same drawbacks and disadvantages in public school education as ever, modified, perhaps, and altered in their outward phase by the changes which have taken place in the general tone and habits of society. One of the greatest of these drawbacks seems to us to be the total withdrawal from home influences,—the absence of the principle of affection as the spring of every-day life, and of the parental authority as the centre of obedience. For when a boy is thus removed from parental control and guidance, he is apt to lose sight of the true relations between a son and a father, and the duties arising from them, especially as the tone and language always more or less current among schoolboys is calculated to conceal and destroy them. The father is looked upon as the purveyor to the boy's gratifications, whose duty it is to supply him with money, to procure him indulgences, rather than the being round whose will the daily actions of the boy should cluster.

And as the boy is thus removed from parental influence and guidance, so is the father in almost utter ignorance of the real growth and state of his son's character, from the time he goes to school. He sees him only in vacations, when he is under little or no restraint, and is entirely free from any obligation to work, and consequently there are no occasions for real points of his character to show themselves as they have been formed and exist at school. Parents are very often entirely, perhaps happily, ignorant of their sons' having acquired habits which one would think could not possibly exist without their knowing of them; but it is almost incredible what restraint a schoolboy can put upon himself during the few weeks he is at home; how completely he can throw dust into his father's eyes, and make himself believed to be a paragon of perfection. A boy may and often does come home from school more or less demoralized, without anyone at home, unless it be the grooms or keepers, having any suspicion of it.

For there are certainly opportunities, and temptations, and incentives to evil at a public school which it would puzzle even Mr.

Arnold's Minister of Education to get rid of. It is perfectly true that a boy on first going to Eton gets any absurd notions of his own consequence kicked out of him, but he also gets kicked out of him a good deal which he can ill spare. It is true that he gets kicked into him a good deal of knowledge of the world and its ways, but there is also kicked into him a good deal of evil. There are certain things which a boy is thrown into the way of learning at school, which every Christian parent would wish him to be without; there is a good deal which he unlearns which every Christian parent would wish him to retain.

One of the things which a boy is in very great danger of losing at school is the habit, and therefore the power, of real devotion. No children, perhaps, are so religiously, we may say so devotionally, trained as the children of the upper classes in England under their mother's eye; but we fear that there is generally a great change for the worse in this respect after a few months of school. We are aware that this is a loss which to some modern educationalists may appear a gain,—a release from fetters which would hinder progress towards perfection,—but to the religious-minded man, who in his view of human nature and human destinies takes revelation into the account, it is the greatest loss which can befall a rational creature.

Another danger which presses severely on a boy at a public school is the temptation to swerve from that strict regard for truth which is the cardinal virtue of that stage of life, and which we need not say it is the first care of every parent to guard and strengthen in a boy's home life. In the evidence, indeed, before the Commission, Mr. Mitchell, with his recent experience of Eton, expresses his belief that "the tone is healthy with regard to lying to the masters," and that a boy who lied "would be detested." We do not observe that any questions on this very delicate and important subject were put to any other witness, and we are sure that Mr. Mitchell's opinion was given in perfect good faith and sincerity, but we doubt very much its giving a true view of the case. Doubtless there is, and always has been, a set—especially in the higher part of the school, probably the one in which Mr. Mitchell lived—in which a lie of any sort or any hue would be viewed in its true colours, and spoken of as it deserves; but with regard to the school in general, we suspect that the statement must be modified so as to apply only to those violations of truth which would be held to be lies by the popular opinion, and that this is mostly confined to lies between the boys themselves. This, we fear, leaves a very wide margin, and with this modification we cannot think that the tone of the school presents any safeguard against a boy's truthfulness being sullied and impaired. It is a matter on which any one can get evidence for himself. Let an average Eton

boy be asked confidentially whether truthfulness is the rule or the exception in such matters as "first fault," or "staying out," or the use of cribs or old copies, or the evasion of work or discipline, or the getting out of a scrape, and we believe a very large proportion would at once allow that truthfulness is at a discount; that there is no safeguard in the general tone of the school on this point; that if a boy, especially in the lower part of the school, were avowedly to take a contrary line, he would be ridiculed or bullied for his pains. We happen to have had within our cognizance a case which enlightened us very much on the matter. We not very long ago fell in with a couple of Eton boys who were together at a private tutor's: unless we were misinformed (and we took some trouble to get information on the subject); they were both boys of good position, with good characters from their respective tutors; both popular at Eton; not living exactly in the same set, nor boarding in the same house; so that they were fair average specimens. Unless appearances very much deceived us, they were treated with the greatest confidence, completely trusted by the gentleman they were with. Nevertheless, it soon became perfectly clear that the atmosphere in which they had been living was not one in which violations of truth, under certain circumstances, were generally reprobated, for they violated truth whenever it suited them, and what is more, they did so with the knowledge and in the presence of each other. Their attention was purposely called to Mr. Mitchell's evidence. They were perfectly open on the subject, and very decided and unhesitating in their opinion that it was all "bosh." No one will argue from this that every boy who goes to Eton falls into a habit of lying. Of course there are exceptions, and always will be. There will always be boys whose sense of honour is strong enough to bear the trial; but we confess, reluctantly and sadly, that we do believe that a boy's truthfulness is in danger when exposed to the moral atmosphere of a public school. We fear that one of the earliest lessons which presents itself to a young boy's mind as he becomes familiarized with school ways is, "Magnum est mendacium et prævalebit," when he sees his schoolfellows escaping lessons or punishment by a lie or an equivocation. We fear, too, that between these there is too often a distinction drawn, which we need not say does not exist, except that of the two an equivocation is the more contemptible and the more dangerous, as it is more insidious. We have said this much, because, in comparing home with school education, we have not thought it right, from any public school feeling, to conceal what we believe to be the fact; parents can judge for themselves whether their boys can be safely exposed to this trial. Some perhaps hold that truthfulness is made stron er and keener by being broken. We confess we

have no faith in, nor sympathy with, such a theory. Truthfulness is not a habit gradually formed, in Aristotelic fashion. Lying is a habit, and one in which "*principiis obsta*" is the truest wisdom. We think too, that it is a point in school reform which requires attention, and that it would be an argument in favour of any scheme if it dealt even partially with it, both on account of its intrinsic importance, and because it baffles and paralyzes the best efforts of an energetic master to get the boys to work.

We are surprised that when the Commission descended, in its report, to so many minutiæ, we do not find in it any notice of, or suggestion on, this most important point. The fact is, that there is nothing which calls for more anxious care and thought on the part of the master or tutor, nothing which ought to be more cared for in a school, than the giving no encouragement to breaches of honour by allowing them to succeed, where honour is only a sham, without discouraging the sense of honour by seeming to distrust it where it really exists. Of course, if the *mendacium prævalebit* principle once obtains in a school, the difficulty of eradicating it is infinite. There is no greater practical difficulty in school administration than how the general rule of trusting to a boy's honour is to be applied to particular cases. Of course in theory it is easy enough, and we all know that Dr. Arnold acted upon it, and all his boys say that no one ever deceived him. But Dr. Arnold was a man among men, and very few men have the gift of obtaining the mastery over boys' minds as he had it, and we suspect that even the most able masters have found themselves puzzled how to deal with a boy who they are morally certain is telling a lie or equivocating, particularly when the boy brings the matter to an issue by an indignant "Do you doubt my honour, sir?" A master cannot but feel that by accepting, in such a case, such a boy's honour as a guarantee for his truthfulness, he would not only be allowing the culprit to escape a deserved and wholesome correction, but, which is of far more consequence, be giving encouragement to a breach of honour, and putting a serious temptation in the way of others. We repeat that it is a most difficult problem. There are many degrees between the stern incredulity of Dr. Keate—who, after trying to test the truth of some incredible statement by every variety of question, and having been met and foiled by every variety of asseverated denial, used to sum it all up with an emphatic "Then I don't believe you," as if it were the logical deduction from what had passed,—and the pathetic capitulation of his successor under similar circumstances, "Then I must believe you, though it's impossible." Perhaps the safe rule is that, if any questions are asked, the answer must be believed; but it is safer and wiser still to ask no questions of the culprit himself, to judge of the case by the facts

brought forward, to ask for no excuses and to accept none. We know that this method was pursued at one of our large public schools, and we believe with success. One point is, we think, quite certain, that a boy to whom a lie or an equivocation is brought home should be disgraced. This might do something towards keeping the atmosphere clear, and counteracting the temptations which, as long as work is enforced and discipline maintained by punishment, will always exist in schools.

Another danger to which a young boy is exposed in schools is the unfashionable vice of swearing. On this point too the witnesses we have spoken of above furnished very conclusive evidence; it was perfectly clear that they had been in society where swearing was habitual among themselves. Indeed they said as much, adding, with the gravest *naïveté*, that little fellows were always licked if they swore, that being a monopoly of the bigger boys, the privilege of an approach to years of discretion.

It is said, and with truth, that a boy will sooner or later, as a man, have to meet these temptations in the world; but it must be recollected that when he is called upon to meet them—say, on going to the University—his moral character is more formed, more strong in itself, more able to resist evil example; his principles are more fortified by reason, by habit, and by religion. Moreover, at the University he is able to keep out of the society of those who shock his moral sense; a young boy at Eton has no such option.

The case, then, between home and school education, as far as we have considered it, stands thus. At school he is early introduced to the realities and trials of life; he is brought into contact with others of the same age and position as himself, but bound to him by no particular ties; he learns that he has to fight his own way in his miniature world, and learns how to do it; he learns his strength and his weaknesses; he is taught to form his own plans, and order his own actions; he is taught self-confidence and self-dependence; he learns to discern character, and to adapt himself to others; he is brought into competition, and thus has a stimulus which a boy at home has not; he is thrown into sundry temptations: if he triumphs over them he comes out of them with increased strength for the battle of life; but it is a perilous trial; it is like throwing a boy into deep water to teach him to swim!

If a boy is kept at home, he is not necessarily exposed to these temptations at an age when the force of ridicule and the influence of example are strongest; he is not removed from the influences of home feelings and affections in his every-day life, which, generally speaking, are motives and guides to good; he is far less in danger of falling from good habits and falling into bad ones; he may

be trained and encouraged in habits of devotion; his sense of honour is less likely to be broken down; his training, both moral and intellectual, may be made more personal and individual, the weak points more carefully strengthened, the holes more carefully stopped, the strong points more brought out; his work may undoubtedly be made more interesting to him—at least, there is a possibility of its becoming so; his mind can be led to general literature and stored with general knowledge, of which ninety-nine schoolboys out of a hundred are utterly ignorant; he may be introduced to English poetry and history; he may be taught modern languages, either by a residence abroad or tuition at home; in the intervals of his home work—that is, in what would be school vacations—the facilities of travelling, at home or abroad, may introduce him to scenes and places and persons which will suggest new ideas and develop dormant powers within him; if school vacations were thus employed, the schoolboy would know nothing of his home.

It has been said, *per contra*, that a boy who has thus been kept at home is apt to break out when he goes—as sooner or later he must go—from home, and that home education has turned out a failure, inasmuch as the subjects of it have often distinguished themselves at the University by going faster than the fastest. That there have been such instances we have already admitted, but we doubt very much whether the proportion has been as great as in those who have come from public schools. We can, of our own knowledge, speak of many cases in which the University career of men who have been educated at home has told a very different tale; in fact, in our own experience, this has been so with the majority. One thing may be admitted, that when a young man comes up to the University without a practical knowledge of the value of money, and finds himself in command of a sum which seems inexhaustible, he is not unlikely, from want of that knowledge of the world which he might have acquired at school, to fall into extravagance and debt. But this may be guarded against in home education by giving the boy an allowance for personal expenses, and teaching him to keep accounts; and we are inclined to think that this will give him true notions of the value of money, and habits of economy, sooner than an amount of pocket-money which, large in itself, and often disproportioned to the means and prospects of the boy, is increased *ad infinitum* by the facilities of "tick," so tempting to a young boy, which always have existed and will exist at a large school. The most striking instances of economy at college, without meanness, which have come within our own cognizance, have been of boys not educated at a large school. Of course, if a boy is to be kept at home to be indulged—to be wrapped in silver paper in his mother's boudoir, or to run wild in rags with ragged boys—if he

has the misfortune to have a fast or careless father, or a foolish over-fond mother—if his father's time is engrossed by business or amusement, or if his mother shrinks from exposing her darling to the hardships of a public school—if his companions in his home life are to be those beneath him in mind and manners—if his education is to be committed to an underpaid tutor, he ought to be packed off to school at once; he will only encounter there, in a less demoralizing form, the same evils he will have to encounter at home.

We have said thus much, on what we believe to be a subject of general interest, in order to place the *pros* and *cons* fairly side by side. We have before said that we do not think the balance is so decidedly in favour of the public school as formerly. We are almost inclined, in spite of public school associations or prejudices, to think the balance is now under favourable conditions, the other way; at all events, we feel convinced that the disadvantages necessarily attendant on home education are very much less than they were.

There is, however, yet another point to be taken into account before the balance can be fairly struck, another danger to be thought about before a boy is sent to a public school, at least, to one of the higher class: the utter want of any obligation to work, the inveterate idleness, the utter fruitlessness of years of supposed education: but this is too large a subject to be entered upon at present, it must be reserved for future consideration.

W. E. JELF.

RECENT POETRY.

FIRST ARTICLE.

WHATEVER may be the yield of our arable this harvest season, there can be no doubt that the crop of poetry is over the average. It is not so very long since Keats told us that the number of poets was complete, and the roll was in Apollo's hand. Yet since then we have had Tennyson and Browning, and a multitude of lesser names of those who have followed, not unworthily, after their steps: constituting a school of poets and poetesses of which no age need be ashamed. And to this school additions of no mean value are being continually made. Whether in objective descriptive power, or in subjective introspection of thought, the last generation would have striven in vain to match some of those who stand far below the top of our present list. And in mentioning these two qualities, while we have been specifying exactly the defects of the past day, we have indicated tendencies which threaten, if not kept in check, to prove the disease of our own. The minute analysis, on the one hand of outward phenomena, on the other of the processes of thought and feeling, is doubtless good as exercise for the writer's powers; and, if he have those powers in vigour and under command, may issue in true poetry: but in the absence of vigour, or of judgment, must necessarily degenerate into mediocrity or mannerism. Of each of these alternatives the books before us will furnish examples. We will take

them on the plan of alphabetical order, and endeavour to give an estimate of them all.

I.—*Thecla: a Drama.* By HENRY BLISS. London: Williams and Norgate. 1866.

This is professedly the last work of one who all his lifetime has wooed the Muses. His prologue shall speak for itself. We will criticise by anticipation one expression in the first line, and say that one who wooes the Muses should at least believe for the time in his own deities, and not, while he approaches them, call them the "*fabled* nine:"—

"Once more ye forked hills, ye fabled nine,
And glades and fountains, still in verse divine,
A votary comes, where others reap, to glean,
And fill his hand with blossoms else unseen,
And twine once more a garland for your cell,
And hymn thanksgiving and a last farewell.
This task alone remains. My space is spanned;
And time has touched my forehead with his brand;
And life's illusions, summer birds, have fled:
First, youth and love their pinions heavenward spread;
Then passed the flowers of theatre and feast;
Ambition faded next, and laughter ceased;
And now health threatens flight, and with it, worse!
The charm of beauty's power, and charm of verse.

"Peace to the rest! But how from thee to part,
Spirit of song, whose shrine is in my heart?
Thou, who hast cheered a life's laborious years,
My joys ennobled, chased away my tears,
My passions purified, my tastes refined,
And raised my morals, and enlarged my mind.
As oft beneath sea-beaten cliffs we met,
To eye the west when summer's sun was set,
And vivid clouds were varying hue and shape,
And ocean glowed as tinted of the grape:
Or met at morn in by-paths on the down,
Ere toil with smoke o'ercanopied the town:
Or met in midnight volumes all thine own,
Or the thronged playhouse, still with thee alone.
Thee, heaven-descended on the noonday's wings,
Each valley welcomed, thee the woods and springs,
Thee the bleak headlands, thee the glassy brine
Exulting hailed, and mixed their voice with thine—
Soft winds and conscious skies returned the call,
And the whole world's great presence throbbed through all."

These lines are evidently the work of a scholarly and cultivated mind. They are of the prize-poem order, and, in that order, above the average merit. The same estimate may serve for the whole drama. Something of its plot may be guessed from the title. The time chosen

is, the last days of the reign of Nero. In the author's arrangement, the divorce and banishment of Statilia, the accusation and death of Seneca, and the martyrdom of St. Paul, are closely followed by the murder of the monster himself, who has in vain attempted to persuade Thecla to take Statilia's place. The various characters discourse very much as we should expect, in heroic metre, and in faultless, if sometimes sensational language. We have a chorus of Christians, and a chorus of Pagans, who at certain intervals sing lyric odes. Of these we cannot speak highly. Their versification is laboured, and, at least in the case of the Christian strains, their matter is but commonplace. We extract the best specimen, which however in its epode labours, and seems as if, while copying one of the most beautiful and smoothest passages of Lucretius, it had aimed at reproducing the character of his baldest and roughest :—

"STROPHE.

"Goddess mother, from the portals
Of the starry courts above,
Charm of mortals and immortals,
Welcome, all-creative love!
At thine aspect azure ocean
Smiles, and smooths each wavy motion :
Winds are hushed to mute devotion;
Earth puts forth her flowers :
Vapours whiten, colours brighten,
O'er the heavenly bowers.

"ANTISTROPHE.

"Soon as spring unveils its beauties,
To the genial zephyr's sigh,
First to celebrate thy duties
Birds with music fill the sky.
Cattle next, with bound and bellow,
Spurn the pasture pied with yellow,
Stem the torrent to their fellow;
Air-born, sea-born swarms,
Imps of mountain, forest, fountain,
All obey thy charms.

"EPODE.

"But in dust when men were grovelling under Superstition's ban,
Who her head with scowls distorted thrust from heaven and threatened man,
'Twas a Greek first dared confront her, dared lift up his eye and soul,
Dared interrogate the phantom, and disown divine control.
Fearing neither fame of godhead, nor the murmurs of the thunder,
Which but urged him upward, onward; bursting nature's bars asunder,
Forth beyond the flaming walls that gird the universe's zone,
Forth he fared through all the regions of the infinite unknown.
Whence victorious back he brought us knowledge what to fear and hope,
What are fortune's limits, what is nature's law, and reason's scope.
Wherefore in her turn religion prostrate under foot is trod;
Death is vanquished, and the victory has exalted man to god."—(Pp. 40-2.)

Our general estimate of the work may be anticipated. It will please the scholar, as prolusions by a scholar's pen never can fail to do. In some passages its strains rise even to fine writing; but there seems to us to be nothing which can keep "Thecla" in memory, or give it a chance of surviving the first reading. For this, not the author's scholarship or his genius is to blame, but chiefly the utter hopelessness of investing that degenerate time, and the worthless actors in it, with an interest for our day. The only light which can bring it out for our eyes to rest on, is reflected from Christianity: and while

we have that shining on us from the Sun in heaven, we do not care to see it reflected in the soiled mirror of semi-pagan fiction.

II.—*Lyrical Fancies.* By S. H. BRADBURY (Quallon). London: Moxon & Co. 1866.

Mr. Bradbury has been favourably known before this under the signature here given. But we will confine ourselves to his present work: and will say that there is considerable lyrical merit and power in his "fancies." But he harps too much on one string—ἔρωτα μοῦνον ἤχει. The amount of amorous depiction in the volume is something out of all proportion. We have counted *twenty-one* separate descriptions of curls falling on shoulders: *seven,* of arms white as marble, &c. Really, in a little volume of two hundred pages, this is somewhat too much. We should advise Mr. Bradbury, in the next edition, to name his book the Cæsariad or the Bostrychiad, and to recite it for a prize at the next hair-dressers' soirée at the Hanover Square Rooms. In one place, we presume by misadventure, the lover declares to his lady that he is—

> "Heedless of care when *clapsing* (*sic*) thee."

But we willingly return to praise. Mr. Bradbury really can write charming lyrics. But he wants discipline: *limæ laborem:* discretion in the *choice* of his subjects, and somewhat unsparing self-denial in the treatment of them. The leading poem in his volume, "Lady Vale," is unredeemably absurd. Every line should be erased and forgotten: or such as are spared, worked up in worthier company.

We hope to see Mr. Bradbury again under better auspices. Nature furnishes him with abundant material: and he knows how to use it, if he pleases:—but, O Mr. Bradbury, beware the curls—ἀπέχου τῆς ληκύθου!

III.—ROBERT BUCHANAN'S POEMS.—*Undertones.* Second Edition. 1865.—*Idyls and Legends of Inverburn.* Second Edition. 1866. —*London Poems.* 1866. London: Strahan.

A capital text for a critique on Mr. Buchanan's poems may be found in an amusingly stupid notice in a paper called *The Press,* inserted, naïvely enough, among the "testimonies" at the end of these volumes: —"In the monotonous dulness of his blank verse there is nothing noticeable, except occasionally a most unpoetic vulgarity. But when he comes to rhyme, Mr. Buchanan is infinitely silly, without the excuse of being musical."

We are happy to say that this dullard stands almost alone. The acknowledgment of Mr. Buchanan's genius has been all but universal.

But what he says,—worthy of the distinguished critic who pronounced "In Memoriam" to be "the feeble tribute of a sentimental wife to her apparently commonplace husband,"—has managed just to hit the very opposites of Mr. Buchanan's characteristics both in blank verse and in rhyme. There is much variety of modulation in his blank verse, and a pathetic power, to which the verse of some whom he has made his models is a stranger. He began, in his "Undertones," by lavish imitations of Keats: or perhaps we ought rather to say, he threw himself into that peculiar mythological mood of which Keats had set the example: for there is no servile imitation, but evidently continual remembrance. In the spirited prologue "To David in Heaven," he ranges Keats with Milton, who, however, has had less share in moulding his verse. One specimen only shall be given of this period of his poetry: one which will show alike the beauties and the defects of his versification and imagery. Pygmalion speaks:—

"As Ocean murmurs when the storm is past
And keeps the echoed thunders many days,
My solitude was troublous for a time:
Wherefore I should have harden'd; but the clay
Grew to my touch, and brighten'd, and assumed
Fantastic images of natural things,
Which, melting as the fleecy vapours melt
Around the shining cestus of the moon,
Made promise of the special shape I loved.
Withdrawing back, I gazed. The unshaped stone
Took outline in the dusk, as rocks unhewn
Seen from afar thro' floating mountain mists
Gather strange forms and human lineaments.
And thus mine eye was filled with what I sought
As with a naked image, thus I grew
Self-credulous of the form the stone would wear,
And creeping close I strove to fashion clay
After the vision. Day and night, I drew
New comfort from my grief; my tears became
As honey'd rain that makes the woodbine sweet,
Until my task assumed a precious strength,
Wherewith I fortified mine inner ear
Against the pleadings of the popular tongue
That babbled at my door; and when there dawn'd
A hand as pure as milk and cold as snow,
A small white hand, a little lady hand,
That peep'd out perfect from the changing mass,
And seem'd a portion of some perfect shape
Unfreed, imprison'd in the stone,—I wept
Warm tears of utter joy, and kiss'd the hand,
As sweet girl-mothers kiss the newly-born,
Weak as a mother. Then I heard no more
The murmurous swarm beneath me, women and men;
But, hoarded in my toil, I counted not
The coming and the going of the sun:
Save when I swoon'd to sleep before the stone,

> And dream'd, and dreaming saw the perfect shape
> Emblazon'd, like the rainbow in a stream,
> On the transparent tapestry of sleep."—(Pp. 170-2.)

Mr. Buchanan's first published volume is almost wholly of this kind: mostly lyrical, but all given to the mythological and ideal. His lyrical pieces are very unequal. Sometimes we have melody worthy of Keats or of Tennyson; and then all is marred by roughness and incongruity, which makes us wonder that the same hand could have been guilty of it. The best piece in the book, to our mind, is "Iris the Rainbow." We give just a taste of it:—

> "Thence, with drooping wings bedew'd,
> Folded close about my form,
> I alight with feet unview'd
> On the ledges of the storm;
> For a moment, cloud-enroll'd,
> Mid the murm'rous rain I stand,
> And with meteor eyes behold
> Vapoury ocean, misty land;
> Till the thought of Zeus outsprings
> From my ripe mouth with a sigh,
> And unto my lips it clings
> Like a shining butterfly;
> When I brighten, gleam, and glow,
> And my glittering wings unfurl,
> And the melting colours flow
> To my foot of dusky pearl;
> And the ocean mile on mile
> Gleams thro' capes and straits and bays,
> And the vales and mountains smile,
> And the leaves are wet with rays,—
> While I wave the humid Bow
> Of my wings with flash of fire,
> And the Tempest, crouch'd below,
> Knows the thought of Zeus the Sire."
> —(Pp. 93-4.)

But it is not in this material that Mr. Buchanan's power is greatest. It may be well that he should not abandon it altogether. Its rich luscious character may be reflected sometimes with advantage on his more homely strains, and the higher descriptions of human feeling may gain by being blended with similitudes and reminiscences from his old mythological studies. We see that he still lingers about "Olumpos" (as he rather unfortunately calls it); for we have at the very end of his last volume, "London Poems," one in the old strain entitled "The Gift of Eos;" and we are pleased to see that, while it must be confessed that in some passages of it his fault of metrical harshness almost culminates, it shews in other parts considerable advances, both in sweetness and in power. Witness the speech of Tithonos:—

> "Ye brighten, O ye columns round about!
> Ye melt in purple shades, arches and towers!
> Cloud-roof, thou partest, and white hands slip out,
> Scattering pearls and flowers!
> Brighter and brighter, blazing red and gold,
> Purple and amethyst, that float and fly!—
> While, creeping in, a dawn-wind fresh and cold
> Pours silver o'er the couch whereon I lie!
> Afar the coming of Apollo grows!
> His breath lifts up my hair! my pulses beat!
> My beard is moist with dews divinely sweet,
> My lap is fill'd with sparkling leaves of rose,
> Wherein my fingers, witherèd and sere,

Grope palsiedly in joy!—Afar I hear
The low, quick breathing that the earth is making—
Eastward she turns her dewy side, awaking.
But thou! but thou!
Insufferably brightening!
Thy feet yet bathed in moist still shade, thy brow
Glistening and lightening,
Thy luminous eyes enlarging, ring on ring
Of liquid azure, and thy golden hair
Unfolding downward, curl on curl, to cling
Around thy silken feet rose-tipt and bare!
Thy hands stretch'd out to catch the flowers down-flowing,
Thy blushing look on mine, thy light green vest
In balmy airs of morning backward blowing
From one divine white breast!
The last star melts above thee in the blue,
The cold moon shrinks her horn, as thou dost go
Parnassos-ward, flower-laden, dripping dew,
Heralding him who cometh from below!"—(Pp. 268-9.)

We now pass to Mr. Buchanan's "Idyls," of which the greater part of his two more recent volumes is made up. This kind of poem, latent in the episodes of larger poems from the first, was brought out into separate being in modern English poesy by Wordsworth and Southey, and burnished into beauty by Tennyson, whose "Dora" is the prototype of many and many an imitation. The vein is immensely rich, ranging from the dark hue of weird gloom, through the various tender tints of sadness, and brightening pathos, even to the cheeriest sparkling ore of comic, and festive, and bacchanalian moods. Our English and American poets are working it well: perhaps rather overworking it, as is natural. But none, with the exception of one or two great masters of the art, at their very best time, have brought out a better sample than Mr. Buchanan.

Perhaps the very best in the two volumes is the first; the touching story of "Willie Baird." The old schoolmaster of Inverburn tells how the "tiny, trembling tot, with yellow hair," sent to his school one day, won the way to his heart, and brought back upon him former and better thoughts, causing him to "read his Bible more, and Euclid less:" how Willie, and Donald his dog, came day by day across the fields all the summer, and into the winter. What follows, we can hardly forbear giving our readers; but it is difficult to break out a piece from so pure and perfect a work.

"One day in school I saw,
Through threaded window-panes, soft, snowy flakes
Swim with unquiet motion, mistily, slowly,
At intervals; but when the boys were gone,
And in ran Donald with a dripping nose,
The air was clear and grey as glass. An hour
Sat Willie, Donald, and myself around

> The murmuring fire, and then with tender hand
> I wrapt a comforter round Willie's throat,
> Button'd his coat around him close and warm,
> And off he ran with Donald, happy-eyed
> And merry, leaving fairy prints of feet
> Behind him on the snow. I watched them fade
> Round the white curve, and, turning with a sigh,
> Came in to sort the room and smoke a pipe
> Before the fire. Here, dreamingly and alone,
> I sat and smoked, and in the fire saw clear
> The norland mountains, white and cold with snow
> That crumbled silently, and moved, and changed,—
> When suddenly the air grew sick and dark,
> And from the distance came a hollow sound,
> A murmur like the moan of far-off seas."—(Pp. 15-16.)

The sequel must be told in a few words. Dark fears cross the mind of the loving dominie. At last,—

> "But, hush!
> Above the moaning of the wind I heard
> A sudden scraping at the door; my heart
> Stood still and listen'd; and with that there rose
> An awsome howl, shrill as a dying screech,
> And scrape-scrape-scrape, the sound beyond the door!
> I could not think—I could not breathe—a dark,
> Awful foreboding gript me like a hand,
> As opening the door I gazed straight out,
> Saw nothing, till I felt against my knees
> Something that moved, and heard a moaning sound—
> Then, panting, moaning, o'er the threshold leapt
> Donald the dog, alone, and white with snow.
>
> "Down, Donald! down, old man!—Sir, look at him!
> I swear he knows the meaning of my words,
> And though he cannot speak, his heart is full!
> See now! see now! he puts his cold black nose
> Into my palm and whines! he knows, he knows!
> Would speak, and cannot, but he minds that night!"—(Pp. 17-18.)

The rest may be surmised: we unwillingly abstain from quoting the beautiful lines in which it is told.

This one extract must suffice for a specimen of Mr. Buchanan's idyls. But our readers must not imagine that they are all in the pathetic strain. Some indeed we have, which may vie with "Willie Baird" in its own kind. We would instance "Poet Andrew," and "The Two Babes," and "Hugh Sutherland's Pansies;" and in his later volume, "The Scaith o' Bartle." But we have also some of a cheery aspect, "The Little Milliner" being the gem: some also of a satirical turn, as "Attorney Sneak."

We must not conclude our notice of Mr. Buchanan, without saying something of his power in the "eerie" world of legend, and the land of fancy. The "Legends" are interspersed among the idyls in his second volume. We suppose these legends were referred to by

the wiseacre in *The Press*, when he said, "When he comes to rhyme, Mr. Buchanan is infinitely silly, without the excuse of being musical." To us, they seem capital samples of the fairy ballad, such as nurses might sing to their children, or one might tell to another in the great chimney-corner, when Christmas winds are screaming angrily without.

There is one poem in the last volume differing in character from any that we have noticed: "The Death of Roland." There seems to us to be in this poem a wonderful power of catching the spirit of the sad and dreary scene, and of putting on the very dream itself of old chivalry: a power which is notably seen in the "Idyls of the King," and especially in the magnificent closing poem of that series. But Tennyson himself could not more terribly, and at the same time more gently, have prepared the way for the mood which finds its utterance in the last plaintive line—

"Roland is dead, the gentle knight! dead is the crown of men!"

We have spoken plainly and heartily of Mr. Buchanan. We hope to have to say of him higher things yet in the same strain. He stands out eminent from among the names now before us, a true poet; of considerable, and we would fain think, waxing power. He will excuse us for giving him one piece of friendly counsel. Let him carefully cultivate his versification, and attend to it more than he ever has yet done. It is not his best point; but with care, it might become worthy of him. Let him look at the magnificent organ which is wielded by Tennyson. Let him observe how in him, whenever there is a failing cadence, it is because the poet is sounding deeper melodies than the ear at first expected: how there is no accidental roughness, no neglect of the accent which the ear expects, but rather a satisfying, and educating the ear. Let Mr. Buchanan aim at the same carefulness and the same faultlessness, and we are not afraid that he will fail.*

* We cannot forbear, while treating of Mr. Buchanan, giving a "deliverance" respecting his recent article in the *Fortnightly Review* on "Literary Immorality." In maintaining that a literary work, which deals with things immoral, *is or is not immoral itself, according as the writer is or is not sincere*, he seems to us to have gone but half way in describing what is after all only part of the matter in consideration. Far better the writer of the critique in the *Spectator* on his article, who makes the distinction to lie between work which is created purely by the imagination, and that in which individual evil, or sensual tendencies, are allowed to break through the artistic veil of fiction. But even thus we have, as we hinted above, advanced but part of the way. The immorality of literature depends not wholly on the writer, but also somewhat on the readers: and by this latter consideration—*who are the readers?*—an author's responsibility must in some sort be judged. On the one hand, coarse writers in a coarse age might be esteemed pure in comparison with others far surpassing them; but the same would be unquestionably immoral in tendency in a purer age: and on the other hand, descriptions and allusions might fall harmless on the ear of an age of healthy moral tone, which would be mischievous under less favourable circumstances. And what is true of different ages

IV.—*A Waif on the Stream.* By S. M. BUTCHERS. London: Trübner & Co. 1866.

We are afraid that this is a waif which no lord of the manor will care to claim. There are a few scattered thoughts here and there worth writing perhaps in a friend's album; but the whole performance, metre, diction, and all, is far below the mark of "justifiable publication." A very few specimens will bear out this estimate:—

> "For I speak to the world with my *sonorous* tongue."—(P. 17.)

> "And while 'mid the waters men struggle with death,
> Our heart it stands still, *suspended's* our breath:
> And we feel, as we look, that distraught is our brain,
> *And we pray that such sights we may ne'er see again.*"—(P. 23.)

> "He has said to me, 'Forget!'
> He has told me not to let
> *His image in my heart have a place.*"—(P. 24.)

This last for smoothness of metre. As for rhyme, our authoress seems to think that "known" and "home," and "throne" and "home" are admissible. For pathos take the following:—

> "These very stars were shining
> As, my sister's arms *entwining*
> *Me*, I told her the tale o'er and o'er,
> Just where, and how, I met him,—
> That I could ne'er forget him,—
> *But she'll never hear the tale any more!*"—(P. 74.)

This to our mind is the gem of all. It occurs in an elegy on Lord Palmerston, beginning, "Leaning upon her shield Britannia weeps:"—

> "Rest then, my Temple, rest: no care for me
> Shall e'er disturb thee on that farther shore:
> Oh, long will England feel the want of thee,
> *But thou of England—never, never more!*"

V.—*Hebrew Idyls and Dramas.* Originally published in "Fraser's Magazine." By M. J. CHAPMAN, M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Saunders and Otley. 1866.

Mr. Chapman has long been favourably known as the author of some good verses and translations. We do not think the present volume will add to his repute. The Scripture stories which are

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is true also of different classes of readers. Such considerations obviously make literary immorality a relative question, and one of much complication and difficulty. The clue to the various entanglements which beset it undoubtedly is, that *a good artist must be a good man.* All that such an one describes, be it ever so unconventional, will escape being immoral, by the goodness of the artist. But this amounts to a "counsel of perfection:" and, considering that all artists, and all men, are not "*good,*" but "*more or less good,*" it leaves the question much where it was before.

expanded into these idyls are for the most part told in a very bald prosaic manner: and the additions to them in the way of poetic description are stilted and out of taste. If the best of these idyls had been sent in as sole candidate for a prize at Oxford or Cambridge, or even at any considerable public school, we presume to say that no prize would have been adjudged; and we do not know that we could have given much fainter praise. The following is an average specimen:—

> "Her train went on before, and she did follow:
> And it so chanced that when she turned the hollow
> Which the hill screened, lo! David and his men
> Were rushing down into the quiet glen.
> When she saw David, from the ass she lighted,
> And bowed down, self-possessed, though sore affrighted,
> And said in gentle tones of supplication,
> Which oft will turn aside man's indignation," &c., &c.—(P. 46.)

This is all the less tolerable, as we have of late had far more worthy representations of Old Testament story from Professor Plumptre and others. But Mr. Chapman's offences are not all on the side of defect; he is guilty also of sins against taste, and of unconscious perpetrations of the ludicrous. In his idyl of Susanna, the speech of the Elders is introduced—

> "And thus the hoar Antiquities declared."

In the next page they have adopted another abstract surname:—

> "Nor those Iniquities the next day trembled," &c.

On the threatening of Heliodorus's sacrilege, the "virgin beauties" of Jerusalem—

> " . . . tossed their white arms wildly in the air,
> Unconscious that their lovely necks were bare."

And in "The Bride," a dramatic idyl, which assumes the dangerous form of a versification of the Book of Canticles, the following lines occur:—

> "We have a little sister, small and lean,
> In whom no budding womanhood is seen.
> When she is spoken of what shall we do
> When the contracted lover comes to woo?"

And in Tobias and the Angel, we are treated to this:—

> "But blindness fell on him from what men call
> An accident, though the true sage denies
> That chance can ever be, and holds that all
> Our haps are providences in disguise:
> For, while he slept, some sparrows on the wall
> Quietly muted in his open eyes.
> But, since his wife would sometimes talk past bearing,
> Old Tobit would have better spared his hearing."

We are bound to say that the two dramatic sketches, "Jephtha's Daughter" and "Esther," are better conceived, and written in a higher strain, than anything else in the book.

VI.—*Lays of the English Cavaliers.* By JOHN J. DANIELL, Perpetual Curate of Langley Fitzurse, Wilts. Oxford and London: James Parker & Co. 1866.

The poetry of the war-ballad has now, through Macaulay and Aytoun, become familiarized among us; and it is one of those kinds of verse where the imitator finds easy and speedy work. This little volume, both from its exterior and interior, will, we dare say, become a drawing-room favourite. Exteriors we do not undertake to describe; but inwardly, the book is of those which exalt the first Charles into a spotless saint, and sow broadcast among the leaders of the Parliament the epithets of *traitor, rebel, false beast, rebellious wolf-hounds*, &c. The estimate of history upheld by Mr. Daniell may be judged by this stanza:—

> "And saints have died in fire, and freely spent
> Their blood to life's last drop for faith alone:
> But purer soul than Strafford's never went
> Before the great white throne."

The ballad versification of the book is respectable, though not in any way noticeable. Some of the "Lays" are in blank verse: of that we can hardly say as much. It hardly maintains an equable mediocrity.

VII.—*Bertha Devreux: a Tale of the Wars of the Roses.* London: Bentley. 1866.

This is a narrative poem, in six cantos, and in heroic measure. It is of that kind which schoolboys call "stodgy;" requiring immense energy, and a sentinel's power of watchfulness, to penetrate. Its character may be divined by one or two specimens which occur in the small portion that we have been able to bring ourselves to master:—

> "His wife, whose love so oft had smoothed his brow,
> With kindred angels slept in heaven now."—(P. 6.)

We were not aware that angels "slept" in heaven. If anything could induce them to do so, it would certainly be the company of Bertha Devreux's mother, if she at all resembled her daughter, as set before us in this poem. This maiden is nourished up on old romantic legends,—

> "With a due mixture of magicians fell,
> Of giants and of fabled beasts as well;
> Of fairies, gnomes, and *beings of the kind*
> *That have attractions for the youthful mind.*"—(P. 13.)

She has a lover, who also acts as her tutor:—

> "Whiles would he snatch a lamb, and make a show
> The struggling creature in the stream to throw:
> But when he caught her soft, imploring eye,
> Would let it loose again, and feign to cry.
> Whiles would he seek, more seriously inclined,
> Imparting knowledge to improve her mind:
> *In her own books explain the parts obscure,*
> *Or show her books she had not seen before.*"—(P. 14.)

Really we feel as if we could do without further knowledge of what happened to a maiden who was the subject of such "coaching," even though it be an incident in the "Wars of the Roses;" and we are much mistaken if the public be not of the same mind as ourselves.

VIII.—*The Story of a Life, and other Works, chiefly Poetical.* By WILLIAM ALFRED GIBBS. London: Bennett. 1866.

This book is somewhat difficult to characterize. In parts it is absurd beyond conception; in others it is undoubtedly clever, and shows much power, both of imagination and verse. Mr. Gibbs is "*supra metricam*," as a certain Elector of Brandenburgh was "*supra grammaticam*." In his blank verse, "With their own wills and passions," and "Of herself, and her own wants and needs unconscious," form two consecutive lines. But the long poem in which these irregularities, and many others, occur, bears, however painful its subject, many traces of genius, and shews much power of versification. The character of the blank verse reminds one of Wordsworth's "Prelude." Its descriptive power may be judged by the following extract:—

> "These then were saved from out that first sad wreck;
> And for the raft they sailed in, 'twas a home
> Quiet and unpretentious, far aloof
> From all the wild excitement miscalled life:
> Placed on a hill-top where the gentle South
> Had ample access for her soothing breezes,
> But sheltered from all keen or boisterous winds
> By belts of woods, through which wound shady walks
> Beneath tall avenues of tapering limes,
> Whose branches in symmetric bendings formed
> High Gothic arches, casting flecks of shade
> From every leaf thickly as flakes of snow
> Upon the moss-bound stones of ancient paths.
> Within the wooded belts and round the house,
> The lawns and pleasure-gardens nestled close
> Up to the very windows, out of which
> One step transferred you to the velvet sward.
> No formal geometric lines distressed
> The eyes that love the soft and flowing curves
> Which blend, with easy grace, nature with art;
> But here and there an ivy-covered urn,

Or pillar on a massive pedestal,
Told of men's hands, once busy, now at rest.
Sometimes a range of grey stone balustrade,
Sometimes a crescent of green leafy arches,
Parted the gardens to their several uses,
For flowers, thickets, archery, or bowls.
Southward and eastward the pleased eye could range
Over the spreading lawns, adown broad glades,
Across a wide extent of pasture land,
On to a dreamy forest, where the trees,
Bathed in the morning dews, awoke refreshed,
Slept through the hot noon's gleaming, quivering haze,
Then caught the last rays of the setting sun,
And holding them transfused in glowing mist,
Vanished away, by mellow distance blended
Into ideal softly falling night:
Westward and north a sheltered terrace walk,
Far from the house, approached by avenues,
Opened a varied scene of deep-down vale
(Through which the glistening river took its way),
And slowly undulating country sides
Dotted with homesteads, woodlands, villages;
Then in mid distance, the old market town
Seemed clustering round the grey cathedral spire;
While in the far horizon shone the sea."—(Pp. 70-2.)

The folly of some parts of the book is almost beyond belief—take this as a specimen:—

"Fallen from our first estate,
Thy power alone can reinstate—
O *Lord* make haste to help us!

"We are not worthy of Thy care,
But yet we seek it in our prayer—
O Lord *make* haste to help us!

"Our lives are short, our duties many,
Without God's speed can we do any?—
O Lord make *haste* to help us!

"Our way is rough, the pathway straight (*sic*)
By which we seek the narrow gate—
O Lord make haste to *help* us!"—(P. 353.)

In the midst of the verse is inserted a "drama longè insulsissimum," as Porson said, entitled "Lost and Won," and written in plain prose.

The whole book, notwithstanding some good passages in the longer poem, is not one to raise the average of the poetry of the present year.

IX.—*Duke Ernest, a Tragedy; and Other Poems.* By ROSAMOND HERVEY. London: Macmillan & Co. 1866.

The principal poem in this volume is founded on the excommunication and catastrophe of Duke Ernest of Swabia, in the eleventh

century. The author tells us in her preface, that "it differs from Uhland's tragedy (on the same subject) in its motives, aims, and most of its characters, and has departed more widely from the historical facts of Duke Ernest's life; but it resembles the German play in three of its situations—the pronouncing of the ban and excommunication in the Roman Hall, the meeting of Ernest and Werner in the Black Forest, and the death of the two friends on the field of battle. But whilst these situations are alike in both plays, the method of treating them is entirely different in each."

We have thus far particularized, because Miss Hervey's tragedy is well worthy of perusal. We can hardly be wrong in thinking that the general pattern for modern historical dramas has been "Philip van Artevelde;" and we trace no faint resemblance to that admirable poem in some passages in Miss Hervey's volume. But the imitation is not such as to deprive her play of claim to originality. Her blank verse is very good and vigorous, and her dramatic power considerable. The excommunication scene, in which the Duke incurs that most terrible of all sentences rather than sacrifice his friend, is really fine. It is too long for us to extract, and it will not bear abridging. We give one or two passages which may serve as specimens of Miss Hervey's verse:—

"Despair and I so long have been betrothed,
It seems half-treason to divorce from her,
And wed with Hope. I tremble in my joy,
As though I stood upon the verge of guilt,
Or some undreamed-of sorrow."—(P. 20.)

"Not long shall we be parted, for I know
My hours are few: long frayed by gnawing grief,
To-day's brief joy hath worn so fine and thin
My cord of life, that, at a touch, 'twill snap."—(P. 130.)

"*Werner.* My lord, our foes are arming.
Duke Ernest. Let them arm:
'Twill be the sooner over. Friend, dost think
That after death the troubles now endured
Will seem but dreams, or better, be forgot?
Wer. I should be sorry if our struggles here
Should seem but dreams hereafter, for they are
My holiest memories. Why, sir, desire
Forgetfulness of sorrows which our hearts
Have freely chosen? Let the wicked ask
Death to obliterate their lives, but we
Have no need, Ernest, to implore such boon.
Duke E. Thou say'st it, Werner; yet I cannot tell;
For, since last night, I am disturbed in mind,
And see not clearly what for man is best—
Whether to eat, and sleep, and live at ease,
Or fast, wake, labour, combat, and so die.
For what good end have my sore troubles served?
Is any man the better for my woes?

Nay, rather, have I not, pursuing good,
Brought loss and grief on many, and involved
In my self-chosen ruin those I love?
Had I remained content to rule and reign
As other princes, leaving ancient ills
Unchallenged in their time-built fastnesses,
Thou, I, and Sybil had led happier lives,
And many men whose blood this day will flow,
Had lived to die in quiet in their beds.
Have thoughts like these ne'er troubled thee, my friend?

Wer. Never, my lord! they are of time, and I
Have grasped the sure eternity of life,
Both of mankind and of the single man.
Yea, if alone each generation stood—
No ancestors before, no children after—
It might be wise for each to seek his own;
Because a lifetime is too short to work
The good we aim at, and no man would heir
Our efforts, and conduct them to their end.
But 'tis not thus: each generation binds
The past unto the future—and although
Men's lives are short, *man's* life is long, and ere
It is lived out, there will be time enow—
If each new race brings forth a score of sons
Willing to toil and perish—there will be
Time to build up the stones we've roughly hewn
Into a holy temple. Grieve not then,
Most noble Ernest, though our lives be sad,
And all our work but failure: for we've sowed
Seed which in after time shall bear much fruit.
Have you been cheered with visions of success?
I never dreamed that we should triumph, friend;
I knew we aimed too high: but, on the ground
Strewn with our arrows, raised by those sad wrecks
Above our present level, I behold
The master archer who shall cleave the mark.
Be this your comfort: it sufficeth me."—(Pp. 138-40.)

"Duke Ernest" is followed by another tragedy, formed from the incidents of Italian brigandage. An elder brother who has adopted that lawless life, visits his home, impelled by love towards his younger brother: and by wild stories, and taunts, tempts that younger brother to follow him. The novice soon surpasses the veterans in crime, and before long, stung by the taunts of this brother, imbrues his hands in blood. At last, while the boy is sleeping exhausted on the floor of the prison, the elder brother prevails on the accomplices to uphold him in declaring the youth innocent, and sacrifices himself as the guilty one for the victim of his fatal persuasion. This victim himself is eventually brought to repentance, and seeks but too late to prevent the self-sacrifice of his brother. There is abundant underplot, managed with considerable tact and skill.

These two plays are followed by a few poems: so few, as to produce a tantalising effect, and make us look eagerly for Miss Hervey's next venture.

X.—*The King's Highway, and other Poems.* By FREDERICK GEORGE LEE, Author of "Petronilla," "The Martyrs of Vienne and Lyons," "Poems," &c. London: Bosworth. 1866.

None can maintain that Mr. F. G. Lee is a perspicuous writer. We no sooner open his book than we are met by most perplexingly ambiguous participles, hanging pendant between nouns, on the principle of "How happy could I be with either." Thus in his very first lines:—

> "A fishing village by the northern sea.
> Precipitous rocks rise ruggedly along
> Miles both to north and south, save where a stream,—
> Sourced in the inland mountains, clothed in mist,
> Seeming so purple in the setting sun."—(P. 3.)

What is *clothed in mist?* what *seems so purple?* the *stream*, as the direct construction would have it? No, but the *mountains.* Then in the next page:—

> "Here lived within the wide walls of a tower,
> Unruined only where wide ruins lay,
> Last of his race, the laird of many a mile
> Southward and northward by the moaning sea.
> They who had gone before, when turrets rose
> With frowning crests on massive boulder-stones,
> Known to the whole wide country north and south,
> For truth and bravery and faith and love."—(P. 4.)

What was *unruined,*—the *tower,* or the *laird?* What were *known,* —the *turrets,* or *they who had gone before?*

He thus describes the congregation assembling in a conventicle:—

> "The sheep, half-washed, in-straggle at the door
> Sharp-hinged and flapping, recognising those
> With homely nod, or grin demure or broad,
> Whose backs are pushed against the upright pens,
> But faces doorwards ever when it swings."—(P. 33.)

This fairly beats all parsing. "Half-washed" of course applies to "the sheep." Mr. F. G. Lee, whoever he may be (it is at least an odd coincidence, that a great champion of ritualism should share the same name—how dismayed he must be at the chance of this volume being attributed to him!), has an evident objection that any but the wholly washed should come to a place of worship. But is it *the sheep* or is it *the door,* which are, or is, "sharp-hinged (?) and flapping?" And what on earth is it, that "faces doorwards ever when it swings?" On the one hand, how can a door "face doorwards when it swings?" On the other, if "faces" be a noun, and mean, the *faces of the people*

whose backs had been just mentioned, what is "*it?*" The last thing mentioned was the "grin demure (how can a *grin* be *demure?*) or broad." But who ever saw a grin *swing?*

Here is another sentence out of which we altogether fail to extract any definite meaning:—

> "In valleys erewhile green, the slender shaft,
> The stately arch, the resurrection-line
> Up-pointing, tell of heaven and its King,
> Where lucid waters babble o'er the rocks,
> Broader where pools mirror the azure sky,
> Narrow and riotous in gorges deep,
> The same old tale is writ on carvèd stones."—(P. 29.)

And so we might go on almost throughout the whole book.

Sometimes, Mr. F. G. Lee treats us to a little profanity: as, *e.g.*, in these lines:—

> "Or, dipping deeper in sectarian lore,
> Draws up the blessed doctrines of free grace,
> A modern, feeble, legless phantasm,—
> Man a machine, worked only by his God,
> A plough, a wheel; owns vegetable life:
> Is not the potter potent with his clay?
> Sure, he but does what wills he, with his own!"—(Pp. 34-5.)

where he does not seem to be aware that the last words which he caricatures are words of Holy Scripture. This is perhaps natural for a layman, especially as he also seems to be a Roman Catholic: for he says of poor Faber:

> "He loved thee, Oxford, for thine ancient faith,
> And deeper still the *Church's central home*—
> *Mighty, mysterious, mystic, holy Rome,*—
> *Potent in life, and powerful still in death.*"

We said, *seems* to be a Roman Catholic: for the last line somewhat puzzles us. If it apply to Faber, its truth might be questionable: if to Rome, could a Romanist say that she is *dead?* But as we advance we find a hymn to the Virgin, in which fishermen are made to argue out the bases of Mariolatry, and decide in its favour:—

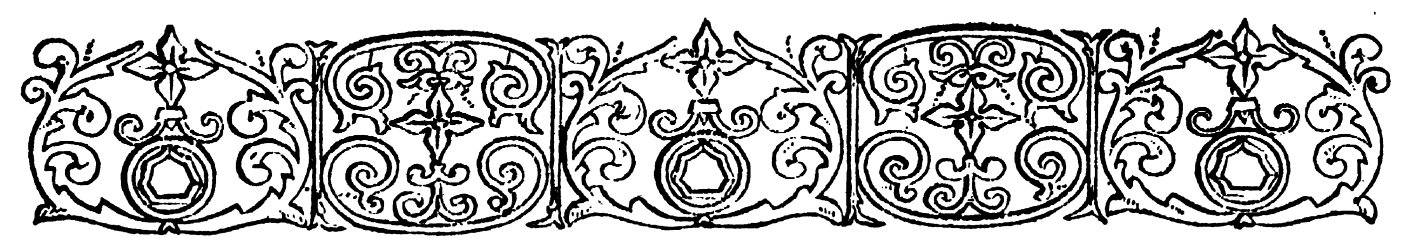
> "Advocate Thou art sure,
> Undefiled Dove,
> Mother of God, all pure,
> Thee let us love:
> Plead for us, pray for us,
> Trackless the way,
> Kindly words say for us
> Day after day.
>
> 'He is Thy Son, and Thou
> Gavest Him birth,
> He is Thy God, and now
> Rules o'er the earth;
> He, as the Son of Man,
> Needed Thy care;
> Yet as Thy God He can
> Answer Thy prayer." (Pp. 62-3.)

This seems to make our guess certain. Moreover we have, farther on, a set of sketches of the clergy, showing his contempt for and hatred of the Church of England, conceived in as vulgar and ill-con-

ditioned a tone as can well be imagined,—and entitled, "Amongst the Rooks." And the following lines take all doubt away:—

> "One came in time, all pure, a Mother-maid,
> For all whose common instinct told of peace,
> Her Son, the Son of God, with grace and aid
> For all who dreamt of a joyous day, when tears
> Should be for aye and ever wiped away;
> Yet passed from hence and never knew it break.
> When power of life for noxious weeds should cease,
> And fresh life live in this bleared world,—new birth,
> With lilies opened in the glare and shine
> Of diamond May or rosy June; and Earth
> Own once again Creation's Lord, Who was,
> Is, evermore shall be. Star, flower, and grass,
> The beauty of the trickling silver rill,
> And the months passing, consecrate to Him;
> The glory of the cloud-enveloped hill,
> And strange Creation's strangely-blended hymn.
> This now around, about—not face to Face;
> We see by faith in this short restless day,
> (God grant us near the Throne some lowly place!)
> His, hers; hers, His—close knit to Him by grace
> And love divine: She claims the Month of May."—(Pp. 122-3.)

We have not seen Mr. F. G. Lee's other volumes, which perhaps might have cast some light on the mystery of this one. As it is, there is some power in his verse, and here and there sweetness of thought: but we fairly own we cannot make him out. Much wants clearing away from his rhetorical, dogmatical, and "denominational" aspects, before we can see and talk with a living shape belonging to any known class among mankind.



THE NORTH SIDE OF THE LORD'S TABLE.

The North-Side of the Altar. By RICHARD FREDERICK LITTLEDALE, M.A., LL.D., Priest of the English Church. Fifth Edition. 1865.

"THERE is one piece of ritual the observance of which draws a bold line of distinction between two great bodies in the Church of England." So begins Dr. Littledale's "liturgical essay." Our purpose in referring to it, and in occupying our own and our readers' time in the discussion of a seemingly trivial matter, is to show that this piece of ritual has been taken up on mistaken grounds, and we do this in the hope that it may help towards removing one stumbling-block which stands in the way of that unity which all who call themselves Christian profess to desire. Some innovations assert a dormant right in the authorized practice of the national church before the reformation; others rely upon the modern decisions of the Roman congregation of rites, or are recommended by the supposed analogy of the temple service: but this, the westward position of the priest in front of the holy table throughout the administration of the Lord's Supper, challenges a statutable legality, and claims to be the necessary result of a loyal and instructed obedience to our present rubric. On this ground it has been adopted by many of our clergy, who have no inclination towards the less plausible innovations of which it is the usual accompaniment, or rather prelude, and who are neither prepared to allow the arguments which are brought forward to justify it, nor to accept the doctrines of which it is assumed to be the necessary expression.

We do not at all admit that there is any such necessary connection, and for our part have no doubt that the complaint of Cardinal Bona is as applicable now as when he wrote, that many ecclesiastical observances in his day were held to be law, which had imperceptibly crept in from some abuse ("que sensim ab abusu irrepserunt"), and that then, in modern times, the object was to find out sundry congruities and mystical reasons to make people believe there was some wise reason for their institution.* Nor is the westward position exclusively Romish; for, without going to the Eastern Church, we have the Nurenberg service-book of 1533, and other Lutheran *Agenda*, the liturgy which Archbishop Herman arranged with the help of Bucer, and our own first prayer-book, which were all drawn up to exclude the corruptions of the mass, and all equally prescribe standing before the altar.

The position is in itself altogether indifferent, and, being a matter of mere outward conformity, whatever was ordained from time to time, whether to stand north, east, or west, that might and ought to be observed, without reference to individual preferences; but what does influence us, is the principle laid down in our prayer-book, that "although the keeping or omitting of a ceremony, in itself considered, is but a small thing, yet the wilful and contemptuous transgression and breaking of a common order and discipline is no small offence before God;" and apart from this, and waiving the further question whether, in this country, and considering the diversity of times and manners, the restoration of the westward position would be any help to the devotion of the great body of worshippers, it certainly does look very like false antiquarianism to revert to a mediæval practice, which has not continuous use to recommend it, without caring to search out the earlier custom of the church. At the Reformation, standing in front of the altar, or—speaking in this and other instances without reference to the true points of the compass, in the case of imperfect or neglected orientation—the western position had long been established in this country, at least some time before it became general to place altars against a wall or stone screen, which Pugin considers not to have been yet the case in the thirteenth century.† In all probability the change of position may be traced partly to change in the doctrinal aspect of the eucharist, which dates from an earlier period, and partly to the circumstance that Latin had everywhere ceased to be the vulgar tongue. But be this as it may, and passing by the question as to the Eastern Church, it may be very clearly proved that in the West the priest originally stood beyond, or, as we now are accustomed to call it, behind the altar, and, as is

* Bona, "Rerum Liturg.," lib. 2, vii. 3.

† "Glossary," p. 9.

directed in our present rubric with reference to breaking the bread, performed the manual rites "before the people."

With respect to the practice in the catacombs, we refer to Cardinal Wiseman's description of the subterranean church in the cemetery of St. Agnes, because there can be no "protestant bias" in his case:—

"At the end of the chancel, against the middle of the wall, is a chair with back and arms cut out of the solid stone, and from each side proceeds a stone bench, which thus occupies the end and two sides of the chancel. As the table of the arched tomb behind the chair is higher than the back of the throne, and as this is immovable, it is clear that the divine mysteries could not have been celebrated upon it. A portable altar must, therefore, have been placed before the throne, in an isolated position in the middle of the sanctuary." *

With respect to the basilicas, there is no dispute as to the altar being detached from the wall, nor as to the position of the priest, standing on the far side of, and looking over it, facing the people. There are still eighteen churches in Rome, and many more in other parts of Italy, where the basilican arrangement has been retained. The latest edition of the Roman missal† provides for the case of such exceptions to what has now become the general rule, and the Roman pontifical still directs the compassing about of altars when they are consecrated.

Bede tells us that when Canterbury Cathedral was founded by St. Augustine, the altar was placed "in medio penè suo;"‡ and in the place occupied by the altars in our cathedrals and other great churches, notwithstanding we now see a screen behind them, we may still trace the custom of placing the altar in the midst of the choir or church. Many churches in this country—Stow in Lincolnshire is a good

* "Fâbiola," p. 222. Our attention was drawn to this anonymous but acknowledged work of the Cardinal, by the reproduction of the plan, and a lengthened extract, in the "History of the Church of Christ," by the Rev. Islay Burns, D.D., which in the most interesting form gives the result of the scholarlike and well-informed investigations of the author.

† "Ritus Celebrandi Missam," xii. 2. In Bunsen's "Basiliken des Christliken Roms" we have elaborate plans and sections of several of these ancient altars with steps up to them from within the apse. In some cases they are seven or eight feet high on the opposite side, so that it would be impossible to officiate at the front of them. We are also able to refer to the exquisite sketches of the late A. Welby Pugin, which have been lately photographed (Ayling, London, 1865), where (No. 304) we have an ancient altar at Padua, —if we mistake not, in the Giotto chapel—which is also ascended by steps from behind, and stands on pillars in front, so that to the spectator, who did not know it was solid, the altar would have much more the appearance of a large-sized pulpit than of any altars we are in the habit of seeing.

‡ "H.E.," p. 82, l. 4. Was there a tradition of the old use in 1564?—"The common prayer daily through the year is sung at the communion table, standing north and south, where the high altar did stand. The minister, when there is no communion, useth a surplice only, standing at the east side of the table, with his face toward the people." Certificate of the sub-dean and prebendaries of Christ Church, Canterbury, in answer to the visitation inquiries of Archbishop Parker, 1564 (? 1565).—*Strype's Parker*, B. 2, c. 26.

example—have square-ended chancels, with arcading and seats running round their east ends, and no distinction in the centre, clearly showing that the altars were intended to be detached from the wall. Gerbert tells us the same as to the ancient custom in Germany,* and the remains of old churches in Ireland show the same plan. In the East, both the orthodox and heretics still place the holy table in the midst of the *bema* (our quire), though the priest, during the greater part of the service, now stands in front of it, with his back to the people; which is of the less consequence so far as they are concerned, because, where the existing ritual is fully carried out, he is entirely out of sight of the congregation until the curtains are withdrawn, or the holy gates are opened.

The treatise of Dr. Littledale may not unfairly be taken to represent the views of those who advocate a return to the mediæval position. It has reached a fifth edition, and is referred to in most laudatory terms in reviews and pamphlets by the ritualistic party, as THE authority on this point against which there is no appeal. His friend, the editor of the second edition of the "Directorium Anglicanum," "strongly recommends it as a most able and exhaustive treatise;"† and, though we cannot compliment our author upon painstaking accuracy, we must do him this justice, that we have not observed anything to have been elsewhere advanced on his side of the question which he has failed to embody in his essay.

All the parties to this rubrical discussion are agreed that the place of the "principal minister" at the Lord's table is regulated, when not otherwise provided, by the latter part of the rubric before the communion service, "And the Priest standing at the North-side of the Table shall say the Lord's Prayer, with the Collect following, the people kneeling." The ritualistic party contend that "north-side" is a "liturgical term," and is to be understood in a non-natural though well understood ritual sense, and consequently that Dr. Littledale and "other accomplished ritualists" (p. 4) are justified in taking "their stand on the west side of the altar, facing east," by virtue of this rubric directing them to stand at the north side of the table.‡

If the validity of this appeal to rubrical authority were once made out, we should be bound to admit the legality of the practice, however little primitive or adapted for congregational worship it may be,

* "Vetus Liturgia Alemanica," pars i., p. 186.

† Second edition, 1865, p. xxxii.

‡ Lest it should be supposed that we have stated our own objection in this form as an *argumentum ad absurdum*, we add Dr. Littledale's own statement:—"They take their stand at the West side of the Altar, facing East, and turning their backs on the congregation, standing, however, at that part of the West side which is nearest to the North, in what would, in short, speaking in terms of the compass, be the N.W. by W. point." —*North-Side*, p. 4.

and whatever occasion it may afford for the insinuation of errors which were unheard of in any part of Christendom for several centuries, and against which the reformed Church of England distinctly protests, although expressly directing the oblation of the elements and unmistakably teaching the reality of their consecration. But we must not be led into a theological discussion. We propose to confine ourselves to the historical and external, or, perhaps we may call it, the legal aspect of this inquiry, and to deal with it on archæological and critical rather than on doctrinal grounds. More important as they are in themselves, these "weightier matters" are wholly beside the question when we are inquiring how certain rubrics are to be obeyed, except in so far as a reference to *à priori* considerations may incidentally assist in ascertaining the intention of the framers.

We are old-fashioned enough to have supposed that the undoubted intention and plain meaning of the phrase "standing at the north side," was that the priest should stand on the north side of the holy table, and "at," *i. e.*, close to, and with his face towards, the side or end. Further inquiry has convinced us that it was so understood and obeyed from the first; and we have been unable to discover one single instance where, until within these last few years, the meaning of "north side," which we are now told it must necessarily bear, was even so much as hinted at.

The specification of "north side of the table" as the position of the priest, first made its appearance in 1552, in the second Prayer-book of Edward VI., and the clause remained without alteration in 1559 and 1604. In 1661, the reviewers had the Scotch book of 1637 before them. In the particulars to be considered,* an alteration was suggested in the position of the table. In the Prayer-book (printed 1634) with marginal corrections in the handwriting of Sancroft (afterwards the archbishop, but then chaplain to Bishop Cosin), this alteration is inserted, and there is a suggestion to insert the explanatory "or end" of the Scotch book,† but they confined themselves to changing "be" into the more modern "are," and to the addition of the three last words as to the posture of the people. At the Savoy, the presbyterian commissioners made no remark upon this rubric, though they strongly objected to the daily prayers being said with the back to the people, as was done when the stalls in the chancel were returned, or the prayer-desk faced the east. The commissioners for the revision in 1689 suggested an alteration requiring the minister to kneel,‡ but his position was left unchanged.

Thus, notwithstanding attention was actually drawn to the rubric in 1661 and 1689, no alteration in this point was either made or

* Nicholls's "Additional Notes," p. 69. † Bulley's "Variations," p. 142.
‡ Blue Book (1854), p. 43.

suggested on either of the five occasions when the prayer-book was submitted to formal discussion; and we may therefore assume that it was held to be sufficiently intelligible, and that it must still mean what it was intended to mean in 1552.

To understand the change that was then made, we must go back to the state of things on the accession of Edward VI. The reformers, as we have already seen, found the altars for the most part close to the wall, and, when made of stone, often built into it. The high altars were left undisturbed, but the prayer-book of 1549 cut away the ceremonial changes of position of the priest, and the corresponding "flittings of the book" from the right horn to the middle, and back again—when there was no deacon, to the left horn also,—and retaining the westward position of the priest, specified only the "midst of the altar" for his ministration. But the rejection of these ceremonies was not contentedly acquiesced in by the admirers of high ritual in those days, and articles were issued commanding that "no minister do counterfeit the popish mass, as to kiss the Lord's table, ... shifting the book from one place to another, . . . or setting any light on the Lord's table at any time, and finally to use no other ceremonies than are appointed in the King's Book of Common Prayer."*

The next step was the removal of the altars, under the authority of letters from the council† to the bishops, requiring that all altars should be taken down, and instead thereof a table‡ to be set up in the chancel to serve for the ministration of the blessed Communion. This was done, as was explained in the reasons§ which were enclosed in the letters, for the purpose of "moving the simple from the super-

* Cardwell, "Doc. Ann.," i. pp. 63-4. In Bishop Ridley's Visitation Articles (A.D. 1550) there is a specification of the abolished ceremonies as in these articles, and an injunction to "use only the ceremonies and gestures appointed by the Book of Common Prayer, and none other, so that there do not appear in them any counterfeiting of the popish mass." —*Ibid.*, pp. 81-2.

† 24th Nov., 1550. Bishop Goodrich of Ely enjoined that a table fit and proper for the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord should be devoutly and solemnly set up and placed in every parish church before Christmas.

‡ The formal difference between an altar and a table, as it was understood at the Reformation, appears to have lain in this,—that the one was "closed" and ordinarily fixed, and the other open, *i. e.*, standing on legs of joiner's work ("a joint table"), instead of being boarded up, and presumably moveable;—not that the table was wood and the altar stone, for altars in this country were often of wood. Bishop Goodrich, in the injunction quoted in the last note, directed the demolition ("funditus et penitus distruant et evertant") of all altars, whether made of stone or otherwise ("ex lapidibus seu *alioquoque modo* constructa"). Erasmus mentions a wooden altar at Canterbury, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin; and in the account of Gray's Inn Chapel (Dugdale's "Origines Judiciales" (1671), p. 284), we have the items of the expenditure "for setting up a new altar on the Romish religion being restored, 1 Mariæ," from which we find that it was of "oaken board."

§ "Ridley's Works" (Parker Society), p. 322. These reasons are included amongst Ridley's own writings, but Fox ("Martyrs," 2, 44-5, Ed. 1684) gives them as the "contents" of the council's letters, and the letters speak of them as considerations sent "herewith."

stitious opinions of the popish mass unto the right use of the Lord's Supper;" and not for the purpose, as is often assumed, of excluding the idea of any eucharistic sacrifice. The reasons for taking down the material altars go on to vindicate the name as applied to the Lord's table, "for that *there* is offered the same sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving;" and the fathers of our reformation do not hesitate to apply the name of altar to the Lord's table under the Christian dispensation, arguing that it has no necessary connection with the propitiatory offerings or slain sacrifices of the Jews. Heylyn, however, tells us, "there was no universal change to tables until the repealing of the first liturgy, in which the priest is appointed to stand before the midst of the table in the celebration, and the establishing of the second, in which it was required that the priest shall stand on the north side of the table, had put an end to the dispute."*

When the altars were taken down, and tables set up in their room, the obvious way of conforming to the spirit of the rubric was to continue to minister on the western side or front; but when we take into account how greatly this turning away from the congregation offended the less conservative reformers, we cannot doubt that there was some foundation in truth for the gibes of the Romanists in Queen Mary's days. Thus Bishop White, of Lincoln, objected to Ridley in his last examination,—"When your table was constituted, you could never be content in placing the same; now east, now north, now one way, now another; until it pleased God, of his goodness, to place it clean out of church." And so Dr. Weston, disputing against Latimer at Oxford, in 1555, jeers the reformers as being "like a company of apes, that knew not which way to turn their tails, looking one day east, another day west, one this way, and another that." And in the following year, Myles Huggard, servant to the Queen's Majesty, in "The Displaying of the Protestants and sundry their Practices," makes merry with the diversities in ministering the Communion:—"First they placed the table aloft, where the high altar stood; then must it be removed from the wall, that one may go between; the ministers being in contention whether to turn their faces either toward the west, the north, or the south: . . . thus turning every way, they myste the right way, but yet they could not hit it."† Hardwick tells us that "in the southern convocation of 1550, indications were not wanting of antipathy to the posture or place of the officiating minister;"‡ and in the course of the next year steps were taken towards a revision of the first book. Cranmer required Peter Martyr and Bucer, who were then divinity professors

* "Reformation," 97. † Second edition, fol. 81.

‡ "Reformation," p. 221. The author, unlike himself, has not given his authority in this instance.

at Oxford and Cambridge, to give him their opinion upon it. Bucer strongly inveighed against the segregation of the clergy in the reading of the daily prayer,* and is very urgent that the table should be so placed† that all things that are said at it ("quæ ad eam dicuntur") may be heard, but he does not mention the position of the minister. His brother professor at Oxford, who had sent in his "Animadversiones" at the desire of the primate, writes (10th Jan., 1551-2) to thank him for a sight of his "Censura," and very clearly lets us see the stress he laid upon all that appertained to the Lord's Supper being said and done before the communicants.

Bishop Hooper, in his celebrated fourth sermon before the King (12th March, 1550), had already urged "that such as receive the most precious Communion of the Body of Christ, might both hear and see plainly what is done, as it was used in the primitive Church." The King threw his influence into the scale, and it is not to be wondered at that when the prayer-book was revised in 1552, among other more important alterations, not only now was the name of altar removed from the liturgy, as before the thing had been from the churches, and the name, table, Lord's table, or holy table, substituted for it, in other rubrics,‡ but also the rubric for the position of the minister was remodelled in the form which has maintained its place to the present day. We cannot quote any contemporary account of this change, but we meet with the following notices within the next hundred years. Cosin on the rubric as to the north side, after referring to the "ado about the posture of the table, and the priest standing at it," "the exceptions taken and the opposition made against that order," adds "that at the last they agreed to set forth this rule in the fifth of King Edward, instead of the former, set forth in the second year."§ Heylyn explains that it was felt that the diversities under the first book, "though in circumstance only, might draw contempt on the sacrament itself, and give great scandal to many moderate and well-meaning men. A rubric therefore is resolved on, by which the minister that officiates should be appointed to a certain place, and by the rubric then devised, the north side was thought fitter than any other."‖ His adversary, Archbishop Williams, takes the same view:—"The contention was determined for the north side of the table."¶ And lastly, Hamon L'Estrange, writing in 1559, quotes from the MS. collections of a learned man,—which probably carries this piece of evidence some years farther back:—"As for the priest standing at the north side of the table, this seemeth to

* "Script. Anglic. Censura," p. 457. † *Ibid.*, p. 464.

‡ This brought the wording of our rubric into accordance with St. Chrysostom's and other Eastern liturgies, and also into conformity with the inspired rubric, so to speak, of the ritual of the shew-bread.

§ Nicholls, "Add. Notes," p. 36.

‖ "Reformation," 170.

¶ "Holy Table," p. 48.

avoid the fashion of the priest standing with his face towards the east, as is the popish practice."*

It is difficult to conceive how any one can have arrived at the conclusion that the revisers intended the priest to stand *before* the north end or horn, because if this had been their intention they would most assuredly have said it, for they were familiar with the phrase, and many of them had ministered for years according to the Sarum missal, in which the corresponding position before the south end is repeatedly enjoined.

No doubt they did intend a change from the front; and indeed a change from this position seems the natural complement of a book of *common* prayer. When the old prayers were first translated into that noble English in which they, for the most part, have come down to us, the priest was directed to "begin with a loud voice the Lord's prayer, called the Paternoster," and to say the prayer of consecration "plainly and distinctly," instead of secretly as before. So long as the services were in Latin, it made no difference to the people whether they could hear or not. They were performed *for* them by the priest and clerks, and they looked on as devoutly as they could, or engaged in those devotions in their mother tongue which an under-current of spiritual religion, running its blessed course throughout the middle ages, had not failed to provide for their private use;† but the very circumstance of the prayers being translated into a "tongue understanded of the people," implied some provision for their hearing them also. Hence the priest was directed to speak out, though his position with his back to the people was not yet interfered with—henceforth there was but the one form for the "lered and lewed," for clergy and laity alike; but when the first book came to be revised, four years later, the principle of "Englishing" the prayers, namely, that public worship was henceforth to be *congregational* as it was at the first, led to further change, and the priest was no longer to turn away from the people, now that they had been required either to join in with, or follow, the service he was engaged in, by responding or by their Amen.‡

* "Alliance of Divine Offices" (Oxford, 1846), p. 245.

† It may be interesting to some of our readers to know that the Early English Text Society are about to issue a collection of devotions of this character, which have never before been printed.

‡ This reasonable concession of a change to the north side was not only intended to enable the congregation to see and hear what was done, but it also secured uniformity in the fashion of administration. However distasteful it may have been to the adherents of the "old religion," it must have been very far from satisfying the requirements of the Calvinian party, if we may judge from the form they adopted when they were free to carry out their own preferences, for then they did not allow the posture of standing at all. According to "The Form of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacraments, &c., used in the English congregation at Geneva, and approved by the famous and learned man, John

We are left to inference for the reasons for adopting the north side. The right has always been what Wheatley calls the "upper side," and "north side" may have been merely an unambiguous description of the *proper* right, and the position may have been agreed upon with no reference to primitive authority or symbolical significance. But on the other hand, Bishop Ridley, in his last examination at Oxford, in reply to an argument of Bishop White from the "plucking down of altars," answers that "the taking down of altars was done upon just considerations, for that they seemed to come too nigh to the Jews' usage; neither was the Supper of the Lord at any time better ministered, nor more duly received, than in these latter days, when *all things were brought to the rites and usage of the primitive Church.*"* If the various documents which illustrate the old "Ordo Romanus" had been published, and the reproductions of the earliest illuminations and drawings had been accessible to the reformers, they would have been at no loss to find antient precedents for the ritual use of the north end of the altar; and Amalarius and the mediæval ritualists would have supplied them with a mystical justification for their choice, if they had cared for such rationalism. But assuming, as is most likely, that they did not rely upon any direct precedent, they most probably fixed upon the side as the nearest approach to the position of the priest in the early Church behind the altar, which could be enforced in all cases. The eastward position was not possible where the table occupied the place of the old altar "along the wall," and they might have been unwilling to introduce a diversity in the position of the priest by restoring the more ancient practice in those churches where, from the table being placed in some other part of the chancel, or in the body of the church, it might have been possible to do so.†

We cannot for one moment suppose that the north side was fixed upon with any reference to the slaying of the burnt offering "on the side of the altar northward before the Lord."‡ This text, or rather

Calvin. Imprinted at Geneva by John Crespin, 1556" (p. 75),—"The exhortation ended, the minister cometh down from the pulpit, and sitteth at the table, every man and woman in like wise taking their place as occasion best serveth."

* 13th Sept., 1555. "Works," p. 281.

† It may be that this permitted diversity as to the position of the table may have led to the use of "side" in preference to "end." If "end" had been used, it would not have been applicable to the case of Communion tables placed east and west, or "table-wise," as it afterwards came to be called,—an alternative which Laud and his followers, before the Rebellion, set themselves to oppose, and which is no longer recognised by the rubric as altered in 1661.

‡ Lev. i. 11. Dr. Littledale overlooks the express direction in this verse to sprinkle the blood of the burnt sacrifice "round about the altar," and so refers to the ritual of the burnt offering as a proof that the "normal" position of the priest is in front of the altar:—"The altar of burnt offering had *a broad red line drawn across the midst of the front* to mark the heights at which different blood-sprinklings were to be made. It is sufficiently obvious

this text in the old translation, as we shall have occasion to see presently, may very well have suggested the wording of the rubric; but —inasmuch as the old altars of our churches had been taken down, although admittedly in themselves indifferent, because they had been found to countenance the Romish doctrine of the mass, viz., the substantial identity of that which is offered on the altar with Christ's own sacrifice on the cross, and its consequent propitiatory power for quick and dead, the very doctrine which the fathers of our reformation so soon resisted even to the death,—inasmuch as they felt the dangerous character of this doctrine so strongly, arguing against it, as we sometimes find them, and with such vehemence as to seem to run into the other extreme, and almost to ignore the scriptural and primitive doctrine,—it is quite impossible that they can have introduced any ceremony, not only which might have been perverted to teach, but because it did teach, that the eucharistic sacrifice was "to make atonement" like the burnt offering.

It may be possible that—wishing to exclude the Romish view of propitiatory sacrifice, as if Christ still needed to be offered, and yet wishing to bring forward the idea of the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving which we have access to offer "by Him," and which is signified by and accompanies the material oblation of the elements before they are consecrated—they may have intended the bread and wine to be set upon the northward part of the table,* instead of in the midst, as under the first book; although, owing to there being no rubric to this effect, the middle place may have kept its hold from traditional usage. Supposing this, and supposing also that they had gone by Jewish precedent, they would have found it—not in the ritual of living victims, typical of the One and ever-prevailing Victim, offered once for all,—but in the traditional ritual of the shew-bread, the unbloody

that unless the priest faced this line he could not perform the rite accurately."—(Lightfoot, "Temple Service," viii. 1. vi.) We add, from Lightfoot, the words corresponding to those printed in italics, which will give the reader an opportunity of judging how far his words and their real bearing are truly represented:—"There was *a red line about* the altar, just in the middle, between the bottom and the top;" and the following sentences go on to mention the rabbinical account of the manner in which the Jewish priest sprinkled the blood round about the altar, in two motions, at the N.E. and S.W. corners, each aspersion being in the form of a Greek *gamma* (Γ). L'Empereur renders the mishna (treatise "Middoth," De mensuris templi, cap. i. 1.), "Filum vero coccineum cingebat altare medium ad discernendum inter sanguines inferiores et superiores."

* We may infer that this was at least occasionally done, from the following quotation from John Rastell, who had been a fellow of New College, but fled to Flanders, and, after writing several works against Jewel at Antwerp and Louvain, in 1565-7, became a Jesuit: —"Your order of celebrating the Communion is so inadvisedly conceived, that every man is left unto his private rule or canon, whether he will take the bread in his hands or let it stand at the *end* of the table, the bread and wine being laid upon the table where it pleases the sexton or parish clerk to set them."—*Quoted, Heylyn,* "Reformation," 346.

sacrifice of the twelve tribes, in a state of acceptance by the continued and repeated shedding of blood, and a chief type of the pure offering of the Christian Church, sanctified and accepted "through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all."

Scripture is silent as to the ceremonial that was observed. Dr. Littledale infers that the priest stood in front (p. 7); but if he had acted upon his own principle, and referred "to the rabbis of the synagogue for information,"* he would have found that the priests who set the "hot bread" upon the table stood on the proper right at one end, whilst those who took the loaves from before the Lord stood at the other. "Hi detrahebant et illi reponebant, eo quod scriptum est (Exod. xxv. 30), Coram me semper."†

It may be objected that we seem to take it for granted that by "north side of the table" the revisers meant "north side" and not "west front;" and indeed, we do venture to think that if those who differ from us would only take a common-sense view of the facts of the case, they would have no difficulty in coming to the same conclusion. The change in the wording of the rubric surely implied some change; the changes that were introduced, always with a salvo as to the primitive and scriptural character of the former book, were avowedly concessions to "doubts for the fashion and administration of the service;" and when we take into account the nature of the objections raised against the westward position, can it be supposed that they would have been silenced by requiring the priest, still with his back to the people, merely to move a little farther north along the front of the table? If such had been the received interpretation of the rubric, would it not have been subject to attack, and would no efforts have been made to procure an alteration? Or, if the non-natural explanation had at any former time been advanced in theory, or systematically acted upon in practice, ever so partially, would there have been no hint of this diversity in the protestant apologies and in the rejoinders of the Roman catholics, or in the voluminous controversies arising out of the attack on the ceremonies of the Lord's

* "When we find a difficulty in explaining the meaning or origin of a phrase or rite in the Common Prayer, we must refer to the Missal and Breviary; and where these fail us, we must look to the *Pentateuch*, the *Talmud*, and the *Rabbis of the Synagogue* for information, exactly as geographical explorers act when searching for the well-head of a river."—*North-Side*, p. 5.

† Mishna, "Codex *Minchoth.*," Surenhusius, v. 104. The priests who placed the shew-bread stood on the south side,—"Qui introducebant, ii stabant ad meridiem faciebus ad septentrionem conversis;" but we must recollect, in transferring the relative positions to our churches, that the holy of holies was at the west end, and the proper right or more honourable side on the south, as it is on the north with us. It is almost unnecessary to explain that we do not rely upon this assumed analogy; but if it serve no other purpose, it will prove how utterly untenable is Dr. Littledale's position, even against weapons of his own choosing.

Supper by the puritans and their successors after the restoration? And should we have heard nothing of it in the course of the controversy as to the position of the communion table, which raged with such violence and with such disastrous consequences to the church immediately before the rebellion? or again in the longer-lived controversy as to the place for reading "the second service," as it was called?

It is impossible to prove a negative, and we certainly cannot prove that there are no such references, but we have never met with any passage looking that way, and—even if the burthen of proof did not lie upon those who seek to disturb the prescriptive interpretation—we may take it for granted that the advocates of the westward position have not met with any evidence in their favour, as none has been produced. There is, however, a stronger presumption of this absence of any positive testimony to be found in the line adopted by Bishop Wren when, as we shall again have occasion to mention, he was impeached in 1641 for consecrating with his back to the people; and his silence is the more significant as the defence which he prepared proves his readiness as a disputant, and the ability with which he availed himself of any argument from the wording or turn of an expression. We find him bringing forward quotations from books and the recollections of aged clergymen * in other instances, and if it could have been done in this, we should most unquestionably have found him urging some stray precedent or some one's gloss on the rubric as a justification, instead of pleading physical inability, and the absence of any superstitious mystery as his excuse.

But before we bring forward our evidence for the northern position, it may be convenient to examine what is urged on the other side as to the meaning of the rubric.† For the purpose of his argument, our

* "Parentalia," p. 79.

† Perhaps we ought not to pass without remark "two things" which Dr. Littledale (p. 12) tells us "have to be noted before proceeding to argue from the Sarum rubrics. The 'right corner' referred to does not mean that at the right hand of the celebrant, but at his left (*i. e.*, the N.W. corner), since by a Papal Injunction of 1486 the terms 'right and left' were applied with reference to the crucifix over the altar, and not to the celebrant. And in the centre of the slab of every altar there was a small square hallowed stone ('*sigillum altaris*,' Lyndwood, 'Provinciale') closing the aperture which contained reliques. On this stone, and at no other part of the altar, the act of consecration invariably took place."

Whatever might otherwise have been the bearing of these "two things" upon the inquiry, unfortunately for any pretension to be one of those "who are competent, after some study, to pronounce, with some degree of authority, upon the meaning of rubrics" ("North-Side," p. 5), the facts directly contradict the author's assertions. *First*, though the Roman pontifical of 1585 did explain the left as the epistle corner, our ancestors were not so ultramontane as he assumes them to have been, and this innovation

author assumes, and we admit, the ritual identity of altar and holy table. He next assumes that the ends or shorter sides of an altar could not be called sides, as in the case of other quadrangles, and that one side only was accessible to English priests. He does not refer to the case of square or detached altars. No doubt the shorter sides of an oblong quadrangular figure may properly be called ends, but "the *front* and *sides*" of an altar, when placed against a wall, seems such a very natural and intelligible form of expression, that it would be the veriest trifling to talk of authority, if sometimes it was not wisdom to meet an opponent on his own ground. First, then, we have a synod ordaining that sufficient curtains, which are called wings ("quæ alæ dicuntur"), should be hung on either side of the altar, and a curtain above.* Next we have Fortunatus Schaccus, who was prefect of the papal vestry, and dedicates his work to Urban VIII., speaking of the four sides of an altar as if utterly unconscious of any technical meaning.† And lastly, from among many others we might have quoted, we have the learned antiquary, Dr. Rock, who will be accepted as a competent authority as to the *usus loquendi* among Roman catholics in our own time,—"Formerly the frontals of silk not only veiled the front, but the two sides of the altar."‡

Our author, having disposed of the sides of the altar to his own satisfaction, next argues that "the simplest way of describing the particular part of the west side at which they [English priests] were to stand was to divide that side by an imaginary line passing through

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was never adopted in any English use; and, indeed, the old terminology held its ground in several continental uses,—as, for example, in the Lyons missal, so lately as 1710.

Next, whatever may be modern Roman rule, in this country there was no invariable rule as to any "sigillum altaris;" indeed we very much doubt whether any "aperture" ever was cut in the old altar stones: we have seen many, one in the church of the parish where we are writing, and have never seen anything of the kind. The author refers to the "Provinciale," but he gives no more precise reference, though it is a work that especially requires it, and we have been unable to discover any allusion to the practice, though Lyndwood does quote authority for the consecration of an altar without relics still holding good ("tenet consecratis").—*De Rel. et Ven. Sanc.*, c. 1, *ver.* loco reliquiarum.

So far from every altar having relics, though the old English pontifical provided for them (*Quando reliquie ponende sint in altare*), yet their absence is no less recognised—"*Si reliquie non habentur, omittendum est officium illorum.*" The Roman "*Oramus te, Domine, per merita Sanctorum*" never found its way into any English use. Nor was the practice of placing relics in altars uniform, even in churches where the Roman use prevailed; for in a Roman missal of 1487, we find that in this prayer the words, "quorum reliquiæ hic sunt," are directed to be omitted, "*ubi reliquiæ non adsint;*" and even after the council of Trent, the Roman missal, as first reformed, inserts the words "*si adsint*" in the direction (now altogether omitted) for censing relics.—*Rit. celeb. Missam* (1570), *De introitu*, &c.

* "Statuta Synodalia Ecclesiæ Cameracensis." Martene et Durand. Ampliss. Collect., tom. vii., 1298 D. † "Myrothecia," ii. 59, p. 654.

‡ "Church of our Fathers," i. 236. See also Bishop Wren, *post.*, p. 278.

its centre, and to define the portions which lay on each side of the line as severally north and south. There are two well-known examples of such language found," not where we might have expected him to refer us, in some former English use, but "in Eastern and Latin rites," —how far likely to be well known to the revisers we shall see presently. He thus cites his first example:—

> "The Syriac *Ordo Communis* of the Liturgy (*circa* A.D. 400), describing the priest's passage in front of the altar, says, 'The priest comes from the north side to the south.' This is just as he has made his own communion, and is about to administer to the people. It will hardly be pretended that he came from the north end to the south end, a rite unknown even to English Puritans, not to say Eastern Christians of the fifth century."

We do not stop to examine the date which the author assigns to this rubric, for such it is, and no part of the ancient text of the liturgy, but proceed to give Renaudot's Latin:—"Sacerdos portat discum in dexterâ suâ: calicem in sinistrâ; venitque à *latere* septentrionali ad australe: *cum vero convertitur*, elevat dextram suam, cumque egrediuntur mysteria, dicit." * In his notes † he refers to this passage in the following terms:—"Sequitur . . . sacerdotem portare discum dexterâ, calicem sinistrâ; cumque progressus fuerit à *parte* septemtrionali ad australem, elevare dexteram, tum egredi mysteria."

It would be satisfactory to know the exact force of the Syriac; but "*parte*" and "*latere*" being both used, it by no means follows that "side" occurs at all; though, granting that it does, it still does not follow that it is the side of the altar, for altar is not mentioned; and we may, with much greater reason, suppose that the rubric refers to the person of the priest, and not to the sides of the altar, either front or ends, and so that it merely directs him to turn from north to south when he comes forth from the altar. The use of "cum vero convertitur" to describe the motion, points to this as the true explanation, and a comparison of the corresponding rubric in this liturgy, as still in use among the native Christians on the Malabar coast, most unquestionably confirms it.‡ The first of the "two well-known examples" would not, therefore, have taught the revisers much as to the ritual

* Renaudot, "Liturg. Orient.," ii. 24, ed. 1716. Wheatley also refers to this passage, very possibly as an instance of the use of the points of the compass in a rubric. † *Ibid.*, pp. 123-4.

‡ Mr. Howard's rendering is, "And the priest takes the paten in his right hand, and the cup in his left hand, and as he turns to the right, and as the mysteries are going forth, he says."—*Christians of St. Thomas*, p. 247. This explanation of the more cumbrous rubric given by Renaudot, must not be rejected from an idea of the improbability of such an elaborate direction in so simple a matter, for in the Roman missal of the Tridentine recension (1570) there is a similar direction for the priest to turn left about to the people, which was altered in 1604 to a direction to turn right about. This retained its place at the last revision of the missal in 1634: "Tum . . . vertit se à sinistro latere ad dexterum versus populum, hoc est, per eam partem quæ respicit cornu epistolæ." —*Rit. Celeb. Missam*, v. 1.

use of the north side of the table, even supposing they had access to the ancient Syriac liturgy, which is to the last degree improbable.

This supposition of an extreme case becomes impossible with respect to the second example:—

"The general rubrics of the Roman Missal, describing the mode of censing the altar before High Mass, run thus: 'Turning to the altar, he censes its level surface (*planitiem*) or slab, in the front portion, moving the censer thrice to the middle, where, making a reverence to the cross, he goes on to cense the other *side* of the altar (*aliud latus altaris*) with three motions of the censer, as far as the gospel corner.' The *ends* and back are not censed."—(P. 13.)

Now this is a quotation, not from the Roman missal in use in 1552, nor from that of 1570, which was authorized by the council of Trent, and which, we may assume, represented the most approved use before the reformation, but from the missal now used in the Roman church, as revised in this place by Clement VIII., in 1604, more than fifty years after our rubric was framed. The original Tridentine missal has not one word of "aliud latus altaris," the corresponding direction being to cense the whole front ("totam anteriorem") part of the altar. This most effectually disposes of any bearing of this use of "alius latus" upon the true meaning of "the north side" of the table. But we must make one remark upon the gloss on this extract; for though it does not concern us whether at high mass the ends of the altar are censed or not, it does concern us, in our present inquiry, to know how far we may accept Dr. Littledale's citations; and we were sorry to find that he had volunteered this distinct statement as to the *ends* not being censed (the italics are his own), though the words he has quoted occur immediately between directions to cense "the ends" on the epistle and gospel sides respectively.*

But to return to the revisers of 1552: as neither the ancient Syriac rubric of the past, nor the not as yet existent Roman missal of the future, could have influenced them in their selection of the phrase, let us see the authority there is for it,—and in its natural sense,—in the English translation of the Bible, which, though not yet impressive from its venerable age and its archaic accent, still had for them the charm of a new-found treasure, and tinged their every phrase, moulding as well as speaking the language of the prayer-book.

There are many places where the term north or south side occurs,

* After censing the top from the middle to the epistle horn, the celebrant "demissâ manu, thurificat illius postremam partem, mox superiorem, bis ducto thuribulo," and then "et conversus," &c., as in Dr. Littledale's translation.

The end is here called "postrema *pars*," just as Queen Elizabeth's Latin Prayer-book translates our rubric "ad partem septentrionalem." That we are correct in our understanding of the Missal is proved by the engraved "Ordo incensandi," where two casts of incense are figured at each end of the altar.

not one of which affords any countenance to the meaning which it is now attempted to force upon it. In the text as to the slaying of the burnt sacrifice, to which we have already referred, though the reformers could not have intended any mystical allusion to it, yet they might have found their very phrase in the translation as there worded, "And let him kill it on the north side of the altar," Lev. i. 11. Our authorized version has "on the side of the altar northward," in more exact accordance with the Hebrew, LXX., and Vulgate. A similar phrase occurs in numerous other instances, and always in the natural sense; but one more example will suffice (Num. ii. 25), where the bibles of 1549 and 1604 are alike,—"The standard of the camp of Dan shall be on the north side." Here the Vulgate has "ad aquilonis *partem*,"—the very word used in Elizabeth's Latin translation of the rubric,—and, whatever may be the peculiarities of ritualism, no one has ever fancied that in castramentation an order to encamp on the north side of a hollow square could intend the front centre.

In fact, we do not suppose that even our author would raise a doubt as to the meaning of the phrase in the bible before the revisers adopted it in their rubric. Let us now see how it was translated by their contemporaries, and in what sense it was afterwards made use of by authority in the successive forms of the coronation office. The second prayer-book was forthwith translated into French for the use of the king's dominions beyond seas, and we read, "Le prêtre étant debout auprés de la table, du coté du nord," which seems very unambiguous, and is rendered into Latin by the Italian translator of Le Brun, "ad mensam consistens, septentrionem versus." * Dr. Walter Haddon, or whoever was the translator of the Latin version authorized under the great seal in 1560, renders it "ad septentrionalem partem," as in the Vulgate; and Messrs. Bright and Medd adopt the same rendering in their new Latin prayer-book. The coronation service next furnishes us with examples of the manner in which the terms, north side (and south side), were used by authority. We may explain, for those who do not carry the plan of Westminster Abbey in their eye, or who have not a plan of the arrangements for a coronation at hand,† that the "altar" stands close to the screen between the choir and St. Edward's chapel,—this screen having two doors in it, one on each side of the altar; that the archbishop's chair is placed with its back close to this screen to the north of the altar; that St. Edward's

* "Explicatio Missæ, à J. A. Dalmaso, Latine reddita." Venet. 1770, iv. 109.

† The most elaborate plans and drawings which have come under our notice are those in the "History of the Coronation of James II.," by F. Sandford, Lancaster Herald; published by the King's special command, and with the "imprimatur" of the Earl Marshal. (Folio, 1689.) The "prospect" of the "East End with the furniture thereof" shows us the cushion for the archbishop's service-book at the north end of the altar.

chair is placed, and the sovereign is crowned, before the midst of the table; and that the chair in which the sovereign is seated before the anointing and during the sermon is clear of the front and end of the altar (*i. e.*, not before it, but several feet more to the south, and also several feet more to the west). Two of the rubrics are sufficient to show the sense in which north side and south side are used. "On the north side of the altar sits the archbishop in a purple velvet chair," *i. e.*, not on the west side towards the north end, but literally on the north side, and in the same line as the back of it. And in the rubric for the recess, "The whole Coronation Office being thus performed, the Queen . . . passes on through the door on the south side of the Altar into King Edward's Chapel, and as she passes by the Altar, the rest of the regalia, lying upon it, are to be delivered by the Dean of Westminster to the Lords," &c. When there is a queen consort, she in like manner passes "through the door on the north side of the altar:" and so throughout this office, from the last coronation to that of Charles II., which is the earliest post-reformation form we have examined, "*north side*" is used, as the revisers of 1552 used it, in its natural and obvious sense.

So much for the authorized wording of the rubric in English, French, and Latin, and for the sense in which "north side" was imported from it into the rubrics of subsequent coronation services. Next as to the manner in which it was obeyed. And in estimating the effect of the evidence which we shall produce, it must be borne in mind that when a thing is in its nature indifferent, and of itself of such minor importance—hanging, as it were, upon the very fringe of the outer garment of religion,—and when it had not been raised into factitious importance by controversial discussion, or diversity of practice, it is obviously unlikely that we should find many notices of it.

Edward VI. died soon after the second book came into use, but the frontispiece of the second volume of Burnet's "History of the Reformation" (folio, 1683) shows him kneeling at the altar rails, with his crown by his side, and a bishop in his rochet kneeling at the north side (end) of the table, and the bread and wine close before him. If this engraving was after a contemporary picture, it would decide the point against the non-natural sense; if not, it is evidence, for so much as it is worth, of the received notion as to the north side when the work was published in 1683: in either case a very damaging piece of evidence for those who tell us that the ritual use of the north end does not date back beyond the last century.

Up to the accession of Mary the new rubric had not been explained to require the priest to stand before the table, for in the account of the second prayer-book given to Calvin by Whittingham and Knox, from Frankfort, in December, 1554, which called forth his well-known

phrase as to "endurable trifles," they would not have kept back any feature that was objectionable to them; and they merely say that the minister, in a white linen garment, "must stand at the north side of the table." *

We may gather from the jeers of Puritan and Romish adversaries that the restoration of the English prayer-book on the accession of Elizabeth made no change in this respect. John Rastell, afterwards a Jesuit, writing from Flanders against Jewel (1565-7), asks, "Then to come to the apostles, where did you ever read that they . . looked toward the south? or did wear copes of tissue or velvet? with a thousand more such questions?" † Cartwright, the celebrated T. C. of Hooker, in his "Reply" (1573), complains that the minister, after saying morning prayer in the chancel with his back to the people, "for saying another number of prayers, climbeth up to the farther end of the chancel, and runneth as far from the people as the wall will let him;" ‡ evidently referring to his standing at the north side of the table, for if he had gone to the north side of the front, and said the communion service with his back to the people, we should have had this further objection raised, and the table would have been mentioned instead of the wall. So also in his second "Reply" (1577): "The fruit that might otherwise be taken of the service is not received by reason that the minister readeth some in the hither, some in the upper part of the chancel, as far from the people as the wall will let him go." § And so too, Henry Barrow, another Puritan, writing in 1590, complains, "By their service-book . . . in the public Communion, the priest (arrayed in his ministerial vesture) is placed at the north *end* of the table. . . . He is there nurtured when to turn to the table, when to the people, when to kneel, what and when to say." ||

In 1620 we find Bishop Andrewes consecrating Jesus Chapel, near Southampton, and in the exemplification of the form used we find that when they came to the administration of the Lord's Supper, one chaplain knelt on the south, "ad australem," and the other on the north, "ad septentrionalem partem" of the holy table, and said, "Our Father." The bishop himself consecrated, and after delivering the bread, "finita tandem exhibitione," kneeling, on the north of the holy table,—"ad septentrionem" (which is even more unambiguous than the "ad septentrionalem partem" of the chaplain), and the people

* "Troubles at Frankfort. 1554," p. 30.

† Quoted Heylyn, "Reform.," 347. (*See* note *, *ante*, p. 266.)

‡ T. C., lib. i., p. 134, quoted Hooker, E. P. v. 30.

§ "Thomas Cartwright against Doctor Whitgift's Second Answer. Imprinted 1577," p. 186.

|| "A Brief Discourse of the False Church. 1590," p. 101. Quoted "Ecclesiologist," April, 1863, vol. xxiv., p. 78.

repeating, says, "Our Father." There is nothing here to lead us to suppose any part of the communion service was said before the table; though the bishop said the special prayers before ("coram") the holy table.*

Seven years later, 1627, we meet with Archbishop Williams's letter to P. Tetley, the vicar of Grantham, which began the voluminous controversy as to the position of the communion table; the Bishop (then of Lincoln) arguing, from the use of "side" in the rubric, that the table ought to be placed endways, east and west, with its "full" or longer side to the north, and his opponents urging that nothing was proved by the use of "side," since the name might indifferently be applied to either of the sides of a four-sided figure, whether square or oblong.

This controversy was conducted with considerable ability and learning, but is remarkable for the want of courtesy and candour on the part of the two principal disputants, and for the curious circumstance that both parties seem to have been wrong in that point on which they laid the greatest stress: Heylyn denying the ancient custom of placing altars away from the end of churches, and Williams arguing that the table could not legally be placed as the old altars had stood. But these arguments in no way concern us, except in so far as it is important evidence as to the traditional interpretation of the rubric, that both sides understood it in its obvious sense, as placing the minister on the north of the table, whichever way it was itself placed, and that "*officiating*" in front was not even thought of:—

"If you mean by *altar-wise* that the table should stand along close by the wall, so as you be forced to officiate at one end thereof (as you may have.

* "Sparrow's Collection," pp. 388-9, 396. Compare "North-Side," p. 22. That the bishop conformed to the rubric in his own chapel we find from Prynne's specification of cushions at the north and south ends of the table.

As we are referring to "pictorial" evidence for the practice before the rebellion, we may notice Dr. Littledale's argument from the frontispiece to Bishop Sparrow's "Rationale upon the Book of Common Prayer," 1657. He says that it "shows the altar-book lying open at the left of the centre of the slab, but not so much as near the north end. This is while the priest is saying the Litany, and undoubtedly points out the part of the altar to which he was to go as soon as he had finished the earlier service" (p. 24). First, the book is most likely intended for a bible. We find from the canons of early councils that the book of the gospel was antiently laid on the altar, and in frescoes and mosaics we see it as their only ornament, and generally open. Many of our cathedrals and other churches furnish similar examples, and it will be recollected that the "dumb" (closed) gospel, and the "blind" (unlighted) lights were among the exceptions of the presbyterian Scotch against the ornaments of the chapel at Holyrood. Next, as to the book being at the "left of the centre," by which the author (*see* pp. 269-70) means south, that would hardly help his north-side theory; but we have no doubt it was meant, as it appears to us to be, in the middle of the table. At all events it is not near the north end, which is not even shown in the picture, or we might have seen, as in Combe's "Companion to the Temple" (*edit.* 1679), the service-book open at the north end, and laid north and south.

observed in great men's chapels), I do not believe that ever the communion tables were (otherwise than by casualty) so placed in country churches. . . . The minister appointed to read the communion . . . is directed to read the commandments not at the end, but at the north-side of the table, which implies the end to be placed towards the great east window."*

And in summing up the bishop writes,—"2. This table must not stand *altar-wise*, and you at the north end thereof, but table-wise, as you must officiate at the northside (*sic*) of the same."† This letter, being passed from hand to hand in manuscript, was a great encouragement to the puritan party, who opposed the orders given by some of the bishops to place the communion tables "along the east wall," and Heylyn was engaged to answer it in 1636, which he did in the anonymous "Coale from the Altar," and rejoins to the bishop's argument from the use of side,—

"That every part is a side, however custom hath prevailed to call the narrower sides by the name of ends. When, therefore, he that ministereth at the altar stands at the north end of the same, as we use to call it, he stands, no question, at the north side thereof, as in property of speech we ought to call it, and so implies not, as it is supposed, that the end or narrower part thereof is to be placed towards the great east window. . . . So that the rubric is fulfilled as well by standing at the northern end, the table being placed where the altar stood, as standing at the northern side, in case it stood with one end towards the great east window."‡

A further illustration of the sense in which the rubric was understood by all parties may be found in the device of some Somersetshire churchwardens to evade an order which Bishop Pierce, who was very vigorous in this matter,§ had given to turn the communion table, and place it altar-wise. "That they might neither displease the bishop nor transgress against the rubric of the liturgy, they made it an exact

* Copy of the letter to the Vicar of Grantham, in "A Coale from the Altar," pp. 70-1.

† *Ibid.*, p. 77.

‡ "Coale from the Altar. 1636," pp. 23-4. In the "North-Side" (p. 18) we read, "Hereupon [*i. e.*, upon the Bishop of Lincoln's letter] Peter Heylyn, Laud's celebrated chaplain, published, in 1637, an anonymous pamphlet." Here, in less than a couple of lines, we have three instances of inaccuracy:—I. The dispute at Grantham arose in June or July, 1627, though our author specifies 1636, and tells us that the bishop's letter, which was written soon after, was written about 1637. II. Heylyn was the King's chaplain, and not the Archbishop's; though he himself tells us (*Laud*, 213), that "being one of his chaplains was absent," the Archbishop "took him along with him to perform the office of priest" at the consecration of a church. III. The FIRST edition of the "Coale," from which we quote, was published, as Heylyn mentions (*Laud*, 314), in the middle of May; and Williams's "Holy Table," in answer, was published in November, 1636. A few lines before, Dr. Littledale informs his readers that Bishop Williams became Lord Keeper *after* the dispute at Grantham, though he was then living in disgrace at Bagden, and the loss of the Great Seal was supposed to have had much to do with "the Letter;" he having been succeeded by Sir Thomas Coventry as Lord Keeper on the 1st November, 1625.

§ Perry's "History of the Church of England," i. 495.

square table, so that, notwithstanding the bishop's order, the minister might still officiate at the north side of the table."*

At the time that this miserable dispute was at its height, the Scotch prayer-book was being elaborated, though it was not ratified by royal proclamation until the 20th December, 1636; and the alterations that were made in it, incidentally though very distinctly, serve to prove the sense in which our rubric was understood. In the rubric as to the position of the "presbyter," the words "or end" were inserted,—"standing at the north side or end;" and consecration in front of the table was permitted at his discretion. If the insertion of "end" had been intended as an alternative, as argued by Dr. Littledale, the alteration permitting the presbyter to stand before the table would have been wholly unnecessary, that place being already at his discretion; but it was unquestionably inserted to explain "side," and so to prevent any repetition in the Scotch church of Williams's argument, against the eastern position of the table, from the use of "side" in the rubric; though, so far from strengthening the position against him, and 'effectually silencing' him, as our author suggests (p. 21), it was a confession, as far as it went, that the English rubric, as it stood, did not sufficiently prove the case without the insertion of the explanatory clause. Besides, we must not forget that the Scotch book, of very doubtful legality in Scotland, did not pretend to any legal authority in this country, and the bishop was far too clear-headed to have been misled by a sophistical attempt to ascertain the intention of any law by a later explanation, not of equal authority, and therefore not in the nature of a repeal or re-enactment of the earlier one—the preposterous fallacy that our author has himself stumbled upon, when he refers to a modern Roman missal to fix the meaning of our older prayer-book.

Laud and Wren were the two English prelates who acted together in the "consideration" of the Scotch book, when it was sent from Scotland for the king's approval; and they both, as it happens, have left on record their own opinions as to this point, which necessarily carry greater weight than any assumption as to "their practice," † or than Dr. Littledale's unsupported assertion, that Bishop Wren "did not go to the north end himself, and cannot be supposed to have wished others to do so" (p. 23). First, as to Wren's having conceded the insertion of "end" only as an alternative, which he would have willingly refused, we have his own authority that he considered "north end," although equivalent, more appropriate than "north side." When impeached for having, in this very year (1636), ordered that the communion table—

"Should be set up close under the wall at the east end of the chancel, altar-

* Nalson, i. 414.

† "North-Side," p. 23.

wise, and not to be removed from thence; whereby the minister, who is by law to officiate at the north side of the table, must either stand and officiate at the north end of the table, so standing altar-wise, or else, after the popish and idolatrous manner, stand and officiate at the west side of the table, with his back towards the people;"*—

His defence was,—

"Whereas he mentioned the north end of the Communion table, he humbly conceiveth that (even by that) he did the more distinguish it from an altar. For that the altars being very nearly equilateral or four square, the north end or south end of an altar hath never been heard of. Only in 1 Eliz." [when the rubric of 1552 was re-enacted], "when the use of altars was but as yesterday out of their eyes, and the name of altars but newly out of their mouths, custom of speech led them to call the north end or north part of the table, the north side thereof, as they had been used to call it the north side of the altar."†

Next, as to his own practice, we are told‡ that "Bishop Wren was impeached by the commons in 1641 for—amongst other things—'standing at the west side of the table, with his face to the east and his back to the people.'" But the author omits to tell us that, whatever may have been his ritual predilections, and however much they may have been fortified by his knowledge of the provisions of the Scotch book, he was not charged with having done so habitually, but only "in the year 1636, in the Tower Church of Ipswich and other places,"§ and then *not* during the whole service, but only whilst "consecrating the bread and wine." The bishop had been translated to Ely, and meanwhile given no fresh occasion to his enemies, we may be very sure, when this irregularity at Ipswich was hunted up as one of the articles of impeachment, four or five years afterwards. He does not admit the charge as to "other places," but with respect to the instance in the Tower Church‖ he urges in the defence which he prepared, although it was not called for, that he stood—

"At the north side all the while before he came to that collect [the prayer of consecration] wherein he was to take the bread and wine into his hands, and as soon as that was done, thither he returned again. . . . A plain demonstration that he came to the west side only for the more conveniency of executing his office, and in no way at all in any superstition, much less in any imitation of the Romish priests; for they place themselves there, at all the service before and at all after, with no less strictness than at the time of their consecrating the bread and wine."¶

Archbishop Laud is no less explicit. He had the odium of the Scotch book—very unjustly, as he asserts in his defence,—and the

* Second Article of Impeachment against Bishop Wren, July 20, 1641. Nalson, ii. 396.

† "Parentalia," p. 75. ‡ "North-Side," p. 20. § Art. xviii. Nalson, ii. 402.

‖ The table in this church seems to have been unusually high, and the bishop refers to his own lowness of stature.

¶ "Parentalia," p. 104.

permission for "going from the north end of the table . . . without warrant from the book of England," was one of the charges of the Scotch Commissioners against him.* He defended this provision, with almost undue solemnity, entirely on the score of greater "ease and decency;"† and the issue of English law and custom having been expressly raised, it is very evident he had never supposed the English rubric was capable of any interpretation which could have sanctioned this standing in front of the table.

Laud, though specially obnoxious to the puritans, who, habitually disregarding the rubrics themselves, were ever ready to make the breach of them matter of accusation against their opponents, was himself never even taxed with "turning his back on the people." The example of Bishop Cosin is very wrongfully pressed into the cause.‡ We have already seen the account which he gave of the introduction of the north-side rubric (*ante*, p. 263), and though one of the articles of impeachment against him certainly was that he "used to officiate at the west side thereof [the communion table], with his back to the people," he cleared himself upon oath before the Lords, and was accordingly dismissed by them.§ From the account of his friend Heylyn,‖ it would seem that the charge originated in the "adoration towards the communion table," which Laud and his party so strongly recommended.¶ It is, however, quite enough that "he was impeached" for him to be constantly quoted as an advocate of "celebration before the altar;" for too many of our "advanced ritualists," in this, no less than in their contemning of bishops, resemble the enemies of the church's order in those days, whom the same author goes on to describe as putting these and similar charges "in print, without care taken whether they were true or not;" and they resemble them in this, too, that they are equally ready to rely upon the unproved accusations as proof of the existence of the alleged innovations,—which in this point of standing on the west side were founded in truth only in the one case of Bishop Wren, in one church only, and there only whilst "consecrating the bread and wine," an exception which simply proves the rule as to ministering at the north end at other times.

Standing alone, as this exception does, it goes very far to prove, even apart from the other evidence we have adduced, that, whilst the saying of the daily prayers towards the east had been more or less retained during the three reigns of Elizabeth, James I., and

* December 14, 1640. "The Charge of the Scottish Commissioners against the Prelate of Canterbury" (London, 1641), p. 12.

† "Troubles," p. 116: "I protest in the presence of Almighty God I know of no other intention herein than this."

‡ "North-Side," p. 24.

§ "Life," Works (Oxford, 1843), i., p. xv.

‖ Heylyn's "Laud," 471.

¶ Canons (1640), vii.

Charles I., the westward position of the priest at the Lord's table had not at any time during that period been the law or the practice of the Church of England, either throughout the service, as the theory of our ritualists would require, or during the consecration, as was allowed by the Scotch book.

We must notice one other argument, because it is put forward in such very confident terms. Our author refers to a rubric prefixed to the "New Communion Office," which was put forth by a section of the non-jurors in 1718 as "an important gloss." "'Note, that whenever in this Office the priest is directed to *turn to the altar*, or to stand or kneel *before it*, or *with his face towards it*, it is always meant that he should stand or kneel *on the north side thereof.*' This rubric seems absolutely conclusive as to the meaning attached in 1718 to the north side, since the term 'before the altar' is clearly incompatible with going to the north end'" (p. 28). Our author, we venture to think, has entirely misapprehended Brett and Collier, and their followers, who reverted to the first book of Edward VI. There can be no doubt that they intended this rubric to shut out the westward position before the midst of the altar, which had come to be popularly associated with "popery." Instead of raking in the embers of an extinct controversy between the usagers and the more conservative non-jurors, we refer Dr. Littledale to his fellow-ritualist, Dr. Lee,—not as a competent witness as to the date of the practice itself, but as an authority whom he will accept for the practice of the non-jurors, and for our interpretation of the rubric:—"The strange practice of standing at the north end of the altar did not begin to be general till about a hundred years ago. It originated, however, with the non-jurors: probably from a misapprehension of the north and south sides of the ancient liturgies." *

But we have no need to argue as to the practice of a section of the non-juring body, some twenty years after the revolution, when they were no longer influenced by those saint-like men whose secession had been so great a loss to the church of England; and we must be content to let pass the less salient but not more trustworthy assertions of our author. We submit that we have proved that the so-called "well-known" examples of the non-natural use of "north side" are wholly irrelevant, and that, though we have produced contemporary testimony to the acceptance of the rubric in its natural sense, no one authenticated example has been suggested to the contrary. Indeed, we find it impossible to account for the notion that the framers of the north-side rubric intended to retain the western position, if it were not that a foregone determination—we will not say to romanize, which it would not be just to attribute in all cases,

* "Directorium Anglicanum," 2nd edition, 1865, p. 194.

though it would be neither unjust nor unwelcome in some—but, at all events, a determination to mediævalize had induced men to catch at this novel figment as a colourable sanction for their leaving the side of the table. Even then, we must remind them that their north-side theory is but a sorry attempt at correct mediævalism—the northern horn of the altar was resorted to, according to the pre-reformation English use, only when there was no deacon to read the gospel in the appointed place,—nor would they derive much support from Rome, for the modern Roman missal only directs the celebrant to stand there during the gospel.* And yet, although with no sanction from the ritual of the Mosaic law,—opposed in principle to the early Christian custom in catacomb and basilica,—incorrect in detail, if we take the mediæval or modern Roman ceremonial for a standard, —contravening the letter and intention of our own rubric as framed in 1552 by the Reformers,—unknown to the restored Convocation and Parliament, who retained that rubric without alteration,—it is this innovation that Dr. Littledale appeals to our sense of shame, to "adopt without a moment's hesitation,"† and complains (p. 4) that "strange celebrants, episcopal and others, deliberately ignore and set at nought, . . . indifferent to the irritation they well know themselves to be exciting by their departure from local custom [practice], so long as they can adhere to their cherished tradition." Grievous as it is to think that irritation should have arisen in the minds of any who were joining in such solemn services; and willingly as our spiritual fathers and others in authority in the church would have spared themselves the pain of offending even the prejudices of any of their brethren, we feel confident that Dr. Littledale himself will respect the principle, that personal considerations may not interfere with the course of duty. For our part, we are thankful for these examples of firmness in high places which our author has had the candour to place on record, and we will beg him

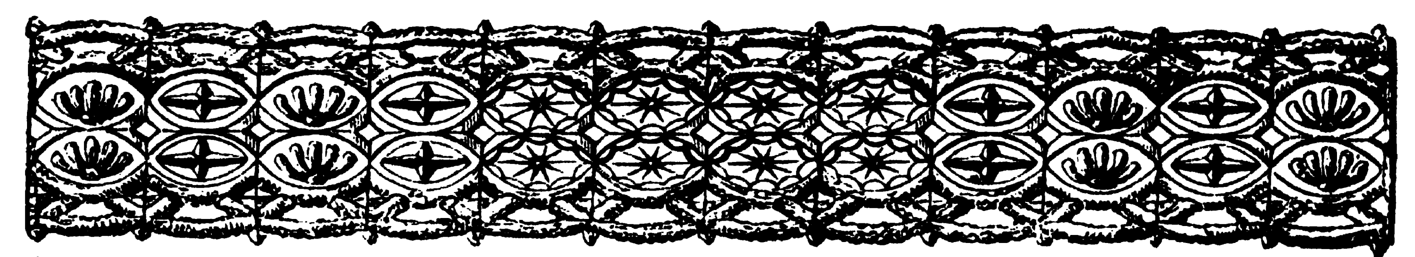
* The old custom of reading the gospel from the ambon has survived in many cathedrals and other churches of the Roman obedience.

† "If the *argumentum ad verecundiam* were one of much weight in the present day, it would be sufficient to point out that on the one side are ranged all those persons who accept in its fulness the language of the primitive liturgies and the ancient Fathers touching the Holy Eucharist, who are competent, after long study, to pronounce with some degree of authority on the meaning of rubrics, and who have shown themselves, by diligent use, the most faithful adherents of the Book of Common Prayer. When, on the other side, are found ranked together all those whose eucharistic teaching is, to say no more, entirely modern, and all those who agitate for more or less sweeping alterations in the Anglican formularies, whilst possessing a most imperfect acquaintance with liturgiology, and exhibiting a very modified respect for rubrics or canons, it would seem that those pious and conscientious people who are anxious to do exactly what is right and lawful need not hesitate for a moment in making their choice. But as they confessedly do hesitate, and in the meantime for the most part comply with the non-ritual use of the north end, it is desirable to adduce the reasons which make that custom untenable."—*North-Side*, pp. 4-5.

to believe that it is in no hostile spirit that we trust that the tradition which he desires to change, and which now for more than three hundred years has been "ordained and approved by common authority" (Art. XXXIV.), may be adhered to so long as the present rubric continues to be the law of the Church, not only by the "great majority of clergymen," as our author admits, but by those too, like himself, who, with a praiseworthy anxiety in all—even the smallest—matters that concern the glory of God, have been content to take for granted authorities and examples, which a closer examination on their part would have shown to be untrustworthy and irrelevant.

NOTE.—The less unusual practice of standing before the table during the prayer of consecration seems to us, although not less wanting in rubrical authority, as we propose to show in a future number, yet to differ from standing at the so-called ritual north side during the whole service in that it merely omits to carry out the implied intention of a rubric rather than commits a direct violation of an express direction. Hence, in the position of a simple parochial clergyman, whose compliance could not be cited as a precedent, we must confess that, though we are very confident as to the form which an authoritative decision would necessarily take, we should not feel bound to act upon our individual opinion and break through the parochial use if we were desired to celebrate the Lord's Supper in a strange church, where it had become the rule to remain before the table during the consecration, until our own diocesan had resolved the doubt, or the bench of bishops had taken order in the matter.

Postscript.—Whilst these pages have been passing through the press, our attention has been drawn to Mr. Elliott's "North Side of the Table." We have not yet been able to read it with the attention we could wish, but he appears to have gone over much of the same ground as ourselves, and to treat some parts of the subject more fully than our limits have permitted. He supplies a piece of evidence, altogether new to us, which conclusively establishes our interpretation of "north side" in the "New Communion Office" (*above*, p. 280), namely, that a second edition explained it to mean "north end."



LETTER FROM THE BISHOP OF CAPETOWN.

To the Editor of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

BISHOPSCOURT, *June* 26, 1866.

SIR,

It is only within the last day or two that I have accidentally met with the second number of the *Contemporary Review*.

In it I find an article on "Church Government in the Colonies," in which my character and conduct are assailed in no measured terms. You will pardon me for saying that courtesy, if not a sense of justice, should have led you to forward to me the article containing such severe remarks, that I might have an opportunity of replying to them if I thought fit to do so.

I have laid it down as a rule for myself, not to take any notice of anonymous attacks upon my character, and have, it may be, suffered in the estimation of others by my silence. The case, however, is greatly altered when the person who makes the attack gives his name. Of the writer of this article I know nothing, except that he is the Chaplain of the Bishop of London, and has given close attention to the subject on which he writes, as appears by a former publication. On both of these grounds a Bishop, placed in great difficulties, and living at a distance of many thousand miles —unable, therefore, to reply for months to any charges of a personal nature, —might have expected both accuracy as to statement, and a fair interpretation of his conduct. Unhappily, instead of these, the article abounds with misrepresentations and misstatements as to facts and proceedings, which are little creditable to the writer.

I must ask your leave to make good my assertion, and to vindicate myself in the pages of the *Review* in which I have been assailed. I would venture to hope, also, that if anything I may here say should be called in question, I may again be permitted to explain, for it is impossible to meet beforehand plausible statements which may seem to have some foundation, though really destitute of any.

I have no intention to reply to the arguments of the article, or to the views of the writer as to the kind of restraint which he is pleased to suggest should be placed upon the Colonial Churches in the exercise of their religious liberties. The Bishop of Grahamstown has written to me to say that he has obtained your leave to discuss these in your *Review*, and I have no

doubt that he will do so more ably than I could hope to do. I shall confine myself to what is of a personal nature.

At page 312 I find the following passage:—

"We cannot but think that, had it not been for an overweening conception of the rights and dignity of the episcopal office in itself, the Bishop of Capetown would never have been led to institute the two series of proceedings which have resulted in so sad an exhibition of the invalidity of his claims. He would never have imagined that the Letters Patent in themselves could bear him out in expelling a beneficed clergyman for refusing to assist in establishing a synod, of which the only thing not liable to question was its purely voluntary character, or in deposing another bishop by a process, and on grounds, which the laws and mode of proceeding of the mother Church would not sanction. He had other grounds on which to rest his claim. He imagines that a clergyman, once placed in the position of a bishop or of a metropolitan, acquires certain rights which do not rest on grounds cognizable by the laws of England or her Colonies, but on certain traditions of the second and third century, which his imagination invests with a kind of Divine authority."

At page 324-5 the following words occur:—

"These are no imaginary dangers, but are suggested and brought home to us by the cases which the Bishop of Capetown has raised in the assertion of his authority. In the case of Mr. Long, the question turned upon the assertion of the kind of independence we are here speaking of. The Bishop demands that a synod shall be called to represent 'the Church of South Africa in communion with the Church of England.' Mr. Long and others object to this, on the ground that the title is illegal, as involving the assertion of a position outside the Church of England, to which church they consider that they owe allegiance. The Bishop insists that this title shall be adopted, on his sole authority, in the notice calling the synod, and, on Mr. Long's refusing to give the notice, deprives him of his living as a schismatic. Here then is a double danger before us—first, the demand for an autocratic authority on the part of the Bishop, which is grounded neither in law nor on consent, but on the fancied rights of a bishop, *per se;* and secondly, the exercise of this authority in the formation of a church which is separate from, though for the present in communion with, the Church of England."

With the spirit and temper of these passages I have nothing to do. It is with their misrepresentations only that I am concerned. First, then, it is here asserted that I "expelled a beneficed clergyman for refusing to assist in establishing a Synod." Second, That I have "deposed another bishop by a process, and on grounds, which the laws and mode of proceeding of the mother Church would not sanction." Third, That I held that my rights as Metropolitan are derived from "certain traditions of the second or third century, which my imagination has invested with a kind of Divine authority." Fourth, That I "demanded" that a "Synod should be called to represent 'the Church of South Africa in communion with the Church of England.'" Fifth, That I "insisted that this title should be adopted, on my sole authority, in the notice calling the synod." Sixth, That there was a "demand for an autocratic authority on the part of the Bishop, grounded neither on law nor on consent, but on the fancied rights of a Bishop."

At present I will do no more than offer a few remarks upon the above assertions, so far as they relate to the Long case; but if my statements should be called in question, I am ready to substantiate every one of them by an appeal to documents. I observe then, first, with reference to the establishment of a Synod, that it was shown in evidence during the two trials in the Supreme Court of this colony,—That Synods of Clergy had been held in this Diocese from the first appointment of a Bishop (Second Trial, p. 285): That when the desire arose that laity should take part in these proceedings, every parish was formally and separately consulted: That in consequence of doubts as to the legality of such assemblies, there was delay in summoning them: That when it became clear that they were lawful, they were called: That what Mr. Long objected to was their legality, he still considering that the summoning them without the sanction of the Crown was a violation of the Royal Supremacy (First Trial, p. 59; Second Trial,

pp. 31-51) : That notwithstanding this opinion, he had given notice of a meeting of his parishioners relating to the first Synod (Second Trial, p. 95): That he objected to give any notice relating to the second (Second Trial, pp. 32, 50, 60, 70): That the terms of the notice were not as asserted, but simply for the summoning of a Synod of the Diocese (Second Trial, pp. 50-1): That it was for refusing to give a notice, directed to be given by the Ordinary, as to a Parish meeting, in violation, as it was held, of the spirit and letter of the Rubric, that he was cited to appear: That when he did appear he was repeatedly told, in the presence of several clergymen, That there was no wish whatever to bind him in any way to recognise the Synod: That he never was called upon to acknowledge its authority (Second Trial, p. 268): That he refused to give the notice, and never pleaded that it was not such a notice as was contemplated by the Rubric, which was the ground upon which the Privy Council reversed the decision of the Supreme Court (First Trial, pp. 59, 82-3): That for this he was suspended for three months: That he refused during a whole month to obey the suspension, on the ground that a Bishop in a Colony had no authority for any cause to suspend a Clergyman, declaring publicly from his pulpit that "GOD had placed him there, and not man, and man could not remove him" (Report of First Trial, p. 3; Second Trial, p. 325): That for this refusal to yield obedience to his Ordinary, by whom he had been ordained Priest, and with whom he had contracted, he was again cited to appear: That he refused to appear, and continued to officiate, and was thereupon deprived (First Trial, pp. 17, 18, 86; Second Trial, 82, 85): That in this trial the Bishop did not sit alone: That he had for his Assessors the most distinguished of the Clergy (First Trial, p. 86), elected to that office by their brethren: That the accused was invited to challenge any of them (Second Trial, p. 47): That he was defended in the Bishop's Court by two leading Counsel of the Colony, one now a Judge: That the Assessors were unanimous in their advice, and that the Bishop acted upon that advice: That the obedience claimed from a Priest to myself, as Bishop, was that which was due by the laws of the Church in England, and no more (Second Trial, p. 100, 179): That this was what the Letters Patent intended should be the relation between Bishop and Priest in this Diocese: That if they did not convey the power to suspend or deprive, the right to do so belonged to the office of the Bishop, as was clear from the early Canons of the Church, which *were accepted in England, and formed part of the Common Law of that Church* (First Trial, p. 22): That Mr. Long had accepted those laws, and submitted himself to the authority of the Bishop (First Trial, pp. 4, 5, 24, 28). The statements, therefore, of the *Review* relating to this trial are contrary to the facts of the case. The Supreme Court of this Colony, after a most careful examination into the whole question, entirely new to men not one of whom was a member of the Church of England, supported the Bishop's views and course of action, maintaining —That the Bishop was entitled to call his Synod: That though the Letters Patent could convey no coercive Jurisdiction, yet the Bishop had authority to deprive, for just cause, an offending clerk who had contracted with him: That the principle laid down by Lord Lyndhurst in the celebrated case of Dr. Warren was a sound one: That that principle would withhold them from going into the merits of the case: That Mr. Long was justly deprived.

This decision, on appeal, was reversed by the Privy Council, upon the ground that the Rubric did not entitle the Bishop to instruct a clergyman to give every kind of notice in his Church, but only such notices as were contemplated by some positive law; and that by leaving to Mr. Long the fixing the time and place of the meeting, he was required to do more than give a notice.

Holding that this was not a notice contemplated by the law, they said that Mr. Long was justified in disobeying the order to give it, and that he was not liable to punishment for his disobedience. They therefore reversed the decision of the Supreme Court; though at the same time they affirmed the right of the Bishop to try and deprive his clerk, and did not deny his right to summon his Synod. I do not feel called upon to raise a question here as to whether the interpretation of the Rubric and of the oaths of Canonical obedience is a true one; or to challenge the many inaccuracies of that judgment as to facts; but I think that I am entitled to observe that while upholding the dictum of Lord Lyndhurst, and expressing their intention to abide by the principles he laid down, they yet immediately departed from those principles, by entering into the merits of the case, which Lord Lyndhurst distinctly stated the Civil Court would not do, and had no right to do.

In this whole case two points were at issue, affecting not merely the well-being, but the very being of the Churches in the Colonies. One, their right to hold their Church Assemblies like other voluntary religious bodies (First Trial, pp. 34, 35, 63; Second Trial, p. 99). The other, the power and authority of the officers of the Church in cases of discipline (First Trial, pp. 4, 36, 39, 48, 52, 57, 100; Second Trial, pp. 52, 152, 187, 212, 213). It was publicly denied in this cause that they could lawfully hold Synods, and that a Bishop had any authority to suspend or deprive a clergyman. It is now ruled that both these powers exist. This cause, however painful to me, has been full of benefit to the Church. It has secured to it its liberties. Had this case not been tried there would have been no discipline, no government, in the Church. It was the long-continued repudiation of authority that led to it. That the Clergy in this country did not believe, with the writer in your Review, that there had been any wish to assume "autocratic authority," or any harshness or injustice in dealing with a brother clergyman, may, I think, be inferred from the fact that, at the very period of this trial, they (I believe unanimously) suspended in Synod the rule which made assessors necessary to the Bishop in the trial of Clergy, because of the difficulty in acting upon it in a country of such vast extent as this, and left the whole responsibility and power in the hands of the Bishop. They have for nineteen years reposed confidence in their Bishop, and your Reviewer's misstatements will not affect them, though they may mislead people in England.

So much for the imputations cast upon me relating to the first of these trials, which your *Review* thinks "exhibits the unfortunate spectacle of a Bishop of the Church of England asserting a despotic power," and furnishes "a fresh proof of the unfitness of aspiring ecclesiastics and heated theologians to exercise control in spiritual causes," and "makes all thoughtful Churchmen feel that of all the risks which the Colonial Church could run, the most desperate would be that of being given over to the uncontrolled will of its priestly rulers."

(For refutation of these statements, see First Trial, pp. 4, 98, 99; Bishop's Speech, March 12.)

Your Reviewer's remarks with regard to the unhappy case of Dr. Colenso are not less injurious and unfair. He thinks that a certain decision with regard to the Tasmanian Patent ought to have prevented any one "amenable to conviction" from having anything to do with it; and says, with compassionate contempt, "We cannot but think that, had it not been for an overweening conception of the rights and dignity of the Episcopal Office in itself, the Bishop of Capetown would never have been led to institute the two series of proceedings which have resulted in so sad an exhibition of the validity of his claims." I am sorry that I cannot agree with him. I have

not myself, for many years, thought that the Letters Patent conveyed coercive jurisdiction. About ten years ago I took the opinion of the present Attorney-General and Queen's Advocate on the subject. They held that there was no coercive jurisdiction, but that the Civil Courts would, in any cause that might come before them, recognise the office, rights, and functions of the Bishop and of the Metropolitan. I have acted upon their advice, and have never believed that I had coercive jurisdiction, *i. e.*, that mine was a legally constituted Court, with all the powers of a Court. I have ever held it to be what the law has pronounced it to be, a tribunal which needed the support of the Civil Court to carry its sentences into effect where they were resisted. If I have argued in favour of the authority of Letters Patent before the Supreme Court, I was bound to do so, as a matter of duty, until they were legally pronounced invalid. If in my judgment on Bishop Colenso I seemed to attribute too much authority to them, I did so under the advice of the most eminent lawyers whom I could consult here, who drew up the sentence, which was not in accordance with my own view. I placed myself in the hands of Lawyers for this purpose, in obedience to the instructions of the Privy Council, who found fault with me for not having done so in the Long case, and for having taken as my Assessors on that occasion, instead of lawyers, the Clergy whom the Synod had elected for that purpose : though why a voluntary body should be thus dictated to as to the formation of its tribunal I could never see. The Long Judgment, instead of throwing difficulties in the way of the course pursued in the Colenso case, was thought by all to mark it out very distinctly. It admitted the power to suspend and deprive, where there had been consent given by the inferior to the superior—where there was a Contract. Dr. Colenso had consented, or contracted, by the Canonical Oath known to Christendom, and regarded as sufficient hitherto by all Christendom. The Colenso judgment, however, to the marvel of all, declared that there was no right on the part of Dr. Colenso to give jurisdiction, *i. e.*, the right to suspend or deprive him, by consent, —why, has never been explained, but probably because he held Letters Patent, and none but the Crown could cancel these.

But what are the facts in this case? A Bishop of this Province had published works in which he had assailed the authority of the Word of GOD, and the great truths of Christianity. The Convocation of Canterbury had declared these writings to contain statements subversive of the faith. Being myself in England at that time, I was reproached on a great occasion, and by none more vehemently than by your Reviewer's Diocesan, for not taking proceedings against Dr. Colenso, which I declined to do until, or unless, charges were brought before me, and my authority as Metropolitan were appealed to; and I left England without taking any steps, or giving any assurance to those who urged me to do so that I would.

On my arrival in Africa a cry came from the Clergy and laity of the afflicted Diocese of Natal. Definite charges were formally brought before me respecting the teaching of one who was my Suffragan, and had contracted with me by taking the oath of Canonical obedience to me.

How was I to act? Your Reviewer, who betrays throughout his sympathy with scepticism, or, as he would call it, "free thought," scoffs and sneers at the course actually pursued.

"If we look at the conduct of the Bishop of Capetown we find the hierarchical spirit developing itself in the strongest manner. No freedom of thought or action could exist under the system which he advocates. . . . It would be difficult for Protestants to say that the wild, unrestrained thoughts of individuals have done so much harm as that overbearing of the individual will by arbitrary power, or love of systematizing, which the Bishop of Capetown would introduce into the colonial churches."

But not content with this, he brings distinct charges against myself calcu-

lated to excite the prejudices of his readers, and to divert attention from the heresies of Dr. Colenso, and arouse indignation against myself; and, as before, is guilty of great misrepresentation. It is with these charges and misrepresentations which I feel it to be my duty to deal.

One of these charges has already been referred to, but, for the sake of clearness, not at the moment replied to. He says that I have "deposed a Bishop by a process and on grounds which the laws and mode of proceeding of the mother Church will not sanction" (p. 316). That I present—

"The unfortunate spectacle of a bishop of the Church of England asserting a despotic power for which I had no grounds; appealing to the most solemn sanctions for his support in a manner which to bystanders could hardly appear other than ridiculous; scattering accusations of heresy and schism broadcast around him, without the support of any church authority but his own opinion; and conducting the proceedings in a manner which has made every man of legal experience see here a fresh proof of the unfitness of aspiring ecclesiastics and heated theologians to exercise control in spiritual causes."

He further says (p. 326), that, being subject to the Court of the Archbishop by the instrument of my appointment, I simply thrust aside its decision when it stands in the way of my own opinion. That (p. 325) I "distinctly assert that I am not to be bound by the decisions pronounced by the Court of Appeal of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and that I claim that there shall be no right of Appeal whatever from my authority:" That "whereas the law of England gives all Churchmen a right of Appeal to the Crown from the decisions of the Archbishop, I demand that causes shall not go for appeal beyond the province of South Africa." That whereas (p. 325) "the recognised principle of the English law in these Ecclesiastical suits is, that a man shall be judged by the written standards of the Church of England, *and by those alone*, the Bishop of Capetown, on the contrary," in addition to them, sets up "Œcumenical Councils," "the received faith of the Church in all ages," &c., as standards of our faith; and that "it is plain that the result of the adoption of this method of judgment would be, that any exaggeration, or even delusion, which may have won its way into popular acceptance, like that of Transubstantiation, . . . or the Immaculate Conception, . . . is . . . to be made the standard by which a clergyman may be condemned." At page 328 he says that the Bishop of Capetown proposes to "appoint a new Bishop, who should be consecrated by himself and the two Missionary Bishops whom he has appointed."

He further attacks portions of the Judgment itself, which he represents as the opinion only of the Bishop of Capetown, omitting the fact that it was concurred in by three other Bishops of the province; and in doing so, as is usual with him, misstates his facts. He quotes Bishop Thirlwall as supporting Bishop Taylor in justifying the language used by Dr. Colenso with reference to our Lord. But neither of these authorities touches the point in question. Dr. Colenso charged our Blessed Lord with error. Neither Bishop Taylor nor Bishop Thirlwall can be tortured into giving any sanction to such an imputation.

I have no intention, however, of justifying my judgment to Mr. Fremantle. Some of the very greatest names in the Church have thanked me for it, and for the manner of conducting the trial. The saintly Keble, now lost to us, wrote expressly to thank me, "both for the matter and the manner." It is with your Reviewer's statements only that I have to deal. I will reply to them as briefly as I can.

First, then, as to Dr. Colenso's trial.

I. It has never been shown that I "deposed a Bishop by a process, and on grounds, which the laws and mode of proceeding of the mother Church will not sanction;" or that I asserted any "despotic power." What I did was to cite before myself, aided by the other Bishops of the Province, one who was

made subject to me by the authority of the Crown, through Letters Patent—by the authority of the Church which sent me out—by his own consent, and oaths of obedience,—who was publicly charged with the gravest offences. I do not know that there was anything very "ridiculous," or very "despotic" in this. Even the judgment of Lord Westbury admits that there are such things as spiritual relations between a Metropolitan and his Suffragan; and all that even he has affirmed is that in this case the Metropolitan had no legal power to cancel the Letters Patent of his Suffragan. As to the trial itself, the process and mode of proceeding adopted resembled, as closely as was possible, that pursued in the trial and deposition of the Bishop of St. David's. All the Bishops of the province were summoned. Three were present. The Bishop of St. Helena, who was unable to be present, afterwards concurred. They sat in open court in the Cathedral Church. All forms were observed. The proceedings were conducted with the greatest solemnity, in the presence of a considerable number of people. The Bishops delivered their opinions separately. The trial lasted several days. All that took place was published in the newspapers of the Colony, and subsequently in a volume still on sale in London. Faults may be found with the proceedings of any court. They are found at this time with the proceedings in this very case of the Supreme Court of Natal, as to whose conduct the Clergy have, in conference, resolved to take a legal opinion. They were found with the Lord Chancellor in the hearing of this case. But I never heard any adverse criticism upon our proceedings except from Dr. Colenso, who complained that his accusers were permitted to have access to his private letters. The letters in question, however, did not relate to any charge brought against Dr. Colenso; and they were not private letters, but were documents placed in my registry, and related either to previous presentations of Dr. Colenso to me, as Metropolitan, or to the exercise of that office by myself, or to the apparent slighting of it by Dr. Colenso. The subject-matter of them was public; the decisions I gave in connection with them were public; they were laid up with other letters as public. The nature of these communications was well known here, through communication with the Natal Clergy. I did not think that I was called upon to withhold them, as they had no bearing whatever upon the charges brought against Dr. Colenso. I should be glad to know in what respects this trial exhibits the "rashness and wilfulness which attempts to enforce an episcopal autocracy to which nothing similar has been seen in England since the days of the Court of High Commission" (p. 316); or in what way our act differed from the proceedings adopted in the case of the Bishop of St. David's, which was taken as our model, with this exception, that whereas in that case, as may be seen in Hody's learned manuscript in the Lambeth library, there was, even after the settlement of the question, considerable doubt as to whether the Archbishop should have heard the case in his Court of Audience or in Synod, we resolved to meet the objection by first hearing the case in Court, and then considering the evidence in Synod. In Synod we agreed that the evidence was conclusive, and that the sentence of deposition was just. The sentence was given in open Court. While providing, as was thought, against objections, the course pursued was the very fairest that could be adopted as regards the accused. Until it is proved to the contrary, I am entitled to affirm that a Bishop in England would be condemned on the same grounds on which the Bishops of this province condemned Dr. Colenso.

II. Next, as to your Reviewer's other assertions. I am not "subject by the instrument of my appointment to the Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury." There is not a word about the Archbishop's *Court* in the Letters Patent; and it would be a thing unheard of in the history of the

Church for a Metropolitan, in his character as Metropolitan, to be subject to the *Court*, or deputy, of another Metropolitan. The Letters Patent do not appear to give, even to the Archbishop himself in person, a right of hearing any appeals from the decisions of the Metropolitan of this province. They give him "a general superintendence," whatever that may amount to. It was this doubtful language which induced me, while granting the appeal, and expressing the satisfaction I felt in submitting the whole case to the Chair of Canterbury, with the aid, if thought desirable, of other Bishops of the National Church, to be very guarded in my language, lest I should establish a precedent for which I should hereafter be condemned. It is simply untrue that I "claim that there shall be no right of appeal whatever from my authority" (Judgment, pp. 76, 80). On the contrary, I have repeatedly and formally expressed my willingness that an appeal should lie to Canterbury, as the Patriarchal Chair, if it were thought fit (Second Trial, pp. 71, 82, 98; Acts and Constitutions of Synod, p. 12; Second Trial, pp. 239, 249, 332, 333). And I have publicly declared that not I only, but my Provincial Synod, would be subject to the authority and decision of a National Synod; and that I myself am subject to the authority of my Provincial Synod. The Provincial Synod itself, when it met, declined to express any opinion upon the general question of appeals to England. That the decisions of the Court of Arches are in no way binding upon the Church here, I do indeed hold. We have absolutely nothing whatever to do with that Court, any more than the Archbishop of York, or of Dublin, has. I am as much entitled to differ from any decision of Dr. Lushington as the Archbishop of York would be. Whatever weight is to be attached to it is owing to the learning and ability of the Judge.

III. It is true that the law of England does give an appeal from the Archbishop's Court to the Judicial Committee of Privy Council; but appeals can only lie from one recognised Court to another, and the law of England does not recognise any ecclesiastical Court in South Africa from which an appeal could lie, either to the Court of Arches or to the Privy Council. We are simply a voluntary Association; our tribunals are not Courts in the legal sense of the word. The act constituting the Judicial Committee of Privy Council a final Court of appeal for the Church of England has no force in this land, and is limited in its operation to England —not extending even to Ireland. It is absurd, therefore, to make it a charge that we do not recognise the Court of appeal for the Established Church as our Court of appeal. The law has not made it such. It has allowed us no Courts from which an appeal could lie. It is only in virtue of its Establishment that the Privy Council is the Court of appeal for the Church of England. If it were to cease to be established, the Privy Council would be no longer its Court of appeal. We are not established, and it is not ours. Clearly Dr. Colenso has been advised that such is the case; for he says, "Petition the Crown to appoint a Commission to try me;" in other words, Confess that your unestablished churches have not, and ought not to have, the power of ridding themselves of unfaithful ministers, as every sect in the British dominions has; ignore your own office of Metropolitan, and admit that the right exists in the Crown to remove Colonial Bishops at pleasure—to reconstitute the Star Chamber for the government of Colonial Churches—to exercise powers in spiritual matters as regards the unestablished Churches in the Colonies, which it has not even as regards the Church of England, which is established,—powers which have been taken from the Crown as regards that Church by Acts of Parliament, and which would not for a moment be tolerated with respect to civil causes;—which would, in reality, be to admit that the minister of the day may appoint any persons

whom he pleases, to try, upon any charge, all the Bishops of the Colonial Churches, and to dismiss them from their offices. Were such a power to be claimed in other than spiritual causes—say as regards political offenders,—it would be denounced by all, and if insisted upon would lead to a revolution.

Your Reviewer expresses his fear lest the Colonial Church should break away from the mother Church, and thinks that the establishment of the Privy Council as our Court of appeal would be the means of guarding against this evil. Let him be assured that if there be one thing which would break up our communion, it would be the attempt upon the part of the latitudinarian party at home to force this Court upon the Colonial Churches as their Court of appeal. He may make light of the expense. That alone would prevent the Churches from accepting it. How could a poor clergyman, with an income of £200 a year, benefit by such a Court, when the expense of appealing to it might cost £2,500, as in the Long case? But there is, throughout the Colonial Churches, a deep distrust of the Court of Appeal as now constituted—a belief that it already has compromised the teaching of the Church of England; and a determination that they will never submit to have the faith, as received from their fathers, taken from them through its decisions.

IV. Your Reviewer affirms that the recognised principle of the English law in these ecclesiastical suits is, that a man shall be judged by the written standards of the Church of England, and by these alone; but this is not borne out by facts. The Church of England has never declared that the whole faith which she holds is contained in her written standards. The Legislature has not declared it. When it did speak, it said (1 Eliz., cap. i., sec. 17) that that was to be adjudged to be heresy which was "determined . . . to be heresy by the authority of the Canonical Scriptures, or by the first four General Councils, or any of them; or by any other General Council wherein the same was declared heresy by the express words of the same Canonical Scriptures, or such as hereafter shall be determined . . . to be heresy by the . . . Parliament, . . . with the assent of the Clergy in their Convocation."

Even the Court of Arches, which your Reviewer thinks I am bound to defer to, has used very guarded language on this point. Its language is, "It is indeed a question of deep importance whether or not there may be offences against the doctrines of the Church of England which cannot be included within the Articles and Formularies;" and again, "I think it true that, though nowhere distinctly expressed, the Articles were framed upon certain assumptions of fact and belief, in which it was then taken for granted that all Christian men agreed" (Judgment, "Essays and Reviews"). Nor is it true that what I have affirmed respecting the Church of England, namely, that what the Œcumenical Councils have ruled to be the faith, that is her faith; or that the received faith of the Church in all ages is a guide not to be disregarded, would or could lead, as your Reviewer affirms, to the acceptance of such doctrines as that of "Transubstantiation or the Immaculate Conception," or any other "delusion which may have won its way to popular acceptance." No theologian would for an instant have made so absurd an assertion. It is just because Transubstantiation and the Immaculate Conception were not the faith of the Church *in all ages*, but only the belief of a portion of the Church in a later age, that we feel justified in repudiating them as parts of the faith. The rule laid down by me absolutely excludes all novelties and "delusions that might win their way to popular acceptance," and perhaps this is the reason why it finds so little favour in Mr. Fremantle's eyes.

V. I am weary of replying to the misstatements of your Reviewer; and

I do not wish to exhaust the patience of your readers; but I must add, in reply to his charges, yet a few words. First, as to his assertion at page 328. I did not "propose" ever "to appoint a new Bishop." The "two missionary Bishops" to whom he alluded were not "appointed by me." They were appointed by the home authorities, and consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, in obedience to the mandate of the Crown. I never did propose to consecrate a faithful Bishop for Natal in conjunction with them: every Bishop of this Province, whether holding Letters Patent or not, is prepared to consecrate any Bishop that may be elected by the diocese. They hold that the maintenance of the pure faith of Christ is the first duty of the Church and of its Pastors; that that faith could not be maintained if Dr. Colenso were to be acknowledged as Bishop of the Diocese; or without the appointment of a Bishop holding the faith; and they are prepared, therefore, to do their part whenever the occasion shall arise which calls for their interference.

Next, as to his imputation about my seeking to found a "new Church of South Africa," which he has borrowed from Dr. Colenso. Our Synods have from the beginning declared that we are an "integral portion" of the Church of England—that we are "in *union* and communion" with that church. We have solemnly affirmed that "we receive and maintain the doctrine and sacraments, and the discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded, and as the United Church of England and Ireland hath received the same." We have affirmed that we receive the Book of Common Prayer and the Holy Scriptures, and disclaimed the right of a single Province of the Church to alter the standards of faith and doctrine, and have acknowledged the Canons and Constitutions so far as in force in England. We have done everything in our power, in the absence of all positive law, to bind ourselves to the mother Church. Personally I have, these many years, publicly and privately,—through letters addressed to those in authority,—through published correspondence,—in charges,—urged the summoning of a National Synod, which alone can bind all the Churches of our Communion in one, and lay down the principles which are to guide us, and the extent to which divergences are admissible.

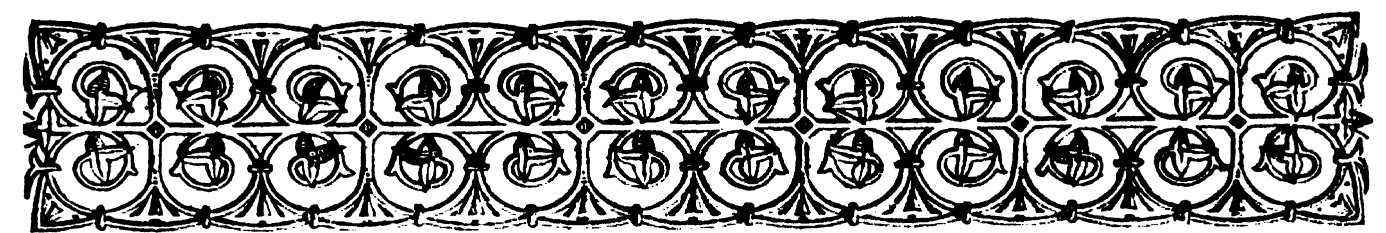
Once more, your Reviewer charges me (pp. 324-5) with framing a title for this Church, and "insisting that it shall be adopted on my sole authority." There is no subject which has been more fully discussed in our Synods than our proper title. That which was decided upon was framed by the Synod. That which is now adopted is that recommended by a Committee of the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury. It is simply untrue that I ever insisted upon its being adopted, either in giving notices of the holding of Synods, or at any other time, on my sole authority, or upon any authority whatever.

Your Reviewer is pleased to think that though great Churches like that of Canada may be permitted to elect and consecrate their Bishops, "absolute independence should not be allowed" to "petty Churches" like ours. The province of Montreal has its five Bishops, perhaps four hundred clergy, and three or four million souls. We have but five Bishops, little more than one hundred clergy, and a population (still, alas! to a large extent heathen) of a million souls. I can see no reason why different principles should be applied to Churches thus circumstanced. But of this I am sure, that the Colonial Churches mean to decide for themselves what their status shall be, and not to have this settled for them in an arbitrary manner, by persons who know little of their circumstances, without their consent.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

R. Capetown.



NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Decalogue and the Lord's Day in the Light of the General Relation of the Old and New Testaments: with a Chapter on Confessions of Faith. By the Rev. WILLIAM MILLIGAN, D.D., Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism in the University of Aberdeen. Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood & Sons.

THERE can be no doubt that "the light of the general relation of the Old and New Testaments" is the right light in which this vexed Sabbath question ought to be viewed. But the inquiry is thus only shifted further back to another,—*What is the general relation?* This Dr. Milligan sets himself to answer, in the three former divisions of his book. He systematically reviews—I. The Revelation of the Old Testament as a whole. II. The Jewish Dispensation; or, the Economy of the Law. III. The Relation in which Christ and Christianity stand to these.

We own that it rather detracts from our expectation of the fairness of the result of such investigation, when we read that it is undertaken "in the earnest hope that what is to be said may tend to confirm a belief of the divine obligation of the Lord's day." This parading of a foregone conclusion tends very much to blunt the appetite for an argument. But we must confess that the conduct of that argument by Dr. Milligan is something to us new and unexpected. Starting from premises universally received in the Church, he takes, boldly and unreservedly, the line of the *anti-sabbatarians* throughout the former and by far the larger portion of his work. It is reserved for a very short concluding chapter to turn all this to the service of the other side.

That "the Bible, from beginning to end, presents to us the same great principles of religion," has been held by most Christians since, and before, Augustine told us that "in Novo patet quod in Vetere latet." It is satisfactory to find that our author does not maintain the universal character and permanent obligation of the decalogue, as distinguished from the other precepts of the Mosaic law. He ingenuously confesses of the law—with, however, a few words of reserve—that "all its parts constituted one whole, and that whole was designed for God's ancient people, and, *at that time at*

least, for them alone" (p. 56). The objects of that law, as being—(1) *to restrain sin; (2) to protect and shadow forth truths higher than those to which it gave direct expression;* and (3) *to awaken a longing for redemption, and thus to prepare the way for Christ and His Gospel*, are lucidly set forth, but with no novelty either of position or of language. We have merely the old ground gone over, that the law came in parenthetically during the course of God's primevally begun revelation of Himself as the God of redemption.

Dr. Milligan then naturally comes to "the relation of Christianity to the Old Testament;" and he speaks thus, in language which will be acquiesced in by every Christian:—"The Lord Jesus Christ was the great end of the whole revelation of God. It was to prepare His way that all the previous history of the world had been directed, and all earlier revelations given. When He came, the final revelation of the Almighty's will was bestowed on man."

After this it of course follows that "Christ connected Himself with the past dealings of God, with the revelation of His will as contained in the Old Testament, and with the marvellous people whose history is there presented to us" (p. 75).

In the following sentences, in which our author speaks of the mission of the Redeemer having also a reference to the wants of the heathen, we are somewhat surprised to find the expression, "the desire of all nations" (Hag. ii. 7) unhesitatingly referred to Him by a professor of Biblical criticism. We had thought that that expression was one of those which would not bear the commonly received interpretation: and that "the desire of all nations" was now taken to mean the *silver and the gold*, spoken of in the next verse, which should flow into the later temple.

But this by the way. Our author now goes at some length into the old "latet" and "patet" view: "The light (in the Old and New Testaments) is the same light, although in the one it is only breaking in the sky, while in the other it shines in splendour. The tree is the same tree, the sap which nourishes it the same sap, although at the one stage we behold only the buds bursting, the leaves expanding, the flowers opening, while in the other the ripe fruits hang on every bough" (p. 79).

Thus Christianity is the same in kind as the Old Testament revelation, but different in degree. What then is become of the law, Noachic and Mosaic? It has passed away: this Dr. Milligan freely confesses: but its substance and *principles*, he says, remain. "Would we be free, that substance, these principles, must be written on our hearts" (p. 96). According to the argument of these lectures, the law of the Mosaic dispensation has in its form passed away; but the principles from which it flowed remain, and our Christianity consists in having those principles written on our hearts. When we fall from Christianity, we fall not under the form of the Mosaic law, but under the form which the eternal principles of the law naturally assume whenever they cease to live within us. In short, the difference between our state and the state of Israel under the law is this. First, in Israel, God put men under a decretal law. *Now*, if men are under a decretal law, it is their own doing. In Israel, God placed them under the stern letter, that they might rise through it to the spirit. Now, he places them under the principle—under the spirit; and if they do not at once appropriate it, if they reduce the spiritual law to a commanding letter, it is their own act. Secondly, this letter includes much more than the letter of the Mosaic law did. It is not a letter aiming at principles which it did not fully express: it is a letter which is the full and natural expression of the principles (p. 97).

This theory, vague and doubtful as it is at the best, is by-and-by applied to the special question in hand. It is acknowledged freely, "that the fourth commandment, in the special form in which it is set before us in the decalogue, is not binding upon Christians" (p. 119). And we are glad to say the dishonest criticism, "that the commandment refers to one day in seven, rather than the seventh day," is manfully repudiated, and in the following terms:—

> "It is sufficient to reply, that statements of that nature are calculated to throw suspicion upon our whole interpretation of Scripture. In dealing with the word of God, simple, straightforward honesty is a qualification imperatively demanded of us: and no one can read the words of the commandment in that spirit without seeing that what it speaks of is not one day in seven, but the seventh day."—(P. 120.)

The claim of the fourth commandment to be a part of the *moral law*, and thus to be of perpetual obligation, is next discussed, and dismissed with equal promptitude: and the general result is thus stated:—"We are fully entitled to conclude that, in its plain and simple meaning, the fourth commandment does not bind us" (p. 121).

It is plain that our author has thus conceded fortress after fortress of the ordinary Sabbatarian defences, and one is curious to see how the avowed end of his book is going to be answered; especially as there are but about twenty-five pages more on the subject.

He now has recourse to the theme which he before propounded, of the *principle* binding us, though the *form* does not; and the question of course recurs, *what is* the principle of this commandment? It is clearly not reached by the substitution of one day for another. It lies much deeper. Its full expression is, "that as we are only stewards of our property, so also we are only stewards of our time—that what is given us of both, belongs, equally of right and as a whole, to God" (p. 123). This principle is then further illustrated by the extension of the sabbatical ordinance to sacred seasons and years. And the inference is, that the Sabbath of the fourth commandment is held to have been typical of no special holy day under the Christian dispensation, but of the spiritual rest and service which became the abiding portion of the soul that has found peace in its Redeemer (p. 127). This is even more broadly stated further on, where Dr. Milligan writes, "The conclusion from what has been said is obvious. The obligation to observe one day in seven as peculiarly holy to God, can neither be rested upon the letter of the fourth commandment, nor can it be regarded as the fulfilling of the *main* idea which that commandment protects and shadows forth" (p. 131). This being so, we might imagine that the argument was brought to an end; and that without the attainment of the purpose enounced in the foregone conclusion above cited. Up to this point all seems sound and unobjectionable; the wonder is how this can, in the short space of now nineteen pages, be used to support a view exactly the contrary of that first established; and the manner in which this is done is really in a high degree curious.

The author goes back again to the primitive institution of the Sabbath. "Thus, then," from the beginning, "we have one day especially distinguished from the rest. It is at once admitted that there is no command, no formal institution of the Sabbath rest as a rest to be observed by man. If there were, it would be as impossible to justify the substitution of the first day for the seventh as it is impossible to do so when we rest the observance of the Lord's day upon the fourth commandment" (p. 134). So guarding, so protesting, Dr. Milligan goes through the Old Testament history, and comes to the conclusion that "throughout the whole Old Testament a special import-

ance is attached to the observance of the seventh day" (p. 137). All after this is pure assumption. Our author says,—

"With the events of the resurrection morning the new creation was completed, and the principle which had been 'from the beginning' rises once more to view, and in the same way. There is no law, no formal institution of a sacred day, no express enactment introducing a change from the day hitherto peculiarly holy. But by His own appearances on that day, the risen Saviour 'blesses the first day of the week and sanctifies it,' and holds it in peculiar honour for Himself and all who will enter into His spirit and see with His eye, just as the Almighty at the first held the seventh day of the week in peculiar honour for Himself and for all who would enter His Spirit (?) and see with His eyes."—(P. 139.)

"C'est magnifique—mais ce n'est pas la guerre." When a writer, especially a Scotch writer, comes to the poorest part of a weak cause, he "turns on" his fine writing. Can anything be more feeble than this analogy doing the part of argument?

The rest is of very small account. This great point being gained, it is now of course easily shown of how much consequence it is for the understanding of Scripture and for the setting at rest of doubt.

The question suggests itself (not in earnest, for our author evidently *is* in earnest), Are we reading a burlesque? Can it really be that a man who has set before us so well all the logical bearings of one side, and that the opposite side to his own, should be so utterly insensible to logic as it affects his own side?

What Scotland may think of this book we know not: *we* cannot help regarding it, both by the former and cogent portion of its argument, and by the latter and uncogent, as a valuable contribution to that sounder view of the Christian Lord's day which, in spite of Sabbatarianism, we hope we may live to see prevailing.

The subject of Dr. Milligan's Appendix, "On Confessions of Faith," is too large for a notice of this kind. We hope to take it up before long in the body of our *Review*.

Études Économiques, Politiques, et Littéraires. Par ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE. Paris. 1866.

THIS volume is the last of the collected edition of the works of M. de Tocqueville; and on running over its contents we were at first inclined to feel something like disappointment that the list was scanty, and the subjects appeared uninteresting. Its editor, M. de Beaumont, expresses the same feeling; but we agree with him that a closer inspection of the volume entirely alters the first impression. There is hardly anything in it which is not of the highest value, although most of the pieces are short, and there is not a single finished literary production. The volume consists almost wholly of M. de Tocqueville's addresses as President of the French Academy; his reports to the Chamber of Deputies, as chairman of important committees; and above all, his few and short, but most valuable and impressive, parliamentary speeches. There is also the remarkable "Discours" of Lacordaire, who was elected into Tocqueville's vacant chair at the Academy. It is the best estimate of his character, and is well deserving of a place in his works.

1. Of the Addresses to the Academy the most remarkable are a sketch of M. de Cessac, his predecessor, and an account of a work on democracy in Switzerland. M. de Cessac, though his name is now nearly forgotten, was a man of some importance in the first Revolution, and under the Empire. He was for a time President of the Legislative Assembly, but afterwards, becoming disgusted with the excesses and the changes of the revolutionary era, he

devoted himself to Napoleon; was made successively Director of the "École polytechnique" and Minister of War; and, after having passed most of his life as an unbeliever, became at last a very devout Christian, or, as Tocqueville expresses it, "Pour lui le difficile etait de croire, non de montrer sa foi. Il devenait donc un Chrétien aussi fervent qu'il était sincère: il servit Dieu comme il avait servi l'Empereur." A man and a period, both representing such various forms of thought, were naturally objects of interest to Tocqueville; and he dwells with great force on one of his favourite topics—the manner in which the passion for *equality* led not to liberty but to submission and servitude:—

"Ainsi, chose bizarre! tandis que chaque particulier, s'exagérant sa valeur et son indépendance tendait vers l'individualisme, l'esprit public se dirigait de plus en plus d'une manière générale et abstraite vers une sorte de panthéisme politique qui, retirant à l'individu jusqu'à son existence propre, menaçait de le confondre enfin dans la vie commune du corps social. . . . Du dix-huitième siècle, et de la révolution, comme d'une source commune, étaient sortis deux fleuves: le premier conduisait les hommes aux institutions libres, tandis que le second les menait au pouvoir absolu. La résolution de Napoléon fut bientôt prise. Il détourna l'une, et s'embarqua sur l'autre avec sa fortune. Entraînés par lui, les Français se trouvèrent bientôt plus loins de la liberté qu'ils ne l'avaient été à aucune époque de l'histoire."

2. The Parliamentary Reports are remarkable as indicating the extremely practical character of Tocqueville's mind, and the conscientious labour which he bestowed on the details of public questions. They are chiefly on the Reform of Prisons, and on Penitentiaries, on Penal Colonies, the Emancipation of the Slaves (in 1843), and the Colonization of Algeria. We are not inclined to under-estimate our own parliamentary literature. Many of our reports are the work of the ablest thinkers and writers in Parliament, like Mr. Grote and the late Mr. P. Pusey; but it is surprising that scarcely one has been put into a form which will live; for the only document of this kind which has achieved real reputation is that of the late Lord Redesdale, "On the Dignity of the Peerage." There is probably nothing in the French parliamentary literature which surpasses some of these reports; but Guizot, in one of his lectures, remarks the want of skill in English writers in the art of bookmaking; and certainly the reports of Cousin and Tocqueville are far more readable than any of our own. Two of the most interesting of these brochures of Tocqueville are the report on Penal Colonies and the notice of Cherbourg; and it is amusing to observe in both, what is traceable in all his writings, that his genuine admiration of England did not prevent his old Norman feeling from looking upon her as the natural enemy of France. He once gave utterance to this very pithily, in a debate in 1849, by saying, "Experience has shown that there never was a large or dangerous coalition against France without England having a hand in it;" and in the same spirit he sums up the advantages of Cherbourg (the Portsmouth of his own province, it must be remembered) by saying,—

"It is in the Channel more than anywhere else that we can carry on a dangerous war against England,—assail her on her weakest points by sudden and unexpected enterprises, and, seizing every opportunity of wind or tide, plunder her wealth, harass her coasts, carry off her ships, and destroy her commerce. Cherbourg must, therefore, be kept always ready, with a view to a war of steamers. She will soon be joined by the railway to Paris, and thus we must use her as the arm by which we can execute any project the moment it is conceived. It was indeed by a sort of patriotic inspiration that Burke exclaimed in Parliament, in 1786, 'Do you not see that in Cherbourg France has placed her navy front to front with our ports, and there, in spite of nature itself, is struggling with the ocean, and disputing the limits which Providence has assigned to her empire?'"

3. But the most interesting of these remains are the short, but really great, speeches of M. de Tocqueville, in the French Chambers, in 1848, and in the

two following years immediately after the Revolution. At this period he was perhaps the one man more than any other—though we must not forget the great merits of Lamartine,—whose courage checked the threatened excesses of the Socialist party. He had some great advantages in doing this. He had always cordially opposed the tone, even more than the measures, of nearly every Government of Louis Philippe; and it is certainly the strongest censure on the political immorality of the Guizot *régime*, that a man so upright and moderate as Tocqueville should have denounced them with such severity, as having destroyed the political morality of the middle classes of France. Our space forbids us to quote largely from these remarkable speeches, which deserve the attention of every historical student of the period. By far the most striking is that in which, while most men were utterly unprepared for the events which were to burst upon them so suddenly, Tocqueville declared, in January, 1848, that "now, for the first time during fifteen years, I have a real dread for the future: now for the first time the sense, the instinct of instability, that instinct which is the forerunner of revolutions, which often announces their approach, often creates them, exists in this country to a very grave extent."

We will let him speak for himself, in his own words:—

"Remarquez le, je ne dis pas ceci à un point de vue de moraliste, je le dis à un point de vue politique; savez-vous quelle est la cause générale, efficiente, profonde, qui fait que les mœurs privées se dépravent? C'est que les mœurs publiques s'altèrent. C'est parceque la morale ne règne pas dans les actes principaux de la vie, qu'elle ne descend pas dans les moindres. C'est parceque l'intérêt a remplacé dans la vie publique les sentiments désintéressés, que l'intérêt fait la loi dans la vie privée. . . . Eh! bien! je vous assure dans la sincérité de mon cœur, que je suis non seulement attristé mais navré de ce que je lis et de ce que j'entends tous les jours; je suis navré quand je vois à quel degré la puissance de la France s'affaiblit peu à peu dans le monde. . . . Je ne veux pas sur ces points faire à MM. les Ministres une position plus mauvaise que je ne la vois réellement. Je sais bien qu'ils ont été exposés à une tentation immense. . . . Je sais bien qu'ils ont été entrainés sur une pente rapide, sur la quelle il était bien difficile de se tenir. Aussi la seule chose que je leur reproche, c'est de s'y être placés, c'est de s'être mis dans un point de vue où, pour gouverner, ils avaient besoin non pas de parler à des opinions, à des sentiments, à des idées générales, mais à des intérêts particuliers.

"Eh! messieurs, s'il est juste d'avoir cette préoccupation patriotique dans tous les temps, à quel point n'est il pas plus juste encore de l'avoir dans le nôtre? Est-ce que vous sentez pas—que devai-je? Un vent de Révolutions qui est dans l'air? Ce vent, on ne sait ou il naît, d'on il vient, ni, croyez le bien, qui il enlève: et c'est dans de pareils temps que vous restez calmes en présence de la dégradation des mœurs publiques, car le mot n'est pas trop fort."

The extreme antipathy which M. de Tocqueville had thus expressed to the Government, of which he considered M. Guizot, while respecting him personally, to be the evil principle, gave weight to his advice and warnings when the first excitement of the Revolution of 1848 had subsided. He had been always a man of delicate health, and this cause, combined with his strong personal dislike of the King, had prevented him from taking a leading part in politics. But he did not hesitate to answer the summons of the Revolution. He was present, on the side of order, at the barricades of June, and became a member, first of the Constituent Assembly, and afterwards, in 1849, was Minister of Foreign Affairs in the ministry of Odillon Barrot. On two occasions he rendered signal service to the cause both of France and Europe—first, in the debate on Socialism, and again on the question whether France should give an armed support to the revolutionists in Germany. On both his speeches were eminently characteristic. It required in those days some boldness to denounce Socialism as the real enemy of liberty. He described it as such in a fine passage of true philosophical eloquence,—first, as having been always an appeal to the national passions: next, as the

enemy of property ("La propriété était un vol"); and lastly, as an invasion upon individual liberty. His comparison of it, in this respect, to the spirit of the ancient *régime* is remarkable no less for its truth than its oratorical skill :—

"Et enfin, messieurs, quant à la liberté, il y a une chose qui me frappe, c'est que l'ancien régime, qui sans doute sur beaucoup de points, il faut le reconnaître, était d'une autre opinion que les socialistes, avait cependant en mature politique, des ideés moins éloignées d'eux qu'on ne pourrait le croire. L'ancien régime, en effet, professait cette opinion, que la sagesse seule est dans l'État, que les sujets sont des êtres infirmes et faibles qu'il faut toujour tenir par la main, de peur qu'ils ne tombent ou ne se blessent; qu'il est bon de gêner, de contrarier, de comprimer sans cesse les libertés individuelles; qu'il est nécessaire de réglementer l'industrie, d'assurer la bonté des produits, d'empêcher la libre concurrence. L'ancien régime pensait sur ce point précisément comme les socialistes d'aujourd'hui. Et qu'est ce qui a pensé autrement? La Révolution française?"

He summed up in the words,—

"La Révolution de Février doit être chrétienne et démocratique, mais elle ne doit pas être socialiste. Ces mots résument toute ma pensée, et je termine en les prononcent."

We should have been glad if the limits of this notice allowed us to quote more from this, and the other speech to which we have referred, against a revolutionary war. In reading these and Tocqueville's writings generally, it is impossible not to feel how great has been the loss which France has often sustained in the exclusion of such men from power. Tocqueville himself, if he was not the greatest man of his country,—and it would be hard to name his superior,—was certainly the purest and most attractive, while he seems to have combined, in a higher degree than any one else, the highest qualities of speculation and action. His two principal works are unquestionably the greatest on political—we might perhaps add on historical—philosophy which the age has produced; and the "Democracy in America" is, besides, unparalleled as a work of mature wisdom produced in youth. It was a subject demanding experience as well as depth of thought; a subject on which similar great works, such as Bacon's Essays, Locke, and Montesquieu, had been the work of advancing life. Tocqueville may perhaps be said, without presumption, to have equalled them all at thirty. What he was in other respects, may be seen from his life and letters, —a man, in many respects, of that stamp of mind which is described in Clarendon's character of Falkland,—a devoted lover of truth, singularly pure and high-minded, and, in spite of a temper of doubt common to all Frenchmen, a sincere Christian.

For the present, we conclude with a summary of his character by one who knew him well, and whose true liberality and greatness of mind enabled him to estimate him justly: we mean M. Lacordaire, whose eloquent words we venture to translate :—

"When I look round on my contemporaries I might say of one of them, that he was the constant and faithful friend of monarchy, possessed of a soul of ancient fidelity, strong in itself against all the waves of opinion and misfortune. I might say of another, that he was a passionate lover of self-government, and might have been taken for one of the Gracchi, who would have transformed the world into a second Rome, and called the human race to partake in the great *Jus Civitatis*. I might say of a third, that, devoted to liberty of thought, speech, and conscience, he considered Parliamentary freedom to be the highest point of human greatness and of national happiness. I might say, in a word, of all, that each served his own cause, victorious or defeated, the hero or the victim of popular sympathy or animosity, all more or less men of their party, though some rose superior to it; and yet, while admiring their faith, their genius, their sincerity, and the part they had borne both in defeat and victory, I might still be allowed to think that the horizon of each and all had been somewhat narrow, and that they had neither understood all the mystery nor foreseen all the dangers of their age. Alone it may be of all, the genius of M. de Tocqueville overstepped the limits of his contemporaries, and we can scarcely assign to

him a place in history similar to their own. Shall we say that he was a servant of the old monarchies of Europe, and that he both loved and believed the old doctrine of hereditary right? It is impossible. Antiquity, tradition, ancestors, the majesty of past ages, —all this was to him great and noble, and he never insulted a fallen throne, however he might believe its fall to have been deserved. Its sight saddened him like that of a shipwreck, where something noble was engulfed; or that of a ruin, where he would trace with sorrow the transitory course of man, and of man's work. For his spirit was one on which all destruction weighed heavily, and he never saw anything perish which had had a long and glorious career, without giving it the tribute of an eloquent sigh. But, this debt once paid by his generous nature, he could bear to look the future boldly and truly in the face; he could look to the living as the best successors of the dead; and no fancied or chivalrous illusion of an immutable order of things hid from him the duty of sowing the fresh seed in the still open furrows. . . . Or shall I again say that he belonged entirely to the liberal opinion of the eighteenth century? This would be equally untrue: for in this opinion, however popular, there was a weak side which the keen eye of M. de Tocqueville easily detected, and even an injustice, which at once outraged his sense of right and of truth. Springing from the bosom of an age of scepticism, liberal opinions had imbibed from their very youth an irreligious tone, and nothing was more opposed to the sympathies of M. de Tocqueville than this indifference to the path which leads to God. . . . . In another direction also, liberal opinions somewhat shocked M. de Tocqueville. It seemed to him that they were too exclusively addressed to one class of men,—to the rich in intelligence, industry, and fortune, who had torn the power from the hands of the nobility, the clergy, the very Crown itself, and who, having won this great inheritance, seemed to forget that it was still surrounded by an immense people, which had been delivered, it is true, from much misery, but which was still suffering in the wants both of mind and body. Was it possible to believe that there was as yet any true sympathy between this people and the reigning classes? and was there not still existing between this new people and its new masters the same gulf which formerly divided the nobility from the rest of France? Was the moral unity of France really cemented? M. de Tocqueville could not banish this grave doubt from his mind. He could never see, in the wonderful triumph of the middle classes of France, the finality of the future; or at least he looked below them with anxiety, and was for ever questioning his own conscience and that of his countrymen, when he looked into the close ranks of the masses."

The Belton Estate. By ANTHONY TROLLOPE, Author of "Can you Forgive Her?" "Orley Farm," "Framley Parsonage," &c., &c. London: Chapman & Hall.

To Mr. David Masson belongs the merit, not of having been absolutely the first to say, but of having been the first to say in any commanding form (see his admirable little book on "Recent British Philosophy"), that a true catalogue of the writers who influence the thought or philosophy of any given time must include a large number of writers who would not usually be classed as *thinkers* at all. Thus, with perfect justice, Mr. Masson includes, in his list of writers who have influenced recent philosophy, Mr. Tennyson. We forget whether he includes Mr. Thackeray or not; but certainly an exhaustive list ought to take in his name: even without using the well-known dialogue between Warrington and Pendennis, in which the author's entire scheme of things stands frankly disclosed, it would be very easy to make his writings yield up such a scheme; and they have, in fact, imposed opinions upon tens of thousands of readers in the most momentous questions which can exercise the human mind. "George Eliot" will be granted to us at once: hers are distinctly propagandist books; none of them without a leaning, all of them with a theory of things behind the flesh and blood and the incident. But besides the writers of poems and novels who communicate an impulse to the minds of their readers, either suggesting new estimates of life and duty, or helping them to carry an old estimate successfully over the heads of the facts of existence by reflecting certain groups of facts in certain set lights,—besides these, there are writers who have no particular moving power in them, but who take up the minds of average readers, and assist

them merely to hold their own in a pleasant sort of way, or, perhaps, give them just the faintest possible *push* onwards and upwards. Such a writer we should call Mr. Trollope. As he grows older, he must, in the nature of things, part with some of his power of communicating pleasure, because, without high animal spirits, his pictures of life must be hard; but at present he may be pronounced the most readable of novelists, with the exception of Mr. Charles Reade, who may take even rank with him in that particular. Mr. Trollope must be called a worldly-minded writer, and he must even be affiliated to the school of Mr. Thackeray; but his worldly-mindedness is only resented by readers of very fine sensibilities, so pleasantly is it veiled by his unceasing flow of good nature, good spirits, and honest gallantry. It is on the wings of this gallantry that Mr. Trollope makes his most felicitous flights above the level of English worldly-mindedness. He has a genuine love of women, and can write of them with innocent delight. The rustle of their dresses, the free lingeringness of their movements, the gentle compulsion, the sweet, soft dignity, the light, the music, the reserved pathos, the whole aroma of their presence is never long absent from the pages of Mr. Trollope. So long as he retains this bright gallantry of the pen he will never lack readers. Fortunately for him, it is balanced by the true discretion of a man of the world; and, in spite of the "fie-fie" chapters which he now and then gives us, we cannot call to mind that he has ever been accused of a breach of social good taste. It may seem a little hard, and, in truth, it is hard, that writers with infinitely more elevation of plan, and strength and fineness of moral vision than his, have fallen under the charge of violating decorum: and it is doubly hard, because it is chiefly for the sake of worldly-minded people, who can only live safely behind such earthworks, that these embankments of decorum are thrown up or maintained. But we must, in justice, set off against this the fact that writers like Mr. Trollope do an admirable work in helping the better classes of ordinary people not to fall back. He does not write for the advanced guard: he writes the prose epic of the social rank and file; and now and then they catch, as they read, a shout or a trumpet-call from the van; and they are *not* quite the same as if they had not caught it.

"The Belton Estate," reprinted from the *Fortnightly Review*, as our readers are aware, is neither much better nor much worse than Mr. Trollope's novels usually are; a shade less bright and tender, perhaps, and a shade more carelessly written. The scrupulous fairness of his mind is strikingly illustrated in his handling of Mrs. Askerton—a married woman with an equivocal past,—and an illustration of the fact that a man cannot be *so* fair as he is without being more than fair, is to be found in the chivalrous turn which is naturally given to a common reader's thoughts upon the situation by the dignity, tenderness, and generous equity of the behaviour of Clara Amedroz to that lady. It is impossible not to suppose that a stuck-up, half-hearted, if not heartless, dummy of propriety like Captain Aylmer's mother, would run some risk (she would call it risk) of being bettered by reading the Askerton episodes. We resent, a little, Will Belton's rough wooing; there is a little too much of the magisterial about it: after the extreme vulgarity of his behaviour to Captain Aylmer at the hotel, we feel that he ought hardly to be allowed to take possession of a lovely girl in that way. The end of the book, too, is decidedly coarse. It is a poor, inelegant device to give Captain Aylmer a wife with a red nose; and what can be meaner than for the happy pair to criticise the weak points of the woman who has married the rejected lover? In vain will Mr. Trollope reply that Will Belton and Clara are only common sort of people after all, and that common people every day

do these mean things. That is no answer. Mr. Trollope was bound to let us see that the Muse of his story felt them to be mean. Too frequently in Mr. Trollope's writings we feel the need of a noble *colouring* to something which he blurts out. The thing may be sayable, but he is not the man to say it, unless he would take more care. Thus, in a beautiful poem of wedded love, we may read this:—

> "Her mode of candour is deceit,
> And what she thinks from what she'll say,
> Although I'll never call her cheat—
> Lies far as Scotland from Cathay."

But this is "carried off" by the associations with which the poet surrounds it: it shines and is beautiful in the surrounding lights. But we feel hurt when, directly Will Belton hints at Clara's going to Plaistow, Mr. Trollope continues,—"'I should be so glad to go there if I could,' she said, with *that special hypocrisy which belongs to women, and is allowed to them.*" This is rough—like one of Abernethy's innuendos to his lady patients, and may just as easily be turned to bad uses as good ones. A woman is not allowed to *deceive* any more than a man; she, *her whole self*, must not convey false impressions to any one. Since she has, by God's sweet ordinance, "most miraculous organs" of expression, which are denied to the man, she may, in modesty or in tenderness, make a mask of her words, but only on condition that the light of her whole self makes the mask transparent. This was, in fact, the case with Clara Amedroz, in the example before us; but the associations of the word "hypocrisy" make us stumble at it; and the novelist should have spared us the pain. Still we have made it clear, we hope, that we like Mr. Trollope, and that "The Belton Estate" is a good, interesting story, brightly told, and full of touches of true English feeling.

Catholic Orthodoxy and Anglo-Catholicism: a Word about Intercommunion between the English and the Orthodox Churches. By J. J. Overbeck, D.D. London: Trübner & Co.

We have here a very funny production. The author is a foreigner, apparently a priest of the Russian Church. At least so we infer, because this is the only church to which he concedes its own name of "orthodox." In his preface, he trusts the English public will "*excuse* a foreigner *to* meddle in their affairs." He begins by giving a highly piquant and most curious sketch of the parties in the Anglican Church. Of the Evangelicals he judges rightly that they "neither miss nor want a formal intercommunion with the Orthodox Catholic Church" (p. 4). "Broad Churchism" next comes under description, and gets some smart hits. He says,—

> "They will be able, I expect, to wield the Cyclopean hammer, forging thunders more effectual than those of the Vatican, in order to smash the Church to pieces. They will be able, I expect, to climb and force, with Titanic bravery, the pinnacles of heaven in order to dethrone the good old Christian God, and to replace Him by their weak sentimental phantom of a Deity moulded out of goodness without holiness and justice, a Deity encompassed by a *Magna Charta* of human rights *versus* divine usurpation, a Deity of 'limited liability.' Broad Churchism strikes at the very root of Christianity: and do you think, after this, that Broad Churchmen really care a bit for intercommunion between the Orthodox and English Churches? They like to be left alone: they have no wish to be bothered in their state of perfect ease and comfort: and if they do wish for any intercommunion at all, it is not with Christians only, not with Jews and Mahomedans only, but with Tartars, Hindoos, and Zulu-Kaffers as soon as properly educated."—(P. 5.)

However, he concedes to Broad Churchmen the merit of being "the only consistent Protestants, as opposed to the Evangelicals:" and of "sticking

fearlessly to the right of private judgment." But from neither of these parties does he expect that his scheme of intercommunion will have a hearing. Will it fare any better at the hands of the High Church party? This he styles the Conservative body of the Church. But he shall speak for himself, especially as his description is not unamusing :—

"These High Churchmen lay a stress upon *the Church*, connect the Bible with the Church, respect the old Church observances, *e. g.*, the vigils, the feast and fast days, which have fallen into utter desuetude with the other parties of the Church. They like to style their clergymen 'Priests,' and themselves to be considered a branch of the Catholic Church. The Church is their aristocratic pride, and they contribute large sums for building, beautifying, restoring, endowing churches. Hooker's 'Church Polity' is their standard work. You will find on the shelves of those among them who profess theological learning, the works of their Bishops Andrewes, Laud, Beveridge, Bramhall, Overall, Nicholson, Wilson, Cosin, Bull, &c. The Dissenters and their chapels they disdain, and feel sorely grieved at the Evangelical dissent creeping into the Church. Of the Broad Church they are ashamed, and feel deeply the defect of the English Church in not being able to excommunicate them. They love both the Prayer-book and the Thirty-nine Articles, either not perceiving the deep gulf between both, or bridging it by interpreting the Articles by the Prayer-book, as the Evangelicals interpret the Prayer-book by the Articles. No wonder that both parties, although building on the same substruction, come to a very different result. The chief glory of the High Churchmen is the boasted Apostolical Succession of their Bishops. They profess not to entertain the least doubt about the same. Still neither the Romish nor the Orthodox Church recognise it, and the Protestants do not care for it. Thus the English Church remains *insulated*. Again, *insulation* naturally creates uneasiness, doubt, peevishness. How is it that such an immense number of books are written about the Validity of English Ordinations? If the matter is so evident as you say, it is but time and labour lost to write ever and anon on the same subject. And dangerous it is too, to speak so much about a matter, till one begins to doubt who never thought before of doubting. Is it not the same with a defendant who asserts his innocence but cannot come to an end in asserting it? At last people begin to think there must be a hitch in the business, he cannot feel reassured himself, else he would not continue reassuring others. It is a sad thing to be insulated, without relations, friends, or acquaintances. In fact, it is so uncommon that one feels obliged to ask, why is it so? The Protestants alone are the only persons who offer their friendship and intercommunion, but you refuse for fear of embarking in an affair by which you might lose your Catholic claims. Thus all the Catholic world refuse intercommunion with you, reordain your priests who join their Church, and have continued doing so for the last three centuries? A long time indeed! Is it not hoping against hope to flatter oneself with finally obtaining a favourable decision in a controversy pending so long, a controversy which *in its practical bearing* has been decided in the negative? For how could the Catholics reordain your priests *unconditionally*, if they entertained even the remotest doubts about the invalidity of your ordinations, or if they did not consider the question as finally and peremptorily settled? However, you have one small friend, *the Moravian Episcopal Church*. You recognise each other, *consequently you adopt the full Protestant creed of the Augsburg Confession*, on which the Moravians rest. Now we want another Newman to show the harmony of the Thirty-nine Articles and the Augsburg Confession. It would not be difficult, I am sure; at least, not so difficult as that clever feat to harmonize the Thirty-nine Articles and the Tridentine Confession. At all events it would be worth while trying to reconcile the Augsburg with the Tridentine Confession by the instrumentality and mediation of the Thirty-nine Articles. Romanism and Protestantism, fire and water reconciled!"

Apropos of this last reconciliation, so much now boasted of as an accomplished fact by the *Union Review*, and publications of that stamp, it has sometimes struck us, that it might be a serious question, whether a man who can so interpret words and pledges, as to reconcile the Thirty-nine Articles with the decrees of the Council of Trent, might not likewise so interpret words and pledges, as to consider himself not bound to pay his tailor's or grocer's bill. We wonder whether playing fast and loose with conscience in the matter of formulæ and rubrics ever *has* this effect on these gentlemen? Because, if it has, we think quite enough has been heard of them and their system. We are old-fashioned enough to reck very little of any fuss a man may make about commandments of either God or the Church, who lives in

violation of the command, "Owe no man anything:" and not to care much what a writer's opinions on Sacraments happen to be, if he is in the habit of giving orders that he cannot pay for. It would be well to keep watch over men who hold such exceedingly dangerous opinions about the meanings of words, and to be very careful to judge them by their works in the common honesties of life.

But this by the way. Let us return to Dr. Overbeck. High Churchism and ritualism alike share his contempt; he denies them both the title of Catholic: and having asked, "What is the relation between the Bible and the Church?" he says, "In order to simplify this question, let me propose the respective (*sic*) orthodox Catholic view." What does he mean?

No one can dispute what follows:—"There has been talked (*sic*) a great deal of nonsense upon this subject by persons who did not know the Orthodox Catholic doctrine." Whether it has ceased to be talked now that Dr. Overbeck has written, we cannot say, but it certainly had not ceased before he wrote. "Orthodoxy, ma'am, is my doxy: heterodoxy is another man's doxy," said Dr. Johnson: and so also, but with far less truth, says Dr. Overbeck.

Meantime, his book is a curious, we might even say, a valuable, contribution to the premisses whereby we may júdge of the endless and hopeless bewilderment of the poor "*Re-unionists*" at this time. Within the limits of their grand task of reconciling black and white, are surging and seething a thousand and one incongruities, absurdities, comicalities: orthodox East, orthodox West, orthodox Anglican, orthodox Protestant, orthodox Dissenter, alternately patronized and execrated: copes, chasubles, monstrances, thuribles, Eucharist processions, funeral processions,—orders and confraternities, *with* vows, *without* vows, "black, white and gray," with all their trumpery: mint, anise, and cummin,—enough, to spare, and in all forms—green, dried, powdered, in solution, thrice distilled: and meanwhile, justice, honesty in words, honesty in deeds, plain-dealing, tailors' and grocers' bills,—where?

It is a pitiable spectacle: and we may say this, that Dr. Overbeck, suspending it "*naso adunco*," has done good service thus far, that he has contributed to hold it up to ridicule. It is a spectacle indicative of national decline, symptomatic of decadence in honour, in manliness, and therefore in the true faith: and being such, we hail any author who may help it to disfavour among men.

The Liturgy, and the Manner of Reading it. By G. F. GODDARD, Rector of Southfleet, Kent. London: Rivingtons.

WE own to opening any book on reading the Liturgy with misgiving. We do not write books to teach people how to talk, however solemn the matter or occasion of the converse. A man who talked by rule would infallibly exercise a centrifugal force in any society he might happen to frequent. Fancy him conning sentences printed after the usage of Mr. Goddard's book, "How—do you *do*—to-day?" "I hope—I *see* you *well;*" and then letting them off among his astonished friends!

The best guarantee for reading the Liturgy well is sound, manly sense, and intelligent piety. Given both these, and a clergyman with an ordinary college education cannot go far wrong. But if we are to have books and lectures on this subject, if there are to be Goddards and D'Orseys, their rules and prescriptions must fall under the critic's notice.

And we will say of Mr. Goddard's book, that in some few respects it is

better than others which we have seen. For instance, there occurs in it this judgment on the opening of the Litany:—"I have no hesitation in advising that there should be no pause between the words 'the Father of heaven:' and that they should be read as if it were, 'O God heavenly Father'" (p. 69).—It is something to find one instance at least of escape from the miserable self-satisfied blunder, "O God the Father, of heaven."

Again, in the fifth commandment, Mr. Goddard avoids the common blunder apparently sanctioned by the position of a comma in the modern editions of the Prayer-book, of reading, "that thy days may be long in the land, which (days) the Lord thy God giveth thee:" whereas "the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee" is the well-known formula running through the addresses and commands of the Mosaic law.

But Mr. Goddard's book is not always equally unexceptionable. A radical mistake runs through his interpretation of the word "say," as it occurs in the rubrics. We thought it pretty well agreed, that this word does not signify mere speaking or reading, but that which we might call intoning, or uttering in plain song; whereas "singing" implies choral performance. And it is worthy of note that whereas the rubrics direct the *reading* of the opening sentences in morning and evening prayer, the minister is directed to "say" that which is written after the said sentences. Mr. Goddard's way of getting over this distinction, so fatal to his interpretation of "*saying*," is at least curious:—

> "Let him mark the distinction which the rubric points out: and having '*read*' the sentences, '*say*' what follows after them. The difference between a reading and a speaking tone is universally known and felt: and the minister, under a proper sense of what he is now about to do, will naturally take his eyes off the book (!); and not merely read what is prescribed, but *speak* what he desires to say to the congregation."

His rules—we were going to write, all rules on this topic—are ludicrous enough. In the Exhortation, he tells us, the negatives should be distinctly pronounced, and rather with a slight emphasis: "that we should *not* dissemble nor cloke them, *but* confess them." We suppose it is matter of taste; but we acknowledge that the very opposite way seems to us to be right—to lay as little stress as possible on the negatives, and make the verbs most prominent.

The reader is to end the General Confession, "so,—that, at the last,—we may come to His eternal joy." He is told to distinguish by a pause *the two separate truths* (*sic*), "we believe that *Thou shalt come*,—to be our Judge." But how are two truths separate when one is merely the condition of the other? And how will Mr. Goddard's idea agree with the Latin which he prints expressly to bear it out—"Judex crederis esse venturus"?

We must not pass by one inconsistency in Mr. Goddard's book. While he joins all the better judges of reading in general depreciation of emphasis,—saying in one place (p. 54), "one is tempted to wish that the rule, 'Avoid emphasis,' were made absolute: and that certain portions of our service at least could be guarded, as too holy ground for the irreverent intrusion and maltreatment of the ignorant and the novice,"—yet he permits himself to speak thus of the very method by which this end may be best attained:—"The monotone, or nasal sing-song, which is adopted, it might be supposed, by men labouring under an incapacity to read, and which, as being neither 'saying' nor 'singing,' complies with none of the rubrical injunctions."

How a man of Mr. Goddard's usual good sense could pen such egregious folly as this, or show such ignorance of that usage, which is the best interpreter of the "rubrical injunctions," we are at a loss to imagine. Certain

we are that it, and the many mistakes with which his book abounds, ought to prevent him from ever being accepted as a guide, except by those who know no better.

Le Sentiment de la Nature avant le Christianisme. Par VICTOR DE LAPRADE, de l'Académie française. Pp. civ., 430. Paris: Didier et Cie. 1866.

THE poems of Victor de Laprade deserve to be better known amongst us than we believe they are. Since Alfred de Musset, whose vacant chair in the Academy was occupied by M. de Laprade, no French poet has appeared of an individuality so distinct and impressive. But hardly a more striking contrast in literature could be found than between Alfred de Musset and his successor. The author of "Rolla" was a sceptic, full of the despair of scepticism, and yearning for a lost faith; the author of "Poèmes Evangéliques" is before all else a Christian. The former had a gift of irony reminding us at times of that of Heine; the latter finds in this characteristic of modern, post-Voltairean literature—its *irony*—the sign of our unbelief, our selfishness, and moral degradation, and he opposes "respect" to "irony" as "a principle of inspiration." The former transgressed through excess of passion and sensuous feeling; the latter is too often cold, and is never passionate except as a worshipper of that fair but somewhat formless abstraction, the Ideal. Alfred de Musset was an artist rich in melody and in colour, writing verses (in the happy words of M. Vitet) "as fine and brilliant as pearls or rubies;" Victor de Laprade is deficient in both colour and melody, a writer the substance of whose poetry is more valuable than its style. A. de Musset was eminently (according to his adopted name) a child of the century; V. de Laprade places himself deliberately in opposition to what he believes to be the tendencies of the time. A. de Musset was a Parisian, a haunter of the streets, the boulevards, the salons, and unfortunately of less reputable places; V. de Laprade is stifled by the atmosphere of Paris, breathes pretty freely in the open fields, better upon the hill-sides under great solitary oaks and forests of pines, but is quite comfortable only when the snow-level is reached, where he can worship the ideal in the presence of a few glaciers and untrodden Alpine summits. A. de Musset, when he wrote prose, wrote tales and novels; V. de Laprade, when he writes prose, writes essays or treatises on the philosophy of morals and of art. We have wished to encourage our readers to study this poet, and we fear what has been said may rather deter them. We should be sorry if it were so. M. de Laprade's poems ("Les Symphonies" especially) will repay attentive reading. They are, we think, entirely original; they are pure and beautiful; and their author is a power with one's spirit (though not a great power), by virtue of his sincerity, and the harmony and consistent development of his entire nature and system of thought. It is but just also to add that there is more of human interest in his later than in his earlier poems, and that we have not yet had the pleasure of reading his last published volume of poetry, "Les Voix du Silence."

There is a curious resemblance between M. de Laprade's first work of any importance and his most recent. "Psyche," a poem in three books, is an allegorical history of the mind of humanity, containing much upon its relations to the influences of external nature from age to age. We follow the heroine, Psyche, after her fall and banishment from the Garden of love, through sojournings as a captive amongst savage tribes and a slave in primitive societies, to Babylon, to Egypt, to Greece sacerdotal or Orphic, heroic or Homeric, and philosophical or Platonic. Christian ideas are then introduced under a half classical veil, and the union of man with God is celebrated in mystic nuptials in heaven.

The prose volume the title of which heads our notice may seem to treat of a much narrower subject; but, as conceived by M. de Laprade, the feeling for external nature is in living connection with religion, science, art, philosophy, and political and social organization; so that the book, in reality, aims at being little less than a history of human intellect and emotion to the Christian era, the point of view being that of a writer on æsthetics. We believe it is the author's intention to consider, in a second volume, the development of this "feeling for nature" during the middle ages and in modern times, and in the introduction he has already given us the doctrines which will preside in this portion of his work. There is much that we dissent from in the book, and it is written with a tendency to rapid syntheses, a love of expressing in a neat phrase or two the "ideas" of vast, complex, and remote civilizations, which lead to results more surprising than satisfactory to our laborious English understanding. When "ideas" are made to fly into sight from no one knows where, with a "Presto! come quickly!" we suspect they were in the conjuror's sleeve all the time. If we take these ideas, however, only as provisional hypotheses (like Kepler's theories before he came to the ellipse), they are valuable, assisting us to group our already acquired facts, collect more, and advance to a nearer solution of the problem.*

M. de Laprade, like the former writers of universal histories, starts from the Garden of Eden. After the fall the relation of man with nature (apart from his bodily wants and the necessity of satisfying them) was comprehended in a single fact, the confused revelation of the infinite, the sense of the Divine presence surrounding him in the world. All that mankind has since learned lay in the germ in this impression. This is no fanciful supposition. The most ancient books we possess,—those of Moses, the Vedas of India, the Laws of Manu, the Zend-avesta of Zoroaster, the Chou-King of the Chinese,—written by the heirs of the patriarchal ages, bear witness to this union of all future branches of knowledge, divine and human, physical and moral, in one trunk—the science of religion. The only art of this primitive period was poetry,—that is to say, speech itself in its most perfect form; the first poem was at once a hymn and a prayer, and an expression of the scientific knowledge of the time. It was united with music and the dance, for emotion (as still with children) tended to transform itself at once into action. The characteristic of the poetry is that it consisted in the simple naming of things and their attributes. In the earliest human societies speech itself was a true and material force; it intoxicated the people like wine; it dazzled them like light. The *name* was a living revelation of the nature of the *thing*. The poet was a *seer*, and in the person of the patriarch were united poet, man of science, artist, priest, and king.

The appearance of architecture, although this is the most religious art, and includes all other arts in itself, marks the introduction of a division between the elements of human thought, emotion, and action which existed in union through the primitive ages. With the division of faculties and functions begins the *régime* of castes. The priest is still the supreme spiritual authority; he is even still the possessor of all the knowledge of his time; but there is now a king who is not a priest, and there exist a military and an industrial class. The idea of an immaterial God, one and infinite, is giving place to the idea of a Nature-God, which finds its most suitable expression, not through the spiritual, unobstructing medium of language, but in the material and limited reality of the temple. Poetry is losing its lyrical character, and growing up into the deliberate structure of the epic. The art of this period is represented by the most ancient

* In what follows we make use of M. de Laprade's words when they suit us.

architectual remains of India, and by its poetry,—the Mahabharata and the Ramayana,—written at a later date than the Vedas. But architecture and epic poetry are still only in process of formation. We find in the history of each art, and in that of each species of the same art, three distinct periods: first, that in which the newly developed art is in a considerable degree subject to the spirit and form of the art which preceded it; secondly, the period of its perfection and complete independence; thirdly, the period of decline, when the art tends towards the conditions of that which is to succeed it. It was in the first period of these arts that the architecture and epic poetry of early India were produced. The temple (which before the uprising of polytheism was itself the idol, a representation of God in nature), like the poem, extends over vast spaces, with no regular symmetry, in vague harmonies and undetermined rhythms; both one and the other correspond to the profound but confused feeling for nature suitable to the pantheistic doctrine of the time. That which alone gives unity to these enormous structures is the idea of the Divinity. God is the true hero of the primitive epopees. God is the only type and original of the primitive architecture.

In Egypt (the point on the map of mind where the East and the West intersect one another) architecture has reached its period of complete independence; it is the art of the country, and a further division of arts is beginning to appear. Sculpture, which in India was an excrescence on the temple, now begins to have a value of its own: the statues which had adhered to the walls are now detached; but still sculpture is controlled and oppressed by the architectural feeling; the statues are not isolated, but are ranged in rows, forming, like the lines of columns, an integral part of the plan of the building. The priest is still the philosopher; but he has ceased to be the poet or the king. All these divisions, these acts of independence, are contained in a single fact; man is becoming conscious of his personality, is reflecting on himself, distinguishes himself from nature, and recognises his superiority in the fact of his possessing a free will.

The first confused feeling, a feeling full of awe for nature in the totality of its substance, life, and generative power, gives place to a perception of the variety and multiplicity of beings, evidenced by the multiplicity of forms; and before this change is accomplished we find that we are standing on the soil of Greece. Substance is now forgotten for form, power disappears before intelligence, nature before man, the infinite before the finite. The strength of the Titans, the old gigantic forces of the earth, is subdued by the intelligence of the beautiful race of the Olympians. The art of Greece is sculpture, and has man for its entire subject; the life of nature is interpreted through the finite life of man; there is no symbolical architecture; the temple is but the mansion of the Divinity. Poetry is epic in its period of perfection, with heroic men and beautiful women moving before us as we read. Philosophy is separated from natural science, and is but the enlargement of the inscription upon the temple of Delphi,—*γνῶθι σεαυτόν*. Man has become the measure of the universe.

Christianity came to extend and complete the victory of Greek intelligence over the pantheism of the East; it confirmed the triumph of human liberty over the external world; it stripped nature of its last vestiges of divinity, and directed the soul altogether to God, a pure spirit. In its extreme rigour the spiritual doctrine of Christianity admits of no concession made to the senses, no borrowings of the soul from the external world, and consequently no form of art. But God, the immaterial and infinite, has manifested Himself in and through Jesus Christ. Through the person of Jesus Christ a purely spiritual religion lays hold of the imagination and the

senses. The art of pantheism, the art of polytheism have come to an end; the centre and the principle of a new art is found in Christ. In the Christian period, then, as in the Greek, art is engaged in the representation and glorification of man. But while Greek art glorified man in the perfection of physical beauty, expressing the perfect equilibrium of mind and body, Christian art endeavours to render visible the inward beauty and majesty of the soul, and its independence of the flesh. For this sculpture is unsuitable; a new form of art becomes predominant; the statue of the athlete is replaced by the painting of the saint. At the same time the creation, though distinct from its Maker and now under a curse, is felt to be still God's work, a language, as it were of God, from which, with the comments of his revelation in the conscience, and in the Word made flesh, much may be learned. And this new feeling for nature, mingled with Christian symbolism, appears in the architecture of the middle ages. God, a pure Spirit, free and distinct from his work, yet always present in the midst of his creatures, eternal and infinite, but wearing as a garment for a day human nature and its sufferings, accepted as his actual dwelling-place those marvellous sanctuaries where the Christian artists knew how to give to matter all the freedom, all the bold surprises, all the gracious movements, all the mystic elevations of thought. Painting, however, is the characteristic art of the period, with man for its subject, as the drama with man for its subject is the characteristic form of poetry.

But painting, through the temptation it offers to the artist of producing merely sensuous pleasure, through its power of representing man in the most curious details, and in his lower nature, and through the opening it affords for the representation of the beauty of the visible world, contains within itself a tendency to part with its spiritual independence, and fall under the dominion of nature. So also with the drama. In painting and in the drama the tendency of art henceforth is to exalt the sensibility, to depress the energy of reason and of will,—that is, to produce effects analogous to those produced by the passive enjoyment of natural beauty. The new condition of the human soul calls into existence a new art—an art exorbitant as passion and nervous sensibility, imperious as matter, insinuating and dissolvent as the subtle fluids of the earth. Music is the art of modern times, physical science is its philosophy, and both bear witness to the overpowering influence of the feeling for external nature. Science, art, and industry combine in bringing mind under the bondage of matter. The philosophical sensualism of the last century is transformed into a practical sensualism by the present. Sentimentalism, inaugurated in thought by Rousseau and in style by André Chénier, has produced the typical characters in literature of our century. There is an effervescence of imagination in our poetry, a world of vague inexpressible emotions, a superabundance of colour, a siren-like melody, but where is the seal of reason and moral liberty with which the great works of the seventeenth century were marked? Music, which pleases us we know not why, which can be translated into no clear idea, no fixed determination of the will,—this is the art of our times, and modern poetry and painting, in the kind of appeal which they make to the spirit, are essentially musical. And as in the history of the feeling for external nature, architecture corresponds to the idea of God, sculpture and painting to that of man, real or ideal, music corresponds to the feeling for the mere material life of nature, and expresses this.

We have given the reader a sketch of the contents of M. de Laprade's introduction, abstaining from all comment, and often using his own words. In the chapters which follow, the history of Art before the Christian era, or among peoples where Christian ideas have not been influential—in India,

Greece, Rome, Palestine, Persia, Turkey, and China, receives large and valuable illustration. We especially commend the chapter on Hebrew poetry. However much we may differ from the general views of the author, we find not a little to repay our reading in scattered pages of more special criticism. And we exhort the reader of "Le Sentiment poétique de la Nature" to compare it, as he reads, with a much greater book, Hegel's "Philosophy of History."

EDWARD DOWDEN.

A Plea for a New Translation of the Scriptures. With a Translation of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. By the Rev. ALFRED DEWES, M.A. London: Longmans.

WHATEVER else, after the perusal of this volume, may remain obscure, of one thing, at least, there can be no doubt: that "the Rev. Alfred Dewes, M.A.," believes himself to be the first Hellenistic scholar living. "King James's translators," Archbishop Trench, Bishop Ellicott, Dean Alford, Dr. Vaughan, and the "Five Clergymen," are all, one after another, condescendingly noted, and dismissed with undisguised contempt, leaving "the Rev. Alfred Dewes, M.A.," master of the situation. These poor people have been all perplexed how to render the idioms of an infinitely copious tongue into those of a contracted and crabbed one: they have had unfortunate theories about νόμος in the Epistle to the Romans always meaning the Mosaic law, whether with or without the definite article: they have continually "mistranslated" tenses, past for present, perfect for aorist, and *vice versâ*: they have in their English, not recognised well-known distinctions between Greek words, even when they are used in the same sentence in a palpably different meaning: they have disregarded the literal meaning, and quite needlessly so, at least a dozen times in three chapters: and so on, and so on. As for "the Rev. Alfred Dewes, M.A.," he has never been perplexed by any such difficulties, nor involved in any such inconsistencies. With him, ὁ, ἡ, τό, always answers to the English definite article: with him, Greek aorists are always indefinite pasts in English, Greek perfects always in English definite perfects. It is needless to say, that were either of these invariably the case, his translation of the Epistle to the Romans would be absolute nonsense. He, like others, renders ὁ ἀποθανών, "he that *hath died*," and δικαιωθέντες νῦν, "now that we *have been freed* from guilt," and καταλλαγέντες, "now that we *have been reconciled*." All these purisms about representing aorists by aorists, and perfects by perfects, give way before the first real difficulty.

But seeing that this is so, why has "the Rev. Alfred Dewes, M.A." allowed all his contempt of English scholars to remain in print, after his own discovery that he is obliged to do as they have done? Simply, as it appears, for this reason: that he is himself a very poor scholar, and a very conceited fellow. Proofs of the former position abound in his introduction and his translation. We need only instance εἰς δικαίωσιν ζωῆς, "*to make righteous their life* (!)" (Rom. v. 18): ἤτοι ἁμαρτίας εἰς θάνατον η ὑπακοῆς εἰς δικαιοσύνην, "either ye are bondsmen of sin *and brought* unto death, or of obedience *and have attained unto* righteousness" (Rom. vi. 16): ἦτε δοῦλοι τῆς ἁμαρτίας ὑπηκούσατε δέ, "ye were the bondsmen of sin *and yet*," &c. (*ib.*, ver. 17): ἀνθρώπινον λέγω, "I speak as *unto those who are but human* (!)" (*ib.*, ver. 19). In Rom. vii. 7, in inconsistency with his own rules, for the violation of which he treats English scholars so unsparingly, he renders διὰ νόμου, "through *the* law;" but, two verses further, χωρὶς νόμου, "without *a* law." And what shall we say to τὴν ἰδίαν δικαιοσύνην (Rom. x. 3) being represented by "*a* righteousness of their own"? And what, of the splendid confusion in the next verse, where the very plain Greek

words, τέλος γὰρ νόμου Χριστὸς εἰς δικαιοσύνην παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι, are thus travestied,—"Since it is to Christ that the law aims at bringing every one who has faith, that righteousness may be his"? And what of a man's notion of the force of ὅστις, who renders οἵτινες οὐκ ἔκαμψαν γόνυ τῇ Βάαλ, "*inasmuch as* they bowed no knee to Baal"? In ch. xi. 18, where he renders οὐ σὺ τὴν ῥίζαν βαστάζεις, "thou *barest* not the root," it may be doubted whether it is through ignorance of the Greek language, or of his own. As a specimen of his judgment of the need of supplying words, and his taste in the words supplied, we may quote Rom. vii. 18, τὸ γὰρ θέλειν παράκειταί μοι, which he renders, "the wish *to do the noble deed* I have" (!) We need weary our readers with no more citations in order to shew what they must ere this have found out for themselves, that the vaunted scholarship of "the Rev. Alfred Dewes, M.A.," is good for very little. Our instances have been taken from a few pages only of his version of the Epistle to the Romans. But look where we will in it, the same blunders meet us: ignorance of the difference in force of tenses in Greek and English: ignorance of the habits of later Greek with regard to insertion and omission of the article: ignorance of the structure of Greek sentences and the order of their clauses.

This book is just one of those which do mischief to the great and good cause of Scripture revision. Scholars are disgusted, when they reflect that some of those into whose hands the work may fall will perhaps be as ignorant and as self-sufficient as "the Rev. Alfred Dewes, M.A.;" and sensible men revolt from versions of well-known books of Scripture which, instead of clearing and pointing the sense, obscure, dilute, and vulgarize it.

To the Editor of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

SIR,

As the Rev. Thomas Markby, whose article on the proposed changes in the Cambridge Classical Tripos appeared in your last number, has been far from accurate in the account which he gave of the change that I have advocated (apparently in consequence of his having omitted to read the last page of my pamphlet), I shall be greatly obliged if you will allow me to state briefly what it is that I really propose; since otherwise your readers have no means of correcting his erroneous description.

My scheme is this: that the Board of Classical Studies shall every year at Easter select a certain number of modern writers (I mention four as instances—Montaigne, Pascal, Montesquieu, Goethe), and that on these writers two additional papers shall be set in the Classical Tripos of four years afterwards. It will be seen, that by limiting the number of modern writers which candidates for honours would have to read, I have expressly guarded against that "galloping wildly over the literature of four or five tongues," which Mr. Markby accuses me of wishing to encourage. In case your readers should wish to know what kind of addition the study of four or five modern authors would be to the work at present undertaken by classical men at Cambridge, I may add, that the number of Greek and Latin writers which the average first-class man has to read carefully, is about thirty (I do not of course mean that they are all read in their entirety; such writers as Cicero or Aristotle are too voluminous for this).

In order to make room for the additional subjects thus introduced, I proposed to omit from the examination as it stands at present, either the history paper, or two of the translation papers; I might have added as a third alternative, one or two of the composition papers. Which of these three could be best dispensed with would be matter for further consideration.

With this explanation, all that Mr. Markby has said about "multifarious reading," and "multum, non multa," becomes pointless.

To discuss either the more real objections that may be thought to lie against my plan, or the *quasi*-argument of Mr. Markby against what he supposes to be my plan, would be asking for more of your space than I have a right to claim.

I remain, Sir, yours truly,

J. R. MOZLEY.

To the Editor of the CONTEMPORARY REWIEW.

SIR,

MAY I ask for the correction of an error of some importance, a misprint, doubtless, which occurs in a quotation made by Mr. Vaughan, in your last number, from my paper on the Modern Theories of the Life of Jesus?

I am represented as saying that "the work ('Ecce Homo') is essentially Rationalistic, that is, irrational, *unchristian*, dishonest in the treatment of its great subject."

My words are "irrational, *uncritical*, inconsistent, dishonest, in the treatment of its great subject."

I should be glad also to be permitted to submit to the judgment of your readers the following passages from M. de Pressensé, in justification of my statement that his work, "Jésus Christ, son temps," &c., does not present "the unreserved acknowledgment of our Lord's perfect Deity and expiatory sacrifice:"—

"Jésus Christ n'est pas le Fils de Dieu caché dans le Fils de l'homme, conservant tous les attributs de la divinité à l'état latent. Ce serait admettre une dualité irréductible qui ferait disparaître l'unité de sa personne. . . . C'est un Fils de Dieu volontairement abaissé, et cet abaissement est le commencement comme la condition de sa sacrifice. *Il a gardé de la divinité ce qui constitue en quelque sorte l'essence morale ;* il n'est pas moins homme pour cela *parce que l'homme ne s'achève qu'en Dieu.* A l'âge antérieur . . . on n'a pas cessé de croire en Christ vraiment homme ; on n'a pas eu recours *au dogme des deux natures.* . . . Ainsi donc le Christ, dont nous allons retracer la vie, n'est pas ce Messie étrange qui a comme Dieu la toute-science et la toute-puissance, tandis que, comme homme ses connaissances et son pouvoir sont bornés."—(Livre i., ch. v., p. 253, second French edition.)

"Pour tout ce qui n'appartient pas à sa mission il a été véritablement l'homme de son temps et de son pays. Il y a plus ; même dans l'ordre religieux, il ne possédait pas la toute-science. . . . Il s'en suit qu'il n'a été infaillible que dans le domaine de la vérité directement religieuse."—(P. 353.)

"N'oublions pas que Jésus ne possédait directement la toute-science ; certes quand il a fait de Judas un apôtre, il ne prévoyait pas ce qu'il deviendrait." And, in a note, "Le passage, Jean ii. 25, 'Lui-même savait ce qui est dans l'homme,' *ne peut-être pris au sens absolu.*" So, too, of course, John vi. 64.—(P. 435.)

On the subject of the Atonement I will produce only one passage. It is the immediate continuation of that quoted by Mr. Vaughan in M. de Pressensé's favour, and commencing with a proposition which I am surprised he can regard with approbation: "C'est précisément cette sainteté parfaite qui éléve sa mort à la hauteur d'un libre sacrifice." The author thus proceeds :—

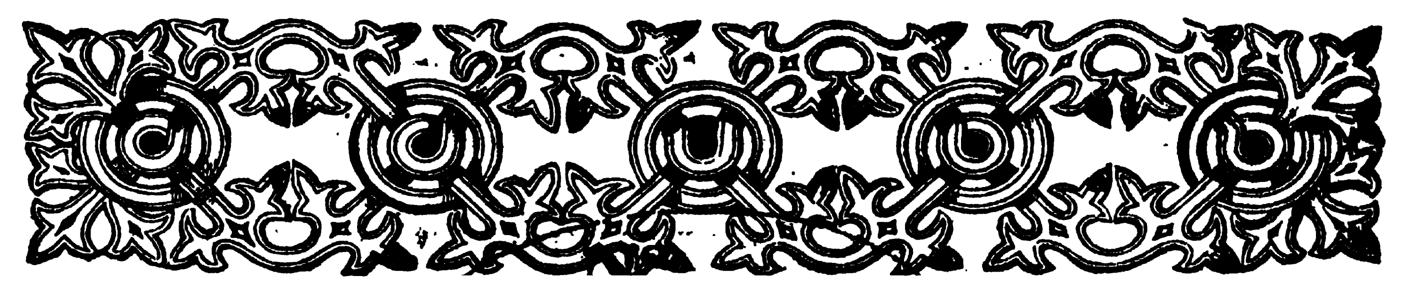
"Nous le retrouvons au Calvaire tel que nous l'avons vu au désert de la Tentation et en Gethsémané comme dans tout le cours de sa carrière, accomplissant la grande loi de la création, qui est de faire la volonté de Dieu. Mais dans ce jour elle se présente à lui sous la forme la plus redoutable, *puisqu'il s'agit d'accepter* les plus amères conséquences de la chute. *C'est ainsi qu'au nom de l'humanité il rétracte la rebellion d'Eden, il rapporte à Dieu le cœur de l'homme ; mais il le rapporte immolé et renoué ainsi* le lieu brisé entre la race perdue et le Père qui *n'attend que son retour* pour lui rouvrir ses bras." —(P. 642.)

The whole of the chapter is in the same vein. It bears the double title, "La Signification de la Mort de Jésus," "La Mort de Jésus est une Rédemption," and is therefore professedly an exposition of the author's theory of the Atonement. That theory plainly is that the Atonement consisted in Christ's voluntary acceptance of the condition of humanity and his loving surrender to the will of God, not in his substitution for the guilty, and his satisfaction of Divine justice ; doctrines which are alluded to, I am sorry to say, only in the language of sarcasm and misrepresentation (p. 643).

I remain, Sir, yours obediently,

W. F. WILKINSON.

DERBY, *September* 5, 1866.



RITUALISM AND THE ECCLESIASTICAL LAW.

PART II.

Lights before the Sacrament: an Argument Scriptural, Historical, and Legal, in a Letter to a Member of Convocation. By JOHN DAVID CHAMBERS, M.A., Recorder of New Sarum. London. 1866.

The Altar and its Lights: an Appeal to the Members of the Holy Catholic Church in England. By the Rev. W. J. COOPE, A.M. Oxon, and Rector of Falmouth. London. 1866.

The Church and the World: Essays on Questions of the Day. By Various Writers. Edited by the Rev. ORBY SHIPLEY, M.A. Essay XVII., "Reasonable Limits of Lawful Ritualism." By the Rev. T. W. PERRY, Assistant Curate of St. Michael and All Angels, Brighton. London. 1866.

IN a paper in this journal in January last, an attempt was made to show the bearing of the Ecclesiastical Law upon some points of ritualism. Since then, much has been said and written on the same topic. Debates in Convocation, and a long report from a committee appointed to examine the question, an opinion of counsel, articles in periodicals, and numerous pamphlets, have respectively thrown light upon—or darkened—the subject.

Finally, a suit has been commenced against a clergyman in the west of England, by his diocesan, in which the use of altar lights, the elevation of the sacrament, and other points, are directly in issue. Under these circumstances, we have thought it well to add to our former article what recent discussions have rendered necessary, in order to bring it up to the present position of the question, and to assist our readers to follow, with intelligence and appreciation, the arguments in the forthcoming trial. The interest which the approach of that trial will excite in many minds will, it is hoped, excuse us for going more into legal details than would otherwise be desirable.

At the head of this paper will be found the titles of some recent publications by advocates of high ritualism. The argument of all is substantially the same, legally considered. But the last upon the list requires the fullest notice, inasmuch as it is, in great part, a detailed answer to our previous article. It is distinguished by much research, and by great courtesy of tone. It is therefore with Mr. Perry that we shall chiefly deal,* though we purpose to examine, in passing, one or two passages from the pamphlet of Mr. Chambers. As before, we shall take "altar lights" as a convenient specimen of ritualism, and as involving its most distinctive features. Mr. Perry's first point consists of a criticism on the following passage from the judgment in Westerton *v.* Liddell, in relation to the rubric on ornaments at the commencement of the Prayer-book:—

"The rubric to the Prayer-book of Jan. 1st, 1604, adopts the language of the rubric of Elizabeth. The rubric to the present Prayer-book adopts the language of the statute of Elizabeth; but they all obviously mean the same thing, that the same dresses, and the same utensils, or articles, which were used under the first Prayer-book of Edward the Sixth, may still be used."

Mr. Perry contends that the word "under," in this place, is not to be taken as synonymous with "prescribed by," but must be understood in a larger sense. He paraphrases the words "under the first Prayer-book of Edward VI.," by what he thinks their equivalent, viz., "in connection with the services provided in the Prayer-book of 1549" (p. 448). And his object in so doing is to open the way for the argument that "an *exclusive* resort to the rubric of the Prayer-book of 1549 is an untenable mode of deciding what ornaments 'were used under' that book;" and that "it becomes necessary to ascertain whether there was anything else to which recourse was then likely to be had by the clergy of that day, in using the new service-book" (p. 456). Upon this inquiry he subsequently enters, and contends that resort must be had, for this purpose, to the old canon law, and to the royal injunctions of 1547.

In the first place, then, let us consider his observation on the word "under." He says,—

"It is due to their Lordships, and to the gravity of the questions which they had to decide, to believe that they employed well-considered terms, and used them in no inexact sense: so that when speaking in one place of things 'prescribed by,' and in another of things 'used under' the book of 1549, it ought not to be assumed that in their minds these were simply identical and interchangeable terms."—(P. 449.)

* In so doing, incidental reference will be made to a former work of Mr. Perry, entitled "Lawful Church Ornaments" (London, 1857). It appeared just before the final judgment in Westerton *v.* Liddell.

Whether the sense be an exact or an inexact one is a question of verbal criticism, not now needful to be considered; but most lawyers will probably agree that the word "under" is continually used in the sense of "in virtue of," or "prescribed by."

Thus, to go no farther than the judgment of the Court of Arches in Westerton *v.* Liddell, Sir John Dodson (after enumerating the signatures to the injunctions of 1547) says,—"Thus we have eleven, or rather twelve,—if both secretaries are to be counted,—of the officers required *under* the Proclamations Act" (Moore, p. 101). And again, in the same page,—"The King had power, *under* the Acts of Supremacy, to reform abuses; but how far that power extended was not clearly ascertained." Here the word certainly cannot mean "in connection with," in any loose sense as embracing whatever authority the Crown had from any source subsisting concurrently with, though not derived from, the statutes mentioned (which seems to be the sort of sense contended for by Mr. Perry, in order to make the judgment let in, not only the rules of the rubric, but any subsisting rules *aliunde*), but on the contrary, must refer to the directions expressly given and to the powers expressly conferred by these statutes.

But again, let us take an instance quite removed from ecclesiastical controversies—a judgment of Patteson, J. (one of the judges who gave the very decision of Westerton *v.* Liddell under consideration), in a case of *habeas corpus.* The question before him was, whether affidavits could be read to contradict the return made to a certain writ of *habeas corpus;* and to decide this it became necessary to consider whether the writ had been issued by virtue of some of the special statutes authorizing the court to issue such writs in certain specified cases, or whether it had been issued by virtue of the inherent power possessed by the court, independently of special statutes; *i. e.,* as it is termed, "at common law." It was needful to decide this, because the practice as to affidavits was alleged to be different in these different cases. The learned judge says,—

"There is a difficulty in saying under what authority this writ issues. I have not much doubt in saying that it does not issue under stat. 31 Car. II., c. 2: we do not find the words 'per statutum;' and that statute applies, I think, only where the party has been committed for trial, or has been tried. And I am inclined to think that it does not issue under stat. 56 Geo. III., c. 100: that statute excludes criminal matter and process in civil suits, meaning, as I understand it, to except all cases of proceedings at law, and to include merely cases where parties are detained without any authority. It seems therefore to be a writ at common law. . . . If the writ be at common law, I do not say that we cannot receive affidavits: I know of no principle upon which I can say that. If it be under stat. 56 Geo. III., c. 100, power is expressly given to us to receive affidavits. If it be under stat. 31 Car. II., c. 2, we clearly cannot, that statute giving us no such power."—*Carus Wilson's Case,* 7 Q. B, 1009.

In this short passage, the word "under" occurs five times, and is obviously used as the strict equivalent of "by virtue of," or "as prescribed by." Thus, at the commencement, the expression "under stat. 31 Car. II., c. 2," is employed as synonymous with "per statutum,"—the words which the Act of Charles requires to be endorsed on every writ issued by virtue of its provisions: and the most astute critic can hardly give to these words more than one translation.

Equally little ambiguity exists in the same phrase, "under stat. 31 Car. II." in the concluding sentence; for it is there used to distinguish what is prescribed by the requirements of that Act, from the provisions of another equally valid and subsisting Act, and from what is authorized at common law.

There seems, therefore, no doubt that the Judicial Committee may have meant quite the same thing when they spoke of what was "used under" the Prayer-book, as when they spoke of what was "prescribed by" it.

But the question does not depend on verbal arguments. The judgment itself shows that the two phrases really do mean the same thing, and that no more latitude is given by one than by the other. This appears by what is decided on the subject of crosses. The judgment on this point begins by limiting the word "ornament" to articles used in the services, and then distinguishes between such crosses as are, and such as are not so used. And then it proceeds:—"Their Lordships are therefore of opinion that, although the rubric excluded all use of crosses in the services, the general question of crosses not used in the services, but employed only as decorations of churches, is entirely unaffected by the rubric" (Moore, p. 161).

Now, how does the rubric, of which they are here speaking, "exclude" all use of crosses in the services? There seems but one answer—crosses so used are ornaments, and they are not mentioned in the first book of Edward VI. And the rubric, when it legalizes ornaments found in that book, excludes, as a general rule, those not found there. As there is no express reference to crosses at all in the rubric, it is only by this reasoning that their Lordships' conclusion can be made intelligible.

Mr. Perry, however, thinks it scarcely possible that their Lordships could have meant to give this exclusive force to the rubric, for the following reason:—"Their attention," he says, "had been especially drawn to the fact that no linen cloth for the altar is 'prescribed' *nominatim* in the book of 1549; yet it was an essential 'ornament,' and unquestionably 'used under' that book, as too were altar coverings or frontals, which nevertheless are not 'prescribed' therein" (p. 450).

The simple answer seems to be, that the linen cloth at the celebration of the Communion is expressly ordered by the rubric before the

Communion Service in our present Prayer-book, and it was this that was cited in the judgment as to the nature of such cloth (Moore, p. 188). It was not needful, therefore, that it should come within the general rubric as to ornaments, which is, of course, to be construed as supplementing, not as contradicting, the other directions of the book in which it is found. It is a *general* clause, referring to the first Prayer-book of Edward VI. for the ornaments of the Church, but not intended to conflict with a *special* direction in a particular service. We must apply the well-known maxim, that "when a general intention is expressed, and the Act also expresses a particular intention, incompatible with the general intention, the particular intention is to be considered in the nature of an exception" (Dwarris on Statutes, 2nd Ed., p. 514); or as it is rather barbarously expressed by Coke, "Generalis clausula non porrigitur ad ea quæ specialiter sunt comprehensa" (8 Rep., 118 *b*).

In fact, Mr. Perry himself employs, in another part of his paper, reasoning of the same kind. For he speaks of certain ornaments which, "though usable under the book of 1549, certain changes in the subsequent books have . . . rendered unnecessary" (p. 461), and of certain others which these subsequent changes have rendered "probably unlawful" (p. 471). He thus admits that the rubric on ornaments must be read in connection with what has been enacted and rescinded in other parts of the present Prayer-book.

He next deals with the words in the preface to the book of 1549,—"Furthermore, by this order the curates shall need none other books for their public service but this book and the Bible." He argues that this means, indeed, that there was no occasion for the old service-books, but does not affect the question of ornaments, because those books "neither contained detailed lists of ornaments nor even directions when to use them, except incidentally, and similarly to directions occurring here and there in the current rubrics of our present Prayer-book" (p. 451). Now how stands the fact? The Missal according to the use of Sarum (without taking into account other offices) refers to (and in some instances gives minute directions respecting) the crucifix, cross, images and their veils, the thurible for incense, the pyx, light in lantern for the sacrament, ampulla for the chrism, banner, reliquary, wax candle for the Easter sepulchre, and pax.* This being so, can it be contended that the prohibition to have or use such a service-book is not evidence that the use of these ornaments was abolished, and that the rubrics of the new book were thenceforth to determine what things were to be used in public worship? In particular, the rules as to the time and manner

*** These have been taken from a list drawn out by Mr. Perry himself: "Lawful Church Ornaments," p. 43.**

of incensing are laid down with great particularity in the Missal, and in fact it is from thence that those rules have been imported into the "Directorium Anglicanum." It is, indeed, true that candles on the altar are not expressly mentioned in the Missal, but a single exception like this cannot affect a broad argument. Moreover, the Missal does mention candles to be carried in procession, and at a certain point of the service to be deposited on the step of the altar. We shall see hereafter that some question may be raised whether these were not the candles to which the canon of Reynolds refers.* But were this otherwise, the Missal was not the only book for regulating the usages of divine service. "We must remember," says Mr. Maskell, when noticing that the York use makes no mention of vestments, "that though now they are lost, there were formerly numerous other volumes in which complete instructions were to be found for the due vesting of both the celebrant and his assistants" ("Ancient Liturgy of Church of England," p. 2); and the same no doubt was true as to other ornaments. And all these would be included under the "other books or writings whatsoever, heretofore used for services of the Church," in 3 & 4 Ed. VI., c. 10, which were ordered to be destroyed. Thus, in particular, we hear of a charter of the church of Abbeville, which directs that "In ecclesiâ sit *liber ordinarius* ad modum ecclesiæ Ambian., in quo contineatur, quid et quando et quomodo cantandum sit vel legendum, chorus regendus, campanæ pulsandæ, *luminare accendendum*," &c. (cited in Maskell's "Monum. Ritualia," vol. i., p. xlv.); see also the "Consuetudinary" of St. Osmund (published in the *British Magazine*, 1846-7), which directs the treasurer of the church of Sarum to supply "quatuor cereos ad utrasque vesperas et ad matutinas et ad Missam. Duos scil. infra altare et alios duos in gradu coram altari."

We must therefore again ask, as in our former paper, how one book, and that the Prayer-book, was to suffice for the curate if he were required to know the due use of the ancient Church ornaments?† And really it is impossible not to observe that the want has been felt, and the "Directorium Anglicanum" written to meet it. For we there find precisely the directions needed, such as that, when "matins, litany, and communion, or matins and communion, are celebrated together, the lights should not be lighted till just before the communion office begins," and never "save when celebration is intended" (p. 35); and that they are to be lighted "by the clerk in cassock, or in cassock and surplice," who is

* See p. 347 *infra*, and *Contemporary Review*, vol. i., p. 18.

† Mr. Perry says the service-books only "incidentally" gave directions how to use the ornaments; but the canons rarely give such directions *at all*, and, generally speaking, only give lists of their names. They assume that their use is known *aliunde*.

to "make a reverence before ascending to light them, and commence on the epistle side" (*ibid.*): and the same work gives most particular rules as to incensing.

Again, it is mentioned in the preface to the Prayer-book "concerning the service of the Church," that—

"Whereas heretofore there hath been great diversity in saying and singing in churches within this realm; some following Salisbury use, some Hereford use, some the use of Bangor, some of York, and some of Lincoln; now from henceforth all the whole realm shall have but one use."

But Mr. Perry says that—

"This is wholly irrelevant to the subject of ornaments. It relates entirely to the mode of reciting the divine offices, whether in monotone, *i. e.* 'saying,' or with inflexions, *i. e.* 'singing,' and which had grown so varied and so elaborate as to be difficult in many cases to follow. In fact this was simply the continuation of a decision which had been made seven years before, March 3rd, 1541-2, in the Convocation of Canterbury, when 'it was decreed that the use and custom of the church of Sarum should be observed by all and singular clerics throughout the province of Canterbury in saying their canonical hours.'"—(P. 451.)

In answer to this criticism it may be well, in the first place, to cite the authority of Mr. Maskell, in the preface to his "Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England according to the Uses of Sarum, Bangor, York, and Hereford." This author discusses the meaning of the word "use," and is of opinion that the "use of Sarum," as distinguished from the "use of Hereford" or "York," primarily refers to the "different prayers, different arrangements of them; different ceremonies to be observed in the administration of the sacraments," and only when employed in "an improper and wide sense," comprehends the mode of intonation adopted and ordered by the church in question. The passage is too long to quote, but at the close he says,—

"One word also, before I pass on, upon the expression in the passage in the preface to the Common Prayer-book, 'the great diversity in saying and singing,' and 'now from henceforth all the whole realm shall have but one use.' It is possible that the reformers, among their multiplicity of plans, did intend to enforce an uniformity in singing also throughout the realm: but, whatever they may have meant by the words just quoted, I think that it is quite clear that the first Common Prayer-book of King Edward, and all succeeding ones, were not in fact aimed at the abolition of varieties of music, but of a variety of prayers and rites and ceremonies. This object was effected. A diversity of singing nevertheless continued, not only in different dioceses, but also in different churches of the same diocese: and I am not aware that at present there is any rule, except the precentor's pleasure, even for the daily singing in a cathedral. However, we do not conceive the preface to the Common Prayer to be evaded, or the Act of Uniformity to be broken by this, whatever may be said of other practices."—(P. xiii.)

But further, a very similar phraseology is used in the canons of

1571, to which reference may be made, not as a legal authority, but as showing what was understood by such language at that day:—

"Decanus et residentiarii curabunt, ne qua alia forma observetur in canendis aut dicendis sacris precibus, aut in administratione sacramentorum, præterquam quæ preposita et præscripta est in libro publicarum precum."

Here no doubt can exist that the reference is to the liturgy, not to the method of singing. But indeed that the true meaning of the paragraph in question can hardly be what Mr. Perry suggests, will appear from the context in which it stood as originally put forth in the preface to the book of 1549. It there stood thus:—

"And where heretofore there hath been great diversity in saying and singing in churches within this realm: some following Salisbury use, some Hereford use, some the use of Bangor, some of York, and some of Lincoln; now from henceforth, all the whole realm shall have but one use. And if any would judge this way more painful, because that all things must be read upon the book, whereas before, by the reason of so often repetition, they could say many things by heart; if those men will weigh their labour, with the profit in knowledge, which daily they shall obtain by reading upon the book, they will not refuse the pain, in consideration of the great profit that shall ensue thereof."

Surely it is clear from these latter sentences that the matter of the service, not the manner of reciting it, is mainly in question here.

But lastly, it is to be remembered that this preface was published contemporaneously with, and under the authority of, the Act 2 & 3 Ed. VI., c. 1, which begins as follows:—

"Where of long time there hath been had in this Church of England and in Wales divers forms of Common Prayer, commonly called the service of the Church; that is to say, the use of Sarum, of York, of Bangor, and of Lincoln; and besides the same, now of late much more divers and sundry forms and fashions have been used in the cathedral and parish churches of England and Wales, as well concerning the Mattens, or Morning Prayer, and the Evensong, as also concerning the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass, with divers and sundry rites and ceremonies concerning the same, and in the administration of other sacraments of the Church . . ."

And then proceeds to recite the steps taken to procure "one convenient and meet order, rite, and fashion of common and open prayer and administration of the sacraments" (viz., the new Prayer-book), and to enact the use of the same.

Surely it is equally impossible by any astuteness of criticism to restrict these words to music or recitation, or to deny that they are intended to express the same idea as in fewer words is expressed in the preface to the book itself.

The next point touched upon is the phraseology of the Acts of Uniformity. When these forbid "any other rite, ceremony, order, form, or manner of mass" or other service, we must, according to

Mr. Perry, take these words in a limited and peculiar sense. He says,—

"Order and form mean *arrangement* and *expression:* 'rite' and 'ceremony' mean offices which in their nature are neither strictly *sacraments* nor *prayers.* The title of the Prayer-book shows this; it is called 'The Book of Common Prayer and *Administration* of the Sacraments, and *other* Rites and Ceremonies of the Church.' Here, plainly, the word 'administration' shows that 'rites and ceremonies,' like 'sacraments,' are *offices* to be performed rather than *usages* accompanying their performance. The custom of 'creeping to the cross' on Good Friday, for which an office was provided in the old Missals, was a 'ceremony;' the unction of the sick in the book of 1549 was a 'rite.' The distinction cannot be so clearly made among the offices of the present Prayer-book; but the visitation of the sick and the burial of the dead may perhaps be regarded as 'rites;' churching and commination as 'ceremonies.'"—(P. 452.)

Let us look at the acts themselves.

The Act 2 & 3 Ed. VI., c. 1, as we have seen, recites the "divers and sundry forms" which had prevailed "concerning the mattens or morning prayer, and the evensong, as also concerning the holy communion, commonly called the mass, with divers and sundry *rites and ceremonies concerning the same,* and in the administration of other sacraments of the Church." Here the words must clearly relate not to other religious services, but to usages observed concerning the mass. So, a little further on, the Act speaks of the quietness, &c., "which shall ensue upon the one and uniform *rite* and order in such common prayer and *rites* and *external ceremonies,*" where the epithet "external" marks the sense of the word "ceremonies."

Again, it goes on to enact that all ministers, &c., "shall be bounden to say and use the mattens, evensong, celebration of the Lord's Supper, commonly called the mass, and administration of each of the sacraments, and all their common and open prayer, in such order and form as is mentioned in the same book, and none other or otherwise."* And then provides penalties for all "who shall use . . . any other *rite, ceremony,* order, form, or manner of mass, openly or privily, or mattens, evensong, administration of the sacraments, or other open prayer, than is mentioned and set forth in the said book." This is, in fact, one of the most material clauses, and here the grammatical construction obviously is, that the words "of mass" are a genitive case, governed equally by all the preceding words. So, too, it would seem are the words, "mattens, evensong," &c., though not preceded (as in modern writing they would be) by a second "of." Here again, there-

* Mr. Chambers says that "the exclusive and prohibitory clause of 2 & 3 Ed. VI. is apparently repealed by 1 Eliz., c. 2, in its last section" ("Lights before the Sacrament," p. 27). But if this could be shown to be so, it seems immaterial, because 1 Eliz., c. 2, re-enacts the same words in its third and fourth sections, in relation to the book of Elizabeth, and 13 & 14 Car. II., c. 4, § 24, applies them to our present book.

fore, the words "rite" and "ceremony" must refer to usages in the celebration of mass, &c., not to distinct services;* and so in 1 Eliz., c. 2, § 26 (an Act which re-enacts the above clauses of 2 & 3 Ed. VI., c. 1), it is provided—

> "That if there shall happen any contempt or irreverence to be used in the ceremonies or rites of the Church, by the misusing of the orders appointed in this book, the Queen's Majesty may, by the like advice of the said Commissioners or Metropolitan, ordain and publish such further ceremonies and rites as may be most for the advancement of God's glory, the edifying of His Church, and the due reverence of Christ's holy mysteries and sacraments."

The powers here evidently relate to usages in the performance of the various services, including (not distinct from) the sacraments.

But the same use of the words is found in other places. Thus in "The Order of the Communion," published in 1548 (before the first Prayer-book, and before further changes had been decided on), it is said,—

> "The time of communion shall be immediately after that the priest himself hath received the sacrament, without the varying of any other rite or ceremony in the mass (until other order shall be provided); but as heretofore usually the priest hath done with the Sacrament of the Body, to prepare, bless, and consecrate so much as will serve the people, . . . so it shall continue still after the same manner and form,† save that he shall bless and consecrate the biggest chalice, or some fair and convenient cup or cups full of wine, with some water put into it; and that day, not drink it up all himself, but taking one only sup or draught, leave the rest upon the altar covered, and turn to them that are disposed to be partakers of the communion, and shall thus exhort them as followeth."

In this passage (which being found in a document of authority *in pari materie,* and of the same period, may fairly be referred to as to the *usus loquendi*) we see, beyond dispute, that rites and ceremonies mean usages "in the mass," not other services distinct from it.

Once more, the preface "Of Ceremonies," as it stands in our present Prayer-book, cannot possibly be read as applying only to distinct services done away or retained, but obviously relates to the various usages employed in all or any branches of divine worship.

The truth rather seems to be that the phrases under consideration are in their nature large and comprehensive, and are employed at one time to include generically the various usages of divine worship, at

*** Compare the use of the words by Zaccaria, "Bibl. Ritualis," tom. i., 107 (cited by Maskell, "Monum. Ritual.," 3, xix.) He is describing a MS. which he says contains "totius ecclesiastici officii rubricas, ritus etiam et cæremonias tam officii recitandi, quam missæ celebrandæ."**

† It may be asked, in passing, why the Prayer-book of 1549 did not contain some similar clause to this, if it were intended to allow whatever it did not expressly alter? Such an intention is clearly expressed *here;* but there is no such clause in the Prayer-book.

another (from the same generality of meaning) to embrace certain services and forms which do not fall within specific classes previously enumerated. Because they are sometimes used in the latter sense it by no means follows that they are never to be interpreted in the former. The context must give the clue, and the context of the enactments which we have just examined seems decisive.* Even if the words used could be shown to be technical terms, the legal rule that such are to be taken in a technical sense is subject to exception, when there is something in the context to show that a different meaning was intended.—(Dwarris on Statutes, p. 597.)

Mr. Perry goes on to cite the case of Rex *v.* Sparks, where an indictment for using *alias preces* in the Church, and *alio modo*, was held insufficient, because such prayers may be used upon some extraordinary occasion, and so no crime; and it was said that the indictment ought to have alleged that the defendant used other forms and prayers, instead of those enjoined, which were neglected by him; "for otherwise every parson may be indicted that useth prayers before his sermon, other than such which are required by the Book of Common Prayer." And he notices that this decision seems in his opinion to be in conformity with the exception in 2 & 3 Ed. VI., c. 1, § 7,—"Provided also that it shall be lawful for all men, as well in churches, chapels, oratories, or other places, to use openly any psalms or prayer taken out of the Bible, at any due time, not letting or omitting thereby the service, or any part thereof, mentioned in the said book."

The object of Mr. Perry appears to be, to show that the prohibitions of the law relate only to omissions or substitutions, not to additions. But the very section of 2 & 3 Ed. VI., c. 1, which he quotes, makes

* At this point Mr. Perry interposes a remark which may be best dealt with in a note, so as not to interrupt the connection. He says that as the communion service was called "the mass" in the Act and book of 1549, "it would have been a conspicuous mark of nonconformity *not* to have had altar lights, though no rubric of the first Prayer-book ordered them; for the canon law required them at mass, and they had been constantly used therein up to the very day on which the new Prayer-book came into use;" and he afterwards contends that it is not true that the mass is swept away, for he says, "True, the *name* is gone, but the question must be asked, Is there any *essential* difference between the communion service, which was also called 'the mass' in the book of 1549, and the communion service in our present Prayer-book? Unhesitatingly we answer that there is not," &c. (p. 473). It seems a little inconsistent to make the retention of the name all-important in order to identify the ancient mass with the book of 1549, but the abolition of the name unimportant when the book of 1549 is to be identified with our present service. The real question is, Did the book of 1549 change so little, that its communion office was regarded at the time as identical with the old service? Contemporary evidence looks the other way. We are about to quote (see p. 339 *infra*) a Letter of the Council of 24th June, 1549, in which they distinctly treat the communion as *substituted for* the mass, not as essentially the same with it. It may perhaps be added, that though in *the title* the communion is spoken of as "commonly called the mass," the *rubrics* of the book of 1549 never use that word, but always speak of "the communion."

against him. For it would not be needful to insert an exception in favour of "psalms or prayer taken out of the Bible," if additions generally were allowable, and were not within the prohibitions of the Act. "Expressio unius est exclusio alterius." But in truth, neither this clause nor the case of Rex *v.* Sparks is in point. The question is not of independent additions used subsequent to, and distinct from, the service (as a prayer in the pulpit), but of additions used in and with the services, and derived from ancient rituals which the reformed Prayer-book was designed to supersede. Such additions, if lawful, might change the entire character of the services. Accordingly, they fall within the prohibition against using "any other rite, ceremony, order, form, or manner" of divine service. (See 2 & 3 Ed. VI., c. 1, and 1 Eliz., c. 2.) And to this effect is the judgment in Newbery *v.* Goodwin, 1 Phillim., 282, where it is said,—

"The law directs that a clergyman is not to diminish in any respect, or to add to, the prescribed form of worship;—uniformity in this respect is one of the leading and distinguishing principles of the Church of England:—nothing is left to the discretion and fancy of the individual."

And so is the 14th canon of 1604,—"All ministers shall observe the orders, rites, and ceremonies prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer,* as well in reading the Holy Scriptures and saying of prayers, or in administration of the sacraments, without either diminishing in regard of preaching, or in any other respect, or adding anything in the matter or form thereof."

Finally, on this head, we may once more draw attention to the words of the Judicial Committee in Westerton *v.* Liddell,—"Their Lordships entirely agree with the opinions expressed by the learned judges in these cases, and in Faulkner *v.* Litchfield, that in the performance of the services, rites, and ceremonies ordered by the Prayer-book, the directions contained in it must be strictly observed; that no omission and *no addition* can be permitted."—*Moore*, p. 187.

It is indeed true that their Lordships go on to say that they do not mean by these words to exclude certain articles which they name, but these, it will be found, are things of *intrinsic utility.* Things resting (like altar lights) merely on ancient *authority,* it is apprehended they do mean to exclude.

In our previous article reliance had been placed on the fact that when the Prayer-book of 1662 was published, the ancient service-

*** Another instance, it may be noticed in passing, of the generic sense of "rites and ceremonies." For the canon speaks of "rites and ceremonies . . . in administration of the sacraments." They cannot, therefore, refer to offices distinct from the sacraments, such as visitation of the sick, &c., as contended by Mr. Perry.**

books, from which guidance must be sought as to ceremonies of which there is no mention in the rubric, were absolutely prohibited by statute. "But granting this," says Mr. Perry, "the question under discussion is not as to the re-introduction of abolished 'ceremonies' technically so called, but as to the restoration of certain 'ornaments' and usages *in connection with* the present services strictly adhered to." —(P. 454.)

The natural reply to this of course is that the use of an ornament in connection with a service is a ceremony, and that consequently it falls within the prohibitions which we have just been considering. Mr. Perry obviously intends to rely on his previous criticism that a ceremony means a distinct office or service, but in this instance, singularly enough, he furnishes evidence against himself; for a few pages farther on, he speaks of the directions in the first Prayer-book for the use of the white vesture called the chrisom in baptism, and for the anointing of the infant on the head, and remarks that "these ceremonies were subsequently omitted, and have not been since restored; consequently these usages, and the 'ornaments' employed, viz., the chrisom and the ampulla, are certainly needless, probably unlawful" (p. 471). Here the word ceremony is employed in direct reference to the use of ornaments in the administration of a sacrament.

It is not the replacing an ancient ornament among the goods of the church in the sacristy that is in question, it is the use of it in the service; and therefore the words of the rubric on ornaments must throughout be read in connection with what is laid down both in the Prayer-book and in the Acts of Parliament as to abolished and forbidden ceremonies.

Again, we had observed that "all directions as to certain ancient ceremonies, and as to the use of certain ancient ornaments, are 'left out' of the rubrics of our present book, while at the same time the Acts are allowed to remain in force that render illegal the possession of the books from which the appropriate directions might be obtained." This, it is urged, is unfair, and the criticism on it is as follows :—

"It is really necessary to notice the seemingly strange oversight which renders Mr. Shaw's quotation of the words 'left out' most misleading: for in the preface 'Concerning the Service of the Church' they obviously refer to *nothing more* than the 'uncertain stories and legends, with multitude of responds, verses, vain repetitions, commemorations and synodals' complained of."—(P. 454.)

There was no intention to mislead. The argument was intended to be a verbal one, and the following note (not quoted by Mr. Perry) stands appended, in the original passage, to the words "left out."

"It is hardly possible to read the preface to the Prayer-book without feeling that the words 'left out,' in the paragraphs concerning the service of the Church, are used as equivalent to 'abolished' in the paragraphs 'Of Ceremonies.'"—*Contemporary Review*, vol. i., p. 26.

What was intended was to establish the identity of the words 'left out' and 'abolished' in the language of the framers of the Prayer-book—thus leading to the conclusion that a simple omission was by them looked upon as all that was required to put an end to a previous observance. For this purpose it was of no importance what was the immediate subject spoken of, and it was therefore not needful to particularize it. At the same time, as the words were taken from a section which expressly deals with the service of the Church, it certainly seems to be *in pari materie,* though the matter and not the adjuncts of the service were immediately in question in the context.

We must now devote a short space to the discussion of a document given in Burnet,* and by him stated to belong to the year 1549. In our former paper it was cited as "the Royal Proclamation or injunctions of 1549." Its more exact title is "Articles to be followed and observed according to the King's Majesty's Injunctions and Proceedings." †

It forbids "setting any light upon the Lord's board at any time," and orders ministers "to use no other ceremonies than are appointed in the King's Book of Common Prayers," and it was accordingly used in our former argument as negativing the legality of altar lights.

It seems, however, that doubts are now to be cast on the document itself.‡ Mr. Perry writes:—

"Unfortunately for Mr. Shaw's argument, the document upon which he relies is not trustworthy evidence. It does not even pretend to possess any *royal* authority, for it is merely called, 'Articles to be followed and observed according to the King's Majesty's Injunctions and Proceedings.' There is nothing whatever to indicate whence it is derived. Collier and Cardwell quote it from Burnet, who takes it from 'Johnson's MSS.' These have recently been traced and examined by Mr. Pocock, the careful editor of the new edition of Burnet's 'History of the Reformation,' who, however, could not find this document among them, and was unable to obtain any more information respecting it."—(P. 455.)

What Mr. Pocock says is, that he found about sixty volumes of MSS., whereas Johnstone's collection is known to have consisted

* "Hist. of Ref. Coll. of Records," pt. ii., book i., No. 33; and Card., "Doc. Ann.," vol. i., No. 15.

† Mr. Perry formerly called them "amendments of the injunctions issued in the first year of Edward."—("Lawful Church Ornaments," p. 50.)

‡ These doubts are new. In "Lawful Church Ornaments" (p. 50) these articles seem accepted as genuine, the only doubt hinted at being as to "their exact date," which, it is suggested, may be somewhat later than Burnet and Collier suppose.

of 130 volumes. "Scarcely half of the collection therefore," he says, "exists at present, unless the remainder has passed into other hands." * It is surely not very surprising, therefore, that a particular paper should not happen to be among the extant moiety. It is not the only one missing. Four documents in all are quoted by Burnet from the Johnstone MSS., and of these another remains undiscovered, viz., "Injunctions given by the King's Majesty's Visitors to all and every the Clergy and Laity now resident within the Deanery of Duncaster."

Nor must it be supposed that Mr. Pocock intended to convey any suspicion as to the paper in question. In a private letter on the subject dated September 19th, 1866 (the publication of which he has kindly permitted), he writes,—

"My not having found the document among Johnstone's MSS. affords no sort of presumption that it is not now there, and still less that it was not once there. There can be no doubt that Johnstone had a contemporary copy (perhaps official), and lent it to Burnet. He was far too skilled an antiquary to be deceived about the genuineness of such a paper. The half-collection of the MSS. at Campsall Park was in such confusion that I only wonder I found anything."

And after stating his impression that the articles will be some day found, he says, "The absence of such documents from any register in the time of Edward VI. is not surprising to any one who knows the extreme carelessness of the period."

It may be added that Burnet in his preface says, "In the search I made of rolls and other offices, I wondered much to miss several commissions, patents, and other writings, which by clear evidence I knew were granted, and yet none of them appeared on record." He goes on to attribute this to a wilful destruction of them in the reign of Mary, under a singular commission, which was issued by her, to search for and call in writings, &c., made "in the time of the late schism." Whether this be so or not, his evidence is clear that many documents which must once have existed were not to be found.

Mr. Chambers, in arguing against the admissibility of these alleged articles as evidence, says that they are "without date" and "without signature." But the injunctions and articles of 1547, *as given by Cardwell*, are unsigned and undated, though, thanks to Mr. Chambers's researches, we know that in the original, at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, the signatures are extant. Confessedly we have not access to the original of the alleged articles of 1549, but perhaps the fact that no signatures appear in the secondary evidence which we possess, is less startling than at first appears. For the truth is, Burnet is not

* "The History of the Reformation of the Church of England. By Gilbert Burnet, D.D., Bishop of Salisbury. A new edition, carefully revised, and the records collated with the originals, by Nicholas Pocock, M.A., late Michel Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. 1865." See vol. vii., p. 92.

in the habit of always giving the signatures to the records which he quotes. Thus the "Articuli Regiæ inquisitionis in monasticam vitam agentes," &c., of Henry VIII.,* have no signatures or date. And this is a paper of precisely the same character with that which we are discussing.† Mr. Chambers further objects that there is no proof that these articles were acted on. But both Burnet and Collier state that a visitation was had on the basis of the articles in question.

So much as to the external testimony. But it is contended that there is internal evidence against the genuineness of the alleged articles.

Mr. Perry argues that the supposition of the date of 1549 is at once negatived by the fact of Article IX. directing "That no man maintain . . . oil, chrism, . . . or any other such abuses," &c.; because oil and chrism were appointed to be used in baptism and the visitation of the sick in the Prayer-book of 1549. The words of the 9th Article are these:—

> "*Item*, That no man maintain purgatory, invocation of saints, the six articles, bead-rolls, images, relics, lights, holy bells, holy beads, holy water, palms, ashes, candles, sepulchres, paschal, creeping to the cross, hallowing of the font of the popish manner, oil, chrism, altars, beads, or any other such abuses, and superstitions, contrary to the King's Majesty's proceedings."

There is of course a *primâ facie* difficulty, such as Mr. Perry suggests, but we do not get rid of embarrassment by postponing the date to a period subsequent to the time when "oil" and "chrism" were wholly forbidden. To effect this we must suppose the date to be later than 1552, when the second Prayer-book was published, which no longer sanctioned oil and chrism. But then this book also put an end to the practice of carrying the sacrament to the sick,—a practice recognized expressly by the 13th of the Articles now under consideration, which says, "*Item*, That going to the sick with the sacrament the minister have not with him either light or bells."

There is, therefore, at least as much to be said on the one side as on the other. It remains to be seen whether the language of the 9th Article can be reconciled with the Prayer-book of 1549. It has been suggested, with much acuteness, that the words "oil, chrism, altars, beads," are in fact genitives, and that the words "hallowing of" overrides the whole enumeration.‡

If so, it is the superstitious hallowing of these various things that is

* Burnet, "Records," part i., book iii., No. 1.

† See also the "Injunctions of Cromwell" (Burnet, part i., book iii., No. 7); and another set, *ibid.*, No. 11, "The Directions of Mary to her Council," part ii., book ii., No. 22; and the various Episcopal Injunctions of Cranmer and other Bishops, in Burnet's collection.

‡ This suggestion is due to Mr. H. R. Droop, of Lincoln's Inn.

forbidden. Thus, in "Cranmer's Articles of Inquiry of 1547," it is asked "whether they had upon Easter Even last past hallowed the font, fire, or paschal" (Card., "Doc. Ann.," i., p. 56); and in Ridley's "Injunctions," 1550, "That none maintain purgatory, invocation of saints, the six articles, bedrowls, images, relics, rubric primers, with invocation of saints, justification of man by his own works, holy bread, palms, ashes, candles, sepulchre, paschal, creeping to the cross, *hallowing of the fire or altar*, or any other such like abuses and superstitions, now taken away the King's grace's most godly proceedings." The similarity in the enumeration is striking, and tends to confirm the suggestion now before us. It is to be noticed that there were express services for hallowing the font,* the oil, and the chrism. Lyndwood notes that the "oleum infirmorum" and the "oleum catechumenorum" had separate benedictions ("Provinciale," lib. i., tit. 6). The consecration of chrism took place on Maundy Thursday (Johnson, sub anno 1279).†

The Convocation of 1536, in "the articles about religion," &c., published by authority of Henry VIII., had expressly defended "the hallowing of the font, and other like exorcisms and benedictions by the ministers of Christ's Church."—*Burnet*, "*Records*," part i., book iii.

As regards beads, we may quote the 5th Homily, part 3:—

> "And briefly to pass over the ungodly and counterfeit religion, let us rehearse some other kinds of papistical superstitions and abuses, as of beads, of lady psalters, and rosaries, of fifteen O's, of St. Bernard's verses, of St. Agatha's letters, of purgatory, of masses satisfactory, of stations and jubilees, of feigned relicks, of hallowed beads, bells, bread, water, palms, candles, fire, and such other, of superstitious fastings, &c."

In this passage there is no doubt that the word "hallowed" applies to all the things subsequently enumerated as far as "fire and such other." And here, as well as in the "Article," there is mention of beads as a distinct superstition from the "hallowing," the former probably referring to the formal use of them in prayer,‡ the other to the ceremony of consecrating them.

Or another method may be suggested to obviate Mr. Perry's objection. It may be that the words "contrary to the King's Majesty's proceedings," apply to and control all that has preceded in the article, and that not all use of chrism, but the use of it where it

* See "Benedictio Fontis" in Maskell's "Mon. Rit.," i. 13. In fact there was a kind of hallowing of the font in the Book of 1549. Hence the force of the words "of the popish manner."

† See also Bishop Pilkington's Works, Parker Soc., p. 526.

‡ Namely, what Cranmer calls, "to put their trust in a prescribed number of prayers, as in saying over a number of beads or the like."—("Articles to be Inquired of in the Dioc. of Canterbury." Cranmer, Parker Soc., p. 156.)

had been abolished (as at confirmation), was forbidden,* *et sic de cæteris.*

But Mr. Perry has another remark on the use made of these alleged articles of visitation in the former paper of this periodical. He says :—

> "Again, Mr. Shaw had previously argued (*Contemporary Review*, p. 23) that, subsequent to the publication of the Royal Injunctions of 1547, the royal authority to issue proclamations having the force of law was abolished. It is difficult, therefore, to see what authority could attach to this 'Royal Proclamation' (as Mr. Shaw calls it, p. 24) of 1549."—(P. 456.)

There is a little misconception here. Some supporters of altar lights have argued, that as the Injunctions of 1547 allowed two lights before the sacrament to remain, and as these Injunctions are alleged to have been issued under the provisions of an Act of Henry VIII., giving certain royal proclamations the force of law,—hence the lights had "authority of Parliament in the second year of Edward VI.," and must be taken to be sanctioned by those words in our present rubric at the commencement of the Prayer-book. In dealing with *this argument*, it was shown that the Proclamation Act was repealed in the *first* year of Edward (viz., by 1 Edward VI., c. 12), and that thenceforth nothing done under the repealed Act could continue to have parliamentary authority ; because any obligation *flowing from a statute*, either *immediately* or *mediately* (*i.e.*, from some rule or order made in pursuance of powers granted by a statute), becomes null and void as soon as the statute is repealed. In other words, it was stated that a statutory authority became void from the time of the repeal of the enabling statute, but no opinion was hazarded as to the amount of authority which the Injunctions might have derived as issuing from the Crown, independently of the special statutory authority.† For the point in question was to show that they could not

* The Prayer-book of 1549 omitted chrism at confirmation.

† In point of fact the Injunctions are often cited as still of some validity. In the first Prayer-book is a rubric that the litany is to be said "after such form as is appointed by the King's Majesty's injunctions, or as is or shall be otherwise appointed by his Highness." But this does not show that the Injunctions had statutory authority under the Act of Hen. VIII.; for that Act being repealed, no *new* Injunctions (at any rate) could be issued: yet such are contemplated. It may here be worth observing, that when disobedience against the Injunctions is formally alleged against Gardiner in the articles objected against him, no special statutory authority is pleaded. It is merely alleged, "That his Majesty, as supreme head of the said churches, hath full power and authority to make and set forth laws, injunctions, and ordinances for and concerning religion, and orders of the said churches: for the increase of virtue and repressing of all errors, heresies, and other enormities and abuses;" and then "that those who disobey any his Majesty's said laws, injunctions, ordinances and proceedings already set forth and published, or hereafter to be set forth and published, ought worthily to be punished, according to his ecclesiastical law used within this his realm;" and then is alleged the contravention of them by Gardiner. (See Foxe, "Acts and Monuments." vol. vi., p. 64.) We have all

be supposed to be intended by the words "authority of Parliament;" only it was added (in order to meet in passing any suggestion that, though not falling within the terms of the rubric, the Injunctions might still be in force by virtue of the mere Act of the Crown), that the Crown did in fact issue, at a later period, other directions amounting to a rescinding of the former. This of course assumed the genuineness of the document of 1549, but it was not then known to be disputed. But this document was not quoted as introducing a new law by its own authority,* but as proof that the advisers of the Crown considered that the new Act of Uniformity had already made the change in question. Burnet regards it as issued in order to obtain conformity to the new Prayer-book, and so did Dr. Lushington (Westerton *v.* Liddell, "Moore," p. 65); and it is in this light that it is best construed. And a forcible argument of *this nature* may be constructed, even if we should be forbidden to rely on the document of 1549. For how stands the case apart from that document?

In the year 1550, Ridley issued injunctions thus headed:—"Injunctions given in the visitation of the reverend father in God, Nicholas, Bishop of London, for an uniformity in his diocese of London, in the fourth year of our sovereign,"† &c.

The first is:—

> "That there be no reading of such injunctions as extolleth and setteth forth the popish mass, candles, images, chantries; neither that there be used any superaltaries, or trentals of communions."

The second:—

> "That no minister do counterfeit the popish mass in kissing the Lord's board, washing his hands, &c., . . . or setting any light upon the Lord's board. And finally, that the minister, in time of the holy communion, do use only the ceremonies and gestures appointed by the Book of Common Prayer, and none other, so that there do not appear in them any counterfeiting of the popish mass."

Now, in the first place, there is every appearance here that the bishop is simply enforcing "uniformity" on the basis of the new book, not laying down anything as from himself; and yet he distinctly forbids the light on the Lord's board. In the next place, it is hardly probable that any bishop would have taken upon him to act in the manner in which we find Ridley here acting, without the con-

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along argued the case on the theory that the Injunctions were at first issued under 31 Hen. VIII., c. 8, but this has never been proved beyond dispute.

* Mr. Chambers observes, that "the only argument they [the alleged articles of 1549] can supply is this: that whereas a new law against a practice presupposes the legality of that practice up to the period of its being forbidden, they go to prove that the use of lights 'on the Lord's board' up to their date, whatever that may be, *was* lawful" ("Lights before the Sacrament," p. 39). But this is to misapprehend the purpose for which they are alleged.

† Card., "Doc. Ann.," vol. i., p. 93.

currence of the Crown. Either, therefore, it would seem he must have been proceeding upon a genuine royal document, such as the alleged articles of visitation, or else must have known that the advisers of the sovereign considered the new service-book and Act of Uniformity to have abolished the lights on the altar, as well as all other ceremonies in public worship not sanctioned thereby.* But the case can be carried a step farther. We have actual evidence of the concurrence of the Crown in Ridley's proceedings. In the journal of King Edward VI., under date June 28, 1550, is the entry:—"Sir John Gates, Sheriff of Essex, went down with letters to see the Bishop of London's injunctions performed, which touched plucking down of superaltaries, altars, *and such like ceremonies and abuses.*"† Now, as a recommendation to substitute tables for altars occurs in these very injunctions, they are identified with those of which the King speaks; and it is evident that the sheriff was to support the bishop in enforcing his injunctions generally.‡

* Mr. Perry charges the articles of Ridley with illegality, because they prohibit "saying the *Agnus* before the communion, though the book of 1549 orders it," and thus seeks to weaken the weight to which they are entitled. But it has been acutely pointed out that the book of 1549 had changed the place of the *Agnus*, so that it no longer stood "before the communion," but was to be sung "in the communion time" by the clerks, "beginning so soon as the priest doth receive the holy communion." In the Missal it had stood at the point where, soon after consecration, the priest broke the host into three pieces, and dropped one of them into the chalice. After this came the pax and several prayers before the priest received the sacrament. And Cardinal Bona thus speaks of it ("Rerum Liturg.," libri duo, lib. ii., c. 16): "Confractâ hostiâ et immissâ in calicem particulâ sequitur deprecatio ad *Christum Agnum Dei tollentem peccata mundi, incruente a sacerdote immolatum.*" And again, "Sergius I. summus Pontifex statuit ut *tempore confractionis Dominici corporis*, 'Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis,' a clero et populo decantaretur. . . . In Liturgiâ Chrysostomi sacerdos divisurus sanctum panem dicit, '*Frangitur et dividitur Agnus Dei, filius Patris.*'" The Reformers, therefore, may have had strong reason for disconnecting the saying of the *Agnus* from the actions at the time of consecration, and for placing it later in the service. Compare the change of place of the signing with the cross in the baptismal service, and the comment of L'Estrange, "Divine Offices," p. 370; see also, as to the *Agnus*, Becon's works (Park. Soc.), vol. iii., p. 278.

† Burnet, "Records," part ii., book i.

‡ It has sometimes been urged that the pulling down of altars was not in accordance with the Prayer-book. But it is known that the Council justified their subsequent order to take them down on the express ground that the Prayer-book spoke of altar and table "indifferently, without prescription of the form thereof either of a table or of an altar," and that thus "there is nothing either said or meant contrary to the Book of Common Prayer," and they relied on the power given to the bishop in his discretion to take order for appearing diversity as to the use and practising of the book. Without giving any opinion as to the sufficiency of this justification, we may note that it shows that they did not claim a high-handed power to go beyond the law, but sought to bring themselves within it, when their proceedings might be disputed. And as we do not hear of any explanation or justification of their support of Ridley in other matters, it may be thought that they did not expect any doubt to be raised on these points. The "Reasons why the Lord's Board should rather be after the form of a Table than of an Altar," circulated by the Council in order to justify their letter to take down altars, will be found in "Cranmer's Remains," Parker Soc. Edit., p. 524.

Again, the course taken by Cranmer points in the same direction, and Cranmer, from position and temper, was very unlikely to take any step not in accordance with the mind of the advisers of the Crown. Soon after the appearance of the Injunctions of 1547, the archbishop had issued articles of inquiry which followed them closely, and had asked, "whether they suffer any torches, candles, tapers, or any other lights to be in your churches, but only two lights upon the high altar." In 1550 (after the Prayer-book had appeared), he issued fresh articles.* Nothing is now said about lights, but it is asked "whether any of this church do keep or observe diligently and inviolably, without colour or fraud, the book called the Common Prayer, according to the rules of the same and the statute of Parliament authorizing the same book: and whether you use *any other ceremonies at the communion than is mentioned or allowed in the same book?*" Here, therefore, is confirmatory evidence that the book was held to proscribe what it did not sanction.

Mr. Perry next addresses himself to the question whether the ancient canons had "authority of Parliament" in the second year of Edward VI., so as to justify the view that they are referred to under those words in the rubric, and those regulations thereby sanctioned at the present day.

As pointed out in our previous paper, the first step in this argument depends on the construction to be put on those acts of Henry VIII. which gave the king power to have a revision made of the old canons, and conferred on them an interim sanction until such revision was accomplished. And we stated that the Judicial Committee spoke with respect of an argument urged before them, viz., that the power in question came to an end at the death of Henry VIII., and that, as a legal consequence, the temporary sanction given to the canons expired at the same time, and was not in force during the reign of Edward VI.

Mr. Perry of course takes the contrary view. He quotes many authorities to show that a certain statutory sanction of the canons exists at the present day. But this we are not concerned to dispute, because 25 Hen. VIII., c. 19, was revived and made perpetual by an Act of Elizabeth. This does not assist us as to the interval occupied by the reign of Edward. With the legal argument Mr. Perry does not directly deal, but he advances some considerations which he thinks tell indirectly against it. Thus he argues that—

"The posture of affairs would have been strange if this ancient ecclesiastical law had been wholly devoid of civil sanction at that time [*i.e.*, under

* "Articles of Inquiry at the Visitation of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury"—("Cranmer's Remains and Letters," Parker Soc., p. 159).

Edward VI.]. The papal supremacy had lately been abolished, which at least was practically coercive in respect of the canon law. But in the absence of any substituted state recognition, delinquents must have been merely amenable to the ordinary and episcopal authority of the diocesans, who probably could not have enforced their decisions by any temporal penalties, and thus the ecclesiastical courts would have been in the awkward condition of adjudicating upon causes without power to give effect to their decrees if treated with contempt."—(P. 464.)

This reasoning is scarcely valid. By the expiration of the Acts of Henry VIII., the ecclesiastical law would (it is apprehended) simply be remitted to its previous condition, being neither annulled nor strengthened. And at common law, and by 9 Edw. II., stat. i., c. 12, the procedure seems to have been well settled. Not only did the secular courts not interfere with the excommunication of the courts Christian (unless the latter, by exceeding their constitutional powers, rendered themselves open to a prohibition), but actually aided it by temporal disabilities and penalties. Not only could no excommunicated man bring an action (so that he lost his civil status), but when a party remained under excommunication for forty days, the bishop might certify it into Chancery, and a writ "De excommunicato capiendo" might issue, under which the party would be imprisoned. (Burn, "Eccles. Law," ii., p. 248.) But the temporal judges would thus recognize the sentence of the spiritual authority only when they had the power of ascertaining that it had acted within its jurisdiction and according to law; in order that, if it were otherwise, they might compel the bishop to do justice and absolve the party. And because no such compulsion could be put upon the Pope, the court refused to recognise or act upon a papal excommunication.* This being so, the abolition of the papal supremacy would hardly affect seriously the powers of our domestic ecclesiastical tribunals.

Mr. Perry's next argument is that as Mary repealed the 25 Hen. VIII., c. 19, and 27 Hen. VIII., c. 15, we must conclude that they were then deemed to be in force, and therefore had been in force in the previous reign.

We must therefore look at these Acts, and at their connection with 35 Hen. VIII., c. 16. It appears to stand thus:—25 Hen. VIII., c. 19, gives power to the king to nominate thirty-two persons to revise the canons,—

"Whereof 16 to be of the clergy and 16 to be of the temporalty of the Upper and Nether House of the Parliament, and if any of the said 32 persons so chosen shall happen to die before their full determination, then his Highness to nominate other from time to time of the said two Houses of the Parliament, to supply the number of the said two-and-thirty."

* See 2 Instit., 623, and Coke's Preface to Cawdrey's Case, 5 Rep., and the "Year Book." 14 Hen. IV., fol. 14, which last is a distinct authority on the matter before the Reformation.

Two years later, when this Parliament was coming to an end, and nothing had been done in the matter, it became needful to give further powers. For the king's choice had been limited to members of Parliament, *i. e.*, as it seems, of the existing Parliament.* Accordingly, 27 Hen. VIII., c. 15, was passed, which recited the former Act at length, and then proceeded,—

"And forasmuch as the King's Highness hath not named and assigned the said 32 persons since the making of the said Act, Be it therefore enacted . . . that the King's Majesty shall have full power and authority, as *well afore as after the dissolution of this present Parliament, at his will and pleasure* to name and assign 16 persons of the clergy and 16 lay persons of the temporalty, and if after such nomination any of the said persons happen to decease, that the King's Highness shall have power and authority to nominate and assign from time to time other in their places to supply the number of the said 32. And that the said 32 persons so to be nominated by his Majesty at all times from henceforth, for the term of three years next after the dissolution of this Parliament, shall have power and authority to assemble themselves together from time to time by the King's commandment for the due and perfect execution of this Act," &c.

Here the king's choice is not restricted to members of the Parliament, and the dissolution is not to determine it; yet a limit is fixed, viz., that the commissioners are to finish their work in three years from such dissolution.

This period having expired, and still no steps having been taken, a later Parliament found it expedient to regrant the power. And the Act 35 Hen. VIII., c. 16, reciting 27 Hen. VIII., c. 15, and that no review had been made, gave the power to the king "from time to time during his Highness' life."

No power, therefore, under any of the Acts was in existence during the reign of Edward, and accordingly we find that a like power is granted to Edward, *de novo*, by 3 & 4 Edw. VI., c. 11.

The remaining question is, why did Mary repeal any of these Acts and why is the last Act not expressly repealed? The answer is simple. The first Act contained matter relating to the submission of the clergy and to ecclesiastical appeals highly obnoxious to the Pope and papal clergy, and this matter was all recited and incorporated in the second Act. Hence there was abundant reason for repealing both of them.

*** This seems the sense put on the Act by 27 Hen. VIII., c. 15, which we are about to quote. And Lord Hardwicke (2 Atkyns, 668) speaks of the power given by it as "continued" and "prolonged" by the two later Acts, which would not have been the case had the first Act extended to any Parliament. At all events, it could not extend beyond the death of Henry, for it did not name his successors. Moreover, 35 Hen. VIII., c. 16, distinctly restricted the power to the life of the king, which would probably have modified any previous power of a larger kind had it existed. (Comp. O'Flaherty *v.* M'Dowell, 6 House of Lords Cases, 142).**

There was no such reason for expressly repealing the 35 Hen. VIII., c. 16.*

The ground therefore remains still fully open for the view urged before the Judicial Committee, that the power to revise the canons having expired, the statutory confirmation of them, which was to last only *until* the revision was accomplished, ceased with the expiration of the power. Whether this argument be well founded depends of course on considerations of a legal and somewhat technical character. Something on the subject will be found in our former paper, and needs not now to be repeated. But at all events, the position that the canons had not statutory authority in the reign of Edward VI. derives much confirmation from an independent source. The conduct of the authorities in the reign of Edward VI. may be shown to have been such as is quite at variance with the supposition that they regarded the mediæval canons as having the authority of an Act of Parliament. Thus, in 1547, a proclamation was issued against innovations by private authority, but it contained an exception to the effect that no man was to be punished—

"For not bearing a candle on Candlemas-day, not taking ashes upon Ash Wednesday, nor bearing palm upon Palm Sunday, not creeping to the cross, not taking holy bread or holy water, or for omitting other such rites and ceremonies concerning religion and the use of the Church, which the most reverend father in God the Archbishop of Canterbury, by his Majesty's will and commandment, with the advice aforesaid [*i. e.*, of the Protector and Council], hath declared or hereafter shall declare to the other bishops by his writing under seal, as heretofore hath been accustomed, to be omitted or changed." †

This proclamation was issued on February 6th in the second year of Edward, and was therefore subsequent to the repeal of the Proclamation Act by 1 Edw. VI., c. 12. Hence no statutory force could now be claimed for it other than the general authority to redress abuses, given by the Acts of Supremacy, &c., and this could not be supposed to extend to abolish canons having the authority of an Act of Parliament. Now, not to speak of the power reserved to the archbishop by direction of the king and council to change rites and ceremonies, but looking merely at the cases expressly mentioned, it is clear that creeping to the cross is identical with the "adoration of the rood" commanded on Good Friday by a canon of Elfric,‡ and sanctioned by

* There are, however, general words in 1 & 2 Phil. & Mary, c. 8, § 24, which might extend to repeal 35 Hen. VIII., c. 16, though not expressly mentioned. If it was intended thus to include it, it would be because an *expired* Act may still be looked at for some purposes for which a *repealed* Act cannot be looked at (See Steavenson *v.* Oliver, 8 Mees. & Wels., p. 241); and it might be desirable to obliterate from the Statute-book any statement that the canons required to be revised.

† See Cardwell's "Doc. Ann.," vol. i., p. 42; Burnet, "Records," part ii., book i., No. 22.

‡ Johnson, sub anno 957.

Archbishop Arundel* when he directs that no one is to call in question the decrees, &c.,—

"Circa *adorationem crucis gloriosæ*, imaginum sanctorum venerationes seu peregrinationes ad loca aut reliquias eorundem, sed ab omnibus doceatur . . . crucem et imaginem crucifixi ceterasque imagines sanctorum in ipsorum memoriam et honorem quos figurant ac ipsorum loca et reliquias processionibus, genuflectionibus, inclinationibus, thurificationibus, deosculationibus, oblationibus, luminarium accensionibus, et peregrinationibus, necnon aliis quibuscunque modis et formis, quibus nostris et Prædecessorum nostrorum temporibus fieri consuevit, venerari debere."

And as to holy bread, it is recognized by a canon of Edgar, 960, "That no hallowed thing be neglected; as holy water, salt, frankincense, *bread*, or anything that is holy."† So, too, by a canon of Peccham, salt and bread are named among other necessaries for Divine service to be found by the parishioners.‡ And by the Constitutions of Giles de Bridport, bishop of Salisbury in 1236, the parishioners are to provide "the wax candles in the chancel, and also sufficient light throughout the whole year at matins, vespers, and the mass, and blest bread with candles." §

But to proceed. In 1550 we come to the Council order to take down altars and to place communion tables in their stead.|| We have already seen that the Council were solicitous to show that this order was not, as they deemed, inconsistent with the new prayer-book; but there is no trace of any consciousness that it might be held to be at variance with any statutory authority possessed by the ancient canons. Yet these canons of course were directly contravened by the course pursued by the Council. ¶

But we need not confine ourselves to cases since the repeal of the Proclamation Act. The famous Injunctions of 1547, though it be granted that they were issued under that Act, could not have repealed a canon having statutory authority, for the Act specially forbids—

"That by any proclamation to be made by virtue of this Act, any Acts, common laws standing at this present time in strength and force, nor yet any lawful or laudable customs of this realm or other his Majesty's dominions, nor any of them, shall be infringed, broken, or subverted, and specially all the Acts standing this hour in force, which have been made in the King's Highness's time," &c.—(31 Hen. VIII., c. 8.)

* Johnson, sub anno 1408; Lyndwood, Lib. *v*. Tit, 5, p. 298; and compare Westerton *v*. Liddell, Moore, p. 167. † Johnson, sub anno 960. ‡ *Ibid.*, post ann. 1281.

§ This is cited by Mr. Chambers on account of the allusion to lights, but it equally applies to holy bread; and if the latter could be swept away by a mere proclamation, could the former stand on any better footing, or have statutory authority?

|| Card., "Doc. Ann.," i., p. 100.

¶ *E. g.*, in a council held at Winchester by Lanfranc, in 1071, one of the heads is, "Of altars, that they be of stone" (Johnson, sub. ann. 1071).

Yet these Injunctions certainly were contrary to the canon of Arundel as to images, relics, and pilgrimages above mentioned, as well as to many others. *

But Mr. Perry comes to contemporary evidence, and two testimonies are alleged to show that, in point of fact, lights on the communion table were used under the first Book of Edward VI. One is a letter from Bucer and Fagius (who were then at Lambeth) of April 26, 1549, in which they state that they had recently waited on the archbishop, and subsequently proceed to give some account of the religious changes in England. They say,—

"We hear that some concessions have been made both to a respect for antiquity, and to the infirmity of the present age; such, for instance, as the vestments commonly used in the sacrament of the Eucharist, and the use of candles: so also in regard to the commemoration of the dead, and the use of chrism; *for we know not to what extent or in what sort it prevails.* They affirm that there is no superstition in these things, and that they are only to be retained for a time, lest the people, not having yet learned Christ, should be deterred by too extensive innovations from embracing his religion, and that rather they may be won over."

The candid confession that the writers were but imperfectly informed, and the fact that they wrote before the new book came into general use, seems to render this evidence somewhat weak. It is argued that they were right in respect to the other things mentioned, but this is only true with some limitation. Chrism, for instance, though retained in baptism, seems to have been discontinued in confirmation, and the use of the taper in baptism was abolished. Moreover there may have been some thought of tolerating altar lights for a while without actively interfering against them, but without allowing their legality.

At all events the question is, whether the prospective anticipations of these foreigners are better and more conclusive than the distinct proof which we have of the subsequent action taken by the Bishop of London in his Visitation Articles, supported too, as he seems to have been, by the royal authority?

The second testimony is that of Hooper, who writes to Bullinger on December 27, 1549, from London, and says,—

"The altars are here in many churches changed into tables. The public celebration of the Lord's Supper is very far from the order and institution of our Lord. Although it is administered in both kinds, yet in some places the supper is celebrated three times a day. Where they used heretofore to celebrate in the morning the *mass* of the apostles, they now have the *communion* of the apostles; where they had the *mass* of the blessed Virgin, they now have the communion, which they call the *communion* of the Virgin; where they had the principal or high *mass*, they now have, as they call it, the high *communion.* They still retain their vestments and the

* See, for instance, the 2nd, 3rd, and 11th of the Injunctions.

candles before the altars; in the churches they always chant the *hours*, and other hymns relating to the Lord's Supper, but in our own language. And that popery may not be lost, the mass priests, although they are compelled to discontinue the use of the Latin language, yet most carefully observe the same tone and manner of chanting to which they were heretofore accustomed in the papacy."

Now the short remark to be made on this is, that things are here spoken of which were taking place, not with the sanction of the authorities, but the contrary. For instance, on June 24, 1549 (six months before this letter of Hooper's), the Council wrote to Bonner in these terms:—

"Having very credible notice that within your cathedral church there be as yet the apostles' mass and our lady's mass, and other masses of such peculiar name, under the defence and nomination of our lady's communion and the apostles' communion, used in private chapels and other remote places of the same, and not in the chancel, contrary to the King's Majesty's proceedings, the same being for that misuse displeasing to God, for the place, Paul's, in example not tolerable, for the fondness of the name a scorn to the reverence of the communion of the Lord's body and blood; we, for the augmentation of God's honour and glory, and the consonance of his Majesty's laws, and the avoiding of murmur, have thought good to will and command you that from henceforth no such masses in this manner be in your church any longer used, but that the holy blessed communion, according to the Act of Parliament, be ministered at the high altar of the church, and in no other places of the same, and only at such time as your high masses were wont to be used; except some number of people desire (for their necessary business) to have a communion in the morning, and yet the same to be executed in the chancel at the high altar, as it is appointed in the book of the public service, without cautele or digression from the common order; and herein you shall not only satisfy our expectation of your conformity in all lawful things, but also avoid the murmur of sundry that be therewith justly offended," &c.—*Card.*, "*Doc. Ann.*," vol. i., p. 76.

After this, it is surely impossible to admit that the various things named by Hooper were done with the sanction of the authorities, and as a part of the recognised system.* And old usages might well have gone on for some time without interference, for Bonner continued Bishop of London for many months. Until the appointment of Ridley in February, 1550, episcopal authority would certainly not be forward in the cause of reformation. In fact, we know that Bonner received several monitions for his slackness in the matter.†

* If Burnet be correct, a similar remark holds good as to the chanting, which he expressly says the authorities at this time interfered to alter ("Hist. Reform.," vol. ii., p. 189, edit. 1865).

† See Foxe, "Acts and Mon.," vol. v., pp. 726-9. In a letter from the Lady Mary to the Council even so late as December, 1550, when Ridley was bishop, she says: "I see and hear of divers that do not obey your statutes and proclamations, and nevertheless escape without punishment," which shows how hard it was to insure conformity; and in the Council Book, under date October 11, 1550, we find "a letter to Thomas Astley to join with ii. or iii. honest gentlemen in London for the observation of the usage of the communion in Powles, whereof information was given that it was used as a verie mass."

But even if we were to concede that the evidence now before us showed some actual use of altar lights, the question would still recur, by what authority did it take place? Was it by virtue of the canons? But if so, surely it is remarkable that we hear nothing in the testimonies just adduced about incense or other matters, which stood on the same footing with altar lights, as being required by those canons. The isolated mention of lights does not look as if they were maintained on a ground which would equally have supported other ornaments of which no mention is made.

Or was it by virtue of the Injunctions? But if so, it must have been in respect merely of a royal authority attaching to them, for their statutory authority was withdrawn before 1549. And consequently the case in favour of altar lights is not strengthened by a user of this description. For it is not a user by "authority of Parliament," and therefore comes short of what is required by the present rubric. For anything that appears, when that rubric was first framed in the reign of Elizabeth, the words "by authority of Parliament" may have been inserted in order to cut off ornaments used on any other ground in the time of Edward.

And this leads to the remark that, in reality, the principal point in debate is the true construction of an Elizabethan enactment. Our present rubric simply repeats the language of 1 Eliz., c. 2, § 25.* And when it is urged that the words "authority of Parliament in the second year of Edward VI.," there found, are applicable not only to the Prayer-book of 1549, but to various canons and injunctions alleged to have parliamentary sanction, the question is one of the intention of the Legislature in the reign of Elizabeth.

Hence it becomes proper to look at the way in which 1 Eliz., c. 2, was understood and acted on when it had recently been passed. Evidence of usage, though not allowed to contradict a plain enactment, is often admissible to explain an ambiguity, assuming, for the sake of argument, that such can fairly be shown to exist.

The object, then, must be to collect, not statements of opinion, but evidence of fact. In what way was the statute generally acted on with the cognizance of the authorities? And as a preliminary we may take notice that the legislation in question did not follow upon an era of puritanism, when lights, &c., had been generally abolished or disused (in which case their restoration in a few cases might outweigh many instances of their not being used, on the ground that the new

* It adds, indeed, the words "at all times of their ministration," after the words "ministers thereof," and strikes out the power to the Crown to take "further order." But neither of these alterations affects in the least the question as to altar lights, incense, &c. No further order was ever made on these points. The rubric of Elizabeth's Prayer-book did not follow the precise language of the Act, but expressed "the same thing in other words," as observed in Westerton *v.* Liddell.

law could only come into operation gradually), but a period during which the Roman Catholic services had been restored, and had prevailed in full vigour. If, therefore, it be reasonable (as it probably is) to allow for the directions of the Act not prevailing everywhere at once, the result will be that a certain number of instances of the use of lights would not be entitled to detract from the effect of evidence that they were very generally discontinued. Now how does the fact stand? Harding, a Roman Catholic writer, had, as is well known, a controversy with Jewel on the reforms adopted in the Church of England, and amongst other things he brings the following charge:—

"Concerning ceremonies, if ye show us not the use of chrism in your churches, if the sign of the cross be not borne before you in processions and otherwise used, if holy water be abolished, if lights at the gospel and communion be not had, if peculiar vestments for deacons, priests, and bishops be taken away,* and many such other the like, judge ye whether ye have duly kept the old ceremonies of the Church."—*Harding against Jewel, cited in Jewel's "Defence of the Apology," Parker Soc. Edit.*, p. 176.

Jewel's reply is,—

"Touching your lights and tapers, Beatus Rhenanus, a man of great learning and judgment, doubteth not but ye borrowed the use thereof from the heathens. I grant, the Christians in old time had lights in their churches when they met together at their common prayers. But it appeareth by the ancient fathers that the same lights served to solace them against the dark, and not for any use of religion. St. Augustine saith, 'Vovent alius oleum, alius ceram, ad luminaria noctis'—*They promise* (to the Church) *one oil, another wax, for the night lights.* Likewise saith Eusebius, καθαρὸν φῶς, ὅσον ἐξαρκέσαι πρὸς ἔκλαμψιν τοῖς εὐχομένοις: *Ignis purus, quantum satis esset ad præbendum lumen precantibus—A clear light, so much as might suffice the people at their prayers.* So likewise saith S. Hierome, 'Cereos non clarâ luce accendimus, sed ut noctis tenebras hoc solatio temperemus'—*We light not our tapers at mid-day, but only by this comfort to ease the darkness of the night.*"

We have here, then, the statement as a fact by Harding, of a circumstance of public notoriety, and we have Jewel, in reply, not denying the accuracy of the charge, but admitting and justifying it. And this was not done in a corner. Jewel's Defence of the Apology was a work which excited the greatest attention. We are told that Archbishop Parker took pains at the time to have it placed in parish churches, and that subsequently Archbishop Bancroft required the same to be done with Jewel's whole works.†

* If it be objected that the passage proves too much, on the ground of what it says as to vestments, it must be remembered that the practice on this point in the early part of Elizabeth's reign was very loose, and that the advertisements about the time Harding wrote, or soon after, sanctioned considerable changes. Hence his sweeping assertion. And it is to be noted that Jewel, in his reply, passes lightly over the question of vestments. He perhaps felt it a delicate point; but he has no diffidence as to the lights.

† Biographical Memoir of Jewel in Parker Soc. Edit., p. xxviii.; Strype, Parker, book iv., chap. xiii.; Card., "Doc. Ann.," vol. ii., No. cxxvi.

There is another source from which a strong indication of the meaning of 1 Eliz., c. 2, may be collected. Immediately on the passing of the Act, royal Injunctions were issued. These followed closely the Injunctions of Edward VI. in 1547, but with some important variations. Among these the most conspicuous is the entire omission of Edward's third injunction—the famous one which directed the taking down of abused images, and forbade candles, &c., before any image or picture, but ordered the retention of "two lights upon the high altar, before the sacrament." Now as it is this on which so much reliance has been placed, it seems very significant that it does not reappear under Elizabeth.* If the injunction of Edward formed the great sanction for the lights, and if the authorities in the time of Elizabeth had meant that they should be maintained, why did they not renew the mention of them, instead of pointedly omitting it, when repeating, almost *verbatim*, clauses that stood in juxtaposition to it?

Now what is there to be set on the other side? Chiefly, as it seems, that the Queen persisted for some time in having a crucifix or cross, with lighted candles, in her own chapel. Now, in the first place, Elizabeth might not improbably have thought that the Sovereign was not personally bound by the general language of the Statutes of Uniformity; and in the next place, the argument goes too far, for it goes to justify the use of a crucifix on the communion table, the question of the lawfulness of which must be taken, since Westerton *v.* Liddell, to have been decided in the negative. Further, the result seems to have been that the Queen practically gave way; for though the cross, wax candles, and candlesticks were restored to her chapel after their temporary removal, yet the same letter which informs us of their restoration adds, "The candles heretofore were lighted every day, but now not at all." †

However, had it been otherwise, it would seem to have had little connection with what is now contended for, viz., candles lighted at the holy communion, and which (as the "Directorium Anglicanum" says) are to be *cæca lumina* save when celebration is intended. The tapers in Elizabeth's chapel seem to have been in honour of the crucifix, by which they stood. At all events, they were lighted when the communion was not being celebrated. One of the passages on the subject (cited and relied on in Perry's "Lawful Church Ornaments," p. 170) is as follows:—

• "*March 6th.* Dr. Bill, Dean of Westminster, preached in the Queen's

* It could hardly have been left out from tenderness towards images, because in the Articles of Visitation which followed upon the Injunctions we find the same clause retained which was in those of Edward, viz., "*Item,* Whether in their churches and chapels all images, shrines, all tables, candlesticks, &c., be removed?"

† Parker Soc., "Zurich Letters," i., p. 129; Parkhurst to Bullinger, anno 1563.

chapel, where on the table, standing altar-wise, was placed a cross and two candlesticks, with two tapers in them burning."—*Strype's* "*Ann.,*" vol. i., p. 199.

And again, on March 24th,—

"The same day, in the afternoon, Bishop Barlow, one of King Edward's bishops, now Bishop of Chichester, preached in his habit before the Queen. His sermon ended at five of the clock, and presently after her chapel went to evensong; the cross, as before, standing on the alter, and two candlesticks, and two tapers being in them: and service concluded, a good anthem was sung."—*Ibid.*, p. 200.

But the passage just cited from Parkhurst is *instar omnium*, for it says the candles were lighted "every day." And in the account of the christening of the child of a nobleman at the palace at Westminster, September 30, 1565 (taken from Leland's "Collectanea," and cited in the "Hierurgia Anglicana," p. 5), we are told that "the communion table was richly furnished with plate. . . . Two pair of candlesticks of gold, two great candlesticks double gilt with lights of virgin wax, and a cross." This, if it could prove anything (which is extremely doubtful), would prove the use of lights not at the communion, but at baptism.

But lastly, and chiefly, the whole account of the excitement caused by the Queen's conduct in this matter tends to show that it was at variance with the established order of things. In fact, there is evidence that such was the case; for Sampson, in writing to Peter Martyr in January, 1559-60, says, "The crucifix and candles are retained at court alone."* The testimony of Calfhill, also, is to the

* Cosin's testimony, indeed, is sometimes cited. He says, "These lights were (by virtue of this present [Elizabeth's] rubric, referring to what was in use in the second of Edward VI.) afterwards continued in all the Queen's chapels during her whole reign; and so are they in the King's and in many cathedral churches, besides the chapels of divers noblemen, bishops, and colleges, to this day."—(Cited in Perry's "Lawful Church Ornaments," p. 455.)

That Elizabeth kept *lighted* candles during her whole reign is contrary to the evidence of Parkhurst, who lived at the time; and the rest of Cosin's statement appears simply to refer to what he saw in his own time, too long afterwards to be contemporary evidence. It is, indeed, sometimes used to fix a meaning upon the rubric as re-enacted in 1662. But —(1.) Strong evidence would be needed to put a different meaning upon it from what it appears to have had when first introduced by 1 Eliz., c. 2. (2.) The private view of Cosin is not legal evidence by which to interpret a statute, even though he took part in the revision of 1662. Even what took place in Parliament in the debate on a Bill, is inadmissible to interpret it when passed into an Act. (Regina *v.* Capel, 12 Ad. and Ell., 382, see p. 411.) (3.) His view rests on a mistaken ground, for he relies on the injunction as in force by authority of Parliament in the second year of Edward VI. (see his notes on the Common Prayer, cited by Mr. Perry in "The Church and the World," p. 483). (4.) The instances he gives show rather the exception than the prevailing usage, even in his own day. (5.) Lastly, the statement is very loose, and may mean either that, as in Elizabeth's case, the lights were constantly on the table, and not specially connected with the sacrament; or, on the other hand, that the candles necessary to light the church were placed on the communion table—neither of which would support the theory for which they are

same effect. It appears that Martiall, a Roman Catholic, wrote a work on the use of the cross, and, emboldened by Elizabeth's use of it in her chapel, dedicated it to the Queen. Calfhill answered this work, and in his prefatory epistle, addressed to his opponent, he says of Elizabeth,—

"As for her private doings, neither are they to be drawn as a precedent for all; nor ought any man to creep into the prince's bosom, of every fact to judge an affection. This can the world well witness with me, that neither her grace and wisdom hath such affiance in the cross as you do fondly teach, neither takes it expedient her subjects should have that which she herself (she thinketh) may keep without offence. For the multitude is easily, through ignorance, abused. Her Majesty is too well instructed for her own person to fall into popish error and idolatry."—*Calfhill, Answer to Martiall, Parker Soc. Edit.*, p. 7.

It may be added, that the summary of one of the sections of Calfhill's book, in the marginal note and in the table of contents, is, "There must be no tapers on the Lord's table." Calfhill was at various times Proctor in Convocation, Sub-dean of Christchurch, and Archdeacon of Colchester, and in 1570 was nominated to the bishopric of Worcester, but died before consecration.

Considering that the advocates of altar lights are endeavouring to restore what, to say the least, is at variance with the practice of the Church of England for a long period, it is not too much to say that they are bound to prove their case rigorously. Yet, when the author-

adduced. A like ambiguity prevails when cases are alleged of the mention of massive candlesticks in church inventories. Dr. Lushington expressly sanctioned the retention of the candlesticks complained of in the Knightsbridge churches, and no doubt future inquirers will find them named in accounts of the church property there. But we of this generation know that this is no proof of their liturgical use, because we have the Judgment before us which allows them to remain for the purpose of giving necessary light, and for that purpose alone. Mr. Perry himself, after giving some inventories taken by Royal Commissions, says very candidly, "In printing these inventories, let me not be misunderstood as implying that *all* the ornaments described in them were *in use* in the Church of England when the Commissions were issued in 1552, or even at an earlier period of Edward's reign. A comparison of these documents with the list given at pp. 35 and 36 of the ornaments and ceremonies abolished by the end of Edward's second year, will show with some accuracy which of the articles in these full catalogues had been rendered useless or illegal by ritual and other changes: in like manner, the list furnished at p. 113 will show what other things enumerated in the inventories were no longer in *legal* use after the prohibitions given from the beginning of Edward's third year until his death. But as all these ornaments (whether legally usable or not) *remained* in the churches, no doubt there was considerable variety of practice respecting them," &c., &c. ("Lawful Church Ornaments," p. 108). But it is not the *capricious practice*, but the *legal use*, with which we are concerned.

Mr. Chambers says, "In the sixth year [of Edward] we have direct evidence that in London [the ornaments then in the churches] were committed again to the custody of the churchwardens by Ridley, 'for the due service of every such church'" (p. 41). But this very circumstance shows that such transactions are not evidence in favour of Mr. Chambers's argument. For we know that this very Ridley had forbidden the use of lights on the Lord's board (see *ante*, p. 331).

ities brought forward are closely scrutinized, their meaning is hardly so unquestionable as might have been expected.

It has been maintained by more than one writer, that the lights ordered by the Injunctions were used in honour of the pyx, which contained the reserved sacrament, and which was permanently placed upon or over the altar. The injunctions of Edward in this matter followed to a great extent the previous ones of Henry VIII. in 1538, one of which runs,—

"Ye shall suffer from henceforth no candles, tapers, or images of wax to be set upon any image or picture, but only the light that commonly goeth across the church by the rode-loft, *the light before the sacrament of the altar*, and the light about the sepulchre: which, for the adorning of the church and divine service, ye shall suffer to remain still."—*Burnet*, "*Records*," part i., book 3, No. 11.

The injunctions of Lee, Archbishop of York, soon afterwards, after forbidding worship or offering to any image, proceeds:—"Nevertheless they may still use lights in the roodloft, and afore the sacrament, and at the sepulture at Easter, according to the King's injunctions." —*Burnet*, "*Records*," part iii., book 3, No. 57.

The injunctions of Edward VI. in 1547, so often referred to, after ordering abused images to be taken down, ordered that the ecclesiastical authorities should "suffer from henceforth no torches nor candles, tapers, or images of wax, to be set afore any image or picture, *but only two lights upon the high altar before the sacrament*, which, for the signification that Christ is the very true Light of the world, they shall suffer to remain still," &c. Subsequently, probably in 1548, Cranmer—as we have before stated—issued articles of inquiry, one of which ran,—"Whether they suffer any torches, candles, tapers, or any other lights to be in your churches, but only two lights upon the high altar?"

Then, in Mary's reign, Cardinal Pole, in his Legatine Constitutions of 1555, says,—

"*Item*, Constitutio bonæ memoriæ Johannis Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis in concilio provinciali edita renovatur; quâ statutum est, ut in quâlibet ecclesiâ parochiali fiat tabernaculum decens et honestum cum serâ et clavi, quod in altum elevatum in medio summi altaris affigatur, si commode fieri potest, alias in commodiori et honorabiliori et magis summo altari vicino loco, qui haberi posset:* in quo tabernaculo sanctissimum eucharistiæ sacra-

* This surely shows that there must be some oversight in Mr. Chambers's pamphlet, when he argues that the reserved sacrament cannot be meant in the Injunctions, because "the reserved sacrament was by law kept in a pyx or tabernacle apart, usually in some side chapel—*never on the high altar*" (p. 36). He cites Lyndwood in support of this, but what Lyndwood says is only that in his opinion the "usus observatus in Angliâ non est commendabilis." He expressly states that that use is that the host "pendeat super altare" (p. 248). And we know that the demand of the Devonshire rebels in 1549 was— "We will have the sacrament hang over the high altar, and there be worshipped, as it

mentum custodiatur, non in bursa vel in loculo, sed in pyxide lineo panno mundissimo interius ornata ut sine diminutionis periculo facile reponi et eximi possit, atque ut ipsum venerabile sacramentum singulis hebdomadis innovetur: . . . Huic constitutioni in honorem corporis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et plebis edificationem placuit addere, ut perpetuo lampas vel cereus *coram sanctissimo hoc sacramento* ardeat; ubi vero per paupertatem ecclesiæ id commode fieri non potest, locorum ordinarii curabunt, ut alia via, quantum in eis fuerit, hic cultus antiquus restituatur."—*Card.*, "*Doc. Ann.*," vol. i., p. 179.

Then in his articles of 1557 he inquires, "whether there do burn a lamp or a candle *before the sacrament*; and if there do not, that then it be provided for with expedition."*

And that the phrase, "the sacrament of the altar," frequently meant the reserved host in the pyx, appears also from the language of 1 Mar., sess. 2, c. 3.:—

"If any person . . . shall . . . pull down, deface, spoil, abuse, break, or otherwise irreverently handle or order the most blessed, comfortable, and holy sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, being, or that shall be, in any church or chapel, or in any other decent place, or the pix or canopy wherein the same sacrament is or shall be," &c., &c.

Whether these passages taken together tend to show that the lights in question were really burned in honour of the reserved sacrament, is a question upon which it is not intended to offer any decided opinion; but at all events, the negative is hardly established with so much clearness as might have been expected. It lies on those who advocate the practice to show that it was not connected with the custom of reservation now abolished. Instead of this, however, some of them have contented themselves with urging that, at any rate, the words of the injunction must include the sacrament at the time of consecration. But upon this the question obviously arises, whether the light before the pyx was not used to imply a corporal présence, contrary to the present doctrine of the Church.† If so, an interpre-

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was wont to be." And Cranmer, in answering them, admits that such had been the custom here, though not in Italy. ("Cranmer's Remains," Parker Soc. Edit., p. 173; see also Bonner's "Visitation Articles," 1 Card., 148.)

* Mr. Chambers relies on this as showing that there was never more than one light before the pyx; but this is open to queston. One may have been a minimum. Dr. Rock, in the "Church of our Fathers" (vol. i., p. 200), speaks of a kind of *corona lucis* before it, and Du Cange, after explaining "Cereus tantis" as the candle "qui ante tabernaculum *Tenda* dictum, ubi Corpus Christi asservatur, accenditur" (which points to a single taper), goes on to cite "charta ann. 1398, inter 'Probat. Hist. Antiss.,' p. 129, col. i.:—Thesaurarii tenebuntur . . . facere ardere nocte dieque continue singulis diebus *tres* cereos, tantes vulgariter nuncupatos, in tribus bacilibus pendentibus et suspensis ante Corpus Christi."

† One might almost ask whether some of the present defenders of altar lights do not go very far in the same direction. In the "Directorium Anglicanum," the priest in cele-

tation is fixed upon the practice which would lead us to consider it as abrogated at all times.

So again, as to the canon of Reynolds which says, "Tempore quo missarum solemnia peraguntur, accendantur duæ candelæ vel ad minus una." There is nothing to show where these candles are to be placed, and it is a little remarkable that the Missal repeatedly speaks of candles to be borne in procession by acolytes or "ceroferarii," and which, at a certain period of the service, are set down, not on the altar, but at the altar step. "His itaque peractis," says the Sarum Missal (in Maskell's "Ancient Liturgy," &c., p. 16), "ceroferarii candelabra cum cereis ad gradum altaris dimittant; deinde accedat sacerdos ad altare," &c. How does it appear that the canon may not relate to these? They, and they alone, are expressly mentioned in the Missal; might it not therefore be an argument that these are the indispensable lights commanded by the canon? for the "ordinarium missæ" could not be exactly performed without them. The reason given by Lyndwood for the Lights of Reynolds is that "Candela sic ardens significat ipsum Christum, qui est splendor Lucis eternæ." The same reason is given in Elfric's canons for the candle held by the acolyte, "When the housel is hallowed at the altar," viz., "to signify bliss by that light, to the honour of Christ, who is our Light." Hence, it may be argued that they are identical. Yet there has been no attempt to restore this usage, and it has been assumed that the canon relates to lights, not held by an acolyte or carried in procession, but standing on the altar itself, and lighted before the commencement of the service.

Mr. Perry indeed, in commenting on the canon of Elfric, speaks of the office of acolyte as practically abolished "by the lights before the sacrament being placed on the altar;" but when did this change of practice take place? The Sarum and Bangor Missals expressly retain the direction to the ceroferarii to carry the candles as mentioned above, and finally to set them down on the altar step.* Some might, perhaps, rather draw a contrary inference, and conclude that the candles of the acolytes were distinct from those on the altar, from the words of the "Consuetudinary," of St. Osmund, already cited (see p. 318, *ante*).

But at any rate we may fairly ask that all doubts of this sort should be cleared up, and all uncertainty as to the nature of the practice

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brating is to take care "that any particles of the blessed Body and Blood which may have adhered to his fingers be reverently removed over the cup" (p. 82). The corporal is defined as "the linen cloth on which has been laid the Lord's Body" (p. 96). And the server, in cleansing the sacred utensils after a communion, is bidden "to remember that the vessels have *touched Christ*, that the sacred vestments have been very near to Him" (p. 203).

* The Sarum Missal, from which Mr. Maskell has edited the Liturgy, is of the date of 1492.

should be removed, before an Ecclesiastical Court is asked to pronounce an authoritative sanction. It must at least be made clear what the lights are, and how and when they are to be used.

Throughout this paper we have followed the course of Mr. Perry's arguments rather than observed any order of our own, but we trust that those who have it in their power will refer to our former paper for a methodical account of our views. Before we conclude, however, it may not be useless to re-state the leading points of the general argument.

It is contended, then, by ritualists, that altar lights fall within the terms of the rubric as being ornaments which were in the Church of England by authority of Parliament in the second year of Edward VI., and this on the following grounds:—

I. That this rubric cannot relate to the first Prayer-book of Edward (as generally supposed), because that book did not come into force till his *third* year, and it must therefore refer to the previous state of things, when altar lights were generally used.

The answer to this will be found in the *Contemporary Review*, vol. i., p. 16, and in fact it must be taken to be no longer tenable since Westerton *v.* Liddell, where it is expressly laid down that the rubric does refer to the first Prayer-book of Edward.

II. That at all events the reference to the Prayer-book of 1549 is not exclusive, and that all other ornaments which had parliamentary authority in the second year of Edward come within the terms of the rubric.

Hence (A) the injunctions of 1547, which were issued under 31 Hen. VIII., c. 8 (an Act giving proclamations the force of law), and which ordered two lights to be retained on the altar, come within its terms.

(B) The provincial canons, which were confirmed by 25 Hen. VIII., c. 19, and 35 Hen. VIII., c. 16, and which sanction long lists of ornaments (and the use of altar lights), must also be had recourse to as authorities.

To this it is answered broadly that the question at issue is what is the true intent and meaning of the rubric, not what sense can be forced upon it; and that there is no valid reason to doubt that the reference intended by that rubric is merely and simply to the book of 1549 as sanctioned by 2 & 3 Edw. VI., c. 1 (as has in fact been decided in Westerton *v.* Liddell). The words "authority of Parliament" in 1 Eliz., c. 2, § 25, which first introduced this rubric, are manifestly equivalent to "authorized by Parliament" as used in § 1 and § 2, in distinct reference to previous Acts of Uniformity. They imply an express statute on the subject. Nay, the phrase "authority of Parliament in the second year of Edward VI." is not

improbably meant as a form of direct citation of 2 & 3 Edw. VI., c. 1.* If so, *cadit questio.* But were this otherwise, it is submitted that,—

(1) The Act 31 Hen. VIII., c. 8, having been repealed by 1 Edw. VI., cap. 12, was no longer in force in the second year of Edward, and nothing done under it could have had authority of Parliament at that time.† Moreover, it is not perfectly clear that the lights in question were not lights before the reserved sacrament, in which case they are abolished, inasmuch as there is now no reservation.‡

(2) As to the canons,—

The confirmation given by the Acts of Henry VIII. was only to last till the canons were revised, and as the power to revise ceased when Henry died, the confirmation became thenceforth inoperative, and was not in force in the reign of his successor. (*Con. Rev.*, vol. i., p. 18.)

In point of fact, the public acts of the authorities in the reign of Edward were such as show that the advisers of the Crown cannot have regarded the canons as having statutory force at that time.§ But even supposing the confirmation to have been in force at the beginning of Edward's reign, it was taken away in all matters relating to public worship by the effect of 2 & 3 Edw. VI., c. 1.

Lastly, any attempt to interpret the rubric as referring to the canons tends to sanction ornaments and practices foreign to the principles of the Reformed Church of England, and is therefore untenable as proving too much, or, at best, introducing constant perplexity as to the conduct of divine service, instead of that compendious and uniform rule which the Legislature meant to provide.

* Compare the Petition of Right, 3 Car. I.,—"Whereas by authority of Parliament in the five-and-twentieth year of the reign of King Edward III. it is declared," &c., which is an express citation of the Act 25 Ed. III., stat. 5, c. 4.

† See *Con. Rev.*, vol. i., p. 22. Mr. Chambers thinks otherwise, as the Act was repealed "without avoiding any proceedings which had been taken under it," and he cites as a parallel case that "a fine levied under the Fines and Recoveries Acts gives an indisputable title, although the statute which authorized the proceeding is gone." But the "Fines and Recoveries Abolition Act" did not profess to *repeal* any previous statute. It merely enacted that after a certain day no new recovery should be had. So that there is no analogy. However, it is not disputed that "transactions past and closed" stand good after an Act is repealed. The point here is as to a *continuing* statutory force in the Injunctions after the enabling Act is gone. To the authorities on this point in our former paper may be added Regina *v.* Denton, 18 Q. B., 761. It is surely impossible to put the Injunctions on higher ground than to say that so soon as they were issued under 31 Hen. VIII., c. 8, they were to be taken as if originally and expressly authorized in it. But if so, the repeal of the Act would have taken away all authority that they derived from it. Otherwise the Act 1 Mary, sess. 1, c. 2, in repealing the Acts of Edward, would not have abolished the authority of his Prayer-book sanctioned by them.

It may, however, be added, that it is extremely doubtful whether the Injunctions ever took effect under the statute at all. There seems no evidence that they were issued as a proclamation, or were proclaimed.

‡ See *supra*, p. 345.

§ *Supra*, p. 336.

III. It is, however, contended that even if not within the terms of the rubric, the disputed ornaments may be used, provided they stand on other sufficient authority.

The answer is, that the injunction as to lights was swept away, perhaps by Edward himself in 1549, but certainly (together with the rest of the injunctions) by Mary, and that it was not re-enjoined by Elizabeth. It is therefore now wholly gone.

But further, it is submitted that as regards the performance of public worship, the rubrics of the Prayer-book are substituted in lieu of the previously existing regulations for the services of the unreformed Church,* as appears,—

(*a*) By the language of the Acts of Uniformity and of the Prayer-book.†

(*b*) By the fact that shortly after the appearance of the book of 1549 the old service-books were called in and destroyed.

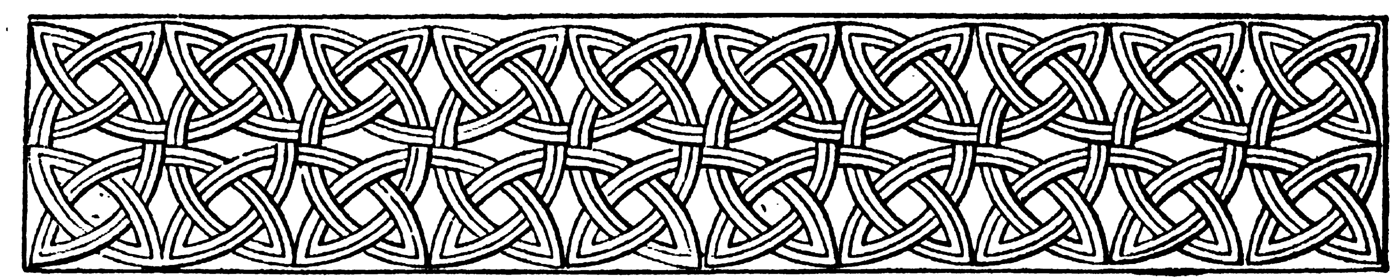
(*c*) By the fact that orders were also issued, probably by the Crown, certainly by the Bishop of London with the support of the Crown, to forbid the use of other ceremonies than were in the Prayer-book, thus showing that it was interpreted as abolishing what it did not retain.

BENJAMIN SHAW.

* Express negative words are not required in order that a later Act should repeal a former one, if there appear to be a manifest intention that they should not subsist together. (O'Flaherty *v.* McDowell, 6 House of Lords Cases, 142.)

† The rubric says, "such ornaments shall be *retained*," &c. This implies that what is not retained is abolished. In the preface "Of Ceremonies," it is said, "Here be certain causes rendered why some of the accustomed ceremonies be *put away*, and some *retained* and kept still." And again, "The most weighty cause of the *abolishment* of certain ceremonies was," &c. "But now as concerning those persons which peradventure will be offended, for that *some* of the old ceremonies are *retained* still," &c. Compare also the rubric as to the use of the cross at the end of the baptismal service, and the usage of the word "retain" throughout Canon 30, there referred to.

NOTE.—We add in a note one word on another of the points about to come before the Ecclesiastical Courts, viz., the elevation of the sacrament. This was expressly prohibited by a rubric in the book of 1549, but "this rubric," says the "Directorium Anglicanum," p. 60, "has been omitted at all the subsequent revisions, therefore the prohibition altogether falls to the ground." It is quite true that it was omitted in the book of 1552, but in that year the Articles of Religion were for the first time drawn up, one of which states that "the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not commanded by Christ's ordinance to be . . . lifted up." The principle being thus settled, special rules of practice were no longer needed. Ceremonial would be governed by doctrine.



ÆSCHYLUS AS A RELIGIOUS TEACHER.

οὗτοι, νόμον μὴ ἔχοντες, ἑαυτοῖς εἰσὶν νόμος· οἵτινες ἐνδείκνυνται
τὸ ἔργον τοῦ νόμου γραπτὸν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν.

EP. AD ROM., ii. 14.

ἔσθ' ὅπου τὸ δεινὸν εὖ
καὶ φρενῶν ἐπίσκοπον
δεῖ μένειν καθήμενον·
ξυμφέρει σωφρονεῖν ὑπὸ στένει.

EUMEN., 491.

I.

IN reading the works of a Greek tragedian it is very difficult to realize practically the circumstances of their composition. Their similarity in form to later dramas is constantly tending to hide their difference in idea; and though otherwise a true understanding of the text is impossible, there is need of a steady effort to feel that the play was essentially an element of a religious rite: that those who took part in its representation were for the time devoted to the service of a god, and hallowed by his protection: that the altar, in front of the stage on which it was acted, was really destined for sacred use, and built on consecrated ground. The Greek theatre was indeed a national temple; and, more than this, the tragic poets were the national preachers. In the early days of Athenian glory the teaching of philosophy was unheard or concealed. When it obtained a popular voice in Socrates, his practical sagacity could not save the strange doctrines from the condemnation of impiety. Even when their influence was greatest, the schools reached but a small section of

the citizens: on the general tone of thought and belief, their direct influence was inconsiderable. The Athenian, the typical Greek, received his characteristic training on a grander field. His secular discipline came from an active participation in the government of the State; his religious instruction—if we except the initiation at Eleusis—from the sacred festivals, and especially from the tragic representations at the Dionysia. In a word, he learned the practice of life from the debates of the public assembly; he learned the theory of life from the poems of the theatre.

For it must ever be remembered that the Greek tragedies were poems and not illusions: they were interpretations and not pictures of life. The facts, so to speak, were given; the business of the writer was to explain their meaning and their lessons. The outline of the plot was a familiar text; the filling up was the sermon of the preacher. And so it is that the remains of the Greek tragedians furnish a remarkable picture of the history of popular religion during the period over which they reach. Or rather, when we bear in mind the marvellous rapidity of the moral and intellectual development of Athens in the fifth century before our era, they show the complete cycle of forms of national religious thought, ending on the one side in schools of philosophy which became more and more estranged from the old belief, and on the other side in the comedy of manners which was destitute of all spiritual significance.

In this aspect, the position occupied by Æschylus is of commanding interest.* He is the prophet of Greek tragedy, as Sophocles is the artist, and Euripides the realist. The succession of character is one which reappears in every literature, but in this first example it is most marked and most spontaneous. Events are first viewed on their divine side, then on the side of order or beauty, and lastly on the side of nature. The same story which furnishes Æschylus with an occasion for reconciling the claims of revenge and forgiveness, the powers of earth and the powers of heaven, furnishes Sophocles with a powerful dramatic study of female character, and Euripides with a graceful picture of life. It is no reproach to the later poets that they were different from the first. The difference between the three was inevitable; and the respective value which is assigned to each of the three views of life which they give will vary from age to age.

* The references to the plays are made throughout to Mr. Paley's Æschylus, "re-edited with an English Commentary" (London, 1855), which has the signal merit (unless I am mistaken) of being the first English edition of a Greek tragedian in which the author is treated as a real poet. The fragments are quoted from Dindorf's "Poetæ Scenici."

Klausen's essay, "Theologumena Æschyli Tragici. Berolini, 1829," is very full and instructive. He alone of the writers whom I have consulted justly estimates the character of Prometheus.

There is no supreme standard to which they can be brought. Every critic will have a judgment of his own. But to decide the question on absolute principles would be as reasonable as to arrange the colours of the rainbow in order of beauty on the same method: for perfect light we need them all.

In his prophetic function, Æschylus stands in relation to the fragmentary and inharmonious teachings of antique rites and early religious traditions, as we may believe Homer to have stood as a poet in relation to the traditional ballads of a former generation. He takes up into his own teaching all that had in it the element of divine life: he reconciles and combines what had been separately and exclusively wrought out before: he inspires—by the depth and sincerity of his own faith, no less than by the grandeur of his genius—a spirit of unity into the whole which he thus creates. The poems of Homer betray, as we believe, the work of different hands: the religious teaching of Æschylus exhibits equally a diversity of sources. His theology everywhere bears marks of the conflict out of which it has arisen, and in two of his seven extant plays, he deals specifically with the reconciliation of divine powers, which in some degree reason—in accordance with ancient legends—represents as antagonistic. In this, indeed, his truest prophetic work lay. It was his task to harmonize, as best he might, the claims of fate and will, of law and life, of God and man, in this present world; to connect suffering with sin, and strip guilt of the boast of impunity; to indicate the majesty of Providence, and the absolute wisdom of the Divine voice revealed in appointed ways.

To fulfil this task Æschylus was fitted by great external advantages. He was a native of Eleusis, and so connected by his birth with the most solemn mysteries of the Greek faith. He lived through the great struggle with Persia, when gods and heroes were still supposed to have fought on the side of Greece. He belonged to a family of warriors. One brother, the colleague of Miltiades, fell with signal glory at Marathon; another carried off the prize for bravery at Salamis; and he himself took part, not without honourable wounds, in the battles of Marathon, Salamis, and Platææ. His parents, moreover, were noble, and so he was naturally connected with the party of order and tradition, to whom reverence is a ground of conviction, and interpretation the rule of progress. Thus it was impossible that, being born a poet, he should not receive with a solemn awe all that was consecrated by old belief; that he should not see the action of gods everywhere, when he had witnessed such marvels from their interposition; that he should not dwell upon the problems of retribution and the continuity of action, when he had lived through the close of that great contest of the East and West, which, according to

ancient traditions, began with the abduction of Io and Helen.* It does not fall within our scope to discuss his genius. His writings show that that at least corresponded with his position. As a religious poet, Dante alone stands by him; both were children of their age, both were schooled in sorrow, but both were above all that was merely personal and local, and remain, to those who will read them, prophets for all time.

II.

But though it is admitted that Æschylus was peculiarly qualified, by his historical and literary position, to give an accurate and living portraiture of Greek theology, it may be urged that his extant tragedies are but a very imperfect fragment of his actual works. Of ninety plays which he is said to have written, only seven have been preserved, and the remnants of his lost tragedies are comparatively few and unimportant. It is indeed impossible to estimate our loss. The first and last plays of the Promethean trilogy, the "Niobe" and the "Psychostasia" (the Soul-weighing), would probably have cleared up much that is now conjectural or obscure as to his religious views; but on the other hand, the selection of plays which remains is singularly rich. It was apparently made of deliberate purpose out of a larger number of extant tragedies; and both by its variety and unity it is calculated to assure us that the outline of the Æschylean creed which it contains is not deficient in any conspicuous article.

The manifoldness of the subjects of the Æschylean tragedies prepares the way for the fulness of their teaching. The "Prometheus" is purely mythical: all the actors are divine, for Io is destined for divine honours: the interest of the play is personal and moral. The "Suppliants" brings us to the verge of the heroic age: the gods take part in the action only through the ordinances of their worship: the interest of the play is national and religious. In the typical heroic plays, the "Seven against Thebes" and the "Orestea," we have the two great tragical legends of Northern and Southern Greece drawn out in their characteristic differences. In the former the State is the centre, in the latter the family: the one closes with death, the other with deliverance. Finally, in the "Persians," a scene of contemporary history is brought into clear relationship with mythical times. Whatever may have been the exact subjects of the other plays with which it was grouped, it seems certain that the object of the poet was to link the events of his own day to the ages of gods and heroes, and show the fulfilment of a divine will in the actual course of national fortunes.

* This is brought out remarkably by the introduction with which Herodotus opens his history: "Herod.," i. 1-5.

For however wide the field which Æschylus covers, he sees all equally in the light of a divine presence. Primitive myths, ancient traditions, historic events, are alike regarded by him from a spiritual point of sight. His view of life and society is in every case theocratic; and it is only by keeping this truth steadily in view that we can gain the central idea of his separate plays. No one of his tragedies is complete in itself. A single episode, a single generation, was insufficient for the display of the dependence of life upon life, and the moral infinitude of action, which it was his design to exhibit. Thus he habitually composed groups of three connected plays, which gave full scope for the development of thought and work. And so it happens that four of his seven plays are really fragments of greater wholes. The "Prometheus Bound," the "Suppliants," and the "Persians," were the middle plays of trilogies; the "Seven against Thebes" the concluding play.* In the "Orestea" alone, and yet surely there in its most complete grandeur, the full pattern of his mode of treatment is visible. And from the "Orestea" we can faintly imagine the outlines of the other trilogies, of which parts only remain.

It would be out of place to attempt to give now any detailed analysis of the tragedies. A slight indication of the general conception of each will be enough to show how Æschylus dealt with his materials, and in what spirit he approached the interpretation of national mythology. The "Prometheus" is necessarily the foundation of his system, for it treats of the original problem of life and revelation, the relation of the free will of a finite being to the supreme will, of limited reason to divine wisdom, of their first dissension, of their open antagonism, of their final reconciliation. Unhappily the central piece of the trilogy alone survives. We know little more of "Prometheus the Firebearer" than the name: of "Prometheus Released," than the most meagre outline of the plot. So it is that the "Prometheus Bound" is in danger of being misunderstood. Throughout we are spectators of what seems to be an undecided conflict. There is no calm. From first to last the storms of earth hide the clear light of heaven. While Zeus is represented chiefly by the words of his adversaries, Prometheus is represented by his own. We forget that his sufferings were the consequence of an act of faithless distrust in Zeus, and of disobedience to his counsels. We forget again that his daring boasts were afterwards exchanged for lamentations, and that his threats against Zeus were mere idle vauntings. For the time he appears as a martyr; but he was first a rebel, and afterwards a pardoned subject. This true view of his character is illustrated by the appearance of Io, the second

*** This is established, against the conjectures of earlier scholars, by the express testimony of the Didascaliæ given in the Medicean manuscript. The other plays were "Laius" and "Œdipus."**

figure in the play. In Prometheus we have reason challenging Zeus: in Io, Zeus making himself known to men. The contact in both cases brings for the present overwhelming suffering, but in all other respects the fate of the two sufferers is contrasted. Prometheus, strong in will and power, has seized a divine boon; he is reckless of consequences; he forgets his own sufferings; the consciousness of his immortality assures him of final deliverance: such is reason. Io has been the involuntary recipient of divine fellowship; she is lost in the greatness of her own suffering; she has no self-dependence, no foresight: such is feeling. And yet it was from Io that the hero sprang by whose vicarious * sufferings Prometheus was in due time delivered. The weak woman was in the end stronger than the Titan.†

The "Suppliants" is in every respect far simpler in its structure. It is indeed little more than a record of the reception of the daughters of Danaus, descendants of Io, under the shelter of the gods of Greece. Sought by their cousins in an unholy marriage, they flee to Argos, and there make good their claim to an inviolable sanctuary. There is no contrast or complexity of principles in the plot. The whole interest of the play centres in the absolute validity of external religious ordinances against self-interest and force. The suppliant claims protection with a divine right, and the right prevails. As the complement to this view of what may be called the power of external religion, the portraiture of Zeus himself is singularly pure and majestic. In no other play is he represented in more sublime and serene grandeur; and he who appeared for a time in the "Prometheus" as the betrayer of Io is here seen to have wrought out blessings for men through her.

The "Persians" has a singular interest. It is the earliest extant Greek history, and it is a poem. It is a record of one of the noblest achievements of human courage, and the conception is wholly theological. From the names of the other plays of the trilogy to which it belonged,‡ it seems certain that the triumph of Greece over Persia was connected with ancient prophecies of the time of the Argonauts, and probably extended to the triumph of Greece over Carthage at Himera.§ The scope of the providential view of history would thus be more complete, but the play itself preserves the full spirit of the treatment. The failure of the Persians was due to the transgression of the bounds which the gods had fixed to their empire. The sovereignty of the sea was not for them.|| The destruction of their armies was a direct judgment for their impiety. They had desecrated the tem-

* "Prom.," 1047.

† One of the Greek commentators on the play notices that the subject is treated episodically by Sophocles in one play, and is not found in Euripides at all. The fact is itself a commentary on the difference between the tragedians which has been already pointed out.

‡ "Phineus" and "Glaucus Pontius" (or Potnieus).

§ Klausen, p. 81. Comp. Æsch., "Fragm.," 25.

|| "Pers.," 102.

ples of Greece. And as if in mockery of human splendour, the shade of Darius is called up to tell the tale, and declare the lessons of humility. He is addressed as a god, and his last words are,—And now

> "I go beneath the gloom of earth below;
> But you be glad even in the midst of woes,
> And give your souls to joy while it is day;
> For wealth, my friends, availeth not the dead."

The "Seven against Thebes" introduces us to a new form of thought, the conflict of self-will with national duties. Their relation to the State is the test by which actions are weighed. Laius was warned to save the State by dying childless; and for a time the sacrifice of Eteocles preserves it. It is only by seizing this idea that we can enter into the catastrophe of the play rightly. Personally the claim of Polynices was just: Eteocles broke a solemn compact in retaining the sovereignty. But nationally his attempt to secure his claim by violence, with the help of strangers, was unnatural and impious. Eteocles again, under the circumstances in which he was placed, was right in defending his country to the uttermost; but in seeking to meet his brother face to face he yielded to personal passion. The city was saved and the brothers fell; but by the manner of their death occasion was given for a fresh cycle of woe.

Of the "Orestea" it is difficult to speak shortly. No poet has ever drawn such another picture of human selfishness and guilt, of divine judgment and mercy. Each play has its special burden, and so far is complete in itself, and yet each is bound to the others by a continuity of moral purpose. In the "Agamemnon," human will is seen working out its own designs, freely indeed, but with the shadow of the curse behind. Paris indulges his impious passion; Menelaus his unmanly uxoriousness; Agamemnon his inordinate ambition; Ægisthus his cherished hatred; Clytemnestra her guilty love: and all succeed. Each gains his selfish object, and by gaining it, opens the way to his punishment. Even Cassandra—the one remaining character—exhibits the working of the same law. She had listened to the voice of Apollo voluntarily, and deceived him. Her reward was to know her fate and to be powerless to avert it. In this her lot was the converse of that of Io. The weakness of Io—the involuntary recipient of divine love—issued in divine blessings: the strength of Cassandra—the voluntary contemner of divine love—issued in death.

The "Choëphorœ" differs from the "Agamemnon" in its whole conception. In the "Agamemnon" man acts throughout of his own will. In the "Choëphorœ" the action is at every point moulded by divine interposition. Revelation pronounces on human duty, and man obeys in doubt and sorrow. Thus the structure of the plot is simpler, but not less subtle. Every point which marked the guilt of

Clytemnestra is reversed in the case of Orestes. She acted simply from her own resolve; he by an express command: she had a guilty passion to gratify; he a natural affection to conquer: she exults when the deed is done; he is filled with remorse: she in her blindness is ready to treat the old curse as satisfied; he looks forward to unknown sufferings: she enjoys a present triumph; he is visited by present punishment: and so the end is prepared; she dies, and he is purified by sorrow and delivered by the gods.

This deliverance is the theme of the "Eumenides;" and in this play again the action is divine. Man throws himself wholly on the word revealed to him, and his fellow-men are unable to pronounce a judgment: their voices are equally divided. But the god who destroyed Cassandra saves Orestes. The divine counsel is justified by the divine wisdom. And so it is that the special case of Orestes is merged, at the end of the play, in the broader lesson which it exhibited. Pallas not only restrains the action of the avenging Erinyes, but converts them into beneficent powers (Eumenides); and her victory is won, not by force but by persuasion. The truth is an old one, and yet perhaps it is not fully learnt yet. Æschylus could see that true worship and honour, the offerings of a loyal and wise obedience, can convert into sources of endless good the awful and inexorable laws of the external world, whence come on him who does them violence, untold plagues, and suffering.

Such, in brief outline, appear to be the central conceptions of the extant tragedies of Æschylus. His treatment of his subjects answers to their dignity, but of that nothing can be said now; nothing of his bold and pregnant language, which almost, like St. Paul's, breaks down beneath the pressure of thought committed to it; nothing of the personal intensity of his faith, which, like that of an old prophet, applies to the present and the future the divine teaching of the past; nothing of the personal devotion with which he evidently bows himself before the beings whose power he vindicates; nothing of the tragic irony, more awful than that of Sophocles, with which he draws the fate of the wicked; nothing of the unconscious art by which he shows that pathos, no less than sublimity, is within his reach. For the present we listen to him simply as an exponent of religious belief; and the sketch which has been given of his position and his poems is sufficient to justify the expectation that we may find in him the general features of a theology consistent and tolerably complete.

III.

The first characteristic, perhaps, of the Æschylean theology which strikes a student is its true nationality.* The gods of Greece were

* Cicero's vague statement that Æschylus was "non poeta solum, sed etiam Pythago-

not less real divinities to Æschylus than they were to Homer, though they are differently apprehended. Æschylus approaches them, not as a poet simply, who finds in old legends ornaments for his work,—nor as a philosopher, who uses a popular phraseology to veil new teaching, —but as a devout believer, tracing out in life the realization of his faith. The sacred names which he uses are spoken with heartfelt reverence. The sublime powers which he invokes are adored with genuine awe. According to an early and constant tradition he was accused of publishing the Eleusinian mysteries; and, strange as it may seem, the charge is in itself likely to be true. For him divine mysteries were "open secrets." He lived face to face with them, and they became axioms of life. For while he is a believer he is a poet and a prophet too. He looks beneath the manifold to the one: he translates, unconsciously it may be, the symbol into the lesson. He receives the common creed of his Athenian countrymen, embodied in conflicting stories and rival ceremonies, and he gives it back again simplified and harmonized. In his tragedies the will and destiny of man are reconciled with the claims of sovereign justice. The conflicts of the gods are traced to the necessary development of partial and imperfect attributes. The hierarchy of Olympus is marshalled in a noble order; and far above all weakness and change, Zeus is throned supreme, whose will is Right, and whose name is the Saviour.*

But these results are not gained by an arbitrary eclecticism. On the contrary, the fulness of Greek polytheism is nowhere more clearly seen than in Æschylus.† His work, as he seems to have understood it, was to reconcile and combine the conflicting factors of fate and will of which life is made up—the offspring of earth and the offspring of heaven,—and not to ignore their antagonism, or suppress either element in the great battle. This he does even in the earliest view which he opens of the dynasties of heaven. Like a true Greek, he sees in the celestial world the progress which he observes on earth. There was a time when Zeus was not yet king. But under his treatment the successive sovereignties of Uranus and Kronus and Zeus are a noble parable of the history of natural religious thought. The cycle of change was inevitable, and its lessons fruitful to the latest time.

Far back in the earliest ages, Uranus (Heaven) was supreme. This

reus: sic enim accepimus" ("Tusc.," ii. 10), if it refers at all to his religious opinions, rests on no adequate authority, and is certainly not supported by internal evidence. No passage *characteristically* Pythagorean can be pointed out in his writings; and, on the contrary, his whole teaching on a future state is eminently un-Pythagorean.

* The character of Zeus the Saviour is well brought out by Müller, "Dissertations on the Eumenides," § 94 (Eng. Tr.).

† Klausen, p. 5.

was the first instinctive embodiment of power. Men bowed themselves before the vast, silent, changeless expanse which covered them. But such a worship was soon supplanted by one more definite. The progeny of Uranus and Gaia (Earth), the manifestations of the forces of nature in their fullest activity, succeeded to the homage of mortals. The ancient ocean, the towering Atlas—which bore heaven upon its shoulders,—the fiery volcano, the wild storm, and all the brood of the Titans, with Cronus at their head, were acknowledged as divine.* And then was a time of strife and anarchy. The gods themselves were divided. But meantime Earth, their mother, revealed a nobler lesson, for she gave birth to Themis (Right), by whose voice it was declared that the victory should be decided by wisdom and not by might. The Titans were deaf to her warnings. "No power, they thought, could shake their rule of force," and so they fell in turn. The cycle was at length complete. Zeus, the son of Cronus, welcomed the counsels of prudence, and seized the sceptre which was offered him. The powers of nature were bound;† strength and force were made subject to will;‡ and a sway of sovereign reason was established, rising out of, and yet above, the grandest displays of physical energy.§

In the portraiture of this reign of Zeus Æschylus uses language of Eastern sublimity. Zeus is "Prince of princes, most blessed of the blessed,"|| "Sovereign of eternity,"¶ "Almighty Father,"** "the cause and worker of all things,"†† "He who seeth all,"‡‡ "invincible;"§§ "His mind is an unplumbed abyss,"|||| "His providence burns everywhere as a great light, even amidst the darkness of human life: his counsels meet with no reverse: but tangled and dark are the ways of his thoughts, inscrutable to mortal eye. He needs no arms of force to work his purpose. Seated afar upon his holy throne he carries it to its issue. For him the word and work are one."¶¶ And so it is that in life all is rightly referred to him, victory and defeat, the decision of the wavering council, the distribution of national power.*** He "alone is free;" and "the harmonious order of the worlds which he has fixed no human plans can violate."†††

Nothing can be plainer than that the supremacy of a Divine Will is affirmed here in every phrase; and yet it is commonly supposed that Æschylus placed a fate above Zeus to which he himself was subject. The difficulty is started by Prometheus, but the true answer is indicated at the same time. "Zeus has no refuge from the law of Fate," Prometheus says, when he looks forward to his illusory ven-

* "Prom.," 356 *et seq.*; 432 *et seq.* "Suppl.," 554. † "Prom.," 227.
‡ "Prom.," 1 *et seq.* § *Ibid.*, 205 *et seq.*; comp. 978.
|| "Suppl.," 518. ¶ *Ibid.*, 568. ** "S. c. Th.," 111; comp. "Eum.," 878.
†† "Ag.," 1461. ‡‡ "Eum.," 999. §§ "S. c. Th.," 509. |||| "Suppl.," 1043.
¶¶ "Suppl.," 81 *et seq.*; 588. The first passage is one of sublime grandeur in the original.
*** "Ag.," 564; "Pers.," 534; "Suppl.," 617; "Pers.," 758. ††† "Prom.," 50, 561.

geance, and the Chorus answers, "Well, what is fated but his endless reign?" The Fates themselves draw their power from him.* Fate is, indeed, but another name for the will of Zeus. "That which is *fated* will most surely be: no power can thwart the mighty will of Zeus."† The very commonest words for fate,—*μοῖρα*, the lot assigned; *αἶσα*, *fatum*, the voice uttered,—bear witness to its dependence on a personal will: and yet, when once the allotment is made and the word spoken, both, in a certain sense, work of themselves, and may be contemplated apart from their first source. Thus it comes to pass that there may be conflicting Fates, since there are distinct orders of beings with characteristic functions and powers. One law of life may cross another, as indeed all life is made up of antagonisms, and the issue in such a case will be the resultant of the forces which severally work their full effect. A higher fate—a wider and more comprehensive law—must keep in check that which is lower and more personal, and so in the end the will of Zeus, which includes in itself the separate action of every other will, is finally accomplished.‡ This aspect of fate is further illustrated by the corresponding relation of Zeus to Justice. From one side Zeus "holds the principle of right alone;" "he rules by laws which are of his own making." When the judge is called upon to decide as sworn to administer the right, he is reminded that "an oath is not of greater force than Zeus," if it can be shown that his will is against human conclusions.§ And yet, on the other hand, "he gives effect to fate by law hoary with age." His award is unfailingly just: he judges by the truth of things, and not by the pleadings of a skilful advocate. His will is just, and so it may be said that "in one sense he *cannot* help the wicked."‖

While Zeus, whose simple will is law and truth, rules in unapproached majesty, other divine powers attend his court, as Prometheus scornfully says,¶ and minister to the fulfilment of his counsels. Two stand out beyond all others,—Pallas Athenè, the embodiment of Divine wisdom, and Phœbus Apollo, the representative and organ of Divine revelation.** But both derive their authority from Zeus alone. "I trust in Zeus," "Zeus gave me wisdom," are the springs from which Pallas draws her arguments to soothe the Furies; and nowhere has an ancient poet drawn a nobler figure than that in which the goddess is presented in the "Eumenides,"—spotlessly pure, and yet tender to the guilty; confident in right and strength, and yet gentle and conciliatory to her angry antagonists; trusted by all, and in the

* "Ch.," 288. † "Suppl.," 1033. ‡ "Ag.," 993. § "Prom.," 194, 411. "Eum.," 621.
‖ "Supp.," 657, 396. "Ag.," 786. "Ch.," 945. ¶ "Prom.," 121.

** Mr. Gladstone has pointed out at considerable length ("Homeric Studies," ii., 139 *et seq.*) the similar position which these deities occupy in the Homeric Olympus; but the supposition that they embody "the disintegrated elements of a primitive tradition" is opposed equally to all probability and to the actual history of revelation.

end blest by all, for "her sire regards those sheltered by her wings." * The character of Apollo is more complex, but as he appears in the "Orestea," where his character is most fully drawn, he is the voice of his father's counsels (Loxias). Thus it was that he charged Orestes with his terrible mission, and, when he looks back upon the sorrow wrought by its enforced accomplishment, and addresses those to whom the final judgment upon the righteousness of the dead was confided, pleads, as if he could of himself go no further nor pronounce an opinion upon it,—

> "I never spake, in my prophetic seat,
> Of man, of woman, or of state one word
> Save what Zeus bade, sire of the gods above.
> How strong this plea I straitly bid you learn,
> And follow trustfully the Father's will.
> An oath is not of greater force than Zeus." †

And when he has said this he commits to Divine wisdom (Pallas) the justification of the Divine word.

Zeus the Saviour, Pallas, and Loxias (Apollo) thus combine to represent Providence active for man, guiding him amidst the conflict of duties, and delivering him in the last extremity of need. To them one other deity must be added, Hermes, the messenger between the realms of light and darkness, between the gods of heaven (Olympian) and the gods of earth (Chthonian). For though the Titanic earth-born powers were subdued by Zeus, they were not destroyed. The inexorable requirements of natural law were modified but not removed by the sovereignty of supreme intelligence. The antagonism between the tyranny of material forces and the counsels of divine mercy and benevolence was still necessarily unchanged, even when the question of supremacy was decided; and Æschylus delights to represent the gradual process by which the antagonism itself was reduced to the separate exertion of distinct and complementary prerogatives, by powers which consciously or unconsciously wrought out one end. Thus, in a passage of deep significance, he traces the successive steps in the history of revelation, as it passed from the Chthonian to the Olympian powers. Earth herself was the first prophet. In the simplest phenomena of nature she first spoke to men of the Divine character and will. As time went on she gave place to Right (Themis), a daughter who was born to her; for the teaching of society and life carries us forward in the knowledge of God. Right in turn gave place to a (younger) sister Phœbe, the embodiment of light, the symbol of spiritual intelligence. With her ministry the office of the earthly powers was fulfilled, and she transferred her charge, not by claim of succession but as a voluntary offering, to the bright God of heaven, Phœbus, who himself adopted

* "Eum.," 790, 812, 952, &c.

† "Eum.," 586. Comp. "Eum.," 19; "Fragm.," 79 (Dindf.).

her name for his own.* The transition from the higher to the lower powers and forms of thought, which is unmistakable in this pregnant passage, may be seen also in the Æschylean view of Prometheus and of the Erinyes. The struggle of finite reason (Prometheus) against the supreme will is necessarily grand and tragic. In what exact mode the contest was brought to an issue we cannot now tell. The end alone is clear. Prometheus gained his deliverance, though a suffering son of Zeus, and ministered to the power which he had defied. The Titans, according to the poetic imagery, were no longer crushed and tortured, but placed in the islands of the happy in the enjoyment of perfect earthly bliss.† Under the completed sway of Zeus the once rebellious powers of nature become genial and beneficent. The reconciliation of the Erinyes to the "new gods"‡ is the subject of the close of the "Eumenides," and Pallas is naturally the deity by whom it is effected. Their divine power is acknowledged, and placed above the questionings of men. In part they are established as the representatives of conscience, in part as the fulfillers of material law. It is by the voice of divine wisdom only that a limit is placed to their vengeance and their working. For the rest, they are recognised as having an inevitable power over the prosperity of men; they are honoured in all the crises of life; they are received as companions of Pallas herself. The immortals (Olympian gods) admit their influence.§ Terrible and loathsome though they are, children of the night and dwellers in subterranean gloom, they yet obtain the reverence and offerings and even the love of men.‖ In human worship the awful goddesses of inexorable retribution are seated beside the Zeus-born goddess of wisdom.

But none the less the nether world remains terrible and dark, "untrodden by Apollo, and sunless," tenanted by empty shades and dread curses, ready to take shape and torment the living.¶ Hermes alone of the Olympians is in office a Chthonian deity also, "herald of gods above and gods below,"** the conductor of the dead, the furtherer of righteous vengeance, the guide of the victim of the Erinyes.†† For

* "First in my prayer I honour of the gods
The Earth, first prophetess; and Themis next,
Who second sat upon her mother's throne
Of prophecy, as legends tell; and third,
By her good will, and not by violence,
Another Titaness, Earth's daughter, came,
Phœbe, who gave the power a birthday gift
To Phœbus, who bears Phœbe's name new-formed."—*Eum.*, 1 *et seq.*

† Comp. "Fragm.," 177-8.

‡ The title is one which Prometheus and the Erinyes use of the Olympian dynasty, by which their power was subdued. ("Prom.," 154, 412. "Eum.," 156, 748.)

§ "Eum.," 762, 798, 855, 876, 910.

‖ *Ibid.*, 861.

¶ "S. c. Th.," 853. "Ch.," 397. "Eum.," 395. Comp. "S. c. Th.," 69 *et seq.* "Ch.," 467.

** "Ch.," 1, 117.

†† *Ibid.*, 611, 796. "Eum.," 89.

the rest, the realms of light and gloom are wholly separate. It is on earth that their powers meet, and in the fortunes of man that the nature of the Chthonian gods is best seen.*

IV.

The picture which Prometheus draws of the condition of men at the close of the Titanic rule is that of helpless savages. Zeus, he says, proposed to destroy them and give birth to a new race, when he ordered his kingdom. This plan, however, was not carried out. By the gifts of hope and fire, and the common arts of life, Prometheus rescued them from their impending fate, and Zeus himself deigned to sanction the working of the blessings among men while he punished their author for his disloyalty. Yet it is remarkable that the highest endowments of man, which spring from the development of his moral and spiritual powers, are in no degree assigned to Prometheus. These appear to have been derived directly from Zeus, who, in course of time, sought fellowship with the children of earth. Such intercourse was for the moment full of suffering to its immediate object, for the divine can only be apprehended by mortals with toil and pain; but so heroes were born, and with them heroic virtues became part of the human heritage. In virtue of that old companionship, the wise "held their place hard by the side of Zeus." They could face their destiny in memory of those from whom they were sprung,—

> "Men close akin to gods, men near to Zeus; . . .
> Men from whose veins the blood of deities
> Was not yet wholly drained."

And such are the men whom Æschylus represents. The presence of a divine capacity and power in his characters is never wholly hidden by wilfulness and sin. The passions and temptations with which he deals are of overwhelming magnitude; the situations which he plans are of terrible grandeur; the persons whom he exhibits are gigantic: but yet there are present everywhere the two conflicting elements of fate and will, out of which all action rises. The scale of representation is magnified, but the moral, when reduced to its simplest principles, is that of common experience. The life is human life, though the actors are heroes.

It is commonly said, that the key to the moral understanding of the tragedies of Æschylus is the recognition of an inflexible fate, by which families are doomed to destruction, without regard to the guilt or innocence of the victims. If this were true their highest value would be lost. But in fact the statement is as false to Æschylus as

* Yet it must be noticed that the offerings to the Chthonian powers—milk and honey, and wine and olives, and "woven flowers, children of fruitful Earth"—bear witness to a time when they were worshipped as the spontaneous givers of plenty, and not the inexorable ministers of law.—("Pers.," 611.)

it is to life. All life includes the element of fate and circumstance as well as the element of will and choice. The traditions and beliefs in which we are reared, the memories which we inherit, the tendencies and impulses which go to form our character, the reputation in which we are held for the deeds of others who belong to us, all lie out of our power. If we allow our thoughts to rest on these only, we can conclude that we are mere puppets, whose conduct is determined by the action of forces wholly external. But if we look within, there is the consciousness of responsibility, the sense of victory and defeat, the energy of opposition, which by its elasticity and continuance bears witness at least to the possibility of success,—in a word, the intuition of personality, which supplies a power not less strong than circumstance, by which we know that our life is a struggle and not an evolution of consequences, that if its purpose fails *we* are overcome. And thus it is that Æschylus paints life. He sets fate by the side of will, and lets them work. Before our own eyes, fate, or as we say circumstance, constantly prevails over infirmity of will,—more rarely, an heroic will recognises its work and achieves it. A first sin is swelled by neglect to reckless infatuation; an inheritance of sorrow crushes the selfish sufferer who rejects the discipline of woe; a noble soul trustfully obeys the voice of divine warning, and wisdom is justified in the issue. This is the teaching of Æschylus, and the teaching of natural experience. For us indeed the area of life is widened; the faint lights of an earthly government of God grow into the brightness of a kingdom of heaven; the strength of man is perfected by fellowship with a divine Redeemer; but none the less we can see in the Greek poet the outlines of the never-ending conflict of man with evil, and marvel at the invincible constancy with which he holds his faith in the sure supremacy of good, even when he looked upon the region beyond the grave as shrouded in dismal gloom, and felt the littleness of each single life.

Personal will then is, according to Æschylus, the spring of the first sin, and the occasion of the after manifestation of its malignant consequences. "Self-willed arrogance,"—the source of crime and ruin,—

> "Is in very truth
> The child of godlessness; but wealth, which all
> Love and pursue with many a prayer, takes birth
> From a sound, honest heart." *

When the Erinyes, the appointed ministers of just vengeance, chant the dismal strain which declares their power among men, they say,—

> "We boast to be unswerving from the right:
> No wrath from us assails with silent stroke
> The man who holds to view unstainèd hands,
> And free from harm he spends his term of years.

* "Eum.," 506.

> But to the man who after dread offence
> Would fain conceal from sight hands red with gore,
> Rendering an upright witness to the dead,
> We show ourselves exacting blood for blood,
> Till the full debt be paid." *

It had been said in old time that simple prosperity left a disastrous progeny of woe behind: the poet adds,—

> "But I think otherwise, though all alone.
> It is the impious deed which leaves behind
> A numerous brood, like to the parent stock;
> For aye the lot of righteous homes lives on
> In noble issues."

Elsewhere arrogance is said to breed arrogance worse than itself, and the pride of full prosperity and unholy daring. But meanwhile justice sheds her light in smoky cottages, where content dwells, and leaves with averted eyes the gilded palaces of the wicked, and guides everything to its end.†

> "He shall not be unblest who of free will,
> Without constraint, is just; nor could he be
> O'erthrown in utter ruin." ‡

The language is clear. Victorious evil implies personal guilt. An appeal to fate is no justification of a crime.§

There is, however, another aspect of evil. The evil which has been once evoked works on. There is, so to speak, a conservation of moral forces. The law of equal retribution for men and states is inexorable, "That he who did should suffer is an immemorial proverb." || The guilty house must bear its own burden, and find its remedy within.¶ The nation must receive the exact measure of its evil deeds.** There is no sure rest till the whole debt is paid. While the trace of guilt remains, the Erinyes call Havoc to the work of vengeance. A hideous revel band occupies the polluted house. Drunk with blood, and not with wine, they refuse to go from beneath its roof; and instead of the joyous song they chant the sad story of the primal woe.††

For the guardianship of the laws of retribution is committed to appointed ministers. These are necessarily Chthonian powers, for, as has been seen, it is in them that we must look for the enforcement of natural laws, which, indeed, they symbolized. Till they are evoked, these have no power; but when once aroused, they are irresistible till their work is done. Nor, on the other hand, can they refuse their aid against the wrong-doer. At one time the impious deed alone arms them with power;‡‡ at another time they are called to action by the curse of him who has been wronged. Thus the curse of Thyestes first

* "Eum.," 303. † "Ag.," 727. ‡ "Eum.," 521.
§ "Ch.," 896. || *Ibid.*, 305. "Ag.," 1540. Comp. "Fragm.," 267; "Eum.," 935.
¶ "Ch.," 462. ** "Persæ," 809. Comp. "Suppl.," 427.
†† "Ch.," 391. "Ag.," 1157. ‡‡ "Suppl.," 634.

roused the evil genius of the house of Agamemnon, and the curse of Œdipus gave occasion to the death of his sons. In one aspect the Erinys itself is a personification of the curse,—the will for vengeance embodied, as it were, at once by the expression of it,—and so it is even identified with the phantom of the dead. When the Chorus looks upon "the trophy of calamity" raised over Eteocles and Polynices, its refrain of lamentation is simply,—

> "O Fate, giver of woe,
> Woe fraught, O awful shade of Œdipus,
> Thou dark Erinys, mighty is thy power." *

But more frequently the Erinys has a distinct existence. It is like a foul bird defiling the roof on which it sits. It rends with its claw the victim consigned to its power. It perches on the body of the dead, and sings exultingly its strain of victory. Or with a more terrible significance, it is described as incorporate in the person of a guilty avenger, and working thus the requital of the past.†

But none the less the power of evil prevails only according to the personal character of him against whom it is directed. It is finally triumphant only over those whose sin is mortal. In every instance where Æschylus describes ruin, he distinctly marks the special guilt which merited it, whether the offenders were nations or men. Xerxes prepared the way for his disaster by neglecting the limits which Providence had fixed for his rule: the Persians were condemned for their desecration of the Greek sanctuaries. Paris had violated the sacred laws of hospitality: the Trojans had made his sin their own. Agamemnon, in spite of divine warnings, had preferred his schemes of selfish ambition and glory to the sacred duties of family: the Greeks were involved in guilt by their reckless and impious vengeance on the conquered city.‡ Thrice Apollo had warned Laius to save the State by dying childless. Clytemnestra was stained by an unholy passion before she sought retribution for her daughter's death. But nowhere is the great truth so clearly brought out as in the contrasted fates of Eteocles and Orestes. Both receive a terrible inheritance; both are placed in a position of unnatural horror; both slay their nearest kin: but Eteocles dies, and Orestes is restored to his ancestral throne. Yet the catastrophe in each case is prepared from the beginning. Eteocles accepts his fate with a hard and proud indifference. He asks for no relief, no guidance. For the State he prays half-scornfully, and the State is saved; but for himself he offers no prayer. He rejects the entreaties of the Chorus to seek help from Heaven:—

> "The gods long since have left us to our fate:
> One gift alone they prize from us—our death. . . .

* "S. c. Th.," 972, 988. Comp. 70, 720.

† "Suppl.," 636. "Ag.," 1639 (χηλῇ), 1448, 1475.

‡ "Pers.," 102, 803. "Ag.," 358, 685. *Ibid.*, 205, 510 (comp. 329).

> Nay, since Heaven hastens on the deed amain,
> Let the whole Laian race, which Phœbus hates,
> Before the wind speed down the stream of woe. . . . .
> For my dear father's bitter, fatal curse,
> Sits ever o'er my dry and tearless eyes,
> Warning me death is better soon than late."

He surrenders himself to a mad pride, and finally regards the prospect of fratricide as a last hope of triumph.* Orestes, on the other hand, feels the full terror of the task before him, and shrinks from fulfilling it. Again and again he assures himself of the reality of the divine message by which it was imposed. At each crisis of action he wavers till the voice of Phœbus makes itself heard. Before the fatal moment, Pylades, his mute companion, speaks once, and this once only, to renew the divine sanction of the deed, being by birth marked out as a minister of the god:† "Hold all to be thy foes before the gods," for their counsels in the end will be justified. And when the paroxysms of grief had come, and the Erinyes had wrought their worst, he still reposes in faithful trust in the wisdom of the counsel of Phœbus: "So far I am contented with my lot." Before the judges he has but one plea, the command of Apollo; and when he is set free, his deliverance is acknowledged as the work of Pallas and Loxias and Zeus the Saviour. Death comes where rebellious wilfulness goes before; but for the obedient and believing, the gods bring light, even from the thickest gloom.‡

A sin, then, according to Æschylus, when once admitted, must bear to the full its bitter fruit, though the power of individual will modifies its action. No sooner is the crime committed than fate prepares an instrument for retribution, forged ready beforehand for justice to use when the time shall come.§ But the ways of divine Providence are mysterious, though the end is reached in time, it may be in the broad light of day, or in the evening twilight, or in the night.|| And herein lies a terrible irony of justice. A man may become callous to the teachings of sorrow, and the last punishment is that he is left to himself.¶ An unholy boldness prompts him to new crimes, and with irresistible violence he is carried along with the presumptuous confidence of impunity. Then it is that—

> "Evil comes swift-footed in its course,
> And sin to him who violates the right:"

Then it is that—

> "Pollution, like a cloud, hangs o'er a man,
> And folly hides the knowledge of his fall:"

* "S. c. Th.," 76, 264, 686, 692, 699, 716. † As Müller well remarks, § 47.
‡ "Ch.," 261, 545, 886. "Eum.," 566, 581, 727.
§ "Ag.," 1513. "Ch.," 634. Comp. "Ag.," 1400; "Ch.," 997. || "Ch.," 53.
¶ Some acts also are inexpiable but by death.—"Ag.," 387. "S. c. Th.," 677. Comp. "Ch.," 41, 58.

Then it is that—

> "Heaven begets occasion to mankind,
> When it will wholly 'whelm a house in woe." *

At last the storm breaks, and in the wreck of his fortunes the miserable victim calls on those who do not hear. For the deity laughs over the headstrong man when he is exhausted by helpless woes, in spite of his arrogant boasting, and he perishes for ever, unwept and unremembered.†

By these signal examples the gods show the fatal issues of indulged selfishness; but commonly the discipline of life holds men back from the last fall. As retribution comes from crime, so learning comes from suffering. Nor can the weakness of human nature dispense with the salutary discipline of fear:—

> "There is a time when awe must sit enthroned
> And watch our thoughts. 'Tis well for men to learn
> Self-conquest in the school of suffering."

Without this solemn dread, neither citizen nor State would regard justice as they do.‡ By experience justice brings to the guilty a knowledge of their fault; and thus the lesson of suffering opens the source from which it springs, and averts its bitterest end. He who has felt the anger of avenging powers knows whence the blows of life come, and by timely submission escapes the heaviest fall. For else the sins of former times consign him in his pride to the ministers of death, and he perishes in silent ruin.§ In part, this fruitfulness of sorrow is the natural result of law, springing up as the necessary sequence of enforced reflection; but still more it is due to the wise counsels of Zeus, who tempers the affliction to its end, and, by merciful constraint, compels mortals to think. For he it is who—

> "Guides men to wise thought,
> And makes and clothes with sovereign power the law,
> 'By suffering learning.' Drop by drop in sleep
> Remembered sorrows trickle by the heart,
> And men against their will learn self-control.
> For 'tis in truth a grace the gods bestow,
> Throned on their awful seats with power to force." ‖

V.

Stern and severely just as this view of human life is, with retribution ever dogging sin, and sleepless avengers exacting its uttermost penalty; with deceitful prosperity hurrying the guilty to helpless ruin, and suffering alone raising the penitent to wisdom and

* "Fragm.," 268. "Eum.," 355. "Fragm.," 151. The last passage is quoted by Plato ("Resp.," ii. 380 A) with great disapprobation, but it is undoubtedly to be interpreted of Providence furnishing the wilful man with the occasion of self-destruction, and not of the predestined destruction of the innocent.

† "Ag.," 215, 376. "Eum.," 523.

‡ "Eum.," 491. § *Ibid.*, 890. ‖ "Ag.," 170.

mastery of self, it has no relief from the opening prospect of a life beyond the grave. Æschylus has not one word of true hope for a future state, not one image of another field of labour, where the character trained by sorrow here shall find exercise for its chastened power. It is scarcely too much to say, that for him the other world, and the powers by which it is governed, exist only for the guilty. There remains an awful and just punishment for all who sinned in life against God, or strangers, or parents:—

> "For Hades is a stern inquisitor
> Of men beneath the earth, and views their deeds,
> And writes them in the tablets of his mind. . . .
> The lewd offender shall not, when he dies,
> Escape arraignment in the shades below.
> Even there, another Zeus, as legends tell,
> Gives final judgment on the crimes of men."

And so it comes to pass that the retribution is completed there which the Erinyes had begun on earth.*

Before this final judgment, the injured dead themselves have some power to bring about their own satisfaction. The resentment of the dead outlives the funeral pyre, and shows itself in after time.† The "awful shade of Œdipus" is placed in closest parallelism with the Erinys which works his curse on earth.‡ The anger of Agamemnon, revealed in portentous dreams, opens the way to the vengeance of Orestes. The shade of Clytemnestra, pointing to her wounded breast, rouses the Erinyes to their office of torture. Orestes himself, when he assures the Athenians of the alliance of Argos through all time, in gratitude for his deliverance, threatens that—

> "He will make
> Those who transgress the tenor of his oath,
> Though at that time a tenant of the grave,
> Repent them of their toil by ill-success,
> Disheartening marches, and disastrous ways." §

But even so, the power of the dead depends, in a great measure, upon the sympathy of the living. The impunity of Orestes upon earth was disgrace and dishonour to Clytemnestra. His unceasing punishment was to her "a matter of life or death."‖ The neglect of those above moved Agamemnon to express his discontent. Offerings and prayers gladdened and strengthened the shadowy phantoms which alone survived.¶ But only the voice of loud and constant lamentation could reach their dulled ear and darkened mind;** and from one passage it appears that some fellow-feeling with the suppliant was required to touch the dead with sense.††

Apart from this prerogative of retribution, which the dead derive

* "Eum.," 258. "Suppl.," 226. "Eum.," 320, 166.
† "Ch.," 315.
‡ "S. c. Th.," 974.
§ "Eum.," 737.
‖ "Eum.," 114.
¶ "Ch.," 475.
** "Ch.," 367, 151, 485.
†† *Ibid.*, 508.

directly from their connection with the Chthonian powers, their whole state is cold and dreary. Death is said to be freed from woes, but only so far as it is void of all feeling; "the dead have lost the very wish ever to rise again."* They sleep "in light which is not light, but darkness visible."† The semblance of ancient dignities remains, but their joy and vigour is gone. Darius was a king below; but though a king, he charged his suppliants who had evoked him, to reap pleasure while it was yet day, "for the dead are shrouded in thick gloom, where wealth avails not."‡ Agamemnon, on the other hand, by being unavenged, had lost his royal place, to which, if he had fallen in battle, his earthly kingship would have entitled him.§ For so it was that neglect could neutralize the claims of sovereign descent. The shadow of his former state followed a man to the grave, but the disregard of his survivors could obscure or obliterate it. His after-being was quickened and nourished from earth; and, still more than this, his true immortality not only depended on the living, but was in the living. A positivist could hardly express the idea more clearly than Electra, when she addresses her father's shade for the last time; for the sense of his personal existence below is absorbed in his existence in his descendants above:—

> "O hear, my father, this my latest cry. . . .
> And wipe not out the seed of Pelops' line;
> For thus thou art not dead, though thou hast died;
> For children are a voice which saves a man
> After his death: as corks lift up a net,
> And save its flaxen thread from out the deep.
> Listen: for thee I utter such laments;
> For thou art saved if thou regard'st my words."

VI.

At first sight, this sad and shadowy aspect of the world to come must appear strange and even discordant with the nobler and clearer views which Æschylus gives of the action of Providence on earth. Few who look at the outside of life can feel satisfied that virtue receives its full reward here; and yet Æschylus practically limits the recompence of the future to a full discharge of the arrears of punishment unpaid on earth. We might be tempted to think that the exigencies of composition had confined him to this side of the subject; that, dealing with crime and suffering here, he limited himself to the exhibition of its consequences hereafter; that his view of the life to come is tragic, just as his view of this life is tragic. But it is evident that this explanation will not hold good. The "divine counsellor," the "guileless" Darius, a "prince among the dead," comes forth from the nether world, oppressed by no guilt, obscured by no

* "Ag.," 551. † "Ch.," 311. ‡ "Pers.," 687, 835. § "Ag.," 337 *et seq.*

neglect, and his figure answers to the image which is suggested by the whole tenor of Æschylus's teaching about the dead. The Danaïdes, in the extremity of their distress, when they prepare to appeal to the Zeus of the dead if the Olympian gods fail to help them, look for vengeance on their persecutors, and for themselves seek simple release; but no brighter vision of Elysian fields and active joy cheers them. Under all circumstances, the view of the condition of the dead, which Æschylus brings out into the clearest light in describing the condition of the guilty, is consistent. The fulness of human life is on earth. The part of man, in all his energy and capacity for passion and action, is played out here; and when the curtain falls, there remains unbroken rest, or a faint reflection of the past, or suffering wrought by the ministers of inexorable justice.* The beauty and the power of life, the manifold ministers of sense, are gone. They can be regretted, but they cannot be replaced. Sorrow is possible, but not joy.

However different this teaching may be from that of the Myths of Plato, and the vague popular belief which they witnessed to and fostered; however different, again, even from that of Pindar, with which Æschylus cannot have been unacquainted,* it is pre-eminently Greek. Plato clothed in a Greek dress the common instincts of humanity; Æschylus works out a characteristically Greek view of life. Thus it is that his doctrine is most clearly Homeric.† As a Greek he feels, like Homer, the nobility of our present powers, the grandeur of strength and wealth, the manifold delights of our complex being; and what was "the close-packed urn of ashes which survived the funeral pyre" compared with the heroes whom it represented?‡ That "tear-stained dust" was the witness that man—the whole man—could not live again.§ The poet, then, was constrained to work out a scheme of divine justice upon earth, and this Æschylus did, though its record is a strain of sorrow. The thrice-repeated voice of the Chorus in the "Agamemnon" is the burden of his tragedies,—

"Sing woe, sing woe, but let the good prevail."

In this respect, it is impossible to overlook the relation in which Æschylus stands to the Bible. He appears as the interpreter of a divine law, just and inevitable; and he is content to rest in the

* As, for example, in the fragments of his "Threni."

† The well-known answer of Achilles to Odysseus, who had sought to give him comfort by reminding him of his power among the dead, may serve to prove this:—

"Scoff not at death," he answered, "noble chief!
Rather would I in the sun's warmth divine
Serve a poor churl who drags his days in grief,
Than the whole lordship of the dead were mine."

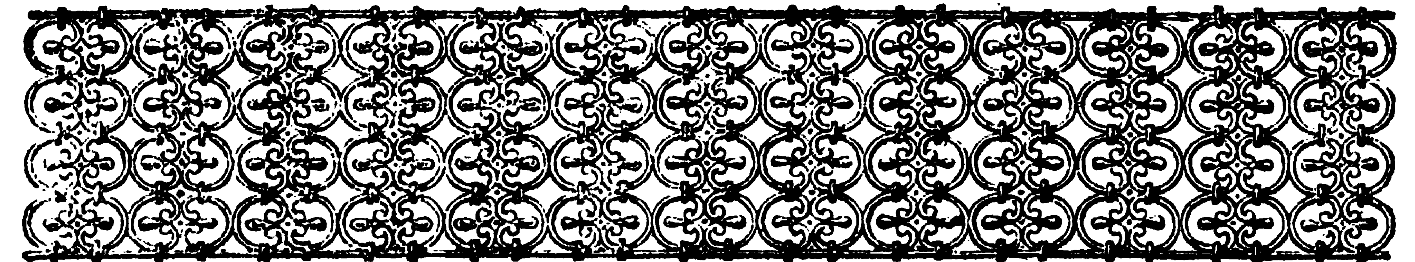
Odys., xi. 488 (Worsley).

‡ "Ag.," 42?.

§ Comp. "Ag.," 987; "Eum.," 617.

working of it upon earth. Just so, the first form in which revelation was clothed, was that of a law stern and temporal. The claims of "the Law" to obedience are peremptory, its condemnation of transgression inexorable. The sanctions of a future life form no part of its system, though the fact of a future life is implied in the idea of a covenant between God and man. In both respects, the parallel between the spiritual ideas expressed by the poet, and those enforced by the inspired Lawgiver, holds good; but the difference between the mode of their expression is not less remarkable. Æschylus was, so to speak, an intellectual witness; his appointed task was to address himself to individual reflection, and not to discipline the faith of a people; the truths which he taught were left in words, often dark and mysterious, and not embodied in a traditional and public ceremonial; they might be fruitful here and there in some devout soul, but they contained no message which could shape the common thoughts of a nation, or form the solid basis for a development of religious life. None the less, his teaching has still an office for us. It is often said, and even taken for granted, that the severer aspects of the Christian creed are due to some peculiarity of the "Semitic" mind; that they are foreign to the more genial constitution of the "Japhetic" type; that here at least the instinct which revelation satisfies is partial and not universal. Against such assumptions, the tragedies of Æschylus remain a solemn protest. The voice of law addresses us even from Athens. There is a stern and dark side to the Greek view of life. The "Prometheus," the "Seven against Thebes," and the "Orestea," contain a "natural testimony of the soul" to the reality of sin and the inevitable penalty which it carries in itself, and to the need which man has of a Divine deliverer, to check and control the consequences of violated law. And the testimony comes with the greater force because it is given by the poet who had witnessed the most glorious triumphs of Greek power. It is an utterance of outward strength, and not of exhaustion; it springs out of the fresh vigour of Greece, and not from the despairing weakness of her decline. It is indeed partial and incomplete, but its instructiveness lies in the fact that, though partial and incomplete, it was devoutly held, in virtue of the truth which was in it. It was, in some degree, taken up into later systems and variously supplemented, but for us its chief significance lies in its simplicity. If Plato tells us what are the aspirations of man, Æschylus tells us what are the requirements of the law of God. The one is, in some sense, a preparation for the other. The law comes first, and lays bare the powerlessness of man in the full pride of his strength; and when this is once recognised, faith becomes possible,—though national hopes have faded away,—and with it a deeper insight into spiritual truth.

BROOKE F. WESTCOTT.



ATHLETICS.

IT would be difficult to point to any part of daily life in which the last half-century has brought about a greater change than in out-door exercises. Fifty or sixty years ago cricket was rare, boating scarcely known beyond the Thames or the Tyne, and as for what are called *par excellence* athletic exercises, they seem to have been pretty nearly unheard of, except in the Highlands of Scotland. If we may assume that an old book called "Life in London" (dramatized, we believe, by Moncrief under the name of "Tom and Jerry"), which we remember to have been lent to us in very early days by an elderly clergyman—who must have had a strange notion of what it was good for a child of seven years old to read,—presents anything like a faithful picture of the manners of the young men of the day, we learn that their amusements were conducted chiefly at night, after drinking much wine, and consisted for the most part in knocking down *Charlies*, wrenching knockers from doors, and the like elegant exercises. The principal sport by daylight and in the open air was boxing. This, however, was rarely practised by the Corinthians, or bucks, as they were called, themselves, but left to the wretches who sold their blood for the amusement of these gentlemen. Incidentally it may have given a few of them a little exercise in driving down to the lone spot on the border of two counties, where the fight of the day came off. We know not if *Bell's Life* existed in those days. The

only repository in which we have been able to search for that paper is the University Library; but, with a strange want of appreciation of the importance of sport, the authorities have neglected to file it. We apprehend, however, it must have had little to chronicle beyond dog and cock fights, racing, four-in-hand driving, boxing and pigeon matches, with perhaps an account of a bull-baiting now and then from a Staffordshire correspondent. The social manners of the time suited these amusements. A series of caricatures, circulated in Cambridge towards the end of the last century, relating to a quarrel between Dr. Farmer, master of Emmanuel College, and Mr. Musgrave, a tailor in the town, are inconceivably, indescribably coarse. Oaths prefaced every sentence in conversation. The Prince of Wales and the notorious Colonel Berkeley (afterwards Earl Fitzhardinge) were conspicuous for the grotesque extravagance of their swearing. They perhaps were no ordinary blackguards even in that day. But a person so far removed from carelessness or vulgarity as the late Duke of Wellington, recognising at Doncaster an old acquaintance by his voice, somewhere about 1820, is represented as exclaiming, "I'll be d——d if that isn't Jack Armytage." Inquiring what his friend, a squire in one of the Midland counties, had been doing for the last twenty-five or thirty years, he is informed that he had driven the Northampton mail *every night* when at home, and he "dared say he had enjoyed life as well as his Grace." The prevalence of drunkenness may be estimated by reading any of the novels or police reports of the day. Even so late as 1839, Mr. Dickens makes Mrs. Nickleby, being at the theatre, remark that Sir Mulberry Hawk and Lord Frederick Verisopht are "a trifle unsteady on their legs," and therefore sagaciously conclude that "they had taken dinner." They presently assure her of the fact by informing her they had been "toasting her lovely daughter," which announcement puts the worthy lady in a flutter of delight. Any octogenarian could probably tell plenty of stories such as the following. A fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, now dead, told us that he well remembered meeting Coleridge the day after the Craven Scholarship had been adjudged to Samuel Butler, of St. John's, and asking him "how he bore the news last night." "Why," said he, "I should have felt it very much, but I was *dead drunk* at the time, so I didn't know it till this morning." The father of the writer of this paper chanced to walk with him over the fields to Hampstead one Sunday afternoon a few years ago, and remarked that he had gone precisely the same walk on a Sunday afternoon just fifty-five years before. He had never seen it since, and was amazed at the contrast. Then he scarcely walked a hundred yards without seeing a human being lying drunk under a hedge, whereas in our whole walk we had not met one drunken man

or woman. But the best picture we know of the abominable effect the pranks of the Prince of Wales and his companions of White's or the Four-in-hand Club had on the manners of the day, is to be found in a curious book called "Mornings at Bow Street," written by J. Wight, reporter to the *Morning Herald*, and illustrated by George Cruikshank. The book is noteworthy on another account, as it seems more than probable that it suggested at least the form of "Sketches by Boz." But to return to our athletics.

Although it is probable that manly sports were not much cultivated by our grandfathers, strong men were not altogether wanting. We doubt whether Captain Fraser, Mr. Elliot, Mr. James, or any other adept at putting the weight or throwing the hammer could surpass an exploit performed by an undergraduate of Bene't College, as it was then called, in the year 1807. He took up a stone (14 lb. weight) from a fruit stall, just opposite the Rose Inn (now the Rose Crescent), and standing on the pavement, with his back towards Caius College, threw it across the road and over the great gates of the inn into the yard. The gates were high enough for a loaded coach to pass underneath. But it is not surprising that young men did not much care to take violent exercise, when we are told that in the year 1804, Hankin, the barber of Bene't College, used to come into college directly after breakfast every morning to dress the men's hair. He began with the freshmen and worked up to the senior fellow in residence, whose head was dismissed just in time to go into hall to dinner—one o'clock. Think of throwing the hammer or attempting a high jump with one's head all plaster and curls. They had only just got free of pigtails. The very man—himself a freshman in that year—who told us this anecdote, had carefully cultivated a pigtail, concealing it behind his neckcloth, in the foregoing year, and was disgusted on coming up to college to find they had just gone out; so he had to have it cut off. We well remember the figure of the old barber, one of the last of an extinct generation of college servants, his snuffy black suit, frilled shirt a little soiled, breeches with strings—seldom tied—at the knees, his back bending with a perennial bow, his talk of the "dress of the 'air now in vogue, sir," and this whie head nodding as he operated on his customer, chattering the while. He remembered everybody and everything in the college for many a long year past, and knew little and cared less for anything beyond it. It would not be easy to say what has brought the change about. Partly, perhaps, it is due to the boat races, which have been yearly rowed now for near thirty years, between the undergraduates of the two Universities; partly, perhaps, to the example of the schools, which, following in the wake, if we are not mistaken, of University College, London, have made

gymnastic exercises almost a part of their school routine.* But, however that may be, the fact is patent, that a love of outdoor sports and exercises has grown up, and a degree of importance come to be attached to them, which sixty years since would have been thought almost frenzied. Besides cricket, fives, boating, and rifle shooting, we have races in running from four miles down to one hundred yards, walking, hurdle leaping, high jumps, pole jumps, long jumps, hammer throwing, weight putting, in fact every conceivable trial of thews and sinews, except—which is rather odd—wrestling. Boxing, though not seen in public, is not forgotten, and is not altogether without its uses. In a disturbance which occurred between gown and town a few months ago, for which it is only fair to say the town were solely to blame, the mere news of the approach of a formidable "heavy weight" of —— College literally cleared the street of the roughs, and enabled the undergraduates to get quietly back to their colleges. We believe, and gladly acknowledge, that these exercises have contributed a good deal towards the improvement of manners which makes conduct such as we have sketched above now unheard of, and we may say impossible; for men who meet each other in mimic strife must above all things keep, as the phrase goes, a civil tongue in their heads. Otherwise it would very quickly become real. Besides, the course of training requisite for athletic sports, their public and open-air character, and indeed everything incidental to them, helps a man, even more than some higher departments of education, to attain that thorough mastery of self which best enables him to keep guard over his tongue. In short, these sports are capable of being made a main element in teaching a youth to fulfil his baptismal vow by keeping his body in temperance, soberness, and chastity. It is far from our purpose then to make an attack upon athletics. On the contrary, we look upon them as most desirable for that very large class of young men who, having no special taste for literary studies, yet do not wish to waste their time.† We think Dr. Greenhill states the general case very fairly, though he has only medicine in view, when he says at the end of his paper on Gymnastics, in the "Dictionary of Antiquities," that "on an attentive perusal of what we find on this subject in the

* We regret to observe in the prospectuses of some girls' schools, exercises of this kind introduced under the name of *calisthenics*. They are utterly unfit for the female frame. Indeed we are inclined to doubt whether the exercises taught by *professors of gymnastics*, as they delight to be called, are desirable even for boys. We have heard of ruptures and other serious injuries arising from them. Besides, they give a stiff rather than an easy carriage. After all, whether for health or carriage, there is nothing for either boys or girls like dancing and games.

† *Ἅμα τῇ τε διανοίᾳ καὶ τῷ σώματι διαπονεῖν οὐ δεῖ· τουναντίον γὰρ ἑκάτερος ἀπεργάζεσθαι πέφυκε τῶν πόνων, ἐμποδίζων. ὁ μὲν τοῦ σωματος πόνος τὴν διάνοιαν, ὁ δὲ ταύτης τὸ σῶμα.—Aristot. Polit.*, viii. 4, 9.

classical authors, the reader can hardly fail of being convinced that the ancients esteemed gymnastics too highly, just as the moderns too much neglect them; and that in this, as in many other matters, both in medicine and philosophy, truth lies between the two extremes." It is in a friendly spirit therefore that we proceed to point out what we conceive to be evils in the present conduct of these sports—evils so great that we feel convinced, unless something is done to clear them away, there will shortly be a great reaction. Indeed, one of the most successful athletes at present in the University acknowledged to us lately, that he felt sure, unless something was done, there would soon be a great outcry from fathers. The evils we remark are three:—first, gambling; second, injury to health; third, folly of teachers and parents.

The first of these no one will defend. The only question that can arise upon it is of fact. Very well. We say then—and we defy contradiction—that the whole system of athletic contests is one of money, either in coin or in the shape of cups and medals; that there is heavy betting on every trial; and that it is well known that many young men lose sums so serious as to embarrass them for a long time, if not ruin them altogether. With regard to the prizes, it may be said with some truth that cups and medals, though possessing an intrinsic value, rarely do so to the winner; that he regards and uses them merely as ornaments for his sideboard. Although we believe this view of the case must be received with some considerable qualification,—although we think an undergraduate friend of ours, who remarked to us the other day that "a good many of these cups will find their way back to the silversmith," was not far wrong, yet, assuming it for the moment to be true, we avow that with the Persian the old historian tells us of, we reserve all admiration for such as strive not for gold but for excellence, and are disposed to think that while gold befits the barbarian, the olive crown and the hymn of victory might well content civilized men.* And we confess that it was with some regret that we read at the close of the report of the first meeting of the Amateur Athletic Club, held at Beaufort House, Walham Green, on Friday, March 23rd, 1866,—"The prizes were a cup for the first, and a medal for the second man, for each event."

The report opens with the expression of a hope that the newly formed "Amateur Club will ere long attain the same eminence and importance as the Marylebone Club, and communicate the same high tone and encouragement to athletics among the gentlemen of England as the M.C.C. does to cricket."

* These cups are often very costly. One offered as the prize at a rowing match in London a few weeks since was of the nominal value of *three hundred and fifty* pounds. Few men in the middle ranks of life would care to exhibit such a thing as this on their sideboard.

We sincerely hope so too; but in order to do so let them imitate the example of that most respectable and useful association in giving no prizes of any intrinsic value. We do not profess to be much acquainted with sporting affairs, but we think we are not mistaken in saying that no amateur ever receives any reward from the Marylebone Club of greater money value than a bat or a ball. Professional players of course get more than this, but their rewards may be fairly looked upon in the light of wages. Moreover, besides the bad taste and flat barbarism of prizes in bullion, we are inclined to think that they tend to encourage the spirit of gambling. They bring in the thought and desire of profit. At all events, as far as an outsider can learn, there is less money won and lost on the whole, and the aggregate is made up of very much smaller sums, on the issues of cricket matches than on any other "events." It is of course extremely difficult for any one not concerned in the matter to arrive at the true state of such an evil as the one in question, but we fear it would be difficult to overstate the mischief that betting on boat races and athletic sports is at this moment doing among young men. The existence of it requires no proof. Take up any sporting paper almost any week or day in the year, and you will read some such remark as this:—"The Oxonians were defeated on the odd event, for which 6 to 4 was laid against them." It is, we fear, too true that there is a spirit of gambling prevalent throughout the country, and that there is nothing on which men do not bet. As an example of the extravagances to which this spirit runs, we may mention that soon after the death of the late Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, three gentlemen were named at Doncaster as his possible successors, and odds freely laid on their respective chances. Some speculators, we have been told, ventured to offer 10 to 1 that no one of the three would be chosen. If taken in large sums, they must have been hit hard. It may therefore be objected that betting is one of the evils incident to the time, to which athletics do not specially contribute, and that our efforts had therefore better be applied to the vice in general than attempt to cure it in this particular instance. We may reply to this objection, that young men are likely to lay out their money chiefly on the results of the sports belonging to their age, and that if therefore a stop can be put to it in them, it will be something like killing the evil in the bud. That it is possible to discourage betting is proved by what has occurred in cricket. Thirty or forty years ago a set of blacklegs very nearly ruined cricket by the gambling they contrived to introduce into it. Large sums were laid on the results of matches. Much unfairness crept in, and matches were even known to be sold. In short, Lord's Ground was becoming very nearly as corrupt as Parliament itself. Greatly to their credit, the leaders of the cricketing world set

their faces dead against the evil. The result was that they succeeded in almost completely putting it down, and we believe that cricket is now freer from the trading speculations of betting men than any other description of sport. We heartily wish that the chief promoters of athletics may take a lesson from this precedent. They may rely upon it that betting is as sure in the long run to bring in unfairness as bribery to corrupt the briber, and therefore to make their favourite amusements alike mischievous and unpopular.

We believe, moreover, that people at a distance very little imagine the *amounts* that change hands on these occasions. We were credibly informed last spring that a young man belonging to a college in one of the Universities "stood to lose" *three thousand five hundred* pounds had the boat of a particular college been at the head of the river at the end of the season. It is possible—though our informant had every means of knowing the truth, and no motive whatever for exaggeration—that this enormous sum may have been overstated, and we can scarcely suppose that it ever would have been paid. We know too that the event on which it depended was improbable. Yet even supposing it to be an exaggeration—though we repeat there is not the slightest reason to think it is—it shows which way the wind blows. What would the little circles at country homes, who think shilling whist an extravagance, say to this? Another youth a year or two ago suddenly paid all his debts at the beginning of June. All his acquaintance placed this most unexpected piece of honesty to the credit of a successful book on the boat races, and the amount of his winnings was set by them at five or six hundred pounds. Last March we were told by an intimate friend and companion of a young man in one of the Government offices, that had Cambridge won in the University boat race, his friend would have lost so much money as to be *irrecoverably ruined, and must have left the country.* We must add that the contests between the Universities in boating and some other sports are fast becoming a public nuisance in other respects besides betting. We do not say the crews are themselves to blame for this. In fact we believe that in general the actual combatants have rather less to do with the gambling, or any other of the concomitant evils, than many of the lookers on.* But we appeal to them, and still more to those elder men who, having distinguished themselves in early

* Two ladies of our acquaintance chanced to be driving through Hammersmith one afternoon. As they drew near the Suspension Bridge they saw a crowd of men apparently much excited. It proved that a boat race of some kind was going forward, and the boats passed underneath the bridge just before they drove over it. We suppose the event must have been settled there and then, as one of them, relating it to us afterwards, expressed her amazement at "the quantity of gold that was flying from hand to hand." She spoke, too, of the fearful eagerness and greed depicted in the men's faces. "They looked," she said, "like demons."

days, and, *jam rude donati*, yet continue to take interest in the sports of their youth, and whose opinion and advice is deservedly respected by the rising generation, to consider whether any step on their part, such as the adoption of more stringent rules, or removal of the scene of action, may amend things. Gambling, we need not say, is discouraged, like other vices, by the University authorities. Some may think it might be done with a little more vigour and decision, but we greatly doubt whether it is a matter in which the exercise of authority is likely to be of much avail. Example is worth much more. We must rely chiefly on the good sense of young men themselves, and early care of parents. Authorities had much better not interfere at all unless they can do it with more wisdom than the rulers of a certain Government office, who grant a holiday on the Derby day to any clerk who applies for it, but with this condition, that *he must promise to go to Epsom.* Why not at once require him to undertake to touch pitch and not be defiled? We have never seen the Derby, but if Mr. Frith's picture be a truthful representation of what goes on there, we say it is an abominable orgy, and a shame to a Christian land. To put the matter on the lowest ground, we do think that, as taxpayers, we have a right to complain that men of no more sense than this displays should be placed at the head of a great public department. But we have said enough of this matter—enough, we hope, to convince even those who do not with ourselves look upon the smallest wager as the introduction of an evil, of which one can no more foresee the end than of the letting out of water, that there is something which requires amendment. Let us pass to the next topic, the effects of athletics on health.

Medical men may possibly regard it as a piece of presumption for a layman to enter upon this subject. Nothing would be farther from our wish, if they would only do it for us. But no medical man of eminence seems to think it worth his while to instruct the youth of his age and country how to preserve their health and strength under trying muscular exertions. We do not think, therefore, that we can be blamed for trying to indicate, from a layman's point of view, the matters in which skilful direction is most needed. To begin with, we have a right to assume that the condition of body produced by training for athletic exercises is dangerous to health, for Hippocrates expressly tells us so.* Perhaps some medical men may think they have got beyond Hippocrates. We might quote as apposite to the case a remark, we think, of Fielding's somewhere, "that he had often heard people call Aristotle a fool, but he commonly found they were such as had never read him." We apprehend, however, the wiser part

* Ἐν τοῖσι γυμναστικοῖσι αἱ ἐπ' ἄκρον εὐεξίαι σφαλεραί· οὐ γὰρ δύνανται ἀτρεμέειν. —*Hippocr. Aph.* 3.

of the profession will not make light of the authority of the old Greek physician,—certainly no member of the "Sydenham Society" will do so, for Sydenham assuredly owned Hippocrates for his master.* Now Hippocrates must have enjoyed unsurpassable opportunities of observation, and the most cursory inspection of his works will show that he knew well how to use his eyes. On the other hand, Aristotle tells us that gymnastics ought to tend to health and strength. Who will teach us then to handle this edged tool, so dangerous to play with, so profitable if well used? Need there is of some advice in the matter. We imagine that the age, say from eighteen to two-and-twenty, when these exercises are most practised, is about the most ticklish in human life. Is it not then that a man's frame is just developing and consolidating itself into ripe manhood? Is not that just the time when, to quote Aristotle again, exercises should be especially guided with a view to learning moderation in bodily exertions? But how far our young men are from observing moderation in their sports any one may see for himself who will go to the river side, or on any ground where manly sports—cricket excepted—are going forward. We ourselves once saw the coxswain of an eight-oar taken out of the boat at the end of a race, perfectly insensible. Not very long ago, watching a footrace on Fenner's ground, we saw one of the rival runners fall fainting on the grass, a short distance before the end of the race. In almost any account of an athletic contest you may read such remarks as these, which we take from sporting papers lying before us:—

"Mr. —— was very much distressed after the race."

"Mr. —— was very much exhausted, and fell immediately after passing the post, but quickly recovered himself, and joined his friends at a dinner somewhat later in the evening."

At boat races the excitement and exertion is such that we have heard men say that, in the heat of the struggle, they can neither see nor hear, while their hearts beat like the clapper of a mill. It is said, indeed, we know not with what measure of truth, that heart diseases

* See the interesting "Life of Hippocrates" contributed by Dr. Greenhill to the "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography." We may remark that Dr. Greenhill speaks of the medical practice of Hippocrates as "cautious and feeble; so much so that he was in after times reproached with letting his patients die by doing nothing to keep them alive." We think we shall not be wrong in stating that the tendency of the changes in medical practice which have taken place in the interval—twenty years—since these words were written have been all in the direction of Hippocrates's method. Few physicians nowadays would adopt the style of practice of an old physician of Cambridge, who always said to every patient who came to consult him, "Well, I think you'd better be blooded!" or another, who recommended "a pot of senna-tea to be kept regularly on the nursery hob." May the earth lie heavy on him! We bitterly remember the cruel agonies he caused us in our childish days, agonies which made us lie prone on our stomach, writhing round and round like a cockchafer on a pin! So hard in those days was the fate of the unlucky child whose parents had faith in the doctor.

are exceedingly frequent in after life among men who have been distinguished in their youth on the river or the racing ground. We have even been told, though we cannot vouch for the accuracy of the relater of the anecdote, that of the crew of a boat which was at the head of the river at Cambridge about twenty years ago, there are, at this moment, but two who are not either dead or entirely broken down. Now we do not believe that the exertions required either in boating or racing are such as to be beyond the powers of young men, if a proper system of training were laid down, and those whose constitution unfits them for such demands rigorously excluded. The length of the racing course on the Cam is, we are informed, 1 mile, 487 yards. The distance rowed in practice is about six miles. The course on the Thames taken for the race between the Universities is, we are told, only just over four miles. These distances are not extravagant. It will give our readers, to most of whom it may be supposed such matters are not familiar, some idea of the strength and prowess of their muscular sons or brothers if we offer them a short summary of the report before us of the "Oxford and Cambridge Athletic Sports," held on the Christ Church ground, Oxford, in the spring of this year. The performances began with throwing the hammer. Of this we are told that—

"Throwing the hammer, when well executed, is one of the most elegant and graceful feats imaginable; few who have seen the champion of Scotland hurl with ease the 16 lb. hammer from 150 to 170 feet will ever lose the impression of strength and activity which the sight conveys; and the Oxford and Cambridge champions, though by no means his equals, are very worthy pupils. The hammer-head is a shot weighing sixteen pounds, and the handle is made of tough ash, and is three feet long. The thrower balances the hammer high in the air, and then gives three successive springs towards the scratch, turning round at each spring, and at the end of the last turn, he hurls the hammer with all his strength."

The victory was won by Cambridge with a throw of 87 ft. 7 in. Next was the flat race, one mile, won by Oxford in 4 min. 45 seconds. Then the high jump fell to Cambridge, the champion clearing 5 ft. 6 in. The flat race, 100 yards, proved a dead heat, two Oxford men doing it in 10 seconds. In putting the weight (16 lb.) Cambridge was again victorious, achieving 32 ft. 10½ in. The flat race of a quarter of a mile was won by Cambridge in 54¼ seconds. A Cambridge man won the long jump, covering what seems, to ignorant eyes, the immense distance of 20 ft. 4 in.* The hurdle race, 120 yards, over 10 flights—

* We are informed by an athletic friend that this is the longest jump on record, taken off turf and on the level; for when Mr. Henry Warrington writes word to Mrs. Mountain at Castlewood, Virginia, that he had had "the *gratafacation* of beating his lordship by more than two feet—viz. 2 ft. 9 in.,—me jumping twenty-one feet three inches by the drawer's measured tape, and his lordship only eighteen six," he must be presumed to be romancing.

which we suppose means there were ten hurdles,—was accomplished by Oxford in 17½ seconds. Lastly, the two mile flat race ended in a dead heat between the Universities, the two runners doing it in 10 minutes 20 seconds; and we should think everybody, and especially the competitors, must have been heartily glad when it was all over. We presume that this is a fair specimen of what athletic contests are in general, as, in looking through the report of what took place at Beaufort House, in which we are informed that "the Cambridge men came out very strong," we observe precisely the same trials, with as nearly as possible like results. Only, in addition to those already specified, there was a four mile race, run by a Cambridge man in 21 minutes 42 seconds, and a seven mile walking race, done by the winner in about half a minute under an hour. It would occupy too much space to copy the reports in full; but the sporting slang, though we suppose significant to persons interested in the games, is to the uninitiated ridiculous enough, and occasionally requires an interpreter. We ought, however, in justice to add that it is infinitely less vulgar than that of fifty years ago, and there is not a word in any of the papers—and we have several before us—which could offend a woman's ear. Now, looking through the programme of friendly strife, we do not see anything that ought to be permanently injurious to a young man of good constitution and well trained for the encounter. No doubt there is some danger incidental, under the most favourable circumstances, to high athletic condition. The process of reducing the volume of the muscles, which sets in as soon as these hard exercises are exchanged for a comparatively sedentary life, must of itself be trying to health; and there are other attendant circumstances of peril, such as change of regimen, hours of sleep, &c.* But these drawbacks may be fairly balanced by the advantages that can be claimed for athletics. If, however, it be true that there is something beyond these, and that the constitutions of young men are often broken up, as is certainly said to be the case, we apprehend there must be some fault in the system of training. What it is we do not pretend to say. There is lying before us an account of the exercise and diet prescribed by a captain of a college boat to his crew. There seems nothing unreasonable in it, except that perhaps the quantity of animal food and the time allowed for sleep is somewhat excessive. But at twenty a man can bear a little excess in both these particulars. We have, too, a book entitled, "The Modern Method of Training for Running, Walking, Rowing, and Boxing; including hints on exercise, diet, clothing, and advice to trainers, by Charles Westhall, the pedestrian champion of England." Compared with the old system of training, the modern method must

* Not the least, perhaps, is the one indicated in one of the quotations above—feasting as soon as the restraints of training are removed.

be wisdom itself, if Mr. Westhall's account of the former be but approximately correct. It is so monstrous that, though somewhat unsavoury, we copy it:—

"It was sweating work and physicking, changed with physicking work and sweating, until in every case the patient under treatment, for he could be called by no other name, was jaded to the extreme. . . . When a man had entered into an engagement to accomplish a distance in a certain time, he was immediately drenched with Glauber salts in large doses on alternate days, until the stomach was supposed to be sufficiently emptied, and after this, as frequently happened, should there be any symptom of feverishness or hardness about the region of the bowels, the additional misery of an emetic was forced upon him. After undergoing these preliminary small attentions, he was taken to his training quarters, and placed under the care of a severe trainer, who invariably had a number of recipes by heart, the number of which, in many instances, constituted his chief merit in the eyes of his employers, and to which he most religiously adhered, right or wrong, advancing as the last and an unanswerable argument, that the man whom he had trained last had faithfully followed his instruction, and won the race."

We count a pedestrian lucky who did not live in those days. Mr. Westhall's own rules appear to us, as far as we are able to judge, sound and sensible. Cleanliness, moderation, and good temper are his grand precepts. In short, he might very well sum up all he has to say with Paul's rule of temperance in all things. It will be fair, perhaps, to let him speak for himself:—

"The man who goes first into training is like an unbroken colt, and requires as much delicate treatment. The temper of the biped ought to be studied as carefully as that of the quadruped, so that his mind can be carefully prepared for his arduous situation, which is one of abstinence, and in some cases total deprivation, which always tries the patience and frequently the temper of the competitor, who in these cases should be encouraged by word and example, showing that the inconveniences he is undergoing are but the preliminary steps to the attainment of that health, strength, and elasticity of muscle which have caused so many before him to accomplish almost apparent impossibilities. Such a trainer is worth a hundred of those who have no judgment in the regulation of the work which a man may take without in any way making him anxious to shun his duty or turn sullen. Let the trainer bear in mind and always remember that a fit of ill-temper is as injurious to the man in training as any other excess. . . . The office of the trainer is no bed of roses: he must be vigilant night and day, never leave his man, and act according to his preaching, that is, be as abstemious or nearly so as his man, whom it is his duty to encourage in improvement, to cheer when despondent, and to check if there are at any time symptoms of a break out from the rules laid down."

We might well take these rules to ourselves and become diligent trainers of our own bodies. We should many of us be not only stronger men, but better Christians into the bargain. Mr. Westhall himself does not fail to perceive that his rules have an application beyond his pupils in pedestrianism. He says,—

"These few words are not alone intended for the man who has to compete, but . . . for the greater portion of mankind, who go through the regular routine of life day after day, their business almost always being performed with apathy, and the remainder of their time passed in excessive smoking, eating, drinking, sleeping, sitting, or any small pet vice to which they may be addicted."

It would be a changed world indeed if men could be persuaded that a life of apathetic indulgence is a life of vice.

But when we look for something beyond these general precepts, and inquire more precisely how the body is to be managed under training, we are disappointed. The amount as well as kind of work to be done by the pupil is laid down with much clearness, and apparently with good sense and moderation. Food too is prescribed with tolerable exactness. But so far all is easy enough. Nature of herself offers ready guidance. What we miss is the kind of training for which in ancient times young men looked to the *aleipta* or training master. The name itself (*oiler*) is significant of what the ancients thought the most important part of training,—one might almost say the only part that required teaching, namely, the care of the muscles before and after work.* For of temperance in food and exercise a man may be his own teacher, at any rate with the help of a few rules that would soon become traditionary in any gymnasium; but the attention requisite for the bodily frame of the athlete requires medical knowledge, and ought probably to be varied so as to suit the constitution of each particular candidate for the honours of the field. How closely in the opinion of the ancients the arts of the mediciner and the trainer were allied is shown by such a word as ἰατραλείπτης, which is explained in the lexicons, *a physician who cures by anointing.* Now the captain's rules above referred to do not touch this point at all; they concern only food and sleep. That further care is needful for a man's frame under the strain of great exertion does not appear to have struck him. Even bathing is not mentioned. We believe that at the boat-houses nothing is provided for the crews on their return but basins and cold water—not even soap. We once inquired of a youth who had been engaged in a walking match, whether he did not find his muscles strained or his skin irritated, and if so, what he did. He said Yes, and that he went to a chemist who gave him an embrocation which he assured him would do no harm. "It smelt very strong of hartshorn." That sounded to our ear as likely to do the skin pretty much the same service, or disservice, that a dram would do the jaded stomach. Mr. Westhall has three chapters devoted to

* Pindar (Ol. viii. 53, *sqq.*) celebrates an *aleipta* (Melesias) by name, saying that his pupils had now been successful thirty times.

the subjects which would fall more especially under the charge of the *alcipta*; one on treatment of the feet, sinews, &c.; one on baths; one on thirst, which he calls "the chief punishment when a man is in the course of training requisite to reduce his bulk," and medicine. As the whole only occupy nine pages of a very small 24mo. volume, it may be judged that they do not contain much. What Mr. Westhall says is sensible as far as it goes; there is an excellent prescription for a sprained ankle, and a capital way of extemporizing a vapour bath, but that is all that can be said in the way of praise. The most important subject of all, the use of the bath, is treated in the most meagre fashion. There are scarcely any directions as to its use, no indication of the particular kind desirable under different circumstances or for different constitutions; in short, scarcely any opinion given upon any point connected with it, except that the author thinks the Turkish bath "far from healthy." As for lubrication of the skin and muscles, he simply omits it. Now we do not in the least blame him for this; on the contrary, we think it the very wisest thing he could do, for ancient methods are of course out of the question, and no one could speak particularly on such matters but a well-educated medical man who had given special attention to the subject. Where is there such a man? We do think that not only athletes, but the general public, have reason here to complain of the doctors. For many years past they have been telling us that our fathers and mothers were very dirty people, that they neglected besides one of the prime elements of health, and thereupon recommending us to souse ourselves with cold water in all weathers, at all seasons, and almost without discrimination of age, sex, or constitution. Then we are told afterwards to rub our skins nearly off with coarse towels, horsehair gloves, or any other wiry abomination of bristles that can be invented. But nobody hitherto has taken any pains to examine the different effects of the different kinds of baths, or to give us directions founded on any scientific principle as to what to do after bathing. Generally the doctors content themselves with advising mere dry rubbing. One of the ancient physicians, however, is recorded to have severely injured his patients by this practice; and an attendant at a Turkish bath once told us that he had observed that if he shampooed a patient not in a profuse perspiration, it almost invariably brought on boils. What do the doctors say to this? What do they say to the Turkish bath itself, which has been introduced into this country some ten years, and is still, we believe, without any authoritative recognition from the faculty? Very likely some may recommend it, or the contrary, in private practice; but such opinions we can only get at by being ill. Now we want to know what we are to do to escape being ill. This is precisely the question which medical men seem deter-

mined to avoid.* Is it because they think that it is no business of theirs to keep us in health, but only cure us when we are sick? If so, we reply that they do not understand their calling. They are a powerful body, well organized, with great privileges, and although, as they are rather fond of boasting, quite unendowed, able on the whole to indemnify themselves pretty well. They are charged not so much with the sickness as the health of the country. The great medical teachers in ancient times set them a good example in this matter. One of the works which passed under the name of Hippocrates was entitled *περὶ διαίτης ὑγιεινῆς*. A work of Galen's on the same subject, in six books, is still extant. Its style is such that we should suppose any educated man of his contemporaries could have read it with ease. Where is such a book for us now? Is it too much to hope that the living Cicero of medicine will give us a manual of the laws of exercise? It would not be easy to confer a greater physical benefit on mankind than a good treatise on that subject, written in a style that laymen could understand, free from the technicalities of the craft. Or will medical men take the bold line of denying the value of training, and say that it is good only for the racing ground, and may be safely neglected by the generality of people? We think that would prove a rash answer. For something like a thousand years the most civilized peoples of the world regarded gymnastics as a most important part of the education of their youth. The greatest of their physicians spoke and wrote of them as an integral part of the healing art. The words *ἰατρός* and *γυμναστής* are found constantly together, as if they were brethren in science. Galen actually wrote a long treatise on the question whether the rules of health pertained more to the physician or the trainer, and came to the conclusion that it is the duty of the physician to guide his contemporaries in the whole management of the body, sick or well, and not to regard it as his sole business to cure diseases. Of this management he says exercises are a most important part, and cannot be neglected by the physician who understands his art. He cites with

* We fear it is scarcely uncharitable to conclude that it is because they do not know how to answer it. No one can help feeling considerable distrust of the state of medical knowledge after the perusal of such a book as "Notes on Cholera," by Dr. George Johnson. Whether his theory be right or wrong, on which we are not competent to form an opinion, but which is understood to have received the unqualified approval of perhaps the most eminent physician now living, he proves indisputably that although cholera has been scourging the world for more than thirty years, no medical man has hitherto known anything about it, or even set to work the right way to investigate it. No wonder that they leave us to ourselves in smaller matters. But the teacher who wrote *τῶν ἰατρῶν οἱ χαρίεντες πολλὰ πραγματεύονται περὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος γνῶσιν* did not, we take it, speak of anatomy merely, but of everything that can possibly concern or affect the living body in health or disease, and we cannot conceive a better maxim for a physician than that maxim so interpreted.

approval the example of Hippocrates, Diocles, Praxagoras, Philotimus, and Herophilus, each of whom, he tells us, made himself acquainted with all the art of managing the body.* He illustrates his theory in every part of his works by continually recurring discussions of the use and benefit of bodily exercises. The treatise which stands next to the one already adverted to is one on the use of the ball, which he recommends in preference to every other exercise. Finally, we may remark that in this he only follows the example of every medical writer of eminence, from Hippocrates downwards. If, then, modern writers are right in entirely neglecting this department of medical science, and leaving us to our own devices, we must conclude that the most sharpsighted people that ever lived on the face of the earth—the people who of all others had the best opportunities of observing the affections to which the human frame is liable,—for in those days the naked body was no unfamiliar sight,—and the effects of exercise upon it, were altogether mistaken in their deductions, and busied themselves for hundreds of years in inquiries that were after all of no importance. We do not think many persons whose opinion is of any value will readily acquiesce in such a conclusion. On the whole, we venture to repeat, that any physician who will address his mind to the subject, and write a good treatise for the guidance of young men in that department of self-management which belonged to the *aleiptæ* of old, will confer an inestimable benefit not only on the young men who frequent the racing grounds of Oxford, Cambridge, or London, but on his countrymen at large.

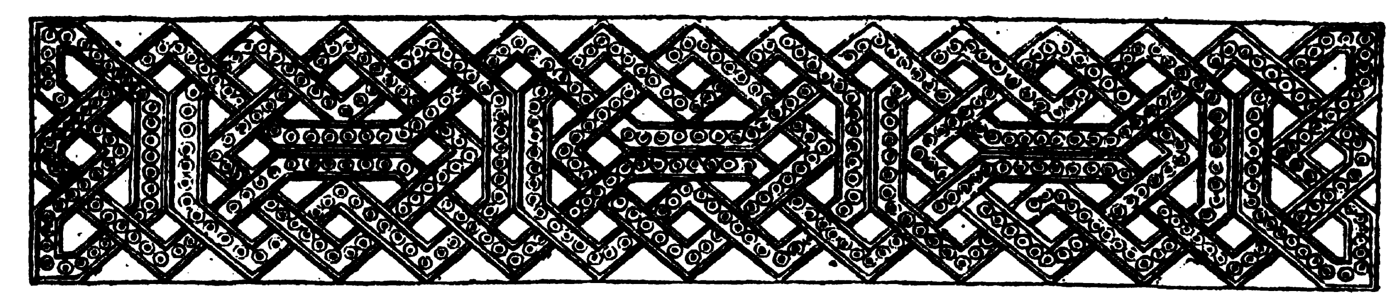
There remains one topic, the ungracious but very necessary one, of saying that too many teachers and parents contribute their share to the evils attendant on these youthful strifes. We allude to the unreasonable exaggeration of the value of success in such contentions. Sometimes it is the father, sometimes the master, who is in fault; sometimes both. Very few have the moral courage to recommend youthful exercises as good in themselves for manhood and godliness, and to despise the argument of emulation. They recommend a boy to make himself temperate and strong, not that he may run well a manly and Christian course through the world, but that he may run better than A or B at the next Oxford and Cambridge sports, or that his school may beat some other school at cricket next season. We at once declare our utter contempt and abhorrence of such an argument. If successful rivalry is to be the end of athletic exercises, we simply

* In his third book, "*De Sanitate tuenda*," he speaks in high terms of the writings of Theon of Alexandria. Now this Theon began life as an athlete, then he became a trainer, and finally a physician. We may remark, in passing, that the whole of the second and third books of Galen's treatise on health is devoted to a discussion of exercises, baths, and rubbing, and the author addresses himself, he tells us, to men who have in view not high athletic condition, but simply health.

wish they may vanish off the face of the earth. Let there by all means be friendly struggles in the open field between the Universities or between schools, but do not let success in them be the end proposed for diligence. We may be asked what reason we have for thinking that parents or teachers do exaggerate the importance of such success. We appeal, in reply, to the notoriety of the fact. It is not the least of the reasons which made an eminent tutor in one of the Universities express in our hearing a jocose wish for "the abolition by Act of Parliament of the fathers and mothers of all lads coming up to college." A young friend of ours, an adept at all manly exercises, was complaining to us one day of the opposition of his father to his favourite pursuits. "But I've found out," he continued, "that whenever I win, the governor boasts of it to his friends in the city." As for masters, we must say that many of them treat the school sports as if they were of far more importance than the school studies. We know an instance of a father going down to one of the great schools to see the master in whose house his son boarded. He wanted to know how his boy was going on. He stayed three quarters of an hour, trying in vain to draw the conversation to the subject of his visit. Nothing could he get from the master but idle talk of the prospects of the school at the next match at something or other. As soon as he got home, he very naturally wrote a letter to say that he should remove his boy at the end of the half. We could give other examples of the same sort in plenty. But we decline the invidious task. We are content with indicating the evil, and leaving it to the judgment of those of our readers who are conversant with the tone taken in many schools, or by many parents, in such matters.

We have thus endeavoured, in a very cursory and superficial manner, to draw attention to what we seriously believe to be at this moment a subject very important in several points of view. We are sensible that we write at a disadvantage in some particulars, from our own utter ignorance both of athletic exercises and of the art of medicine. But we only profess to give a lay view of the matter, and all our desire is to induce those who are competent to do so to discuss it in all its bearings. We have endeavoured to point out the evils which often accompany these exercises as at present practised, and we assert at the same time our belief that they are merely accidental, and can be got clear rid of without diminishing either the usefulness or attractiveness of such sports. In proof of this we think we may point to cricket. We can sincerely say that nothing will give us truer pleasure than to find any one able to prove that betting on amateur pedestrians or boats' crews is unknown at Oxford and Cambridge and in Government offices; that athletic exercises are practised in a way conducive both to health and morals; and that schoolmasters

and fathers are as a body utterly indifferent to whether their boys win or lose. Some may think the whole subject unworthy to stand side by side with the grave arguments to which this *Review* is chiefly devoted. This we cannot concede. It certainly admits of being treated in a somewhat lighter manner than many of these, and possibly our readers may consider we have availed ourselves to the full of this admission. Well, we must hope they will forgive us. As the good Vicar of Wakefield said, one gets tired of being always grave. We may at all events respectfully recommend the ready resource of skipping. But we do maintain that the subject is worthy of, and at the present moment demands, the attention of wise and good men, clergy by no means excepted. In support of this proposition we may plead the example of the wisest of the fathers, who in his παιδαγωγὸς or "tutor," carefully discusses not only the exercises of the gymnasium, but much humbler details of dress and manners both of men and women; and we would advise no one to say he did ill until he has read and well considered what the good priest had to say.



IRISH CHURCH POLITICS AND CHURCH HISTORY.

Essays on the Irish Church. By Clergymen of the Established Church in Ireland. James Parker & Co. 1866.

The Case of the Church Establishment in Ireland Considered. A Charge. By WILLIAM FITZGERALD, D.D., Bishop of Killaloe. Dublin: Hodges & Smith. 1866.

The Alleged Conversion of the Irish Bishops to the Reformed Religion at the Accession of Queen Elizabeth, and the assumed Descent of the Present Established Hierarchy in Ireland from the Ancient Irish Church, Disproved. By W. MAZIERE BRADY, D.D. London: Longmans. 1866.

THE readers of Sir Walter Scott are familiar with the story of Louis XI. of France and Martius Galeotti. When the king had resolved to put the astrologer to death, and had given secret orders to his attendants to execute him the instant he quitted the royal presence, he paused to ask him whether his skill in divination would enable him to foretell the hour of his own death. The astrologer replied that the stars had not declared this secret, but only showed that his death would take place exactly twenty-four hours before that of the king. The superstitious monarch immediately countermanded the order for the astrologer's execution, and watched nervously over the health of him whom he had a few minutes before determined to destroy.

This story not inaptly represents the change in the feeling with which Churchmen in England regard the Church establishment in Ireland. The growing unpopularity of the latter, and the agitation to which it gave rise, were felt to be a source of weakness and discredit to the Church in England. There was, moreover, considerable divergence of sentiment and opinion between the two branches of the

Church, such as might naturally be expected under such widely different circumstances. There was a very general wish, more frequently perhaps felt than expressed, to sever the connection with so unpopular a relative, and abandon the Church in Ireland to its fate. The doomed Church, however, was not slow to point out, on better evidence than the astrologer's planets, that the horoscope of the Church in England was bound up with her own; that every principle upon which the one Church was assailed could be applied to the other; and that the comparative security of the Church in England was little better than that promised by Cyclops to Ulysses—that he should be devoured last.

Every year has added force and significance to this line of argument. It was quite impossible not to see that, whatever might be the feelings of Roman Catholics, it was not they who led the attacks upon the Irish Establishment in the House of Commons, but English dissenters and friends of the Liberation Society. Men who had always evinced a supreme contempt for everything Irish, and an intense dislike to everything connected with the Papacy, suddenly manifested a stronger feeling for the wrongs of Irish Roman Catholics than the aggrieved parties seemed themselves to feel. It became palpable that they regarded the Establishment in Ireland merely from a strategical point of view, and saw in it the means of undermining all religious establishments, and ultimately destroying the Church establishment in England.

Whatever be the cause, the agitation against the Church in Ireland has been gathering strength from year to year. From all sides a chorus of hostility, distrust, and abuse has arisen in newspapers and reviews. There are innumerable indications of a coming storm. A pamphlet like Dr. Brady's, which at another time might have attracted little attention, as handling rather an historical than a political question, has in a short time run through several editions, and been largely quoted, both in approval and condemnation. Several recent charges by Irish prelates have discussed the position and prospects of their Church with more or less fulness; and one of them, the Bishop of Killaloe's, is almost wholly occupied with the question. A volume of Essays has also appeared, which shows how the critical position of their Church is regarded by some of her more thoughtful sons. We propose to give a short review of these publications, which throw sufficient light upon the views of Irish Churchmen; and we wish to direct the attention of their brethren in England to the question, if it were only for this reason,—that every principle which is now carried into action, every change which takes place, in the status and property of the Irish Church, will powerfully influence future legislation upon similar questions in England.

The volume of Essays upon the Irish Church is not only creditable as the expression of thoughtfulness and liberality of sentiment on the part of Irish Churchmen, but valuable as affording, within the compass of a moderate and readable volume, the information which so many need upon this important topic. Two of the essays are from the pen of an ex-fellow of Trinity College, Dublin—the Rev. James Byrne, now Dean of Clonfert—a clergyman well known for his abilities as a writer and speaker, as well as for his liberality of opinion. These essays deal with two difficult questions. One is upon "The general principles of the establishment and endowment of religious bodies by the State, with special reference to Ireland." The other treats of the "Influences exerted on Ireland by the Irish Church Establishment." These subjects are ably and temperately handled, without a shadow of the intolerance and illiberality towards other churches which are so often attributed to Irish clergymen. Another of the essays gives an "Account of the property and statistics of the Irish Church," written by Rev. A. Lee, who is already known by his publication of statistics of the same kind. The two other essays are historical. One by Rev. A. W. Edwards, chaplain to the Bishop of Derry, gives a plain and concise "Historical sketch of the Church of Ireland." The other, "On the difficulties of the Irish Church," written by Rev. William Anderson, a rector in Donegal, is also historical, and is an attempt to disentangle from the history of the past, the causes which have hindered the extension and usefulness of the Church in Ireland. These essays furnish a useful manual for all those who may be imperfectly acquainted with the facts and principles that must influence the coming struggle. We trust that they may find their way into the hands of many of our legislators, and be regarded as the expression of thoughtful and liberal minds in the Irish Church.

The historical facts brought prominently forward in some of these essays can only remotely affect the settlement of the questions which may be submitted to Parliament; but they are most important, as tending to remove prejudices which have been allowed to affect injuriously the general question. There is a feeling of shame in the minds of all intelligent Englishmen, when they glance back upon the policy of their nation in Ireland in past times, and a determination to make amends at any hazard. But there is a danger of their doing as much mischief by their hasty benevolence as their ancestors did by contempt and oppression. Pained by hearing bygone errors so incessantly appealed to, they are inclined to make some wholesale sacrifice, to give some public proof of their repentance for the past. As the land question in Ireland (the old sore which has never ceased to run since the land of Ireland was forcibly wrested from its original owners) is one which it is most difficult to deal with, and impossible to settle

so as to gratify the popular wishes, there is an inclination to make a scapegoat of the Church establishment, and to sacrifice it to the demon of Celtic agitation. Mr. Anderson's calm retrospect will go far to convince his readers that the Church has not been the cause of the evils which undoubtedly exist, but that they have arisen from the marvellous blindness and intolerance of statesmen, which the Church has been unable to counteract. It is a very convenient doctrine to lay all the sins of the past upon the head of the Established Church, and then sacrifice it as a national holocaust. But we ought at least to pause and ask the question, whether the sacrifice is likely to produce any lasting reconciliation, or merely a demand for further victims. This cannot be answered without an appeal to history; and we must be satisfied to look disagreeable facts in the face. He is a bad physician who treats the symptoms, without dealing with the constitutional causes of disease.

There is one historical question which has been imported into this controversy, though it has in truth little to do with it, and is not likely to influence its settlement. This is the point discussed in Dr. Brady's pamphlet relative to the part taken by the Irish episcopate at the Reformation. It has generally been asserted by the most respectable Protestant historians, that of the twenty-six bishops who were in possession of Irish sees at the accession of Queen Elizabeth, A.D. 1558, twenty-four accepted the Reformation—that is, took the oath of supremacy, and consented to the adoption of the English liturgy,—though many of them may have continued attached to the Roman Church and doctrines. Thus it was considered that the corporate identity of the clerical body was unbroken by the Reformation; and that the orders which had been received from the ancient Irish Church were handed down in uninterrupted succession to the bishops and clergy of the present Established Church in Ireland. All this Dr. Brady very confidently denies, and he brings forward many ancient records in proof of his position. And though, as he himself remarks (p. 11), "It is not easy to perceive how questions of state policy at present can be affected by this asserted episcopal conversion," the question is one of too much interest to allow of our passing on to other topics without briefly reviewing Dr. Brady's arguments.

There are two questions treated of by Dr. Brady which must be carefully distinguished from one another, if we would understand the history of the Irish Church in the reign of Elizabeth.

These questions are,—

1. Has the present Church in Ireland received its orders by regular episcopal succession from the ancient Irish Church; or was there, as Dr. Brady maintains, a break in these orders in the reign of Elizabeth?

2. Were the bishops who retained their sees under Elizabeth really converted to the reformed faith?

As to 1, we have given the most careful consideration to Dr. Brady's arguments, but we cannot see that they overthrow the old theory. His facts are these. All the Irish bishops appointed during the first eight years of Elizabeth's reign (including Primate Loftus) were consecrated by Archbishop Curwen; the only prelate, according to Dr. Brady, who really embraced the reformed faith. Curwen had been consecrated, as well as received his orders, in England. Therefore, argues Dr. Brady, the Irish episcopate, which has received its orders through Loftus and Curwen, must be satisfied with a succession from the English episcopate, and not from St. Patrick and the ancient Irish Church. In this inference there is one palpable flaw. It was a rule of the universal Church since the time of the Council of Nice, that three bishops at least should take part in a consecration. This law was recognised and sanctioned in Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity, passed in Dublin in 1560, under the auspices of Curwen himself. This statute gave the archbishop power to call upon any Irish bishops to assist at a consecration under penalty of præmunire. Can we doubt that Curwen was assisted by two at least of the Irish bishops? Ware distinctly states (though Dr. Brady has strangely overlooked the passage) that Loftus "was consecrated by Hugh Curwen, Archbishop of Dublin, *and other bishops*, about the beginning of March, 1562." It is true that we have no record of the names of these bishops, but it is almost certain that they were Irish bishops, and that through them the present Church has received the orders of the ancient Church of Ireland. Otherwise we must believe that Curwen, in express defiance of the universal law of the Church and the rubrics of his own ordinal, and the Act of Uniformity, passed two years before, ventured to consecrate the new primate unassisted by other bishops. This difficulty might indeed be obviated by supposing that he called in the assistance of English prelates; but this alternative is so improbable that it is not necessary seriously to discuss it. While, therefore, we acknowledge the facts which Dr. Brady has brought forward as to the prominent part taken by Curwen in these consecrations, we believe that the probability is infinitesimally small that he was not assisted by at least two of the Irish bishops on each of these occasions.

We must equally dissent from Dr. Brady's conclusion, that the present Roman Catholic episcopate has derived its orders from the ancient Irish Church. His argument on this head is singularly weak. He himself acknowledges that "no documents of an official and formal character, such as extracts from a register, have, it is true, been produced to show that any of these twenty-five prelates"

(*i. e.*, who were in office at Elizabeth's accession) "laid hands in consecration upon any of their successors whom the Pope appointed" (p. 39). Upon what evidence then, *not official and formal,* does Dr. Brady rely? He produces none whatever, except the fact, so well known already, that the Pope, in his consistory at Rome, from time to time appointed successors to most of the Irish bishops when they died. That many of these never went to Ireland, and that, if consecrated, they were consecrated abroad, and not by Irish bishops, has hitherto been generally believed. But, in the absence of all documentary evidence, Dr. Brady pronounces it "*unlikely* that the twenty-five Marian prelates refused to consecrate those whom the Pope designated to the various bishoprics as they became vacant" (p. 40). This is mere guess-work; and those persons who take the same view that we do of the character of the Irish bishops, will guess the other way, and think it very unlikely that these pliant prelates would do any public act (such as consecrating a rival bishop to a see already filled by the Crown) which might expose them to deprivation.* We must therefore express our decided dissent from Dr. Brady's guesses, and our conviction that in this case, as in the case of Curwen's consecrations, he has filled up the blanks in his documentary evidence in a manner contrary to all the inherent probabilities of the case.

It is upon the other question treated of by Dr. Brady, namely, the conversion of the Marian bishops, that there is most room for doubt. It is to this point that the following sentence from Mr. Froude's letter to himself, quoted by Dr. Brady, refers. Mr. Froude observes,—

> "I have examined, I believe thoroughly, all the Irish State Papers in the Record Office during and from the time of Henry VIII. to 1574, and it is from them, in connection with the voluminous MSS. in Spain on the same subject, that I draw my conclusion respecting the supposed conversion of the Irish bishops and clergy to the Reformation. *I am thoroughly convinced that (with the exception of the Archbishop of Dublin) not one of Queen Mary's bishops, nor any one of the clergy beyond the Pale went over to the Reformation.* Of the clergy scarcely any within the Pale went over. The English Government, as their powers extended, appointed new bishops to the Irish sees, but it was not till late in the reign of Elizabeth that even this was done."—(Pp. 34-5.)

Mr. Froude's opinion is unquestionably entitled to the greatest

* No doubt some of the northern prelates, who were entirely beyond the jurisdiction of the English Government, might not have been afraid to consecrate the Pope's nominees; and in the case of the Romish Archbishop of Armagh (Fleming, Loftus's rival) and some of his successors, this is not very "*unlikely*." But even if the Roman Catholic succession was thus maintained in the north during the reign of Elizabeth (of which we have no proof), we have strong reason for supposing that it was not kept up. In the reign of James I. the Roman Catholic hierarchy was reduced to a single prelate—Ryan of Killaloe. See King's History, vol. iii.

respect, and the fuller statement of his views, subsequently published in the tenth volume of his history, will materially affect the views and statements of future writers. But as we cannot accept Mr. Froude's conclusions without considerable modification, we must give them more fully in his own words. He says,—

"Of the prelates who were in possession of their sees at Elizabeth's accession, the Archbishop of Dublin, who had changed with every change, undoubtedly gave his countenance to the revolution. The Bishops of Meath and Kildare refused, and were deprived; and *there is no evidence that any other bishop in all Ireland, who was in office at Queen Mary's death, either accepted the reformed Prayer-book, or abjured the authority of the Pope.* But for the question of religion the towns would have been loyal."*

He adds, in a note,—

"I cannot but express my astonishment at a proposition maintained by Bishop Mant and others, that the whole hierarchy of Ireland went over to the Reformation with the Government. Dr. Mant discovers that the Bishop of Kildare and the Bishop of Meath were deprived for refusing the oath of supremacy. The rest, he infers, must have taken the oath, because they remained in their places. The English Government, unfortunately for themselves, had no such opportunity as Dr. Mant's argument supposes for the exercise of their authority. *The Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishops of Meath and Kildare, were alone under English jurisdiction.* When Adam Loftus was made Archbishop of Armagh, the primacy became titularly Protestant. But Loftus resided in Dublin, the see was governed by a bishop in communion with the Pope, and the latter, and not the former, was regarded in Ireland, even by the correspondents of the English Government, as the lawful possessor of the see.

"In a survey of the country supplied to Cecil in 1571, after death and deprivation had enabled the Government to fill several sees with English nominees, the Archbishops of Armagh, Tuam, and Cashel, with almost every one of the bishops of the respective provinces, are described as *Catholici et Confœderati.*

"The Archbishop of Dublin, with the Bishops of Kildare, Ossory, and Ferns, are alone reckoned as 'Protestantes.'—*MSS., Ireland, Rolls House.*"

Strongly as this is expressed, and high as Mr. Froude's authority stands, we cannot accept these statements. Mr. Froude's own history, and some of the documents so industriously ransacked by Dr. Brady, supply materials which refute the sentences we have printed in italics. If it were asserted that none of the Marian bishops except Curwen were really converted to the reformed faith, or heartily endeavoured to propagate it, this might be reconcilable with the facts of history. But when Mr. Froude says, "There is no evidence that *any other bishop in all Ireland* either accepted the reformed Prayer-book, or abjured the authority of the Pope," we must protest against this sweeping conclusion. The following seems to be a more probable solution of the facts which have come down to us.

* Froude's "England," vol. x., p. 481.

The authority of the English Government in Ireland was much stronger at the accession of Elizabeth than fifteen years later. Mr. Froude describes that period as one of increasing anarchy and confusion; and he says, in the conclusion of his narrative, "The year 1573 ended in the universal destruction of the English power in Ireland" (vol. x., p. 573). But at an earlier period this was not the case. English power was then much stronger. It prevailed at least in the southern towns, many of which were the seats of bishops. Mr. Froude says,—

"In the harbour towns in Cork, Waterford, Youghal, Limerick, to some extent even in Galway, trade began to grow, and with trade a sense of the value of order and law. The steady hand of Sidney had made itself felt, especially in the south; the pretended right of the chiefs to levy tribute upon the citizens had been abolished; and for a circuit of a few miles about the walls the farmers were cultivating the ground on some better terms than as being sheep to be periodically shorn by the O or Mac of the adjoining castle."

The mayor of Waterford wrote to Cecil, June 20th, 1567,—

"God be praised, the poor people which were so miserably overhaled, begin to savour what it is to live under a most worthy prince, by whose providence they are of slaves become subjects, having felt the benefit of justice whereof they never tasted before, such was the tyranny of their Irish lords."*

This may be exaggerated, but it shows that Waterford was really under English rule, and it confirms the words already quoted from Mr. Froude, that "but for the question of religion the towns would have been loyal."

A year or two later, Philip II. of Spain sent Diego Ortiz to Ireland. In his report he gives a good account of Waterford as a trading town, but remarks that "*there is little order among them* (the Irish) *beyond the jurisdiction of the towns.*" Of the state of religion he says, "They all look to Spain to deliver them from English tyranny, to save their souls, and *give them back the blessed mass.* The mass, indeed, they everywhere use in their own houses."†

Now all this is quite inconsistent with the idea that English control over the bishops ended with the limits of the pale; and that the prelates continued in their seats, neither regarding the royal summons to a Parliament and Convocation in Dublin, nor altering the religious services that had been in use in Queen Mary's time. Don Diego's statement (and that in reference, be it observed, to places not lying within the pale), that they looked to Spain to "*give them back the blessed mass,*" and "*used the mass in their own houses,*"

* Froude's "England," vol. x., p. 477. † *Ibid.*, 480.

shows plainly that it was not used in the churches. Such a change could not have taken place without the active intervention of some of the bishops and clergy. The supposition that the prelates, in places like Waterford or Kilkenny, could safely despise the enmity of the Government, and refuse the oath of supremacy, is not borne out by Mr. Froude's own narrative. What he says of Archbishop Loftus residing in Dublin and not taking possession of his see (Armagh) proves nothing with regard to English authority in the southern towns. The north was hopelessly disturbed. In three dioceses—Derry, Raphoe, and Clogher,—the Government was unable to interfere, and that state of things did really exist which Mr. Froude represents as existing everywhere outside the pale. During a great part of Elizabeth's reign the north was in a state of chronic rebellion; and a short time after Loftus's consecration, O'Neil burned the cathedral of Armagh, some say because an attempt had been made to introduce the reformed service there.* But we have evidence of a more positive kind as to the extent of English jurisdiction over the bishops. The list of those who attended the Parliament of 1560 is preserved in the Rolls Office of Dublin, and contains the names of twenty bishops. Dr. Brady declares that this roll is "a list not of the peers who were present but of the peers who were summoned" (p. 35). But of this he gives no proof, and the words of the document itself give a different impression. It is headed, "Nomina dominorum spiritualium . . . *in* quodam Parliamento & cet." Moreover, there were twenty-six prelates in Ireland at the time. Why do only twenty appear in the list, if it is the list of all who were summoned? The evidence of the document itself is decidedly in favour of the fact that twenty bishops attended the Parliament and Convocation held to establish the Protestant religion, and that out of those who did attend only two refused their acquiescence and were deprived of their sees. But Dr. Brady has another hypothesis to fall back upon. He says, "There is no evidence that they were present at all in that Parliament, nor that they, if they did attend on any day, were present on that particular day when the penal laws of Elizabeth were said to have been passed" (p. 35). We have seen that there is evidence of the bishops' attendance, and surely, whether they attended on that particular day or not, they must have taken the oath of supremacy, or they would have shared the fate of the two recusant bishops. At all events, if the bishops outside the pale attended at all, it proves that the English jurisdiction was both more widely spread and more influential than Mr. Froude's theory would have us to suppose.

But Dr. Brady supplies us with sufficient evidence to overthrow

* See Leland's "History of Ireland," book iv., chap. 1.

Mr. Froude's assertion that *not one* of the Marian bishops "accepted the reformed Prayer-book, or abjured the authority of the Pope." Dr. Brady shows, from a State paper dated 28th May, 1559, that Thomas O'Fihel, Bishop of Leighlin, "*took the oath of allegiance and abjuration of all foreign authority* and jurisdiction in that year" (p. 22). The probability is, that this prelate conformed entirely; for not only does his name appear, like those of others, on the roll of the Parliament of 1560, but in 1564 he was appointed, along with Loftus, Brady, and other known supporters of the Reformation, "to be a commissioner for inquiry into heretical opinions, offences against divine service, and other ecclesiastical crimes."* Can we doubt that this bishop, who took the oath of allegiance in 1559, and held a royal commission to inquire into heretical opinions in 1564, was ready, in 1562, to assist in the consecration of Loftus, if required to do so?

But his case is not singular. From all the evidence supplied by Dr. Brady, there is nothing to lead us to suppose that the Bishops of Ferns and Waterford refused to conform, and we have already found incidental proof in the case of the latter, from Don Diego's account of the state of religion in Waterford. Even the Bishop of Tuam† took the oath of allegiance, and in 1560 recommended (in concert with the Bishop of Elphin) "William Laly for confirmation in the deanery of Tuam, and other church preferments."‡ This does not agree with the theory that these prelates lived beyond the reach of English jurisdiction, and were careless about submission to the Government.

Two of the prelates, Cashel and Limerick, were appointed Royal Commissioners for a gaol delivery in Munster, on August 2nd, 1560.§ Is this consistent with their having absented themselves (as Dr. Brady would have us believe) from the Parliament held a few months before? Or is it consistent with the assertion of Mr. Froude, that they never took the oath of supremacy, or abjured the authority of the Pope?

The probability seems to be, that the majority of the bishops took part in the Parliament of 1560; and that in many of the leading towns they carried out, in a great measure, the changes prescribed. But their hearts were still with the Church of Rome, and many of them kept up a correspondence with the Vatican, and looked forward to a Spanish invasion to enable them to revert to the old state of things. It need not surprise us that three archbishops and eight bishops (in 1569) signed a requisition to the King of Spain to come to the assistance of the Irish, and place a Catholic prince of his own blood upon the throne of Ireland;|| or that in 1571, as English

* Brady, pp. 22, 33. † *Ibid.*, p. 30. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 29.
§ *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 26. || Froude, vol. x., p. 495.

power became weaker, the Archbishops of Armagh, Tuam, and Cashel, with nearly all their suffragan bishops, were described (in the report made to Cecil) as "*Catholici et Confœderati.*"* These facts are all consistent with one another, though they give us a low estimate of the Marian prelates, and bear out the statement of the Bishop of Meath, who in 1565 described all the Irish clergy, "*from bishop to petty canon,*" as "*disguised dissemblers,*" "*dumb dogs,*" and "*living enemies to the truth.*"† We have so often differed from Dr. Brady, that we are glad for once to endorse his opinion, when he says that "the measures adopted by the Government for the spread of the Reformation were well calculated to produce *dissemblers* and hypocrites;" and such we believe the majority of the Marian prelates to have been.

The truth, then, seems to lie midway between the statements of Bishop Mant and Mr. Froude. The Marian bishops did indeed *outwardly* accept the Reformation; but many of them never ceased to intrigue for the overthrow of the new faith and of the English power; and as that power became weaker, they became more openly rebellious. In fact, the bishops, like the native chiefs, vacillated between loyalty and disaffection, according to the aspect of the times. We revert, then, to the judgment pronounced long ago by Dr. Leland, in his History of Ireland, upon the Marian bishops;—that "the greater part of the prelates were such as quietly enjoyed their sees by conforming occasionally to different modes of religion."‡

We have been led away by this discussion too far from our main object, which is, to show how far the works before us indicate the nature of the coming struggle, and the prospects of the Irish Church. The volume of Essays can scarcely fail to raise the cause of that Church in the estimation of English readers, and to guard them against the endless misrepresentations and sophisms which are continually issuing from the press. The following passage, from the opening of Dean Byrne's first essay, will show the manly and liberal spirit in which he enters upon the discussion:—

"The question of the establishment of the Irish Church has been fairly opened by the systematic attacks which have latterly been made on the system of her endowments; and it demands a free and full examination as a great constitutional question. It is not by the traditions of ecclesiastical or political parties that that question should be judged, but solely in reference to the good of Ireland as an integral part of the United Kingdom. For as the good of the nation is the only end for which a national institution ought to exist, it is only as conducive to that end that its existence can be maintained with justice or defended with honour. The Irish Church disdains to save her position in the constitution by clinging to the skirts of the English Church, or appealing to the Act of Union. She depends not on

* Froude's "England," p. 481.

† Brady, p. 34.

‡ Leland's History, book iv., chap. 1.

the patronage of English Churchmen, nor even on the pledge of a national compact; and if her connection with the State as the Established Church of Ireland be not for the good of Ireland, let that connection be severed at once.

"It is not only, however, this Irish question which has been raised by the attacks on the Irish Church Establishment. For the quarter from which those attacks come, plainly reveals that the Irish Church is assailed because it is looked on as the weakest of the Established Churches, and with the ultimate prospect that its downfall will be followed by the downfall of the others. This, indeed, is distinctly intimated by Professor Goldwin Smith, in his very able work on 'Irish History and Irish Character,' the last sentence of which is, 'In Ireland, where the members of the dominant Church are in a small and hopeless minority, and the Establishment is clearly a political evil, the great question of Church and State will probably be first raised with effect, and receive its most rational solution.' The attack on the Irish Church is but the opening of the war against all religious establishments, which perhaps for many a day will engage the struggles of political parties; and it is in connection with this general question, and as bearing on its ultimate solution, that the Irish Church question should be viewed. Indeed, the Irish question can be treated only by applying the general principles of Church establishments to the particular case of Ireland; and it is, therefore, those general principles that I would now consider, noticing their application to Ireland at the present time."*

Dean Byrne distinguishes carefully between two things which are often confounded, viz., *Establishment* and *Endowment*. He says,—

"It is necessary in the first place to explain what constitutes a religious establishment; and it is especially necessary to distinguish this from mere support with funds supplied by the State. In Ireland, for example, the Presbyterian ministers receive support from the State, yet Presbyterianism is not the established religion. The State contributes to the support of the Presbyterian minister when a sufficient congregation has chosen him for their pastor, but it provides itself the ministrations of the Established Church for all the nation. And this adoption of a Church by the State as its organ for the religious training of the nation, and the provisions which are made by the State for its due performance of this office, are what constitute the establishment of a Church. Exclusive endowment is no necessary part of Church establishment; but on the contrary, as the welfare of the entire nation is the object for which Government exists, the adoption of one Church as the State Church presses all the more forcibly on the attention of the civil power the claims of those who conscientiously decline that Church's ministrations."†

English Churchmen should bear carefully in mind that both these questions are at issue; and that the legislative principles by which they are to be regulated will, in point of fact, be decided for the whole kingdom by the fate of the Church in Ireland. If her revenues are simply taken away, and her connection with the State dissolved, the fondest wish of the supporters of the Liberation Society will be thereby accomplished. It will be the triumph of the voluntary principle

* "Essays on Irish Church," pp. 1-3.

† *Ibid.*, p. 3.

against both endowments and establishments. If, on the other hand, the Irish Church is only disestablished, but still allowed to retain its revenues, wholly or in part, it will go far to forward the views of those Churchmen who desire to sever the connection between Church and State in England, but who have no idea of the Church being despoiled of her endowments, and left to trust solely to the voluntary principle for support. Again, if the revenues of the Irish Church are in part secularized, *or* handed over to other religious bodies, in either case a precedent is established that will be applied, sooner or later, to Scotland, Wales, and England.

Dean Byrne contends strenuously for the Church in Ireland, that it ought to continue both established and endowed. He argues for the advantages of an established church in general, and contends that the existing Church in Ireland is entitled to that place, not as representing any numerical majority, but as embodying the opinions of the wisest and noblest spirits, and being best fitted to lead the religious life of the nation. But Dean Byrne's liberality shows itself both in his admission (p. 56) of the necessity for internal reform in the system of his own Church, and in his advocacy of the endowment of other churches. His principle is, *establish one Church*, and *endow all the religious bodies* which are fitted for and will accept endowment. Whether his readers agree with him or not in this conclusion, they cannot but respect his able and temperate advocacy of these views. The following remarks upon the endowment of the Church of Rome will be read with interest:—

"It seems, indeed, to be contrary to the policy of the Church of Rome that its priests in this kingdom should be endowed by the State; and no doubt it is highly important for the Pope, that so considerable an influence on English politics as the Irish Roman Catholic Church, should be quite independent of the English Government, and undivided in its allegiance to himself. *Yet the offer of endowment might be made, and even if refused it could not be without its effect.* The Roman Catholic laity would see in it an evidence of the liberality of the State, and could hardly sympathize with the preference shown by the priesthood for their own pockets, and their willingness to transfer the burden to the State would increase, according as experience showed that there was little to be gained by priestly agitation from a legislature disposed of itself to legislate fairly for all classes. The great body of the Roman Catholics would thus show an increasing disposition to accept the offer of endowment, and the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland an increasing tendency to coalesce completely with the rest of the United Kingdom."*

This leads us to notice the recent charge of the Bishop of Killaloe, one of the ablest and most learned of the Irish prelates. No one who wishes to form an opinion should neglect to read the Bishop's terse

* "Essays," p. 35.

and vigorous statement of the practical questions that arise in connection with the Irish Church establishment. His main object will appear plainly from the following sentences:—

"These periodical attacks are, no doubt, sufficiently galling, even when they are attended with no immediate danger. 'No matter how clear your innocence,' said Dr. Johnson, 'you would not choose to be tried for your life every Monday morning.' Yet still I cannot but think that in proportion as our case is frequently and thoroughly examined, and examined not as a speculative but a practical question, it will appear less and less unreasonable to the common sense of the legislature.

"As a practical question, it is not whether the maintenance of the Establishment in the Irish provinces is in some important respects anomalous and beset with many difficulties; but it is, whether any other course is open which is not beset with greater difficulties upon the whole."*

The Bishop then gives a brief and graphic sketch of the historical antecedents which led to the establishment of the Church, and the causes which hindered its progress. He does not hesitate to say,—

"But I am convinced that all other causes of our want of success put together were as nothing in comparison with the fatal, blighting influence of the penal laws—laws framed apparently for the express purpose of crushing down the Roman Catholic population into a state of hopeless poverty, ignorance, discontent, and undying hostility to everything that bore the hateful name of English.

"For these the Church of this country cannot, I think, be fairly held responsible. They were the work of politicians, not of Churchmen. They were made, indeed, to secure what was called the Protestant interest; but that interest was not the interest of the Church. On the contrary, it is notorious that many of those who most zealously prosecuted this unrelenting course of oppression towards the Roman Catholics, were persons who lost no opportunity of plundering the property, and insulting the persons and the profession, of the ministers of their own nominal creed."†

The Bishop thus states the question which he proposes to discuss:—

"The question now is, whether the courses closed by circumstances against our forefathers are more open to us; whether it would now be practicable and wise, either to abandon altogether the hope of maintaining an Established Church in Ireland, or to establish the Roman Catholic Church alone, or in conjunction with the Protestant?"—(P. 11.)

The Bishop then shows how the first of these measures would lead to similar attacks in Scotland and Wales. His view of the effect of simply depriving the Church of State support is not encouraging. He says,—

"I have not the least fear that the Protestant Church, if left without State support, would disappear. But it would be placed in circumstances in which it would be strongly tempted to appeal more urgently to the passions

* Bishop of Killaloe's "Charge," pp. 6-7. † *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 11.

of men than would be wholesome either for itself or for the empire. Certainly, if the immediate result were that, through a great part of Ireland, the present machinery of the Church should be replaced by a net-work of missionary centres, supported largely by English contributions and worked more or less by the agency of Exeter Hall, I do not think that such a result would tend much to improve the tone of the Protestant community, or the temper of the Roman Catholic priesthood."—(P. 13.)

He then states his opinion of the result of an endowment of the Roman Catholic Church :—

"I must freely say that, in my opinion, the schemes which have found favour with many most intelligent and deservedly respected persons for a modified and subordinate endowment of the Roman Catholic clergy, side by side with the present Protestant Church, appear to me to promise very little. It is manifest that they would do nothing to satisfy that active party who are opposed to all religious endowments. On the contrary, composed as that party is principally, of Protestant dissenters in England and Scotland, there can be little doubt that such a plan would exasperate them more than the maintenance of the existing state of things. Such a plan would also disgust and offend all those who, though not opposed to the principle of a Church establishment, yet regard the endowment of such a church as the Roman Catholic as a betrayal of the highest trust which the State has to administer—the trust of maintaining true and pure religion among its subjects. Nor while thus offending large and powerful parties in the empire, would such a plan do much to conciliate the very persons whom it is specially intended to please. The time when they could have been pleased by such an arrangement, if there ever really was such a time, has long since passed away. Whether the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland would be satisfied to accept a splendid and predominating establishment, with all, and something more than all, the rights and dignities attached to the Establishment in England, may be a question; but it is a wonder to me how so many can think that they would be permanently satisfied by a paltry and subordinate establishment, which could only make the sense of a disproportionate social position more keen and galling, and expose them to the suspicion of not merely taking a bribe, but a mean and wretched bribe, from England, of selling the birthright of the people for a mess of pottage. Indeed, as for what has been called the 'sentimental grievance' occasioned by the present Church establishment, I am far from saying that it has no existence, and far from sneering at it as if what is sentimental must needs be trifling or ridiculous. . . . Nothing less than a full admission of their claims by the State,—nothing less than an establishment in which the State should concede everything and they nothing—in which they should have all the same legal advantages as the United Church now enjoys in England, and have them subject to none of the restraints imposed upon that Church by the royal supremacy—would satisfy them now."*

The Bishop avows his readiness to enter into any plan of real reform. He says,—

"We should, for its own sake, not only not refuse, but cheerfully accept and encourage, any project of reform that can really improve the efficiency of the Church, or remove any real blots or scandals that disfigure its frame or

* "Charge," pp. 14-17.

its administration. It certainly is not likely that by any improvement of its efficiency we shall make it more acceptable to those who must, on their own principles, regard it as mischievous in proportion as it is efficient; but *we may do much to conciliate those who are at present lukewarm friends, or wholly apathetic*, and, at any rate—and this is the main point—we shall be doing our duty, and helping forward the great cause of true religion and godliness in the realm."*

It may seem strange, after this avowal, that the Bishop does not indicate the direction in which he conceives that reform is possible and desirable. Perhaps we have no right to expect this just now from one who, from his position, cannot propound a theory, unless he is prepared to embody it in action. Still we naturally feel disappointed at not receiving the guidance we need from the leaders and heads of our Church, for we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that we are on the eve of important ecclesiastical changes. Few thinking men believe that the Church in Ireland can remain exactly upon its present footing, unchanged from without or from within. It only remains to be decided what direction change is to take, whether it is to issue in reform and consolidation, or in mutilation and final destruction.

We feel sorely tempted to pass beyond our province as reviewers, and speculate upon the prospects and issue of the coming struggle. But we forbear, and will satisfy ourselves, in the present transition state of public opinion, with recommending strongly the perusal of the Essays, and Bishop FitzGerald's Charge, to all who wish to form an opinion,—though these publications rather afford some of the materials for forming a judgment than give any adequate solution of the questions in dispute. We cannot forbear, however, pointing out some leading principles that ought to guide English Churchmen in the choice of measures to which they may give their support.

1. Whatever plan may be proposed for redressing grievances and promoting religious equality, let Churchmen set their faces against the alienation of Church property to secular uses. That property is the reserve fund of the nation for religious purposes—the precious inheritance which has passed down to us, despite of ages of violence and turmoil. There can be no greater or more transparent fallacy than to assert that it is the inalienable property of any Church, just as private property belongs to a family. It is indeed held by an older title than any private property, but it is held as a *trust*, which the nation has every right to oversee and direct. But if the views of the Liberation Society were carried out, and this fund were withdrawn from religious uses to relieve local burdens (as poor-rates), or to support primary schools, it would be alienated irrevocably from its true purpose. In the former case, it would go to swell the profits of Irish

* "Charge," p. 20.

landlords; in the latter, it would merely lighten one item of imperial expenditure. In any case, it would set a fatal example, that would in the end work a similar result in England. So long, however, as the national Church property in Ireland is devoted to the maintenance of spiritual ministrations (whether in one or more churches), no precedent can be derived from Ireland for the disendowment of the English Church. Whoever may be in the enjoyment of the revenues of the Church, so long as they are not alienated for secular purposes, they remain available for religious uses, and their appropriation can be amended and altered from time to time by the legislature according to changes of circumstances and opinion.

So far from alienating the religious reserve fund of Ireland, the legislature ought rather to reclaim the 25 per cent. which was cut off, and to readjust the poor-rate upon tithe rent-charge in a more equitable manner. These changes would probably add £140,000 a year to the disposable funds. If it were necessary to add to this out of the public exchequer, it would be well to consider the expediency of purchasing back, at a fair valuation, the £80,000 a year tithe rent-charge which has been appropriated by laymen. But whatever may be done to increase the fund, let Churchmen oppose every proposition further to alienate and secularize the property of the Church.

2. Let it be remembered, in any attempt to promote religious equality, that there is no real equality between churches somewhat equally endowed, if one be entirely unshackled by State interference, while the other is hampered in all its movements by the control of the Government. If it be thought necessary, in furtherance of political schemes, to diminish the revenues of the Established Church, a compensation ought to be given in the restoration of her synodical government, and increased control over her diminished funds. Let all Churchmen strive earnestly to procure for the Church in Ireland a real autonomy in fiscal matters, parochial arrangements, and discipline, and they will more than make amends for loss of revenue, while establishing a precedent that may hereafter be applied usefully to England.

3. Whenever any new financial arrangement is made, a portion of the revenue (say that derivable from lands not required for glebe) ought to be left to the control of the Church authorities, without any local or parochial limitation, so that it could be employed wherever it is most needed by the changing circumstances of the Church. This would go far to rectify that worst of all anomalies, the absolute dearth of endowments in some of the most important parishes.

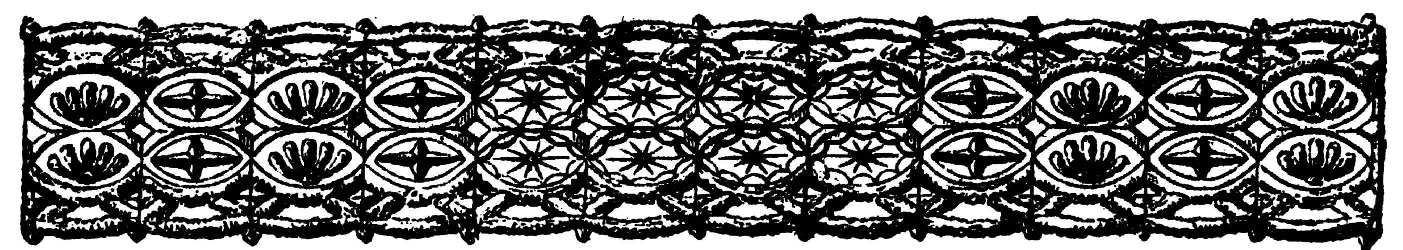
4. In any rearrangement of Church income, let Churchmen beware, above all, of the injurious influence exercised by a low scale of clerical remuneration, and especially by reducing all clerical incomes to the

same level, and that necessarily a low one. If the gross revenue of the Church be diminished, it will be far more conducive to its welfare to reduce the number of the clergy than the scale of their remuneration. The latter would inevitably lower not only their social status, but their educational standard. No Church reform is worthy of the name which deals only with those cases where large income is combined with little work, and fails to remedy the more disgraceful anomaly of heavy work without even a decent maintenance for the workman. Those who know the Church in Ireland know well that many of its most hard-working ministers live in a poverty which is a disgrace and scandal to the Church, and that many sink under the pressure of cares which liberal Church endowments ought surely to be able to remove.

These are the leading principles which ought to guide Churchmen in their action with regard to legislation upon the Church revenues in Ireland. Whether the various conflicting views and interests which must play their part in the settlement of the question, will allow these principles to be carried into practice, it is difficult to foresee. But any departure from them, on the part of the supporters of the Church in England, will be a suicidal abandonment of their own interest, and a heavy blow to their own branch of the Church.

JOHN C. MACDONNELL.

POSTSCRIPT.—Since the above was printed, a pamphlet has been published by Archdeacon Lee ("A Letter to His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, by William Lee, D.D., Archdeacon of Dublin"), in which Dr. Brady's statements are examined and answered in detail. To this letter we must refer all persons who desire to enter more minutely into the question of the episcopal succession in the Church of Ireland.



CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN GAUL.

Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule Antérieures au VIIIe Siècle. Réunies et Annotées par EDMOND LE BLANT. Two Volumes, 4to. Paris. 1865.

I.

NOTWITHSTANDING the havoc made in her historical records by successive wars and revolutions, France has had the good fortune to preserve a considerable number of early Christian monuments. These precious relics are not generally conspicuous for their beauty or their magnitude; and perhaps to their simplicity and their comparative obscurity it may in part be owing that they have escaped destruction. They consist principally, though not entirely, of personal memorials, of tombs and sepulchral inscriptions. They are met with in every part of the country, as far north as Amiens, and as far west as Bordeaux; but they abound most in the south and south-east, especially in the valley of the Rhone. Some remain still in their original positions; as, for instance, the venerable tombs of the cemetery, the Aliscamps, or Elysian field, at Arles, adjoining to which is the ancient church in which, according to the local tradition, St. Augustine was consecrated for his mission to England: but the greater part, after having been for centuries neglected or buried in the soil, have been enshrined in the splendid museums of Lyons, Toulouse, Marseilles, Narbonne, and other provincial centres, where, if they appeal less forcibly to the imagination than those which are still *in situ*, they are more secure from injury, and more easily accessible.

Following in the wake of Roman civilization, the Christian religion was introduced into Gaul, if not by the immediate successors of the apostles, as the national legends fondly assert, yet at a very early age. It appears to have penetrated wherever the language and manners of Italy had taken root; and in some districts it shared in the overthrow which the power of Rome sustained at the hands of the barbarian invaders from the North. Sepulchral inscriptions, mostly in the Latin, but occasionally in the Greek language, found even in districts most remote from Rome, attest at once the early introduction of Christianity, and the influence exercised by the Church in Italy upon her younger sister in Gaul. Italy indeed contains by far the most numerous and the most important collection of memorials of the primitive Church. Gaul cannot vie with the Catacombs: yet the Gallic inscriptions have a special interest of their own; and no one can gaze upon them without wishing for some means of bringing life out of the old stones, of interpreting the rude and almost illegible characters engraved upon them, and of making them tell their story of the faith, the affections, the persecutions, the ways of thought of those by whom or in whose honour they were erected. The thoughtful traveller may here and there have met with one of these heart-stirring relics which he has been able to decipher and understand; and the vivid glimpse which he has thus gained into a former age must have led him to think that if the information afforded by all the scattered fragments could be brought together and digested in a systematic and scientific manner, the early history of the Church would receive from such contemporary and undesigned testimony much valuable illustration, and perhaps some additional light.

Such a work, which the Chevalier de Rossi has done for Rome, has now been accomplished for the whole of Gaul, including in that term all the country west of the Rhine and the Alps, by the labours of M. le Blant. It is satisfactory to find that these two kindred spirits, working each in his own country, and independently of the other, have arrived at identical conclusions on all the main questions connected with the early Christian epigraphy. The work of M. le Blant, with its faithful fac-similes of the inscriptions, and its learned comments upon them, is the result of researches and studies continued through fifteen years. While poring over the epitaphs of the primitive Church, he has erected a lasting monument of the indefatigable industry, the critical acumen, the acquaintance with patristic theology, and the classical scholarship, which he has brought to bear upon the data, often obscure and fragmentary, that have come under his consideration.

The time has gone by in France, as in England, when the monuments of past ages were regarded either with superstition or irreve-

rence. No one now believes the once popular tradition that the tombs of Sivaux were sent down from heaven to receive the good Catholics of the army of Clovis. No one is misled by the pleasant fiction of Ariosto, which attributes the tombs at Arles to the companions of Agramont and Roland.* An intelligent respect for the vestiges of former times has found its way into all classes of society. We may expect, therefore, that every generation will add something to the stock of knowledge already accumulated on this subject; but it will be long before the work of M. le Blant can be superseded, or the general conclusions which he has deduced, from an extensive and careful collection of existing facts, can be materially affected. His work has been highly commended in his own country,† and is likely to be, for some time to come, the standard authority on the Christian inscriptions of Gaul. And as a book in two quarto volumes, containing ninety-two carefully executed plates, must of necessity be too costly to be generally accessible, we may be doing our readers an acceptable service by laying before them a sketch of its general character and contents.

II.

The value of the inscriptions depends in a great measure upon our being able to ascertain their dates; for if we can arrange them in chronological order, we shall see what indications they give as to the successive changes which came over the spirit of the Church and the face of society in the period which they comprise. The difficult task of assigning dates to the inscriptions which bear no date has been undertaken, and, as it seems to us, successfully accomplished, by M. le Blant.

About 600 inscriptions are contained in this work. Of that number 168 furnish their own date, by mentioning the consul in whose year they were erected, or by giving the year of the reigning emperor, or in later times by referring back to a former consulship as an era, or giving the year of the reigning Frank or Gothic king, or the year of the indiction. By a careful examination of these *dated* inscriptions, many peculiarities characteristic of successive periods, such as gradual and minute differences in style, in the use of symbols, in palæography, are observed; and the results obtained from this comparison are applied to determine approximately the age of the undated inscriptions.

The earliest of the dated inscriptions found in Gaul (at Lyons) bears the date 334, and the next to it in age are of the dates 377, 405, 409, respectively; while the earliest at Rome are of the years 71, 107, 111. A very few of the undated Gallic monuments may with probability be

* "Orl. Fur.," c. xxxix., st. 72.

† See *Revue des deux Mondes* for June 15, 1866.

referred to the third century. These, however, occur only in the cities of the south, at Vienne, Marseilles, Arles, Lyons, &c., where the power and civilization of Rome were most strongly established; and evidences of a later date are always found on the monuments of the central and north-western districts, which generally remained in a heathenish state till they were evangelized by St. Martin of Tours at the end of the fourth century.

The oldest Christian inscriptions follow very closely the pagan type. They are brief; they record the exact age of the deceased; they give his three names,—nomen, prænomen, and cognomen,—his parentage, his occupation or social position, his condition as a slave or freedman, if he was one. A few even exhibit at the beginning the letters D.M. (dis manibus), which so often occur on the heathen sarcophagus. These marks of the first ages of the Church, common on the marbles of the Catacombs, are rare in Gaul. Other indications of a high antiquity, more frequent in Gaul, are the mention of the names of the surviving friends who erected the tomb (this is not found after 470); the use of commendatory expressions, such as "pax tecum," "vivas in Deo," "refrigeret Deus," "adjutet spiritus," "ave vale;" the use of the phrase "depositio" (the interment), "here is the burial-place of" such a person; "recessit," "decessit" for "obiit," which is the most common ("transiit" is rare)—there are six or seven examples, one as early as 400, of "præcessit," or "præcessit nos" ("has gone before us")—the use of Christian emblems, such as the anchor and the fish, both very rare in Gaul, and only found near the sea-coast; the dove, often accompanied with the olive branch, as a sign of the resurrection; the A and Ω; the sacred monogram in its earlier form ☧ (from 377 to 493 A.D.); and soon after, in its later form, ⳨ in which the cross is boldly indicated. The simple cross (+) at the beginning of the inscription did not appear at Rome till 450, nor in Gaul till 503; and in every case it is observed that the symbol appeared at an earlier date, and disappeared at an earlier date, in Rome than in Gaul, showing how regularly, though sometimes not till after an interval of a hundred years, the province followed the example of the capital. In a few instances there is nothing to prove the Christian character of the inscription except the locality in which it was found, or the name which it bears, *e.g.*, Pascasia, a name never used by the pagans (vol. ii., p. 263); the first believers being sometimes prevented, by the fear of obloquy or persecution, from making a public acknowledgment of their faith either in life or in death. For this reason, perhaps, the reception of baptism is spoken of under a mystical phrase: "She was born on such a day, she received ('percepit') on such a day, she died," &c. (vol. i., p. 15.) The style of execution, especially when there is sculpture, is very superior in the early

marbles, and deteriorated as the arts declined. These signs of age extend, in Gaul, to about the end of the fifth century.

In the second period of Christian epigraphy many of these evidences of antiquity are wanting. The pagans were exact in mentioning the age of the deceased, partly, as M. le Blant supposes, because they attached astrological importance to the day of nativity, and partly because their births were registered. The Christians, on the contrary, were led by their religion to think more of the day of death, the day to them of a new birth—thus the festival of a martyr's death was called *natalis;*—and in later times, in the confusion consequent on the irruptions of the barbarians, the registration of births was discontinued. Thus we find the phrase *plus minus* began to appear on the tombs ("vixit annis plus minus X"). The cognomen was dropped. Names of German origin begin to appear in 455. The names of the friends who erected the tomb are no longer found. As time went on, and persecution grew slack or ceased, the Christians became more courageous; they were no longer content to refrain from the public expression of their faith, or to veil it under mystic symbols and monograms and ambiguous phrases; they used freely the much-reviled sign of the cross, and expressed their hope and their joy in the plainest terms.

Although the early Church must have contained many persons of servile condition, like St. Paul's disciple, Onesimus, the words *servus, libertus,* so common in pagan inscriptions, are seldom found on Christian monuments: nor was it customary for a martyr, when under examination before a magistrate, to describe himself by these names; but remembering the texts which bade him call no man master upon earth, and regard himself as the servant, not of man but of God, he professed himself to be *famulus Dei.* In like manner the parentage of the deceased was suppressed, in obedience, as M. le Blant thinks, to the command in Matt. xxiii. 9: "Call no man your father upon the earth; for one is your Father, which is in heaven." For this reason the martyrs, when under interrogation, refused to give the names of their earthly parents. Such was their obedience, perhaps overstrained, to the letter of the divine commandment. In like manner the country, profession, social condition of the deceased, are rarely specified. Earthly ties, though not practically renounced, were thought unworthy of being mentioned in the same breath with the spiritual calling, the heavenly citizenship and fatherland. Military titles also are very uncommon. Upon examining several works upon ancient inscriptions, our author finds that in 10,050 pagan epitaphs, 545, or about 5½ per cent., were those of soldiers, while in 4,734 Christian epitaphs, only 27, or little more than half per cent., were those of soldiers. Here, however, another cause, in addition to that mentioned above,

may be assigned for the comparative scarcity of military names. Not only would the good Christian, if a soldier, consider that he had a higher service as the soldier of Christ, but under the pagan emperors many of the Christians refused to fight, looking upon war as an accursed occupation, and considering that in disarming St. Peter, and pronouncing the words, "Put up thy sword into his sheath," &c., the Saviour had forbidden the use of arms: and the unwillingness of the Christians to serve in the army has been sometimes assigned, we think without sufficient reason, as one of the causes of the decline of the military spirit at Rome, and the ruin of the empire. Certain it is, however, that from the time when the sacred monogram was displayed on the standards of Constantine, the Christians looked on war in a different light, and anathemas were pronounced by the Church on those who refused to serve in the army. M. le Blant further says, that among all the Christian inscriptions hitherto examined, 41 are of soldiers, and only 3 are of slaves or freedmen, and he accounts for this disproportion by referring to the New Testament, which expressly declares that among the believers there shall be neither bond nor free, while it does not so expressly condemn the military profession (vol. i., pref. lxxxii., 84, 130).

We are conscious that in this short summary justice is not done to the evidence by which M. le Blant supports his conclusions. That evidence is, however, indirect, and does not clearly prove that the Christians were actuated by the sentiments which he attributes to them. And it is obvious that there are other ways of accounting for the phenomena which he has noticed. Thus it is likely that slaves, being in a very inferior condition, would not so often have monuments erected to them as soldiers, a class comprising persons of the highest station, and held in general esteem. And a similar disproportion is noticed by M. le Blant himself, as we shall see below (p. 424), in the monuments of the several orders of the Christian ministry. Again, the absence of any declaration of faith in the inscriptions might be due, not always to a failure of moral courage on the part of the Christians, but to their compliance with established usage; no expression of religious feeling being customary in the pagan epitaphs. The martyr might refuse to divulge the name of his parents from a reasonable fear of involving them in danger or disgrace, as well as from obedience to the command that he was to call no man his father upon earth; and for a similar reason the parentage of the deceased might be omitted in the inscription.

From the beginning of the fifth century, the inscriptions commence with such phrases as these,—"Hic jacet," "Hic pausat," "Hic requiescit." Towards the end of that century a less simple form began to prevail, such as "In hoc tumulo requiescit," "In hoc tumulo

requiescit bonæ memoriæ," "In hoc tumulo requiescit in pace bonæ memoriæ" ("In hoc loco," common in the Catacombs, is rarely found in Gaul). It is not till the sixth century that a nun is called "religiosa," a term which from that time became established in the vernacular language.

Other indications of the age of the inscriptions are derived from peculiarities of palæography and orthography, from the abbreviations, from the different modes of reckoning time, from the style employed in the mention of emperors, consuls, &c. Thus "consul" is not written "cos." after 377. The emperor is first styled "dominus noster" at the beginning of the fifth century. The consul is not styled "vir clarissimus" till 447; at which time also the name of a single consul first appears. The use of the indiction as a mode of reckoning time is first found in Gaul in 491. The post-consulate, or mode of reckoning by the number of years elapsed since a former consulship, regarded as an era, occurs first in 405.

M. le Blant closes his collection of inscriptions at the end of the seventh century, as there is at that epoch a cessation of Christian monuments; caused, we may suppose, by the disturbed state of the country, and corresponding to the cessation in Italy, which has led M. de Rossi to terminate his collection with the sixth century. Upon a careful consideration of the various data which we have briefly noticed, the author proceeds to assign approximately the age of every one of his inscriptions. If we may not consider his judgment in all cases unquestionable, the results at which he arrives are generally satisfactory, and the methods which he pursues are ingenious and instructive.

III.

But the locality no less than the age of an inscription is to be taken into account. It is found that as in architecture, and numismatics, and language, and anthropology, so in epigraphy, while one common type prevails over a whole country, each district has its own peculiarities. M. le Blant has tabulated the local variations of expression, ornament, emblem, and palæography, and has extended his survey of them, not only over all the provinces of Gaul, but over the whole of the Roman empire. A knowledge of local characteristics may supply a clue for the interpretation of an inscription which would otherwise be utterly unintelligible. Thus it might seem impossible to assign a meaning to the following letters found on a stone in Syria:—

ΑΥΤΙ
ΔΙΚΑ

But the impossibility vanishes when we learn that in Syria it was customary to inscribe over the gates of the cities the verse of the 118th Psalm,—

ΑΥΤΗ Η ΠΥΛΗ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ
ΔΙΚΑΙΟΙ ΕΙΣΕΛΕΥΣΟΝΤΑΙ ΕΝ ΑΥΤΗ.

Under this head it may be noted that the occasional introduction of Runic letters into Latin inscriptions appears only in the north of Gaul; the vase or cup as an emblem is almost peculiar to Vienne. At Amiens, the monogram ☧ is always inscribed in a circle (like the *labarum* of Constantine), not so at Arles. The anchor, so common in other lands as a primitive Christian symbol, occurs on Gallic soil only at Arles and Marseilles.

With the aid of his chronological system, the author throws a light upon some of these local peculiarities, and shows how they tally with the contemporary history of the Church. For example, the hope of the resurrection is expressed only on the marbles of the Lyonnaise district, at Vienne, &c.,—"resurrecturus," "resurget in Christo," &c. This speciality is explained when we are reminded that Gnosticism, which said that the resurrection was spiritual and did not extend to the body, appeared in Gaul contemporaneously with the first preaching of the Gospel, and especially in the Lyonnaise under the teaching of Marcus. Marcus was vigorously opposed by St. Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, and with such success, that the doctrine of the resurrection not only was not doubted, but was emphatically asserted by the Christians of that district, as we may conclude from the well-known letter of the Church of Lyons preserved by Eusebius, in which it is related that the bodies of the martyrs in that city were burnt by their heathen persecutors, and the ashes cast into the Rhone, in order to render nugatory their hope of the resurrection. The rage of the heathen against the doctrine is a fair measure of the Christian zeal in its behalf. Moreover, the expression of the "hope of the resurrection" was contained in the offices of the Greek Church introduced into that part of Gaul from Ephesus by St. Irenæus. Thus the liturgy of St. Chrysostom has these words,—"Remember all those who have gone to rest before us in the hope of the resurrection to eternal life;" and in the Gallic liturgies the hope is thus expressed,—"All the departed have received their rest from Thee in the hope of Thy mercy;" "Make Thou the bones of the departed who have fallen asleep in the hope of the resurrection, now they are reduced to dust, to have the sweet-smelling savour of revival to life" ("ossa . . . odorem suscitationis sentire fac"). It is observable that several of the inscriptions of which we are now speaking appear also to protest against the error of the Marcionites, one of the schools of the Gnostics, who denied that Christ

should come to be our judge, the hope of Christ's mercy being combined with the hope of the resurrection after this manner, "in spe resurrectionis misericordiæ XPI."

"So," says our author, "this little district of Gaul bears witness at once to the ravages of the Gnostics and to the triumph of the Church" (vol. ii., p. 161).

Another interesting point in local history, relating to the city of Trèves, is brought out by M. le Blant. Trèves, with its surrounding district, is especially rich in Christian monuments; a distinction which it probably owes to its having been for some time the residence of the Roman emperor. No less than ninety-eight epitaphs have been discovered there, but none to which a later date can be assigned than the year 470. How is the cessation to be explained? By the irruption of the Franks, who about the same time overran that side of Gaul, pillaged the churches, exterminated the Christians, set up their own paganism, and remained for several generations in a heathenish state. Our ingenious author supposes the monument of a Trevirite of this epoch, found at Vienne, to be that of a refugee Christian driven from his home by the barbarians. He also identifies Iamlychus, a bishop whose monument was found near Châlons-sur-Saône, with Iamlychus, who was bishop of Trèves at the time of the Frankish occupation of that city; and supposes that he fled from the heathenism established in his diocese, and sought an asylum among a Christian people (vol. i., pref. p. 4; ii. 544).

IV.

We do not expect in an epitaph to meet with the articles of a creed, or the mention of any peculiar tenets held by the individual in whose honour the monument was erected. Yet some doctrinal indications, besides the general expression of faith in the Saviour, are occasionally to be found. M. le Blant, being a zealous though by no means a narrow-minded Roman Catholic, is always ready to find in the inscriptions a testimony to the doctrines of his Church. It is no wonder, perhaps, if on this point we cannot always bring ourselves to agree with him. The most important inscription, in its bearing on doctrine, appears to be that which was discovered in 1839, in the Polyandron, as it is still called, the ancient pagan and Christian cemetery of Autun. As it is also interesting in other respects, being one of the earliest of the Gallic inscriptions, and being one of the very few that are in the Greek language, we have given it entire:—

Ιχθυος ουρανιου θειον γενος ητορι σεμνω
Χρησαι λαβων ζωην αμβροτον εν βροτεοις

Θεσπεσιων υδατων την σην φιλε θαλπεο ψυχην
Υδασιν αεναοις πλουτοδοτου σοφιης
Σωτηρος δ' αγιων μελιηδεα λαμβανε βρωσιν
Εσθιε πινε λαβων Ιχθυν εχων παλαμαις
Ιχθυ χαριζον μ'αρα λιλαιω δεσποτα σωτερ
Ευ ευδοι μητηρ σε λιταζομαι φως το θανοντων
Ασχανδειε πατερ τωμω κεχαρισμενε θυμω
Συν μητρι γλυκερη συν τε οικειοισιν εμοισιν
Ιχθυος ειρηνη σεο μνησεο Πεκτοριοιο.

"O divine offspring of the heavenly ICTHUS, receive and enjoy with a devout heart, while still among mortals, the immortal life. Dear (son) refresh thy soul with the holy waters, the ever-flowing waters of wealth-bestowing wisdom, and receive the food, sweet as honey, of the Saviour of the saints. Take, eat and drink, thou hast ICTHUS in thy hands.

"O ICTHUS, Lord and Saviour, grant me my desire, I pray thee, Thou light of the dead, may my mother sleep well! And thou my beloved father Aschandius, with my sweet mother and all my relations (resting) in the peace of ICTHUS, remember thy son Pectorius."

The former part of this appears to be addressed by the deceased father to his surviving son, the latter part by the son to the father. The first five lines form an acrostic, the initial letter of each line being one of the letters of the mystical name of the Saviour, ICTHUS. The learned Roman Catholic writers, Secchi and Lenormant, who have treated of this inscription, have found in it a testimony in support of the following doctrines and usages,—the divinity of our Lord; his titles of Christ and Jesus; the incarnation; the sanctity of the word of God; baptism and the Lord's supper; communion in one kind (we, in our "invincible ignorance," should have drawn a different conclusion from *εσθιε πινε λαβων*); the use of the sacramental words, "Take, eat;" the practice of receiving in the palms of the hands, *εν παλαμαις*; prayer for the dead; and the intercession of the saints. The concluding words are somewhat like those of an elegant inscription quoted by our author from the work of Marini: "In orationibus tuis roges pro nobis, quia scimus te in ☧."—(Vol. i., p. 10.)

The inscriptions seem altogether to ignore both the Arianism which at one time was widely spread in the Church of Gaul, and the millenarianism to which so many of the fathers were inclined. We meet with no allusion, either favourable or unfavourable, to those errors, unless we may consider that the words, "fide purus," occurring in the neighbourhood of Vienne, in a district tainted with Arianism, were intended as a repudiation of it, or that the words "resurrecturus cum sanctis," used at a time when the doctrine of the millennium was prevalent, imply adhesion to it (vol. ii., pp. 81-101).

We very rarely find an invocation, or even any mention, of the Holy Spirit. One example, however, assigned to the fifth century, was discovered in an ancient cemetery at Bordeaux in 1715,—"Ancilla Pascasia aiutit Spirtus S." (adjuvet Spiritus Sanctus).

M. le Blant produces no evidence of honour paid to the Blessed Virgin, except an interesting but undated monument found at Berre in the south of France. It contains a figure of a young girl, with her arms extended in the attitude of prayer, and with this inscription, "Maria Virgo Minester de tempulo Gerosale." As no monument has been found in the Catacombs giving more than an indirect and doubtful testimony to the currency of traditions relating to the Virgin, our author makes much of this inscription, which, though by preceding writers considered a work of the thirteenth century, he, judging from the form of the letters, has referred to the fifth. The tradition that the Virgin was presented in the temple by her parents at the age of three years, and that from that time till she was twelve years old she remained among the maidens dedicated to the service of God, is related in the "Historia de Nativitate Mariæ et de Infantia Salvatoris," in Thilo's Codex Apocryphus N. T.: it is also recognised by many of the Eastern fathers. The festival of the presentation of Mary in the temple was celebrated in the Greek Church in the twelfth century, but was not introduced into the Western Church till the fourteenth century, when it was instituted in the south of France, the district in which this inscription was found, at the instance of the French Ambassador at Cyprus who had witnessed it, and by the appointment of Pope Gregory the Eleventh. These facts, related by M. le Blant himself, seem rather to militate against his conclusion that the monument in question is to be attributed to so early an age as the fifth century.

One of the most valuable dissertations in the book is that which treats of the different opinions held in the Church as to the state of the righteous after death. St. Irenæus maintained against the Gnostics, that like as our Lord did not, after his death, immediately ascend up into heaven, so the souls of the faithful must remain in an intermediate state till the resurrection. This was the opinion also of Justin Martyr, St. Chrysostom, St. Ambrose, and St. Augustine. Some of those, however, who held this doctrine, made an exception in favour of the martyrs and a few other extraordinary saints, whose felicity, they ventured to think, was already made perfect.* On the other hand, the authority of St. Cyprian, St. Jerome, and St. Gregory of Nyssa, might be claimed by those who looked forward to an immediate entrance into heaven for all the souls of the faithful.

* The same feeling probably led to the exceptional interment of such saints within the churches. See below, p. 424.

The diversity of opinion which existed among the fathers may be traced in the sepulchral inscriptions of the first six centuries. Not much stress is to be laid on the poetical epitaphs, such as those which were composed by Paulinus of Nola, Sidonius Apollinaris, and Fortunatus; for they often indulge in allusions to the heathen mythology, and are loose and hyperbolical in their Christian aspirations. The prose epitaphs in Gaul occasionally use language which, if taken literally, implies a belief in the immediate and complete felicity of the righteous; *e. g.*, "vitam transportavit in cælis" (A.D. 573). But most commonly the departed are spoken of as being still in a state of blissful expectation; *e. g.*, "in spe resurrectionis," and "diem futuri judicii intercedentibus sanctis letus spectit" (expectat: end of fifth or early part of sixth century). And this belief was inculcated by the offices of the Church, as appears especially from the Greek liturgies, the prototypes of those which were used in Gaul,—"Grant to them that their spirits may rejoice in the habitations of light and happiness, where the souls of the pious await in repose the beginnings of life" (Oriental Liturgy). These uncertainties, however, were terminated by the Second Council of Lyons, held in 1274, by a decree of which it was declared that the souls of the faithful are received into heaven before the end of the world. And to the same purport is the inscription placed on the tomb of Pope Felix IV., at the beginning of the sixth century:—

"Certa fides justis cœlestia regna patere."—(Vol. ii., p. 396.)

It should be observed in passing, that the doctrine laid down by the Council of Lyons, if not repudiated, has not been adopted by our Reformed Church; and the "*plena* felicitate lætantur" of the Sarum manual has, in our office of burial, been changed into the less definite expression, "are in joy and felicity;" which, when compared with "may have our perfect consummation and bliss," &c., in the same prayer, seems to show what was the opinion of those who drew up that office.

V.

Among the symbols of the Christian faith engraved on the monuments, the most common are the sacred monogram, in its earlier ☧ and later ⳩ forms, the A and Ω, the sign of the cross, the vase or cup, the dove (sometimes accompanied with the olive branch, as a sign of the resurrection; or with a palm-branch, as a sign of victory; or with a corn of wheat in the beak, as an emblem of the heavenly food). More rarely we meet with the phœnix and the peacock (signs of the resurrection); the anchor and the fish (these, however, are occasionally found in pagan inscriptions, vol. ii., p. 312), the lamb, and

(once only) the Good Shepherd. Daniel in the lions' den was doubly a sign of the resurrection, inasmuch as he foretold it, and was also himself miraculously delivered from the jaws of death. Sometimes, also, the prophet Habakkuk is represented, according to the legend in "Bel and the Dragon," bringing bread in panniers to Daniel, who is standing between two lions. Thus it appears that the symbols were all expressive of Christian faith, hope, and triumph over death; while those that are suggestive of mortality and affliction—the death's head and bare bones, the broken column, the torch reversed, the weeping figure, and the like—are never found. Sometimes, however, the contrast between mortality and immortality is denoted by two trees, the one leafless, the other covered with foliage; a symbol not exclusively Christian, as it was in use among the Greeks before the Christian era. In one instance, the believer is represented as a fish entering the net of the Church, with other fishes outside the net. This, however, was intended for ornament, being engraved on an agate set in a ring; and it is worthy of remark that Christian symbols are found on articles in common use, such as weights, measures, bracelets, rings, vases, tiles, collars of slaves, and even on gaming-tables. A gold toothpick (hastula), found at Vienne, has the inscription "In Dei nomine Gemolana" (vol. i., p. iii., c. ii., 73). Thus were the owners and wearers of these articles reminded of the saying "Whatsoever ye do," &c. The earliest instance of the occurrence of the sacred monogram on a *public* monument is in an inscription found at Sion on the Rhone, apparently commemorating the restoration of a church through the piety of Pontius the prætor (A.D. 377):—

> "Devotione vigens augustas Pontius ædes
> Restituit Prætor longe præstantius illis
> Quæ priscæ steterant," &c.

It is remarkable that at so early a date a Christian edifice should be described as "priscæ ædes;" but the inscription seems to admit of no other interpretation. (And see a similar instance below, p. 431.)

The religious joy which we have seen expressed in the symbols, pervades all the memorials which remain to us of the early Church, and which, in this respect, present a marked contrast to the epitaphs of the pagans, who "sorrowed as men without hope," and even to those of many modern Christians. We find no expression of natural grief and regret. If a martyr died in tortures, his agony is not recorded on his tomb. The crucifix is nowhere seen, nor the crown of thorns; but the cross is adorned with flowers. There are no representations of the passion: the appearance before Pilate is the last scene in the history of our Lord which the sculptor ventured to delineate. What would the believers of those times have said to the fourteen stations of the so-called "Calvaries," and the anguish of the

Madonna, and the *picta?* Their religion, so far as it was exhibited to the eye, had in it nothing repulsive, awakened no harrowing associations. It would seem, that in compliance with the precept of the apostle, they were determined to "rejoice in the Lord alway." Some of their favourite names were suggestive of joy and triumph: Victor, Vincentius, Nice, Gaudiosus, Gaudentius, Hilaris, Hilarius (vol. i., pp. ci., 95, 155).

The mention of the *names* which appear on the monuments gives us the opportunity of dwelling for a few moments upon that part of the subject, which is by no means without its interest. Some of the names, according to a custom prevailing in ancient as in modern times, are taken from the reigning emperors or kings; others are from Scripture. Hebrew names, however, are excessively rare in Gaul, and generally in Western Europe. Christians probably did not care to adopt them, lest they should be taken for Jews; and Jews, as we shall have occasion hereafter to observe (p. 430), seem to have found it expedient not to betray their nation by their name. In this collection there ppear to be none, except Martha (twice); Susanna, the name of one of the martyrs of Lyons (once); and Solomon (once, but of late and uncertain date). M. le Blant observes, that after the Merovingian period, the name of Solomon, which for the first seven centuries does not appear on the monuments, became very frequent. Possibly this may be accounted for by a circumstance noticed in a recent number of this Review,* that the Anglo-Saxon missionaries, who laboured among the Franks in Gaul, dwelt very much upon the Jewish history, and applied it in illustration of passing events; and especially Alcuin, the most influential of Charlemagne's advisers, addressed him sometimes by the names of David and Solomon.

Many names are those of the heathen gods; and as in the New Testament we have Phœbe, Nereus, Apollos, Diotrephes, so on the monuments we meet with Mercurina, Jovina, Venerius, Hermes, Bacchus, Asclepius, &c. Very often, no doubt, a name of this kind was superseded by another given at baptism, and yet was not altogether forgotten. Thus we have "Macrina quæ et Jovina" (like Σαῦλος ὁ καὶ Παῦλος, Acts xiii.). These and other pagan names, when the persecutions had ceased, were forbidden by the Church. Some names were taken from the rivers, as Sequana, Rhodanus, Nilus, Jordanis. Some are from the months, as Febrarius. This last, with some others, shows the tendency to abbreviation, as Restitus for Restitutus; Disderius, whence the French Didier, from Desiderius. Some are expressive of moral qualities, as Dignantius, Dignissima, Probus, Sofronia, &c. In the later period, of course, German names begin to appear. Some, and these the most curious, are offensive

* No. ix., p. 48.

names, such as Fœdula, Importunus, Malus, Injuriosus, and even Stercoreus. These, like the name of "Christian" itself, appear to have been originally applied to the believers by the heathen in token of their hatred and abomination ("We are made as the filth of the earth, and as the offscouring of all things unto this day," says St. Paul, 1 Cor. iv. 3), but they were adopted and perpetuated among the Christians to express their humility and resignation, their joy under suffering, and perhaps their contempt and defiance of their persecutors.

The monuments of ecclesiastical personages are numerous, and their vocation, being a spiritual one, and not, like the profession of a layman, appertaining to this world only, was permitted to appear in the inscriptions. In accordance with their superior dignity, bishops seem to have more often received the honour of a monument than priests, and priests than deacons. A bishop is, in several inscriptions of the fourth and fifth centuries, styled *sacerdos;* but that title does not occur as a synonym for presbyter: a deacon is occasionally *levita;* acolyths are probably mentioned in one place after the priest and deacon under the appellation *sequentes eorum.* There is a monument of an *ostiarius,* or door-keeper (the lowest order of the Roman Church), and of a *lector,* or reader (the order next above the *ostiarius*), who died at the early age of thirteen,—"Lector innocens qui vixit in pace annis tredece." The custom which this inscription illustrates, of committing the office of reader to children, was forbidden by a law of Justinian, and the lowest limit of age was fixed at eighteen (Novell., cxxiii. 13).

VI.

With regard to the place of sepulture, the Christians gradually departed from the good old Roman custom of extramural interment, which, whether for sanitary or superstitious reasons, had been sanctioned by a law of the Twelve Tables, and was continued under the empire as under the republic. It came to be believed that the remains of a martyr, or other extraordinary saint, sanctified the spot where they rested, and were a protection from the evil one to the living who worshipped near them, and to the souls of the dead who were laid by their side. Hence arose the desire to be associated with the saints in death,—"sanctorum sociari sepulcris," as one of the inscriptions expresses it. A notable instance of this will occur to the reader in the case of our King John, who being ill at ease, as it is said, in his conscience, provided by his will that he should be buried at Worcester, between the shrines of St. Wulfstan and St. Oswald. At length the practice of interring the dead within the churches near the relics of saints became so prevalent, and was attended with such grave inconvenience, that it was prohibited by

the decrees of several councils in the sixth and following centuries. The popular feeling, however, overbore all such endeavours to restrain it; and dispensations were easily obtained in favour of the founders of churches, munificent benefactors, and other persons eminent for their good deeds, or even for their penitence (vol. i., 396, 471; ii. 219).

But after all the honour that was paid to the poor remains of mortality, they still were not safe from molestation. In those unsettled times, when Christianity and paganism were struggling for the mastery, the spite or the fanaticism of the living often spent itself upon the unoffending ashes of the dead; and from the apprehension of such outrages the practice arose, alike among pagans and Christians, of inscribing an entreaty or an imprecation upon the tomb, to protect it from violation. The following was a Christian form of entreaty:—"Conjuro vos per tremendum diem judicii ut hanc sepulturam nulli violent." Imprecations occur such as these:—"Si quis hunc sepulchrum violaverit partem habeat cum Juda. traditorem." "Habeat anathema ad cccxviii patres,"—"Let the curse of the 318 (another imprecation makes it 371) fathers of the Council of Nicæa be upon him." In the abbey of St. Germain des Prés at Paris a curious instance has been found of prohibition and deprecation combined. Outside the stone which covered the coffin an inscription is engraved which forbids any one to remove the bones of the deceased,—"Tempore nullo volo tollantur ossa Hilperici." But in case the spoiler should set at nought the prohibition, and break within the tomb, an appeal awaits him on the inside, couched in the humbler language of supplication, and the deceased himself is represented as pleading for the repose of his remains in these words, painted in red upon the wall of his tomb,—"Precor ego Ilpericus non auferantur hinc ossa mea." This is apparently later than the eighth century, and is the earliest Gallic inscription which is not incised but painted in colour. Many such are found in the Catacombs at Rome.

The pagans were by no means the only offenders in this respect. In the fourth and fifth centuries, when Christianity had become the religion of the Roman Empire, and the zeal of the faithful was directed to the removal of every heathen abomination, it was very proper that the temples, the seats of idolatrous worship, should be demolished, and quite a matter of course that fragments of the ruined structures should be used by the Christians not only for architectural purposes, but also, as appears to have often been the case, for their sepulchral inscriptions. But the work of destruction did not stop here. Many Christian inscriptions are engraved on what have been the lids of pagan sarcophagi. It was even thought that honour was done to the martyrs by erecting churches to them

out of the materials supplied by the spoliation of the tombs of the idolaters. The Christian emperors repeatedly interfered to prevent such fanatical proceedings, and several laws, the burden of which was "Pax cadaveribus!" were passed between the years 340 and 447.

Another topic often dwelt upon in the Gallic epitaphs, and strongly testifying to the miseries of the times, is the beneficence attributed to many of the deceased persons in ransoming prisoners from captivity. The Roman world was so harassed and desolated by the barbarians, that St. Jerome could say, "Happy is the man who is not reduced to slavery!" "Both in the East and in the West, the bishops are made prisoners, and whole populations are carried into captivity." Gregory of Tours enlarges on the calamities which his country suffered from this cause, and on the cruelties and tortures to which the captives were exposed, especially if they refused to abjure their faith and worship the idols. A supplication for prisoners and captives was inserted in the Greek and the Gallic liturgies, and so passed into the use of Sarum, and into the litany of our Common Prayer-book. The redemption of captives was extolled by the Christian fathers as the highest act of charity; and to that pious object the tithes and endowments, and even the gold and silver vessels of the Church, were sometimes devoted. M. le Blant has introduced a long and learned dissertation on the subject (vol. ii. 284); and among the benevolent efforts which were made for the deliverance of captives, he cites the zeal of St. Eligius in giving all he had, even his raiment, for this purpose; the still more splendid self-sacrifice of St. Paulinus of Nola, and St. Dominic, who obtained the liberation of captives by submitting to bondage in their stead; and a law of Edward the Confessor, singularly foreshadowing the course of English legislation in later times, whereby it was declared that the king, wherever he met with a captive, should have the power of setting him free. The cause of Christianity was, however, in the end advanced by these calamities; for many of the captives becoming, as Gibbon calls them, involuntary missionaries, laboured often with good success for the salvation of their masters.* Of this state of things we find many traces in the poetical epitaphs, though not in the briefer and earlier prose inscriptions, of Gaul. In one case it is said that the deceased "redemit quos possidet hostis;" in another he is described as "captivis omnia fundens:" a marble now preserved in the Museum at Marseilles thus commemorates a noble lady named Eugenia, whose compassion for the unfortunate reminds us of the imperial Eugénie of modern France, and of other ladies nearer home:—

"Nobilis Eugenia præclari sanguinis ortu,
Quæ meritis vivit hic tomolata jacit.

* Chap. xxxvii.

Pascere jejunos gaudens festina cucurrit
Exauriens epulas o Paradise tuas.
Captivos opibus vinclis laxavit iniquis,
Et pulsos terris reddidit illa suis."

VII.

The following words and phrases, occurring in the inscriptions, are noticeable for their rarity, or as indications of the customs and feelings of the times, or as curious signs of the ignorance and rusticity of the stone-cutters, or as proofs that the transition of the Latin language to the modern French was in progress. Under the last head there is not so much evidence as we might have expected to find; but doubtless the language of the inscriptions, even when incorrect, was more classical than the vernacular tongue.

Some terms of respect appear to have become expressive of endearment. Thus a man speaks of his wife as *matrona,* or *domina,* instead of *conjux,*—"Titulum posuit dulcesime sue matrone in Christo" (fourth century); "Domine conjugi dulcissime Barbare" (end of fifth century). The title *dominus* is often applied, even to children of the tenderest age, by their parents; *e. g.,* "Domina . . . filia qui vixit an. ii." (vol. i. 280, 373). A child three years old is prettily described as "infantula innox" (vol. i. 79). A nun is called *puella sanctimonialis,* or *Deo sacrata puella,* as well as *religiosa.* The word *observatio* was used apparently to denote the monastic life. "Hic jacet Agricia qui fuit in observatione annos sedece." Thus there was at Canterbury a house of the "White Friars observants," founded in 1207.* One who in his last illness adopted the monastic habit was called *susceptus:* disciples are *incipientes* (middle of sixth century).

The reception of baptism was expressed elliptically by the words *percipere, accipere, consequi.* A person dying within eight days after baptism was said to have died *in albis,* because the white garment (Anglicè, chrisom) in which baptism had been received was commonly worn for a week afterwards,—"Hic jacet puer nomene Valentiniano qui vixit annos iii et menses . . . et dies xvi, et in albis cum pace præcessit." A newly baptized person was *neophytus,* sometimes written *inofitus, nefitus, nofitus, neofata,* &c.

The interment of a person is called his *depositio;* and the same word seems to mean the burial-place, or tomb, as we use "dwelling" to mean a "dwelling-place;" it is also sometimes used (like other euphemisms) in speaking of the death, but not in the same sense in which Shakspere speaks of our bequeathing "our deposed bodies to the ground."

The letters B. M. (bonæ memoriæ) at the beginning of an inscrip-

* See Weever's "Funeral Monuments," p. 38.

tion, which are characteristic of Christian monuments in the north of Italy, are found only in that part of Gaul which is adjacent to Italy (Provence). The adjective *benememorius* occurs only in Gaul and the north of Spain.

A church erected in honour of a martyr was called *martyrium.* This use of the word occurs in the writings of Tertullian and St. Jerome, but is noticed as obsolete in writings of the ninth century.

A person who was a maiden, not a widow, at the time of marriage was described on her tomb as *virginia,* a title expressive of the honour in those times paid to monogamy. Similarly, the bachelor on marrying seems to have acquired the title *virginius, e.g.,* "Hic in pace quiescit Valentina quæ vixsit annus xxviii et mesis v. Germanio virginius ejus (Germanio, her husband) pro caritatem et filii posuerunt." The phrase *pro caritate* seems to be a characteristic of Christian inscriptions, and is especially frequent in those of Trèves. It is said to be never found on pagan monuments, which, however, in common with some Christian tombs, have *pro amore* (i. 400): so emphatically was *caritas* a Christian word. A charitable person is called "the father of the poor,"—pater pauperorum," after Job xxix. 26. "Pater eram pauperum" (vol. ii. 23).

A youth of good promise is called *indolis,*—"Indolis hic jacet" (sixth century), a meaning of which Du Cange gives many mediæval examples (vol. ii. 488). The body is called *hospita caro,* after the manner of Seneca. The Goths took to themselves the appellation *barbari. Vixit mensem* (without *unum*) is "he lived one month." *Famula Dei a terra ad martyres,* and *Mundana reliquit et tradidit animam Deo,* are pretty and uncommon epitaphs, the former of the fourth, the latter of the fifth or sixth century (vol. i. 115, 134).

As signs of the transition which was in progress from the Latin to the modern French, or more strictly speaking, to the intermediate Romance language, we may observe the confusion of cases and genders, of which many instances have already been given incidentally; the omission of the final letter, as in *tredece* for tredecem, *Jucundu, Ingoberto,* for Jucundus, Ingobertus; the substitution of prepositions for inflexions, as in *de tempulo* for *tempuli* (*templi*), *membra ad duus fratres* for *membra duorum fratrum,* like "le livre est à Pierre." As the tendency of the modern French has been to drop, not to add, an aspirate at the beginning of words, we may be surprised to meet with such forms as *hossa, hordine, hoctobrisho, hitum, heternale, hintuis* (for *intueris*). They seem to show that the vernacular speech oscillated from the one mispronunciation to the other, and finally adopted that which is undoubtedly the easier of the two. It would seem that some archaic words and forms which were used by Pacuvius, Plautus, &c., but were obsolete in the time of Cicero, had continued all along in

the vulgar tongue, as they re-appear in the inscriptions: such as *pausat*, "he rests;" *fruniscor*, "to enjoy;" *aiutit* for *adjuvet*, from the archaic *aiuto, virtutei, quei, istlia, saxsum, optumo, pauperorum* (rather to be regarded as an archaism than a barbarism, since *paupera* is found in Plautus).—(Vol. i. 335.)

VIII.

It remains for us to notice a few out of the very many inscriptions which have special points of interest. (1.) "Jacet hic Maura conjux Bonifati a veste sacra quæ præcess ⳨ it in pace et tulit secum annos xx"—"Here lies Maura, wife of Boniface, keeper of the Emperor's wardrobe, who has gone before us in peace, and lived twenty years." In the codes and other official documents under the Empire, anything connected with the person of the emperor is designated by the word *sacer*. Another word used in the same way is *dominicus*. We have the epitaph of a "cursor dominicus," an office corresponding to that of our king's messenger. "Præcessit in pace," like some other expressions that we find on the monuments, was probably borrowed from the offices of the Church: in the canon of the mass are these words, "Memento etiam Domine famulorum famularumque tuarum, qui nos præcesserunt cum signo fidei et dormiunt in somno pacis." This inscription was found at Trèves, in which city the emperors resided till the end of the fourth century, and would seem to be not later than that date, as Boniface was about the imperial household (vol. i. 382).

(2.) The following epitaph, found at Vienne, and of a date not later than the fifth century, is an elegant and touching tribute to the memory of a good wife:—"Castitas fides caritas pietas obsequium et quæcunque Deus fæminis inesse præcepit his ornata bonis Sofronia in pace quiescit. Martinianus jugalis ejus titulum ex more dicabit (dicavit) obiit octavum idus Junias" (vol. i. 141).

(3.) The tradition of the martyrdom of St. Ursula and her companions was often repeated and much embellished by mediæval writers, but rested upon no ancient or respectable authority until within a few years, when a stone was observed in the wall of the church of St. Ursula at Cologne, bearing an inscription which forbids the interment of any except virgins in a place sacred as the spot in which holy virgins had shed their blood for Christ. "Si quis autem super tantam majestatem hujus basilicæ ubi sanctæ virgines pro nomine XPI sanguinem suum fuderunt corpus alicuiius deposuerit exceptis virginibus sciat se sempiternis tartari ignibus puniendum." The latest date assignable to this inscription is the year 464 (vol. ii. 569).

(4.) Within the last few years an interesting discovery of Latin and Runic inscriptions has been made near the chapel of St. Eloi in Normandy, which is a favourite resort of pilgrims from the neighbouring district. Excavations made by a peasant in building his cottage brought to light the remains of a stone column of good Roman workmanship, with fragments of a statue and an inscription containing these words,—"Hercu. i Mercurio .. Erquini .. V S L." As the neighbouring village bears the name Serquigny, it is a probable conjecture that the statue was dedicated by one Serquinius,—"Herculi Mercurio Serquinius votum solvit lubens merito." And thus it appears that here, as in so many other places, a pagan temple had made way for a Christian church. On further examination the soil was found to be full of pieces of Roman tile (stone being scarce in the district), upon which are traced sepulchral inscriptions, bearing in their extreme simplicity an indication of their high antiquity, but all containing some sign of the Christian faith—some in Latin, as "Barbara in pace;" one in Greek, "Εν Ιριν. Ευτυχι;" and a few, but these the most remarkable, in German, written in Runic characters of the time of Clovis, being the only Runic inscriptions hitherto discovered in France. The longest and the most interesting of these is as follows:—"Ingomir sen Hagens in Friede Konoung Choudoouig consoul;"—Ingomir, son of Hagen, in peace, in the reign of Chlodovich (Clovis) consul;—confirming the statement of Gregory of Tours, which has been discredited by Gibbon (chap. xxxviii.), that Clovis, after the example of the Roman emperors, assumed the title of consul (vol. i. 215).

(5.) There is one ancient Jewish inscription, and only one, remaining in France; discovered at Narbonne, and belonging to the end of the seventh century. M. le Blant includes it in his collection, though it has nothing of a Christian character about it. It commences, after the manner of the Jewish monuments, with the national symbol, the figure of the seven-branched candlestick, one of the few vessels of the temple which were rescued from the flames by Titus. Our author has taken the opportunity of tracing the various fortunes of this sacred relic; its erection in the Temple of Peace at Rome, its capture by Alaric or Genseric, its recovery by Belisarius, and finally its restoration to the Holy Land and presentation to the Church at Jerusalem by Justinian. M. le Blant observes that not one of the three Jews mentioned in the epitaph has a Hebrew name; and he supposes that persecution had already led the Israelites to adopt the custom (which in some degree has continued to our own times) of disguising their nationality. The inscription contains the words "Peace be to Israel," in Hebrew (vol. ii. 476).

(6.) Two remarkable monuments are connected with the much

revered name of St. Rusticus, who became Bishop of Narbonne in the year 427. The one is an altar, found at Minerve, a village in the south of France. This altar, erected by St. Rusticus in 456, became in after times, like that of St. Fromond, Bishop of Coutance, at Ham, an object of pilgrimage, and was inscribed with a great number of names, Greek, Latin, Gothic, and Hebrew, the fac-similes of ninety-three of which are given in one of the plates appended to this work. The names are all single, and therefore, according to our author, they must all be prior to the eleventh century, at which time people appear usually to have had either two names, or at least the prefix *de*. By far the greater part of the names are written on the *right* side of the altar, which was considered the more fortunate and the more honourable. Among the names are *Deusdet, Presbyter; Ragamfredus, Levita* (deacon); *Salamon, Petrus, Vidal, Bosporus; Wilielmus, Levita,* who seems to have paid a second visit after his admission to the priesthood, and then to have added the title *Presbyter* to his former inscription. A similar altar has been preserved near Perpignan, and the new names continually inscribed on it are in the local traditions accounted for by an annual miracle.

M. le Blant says,—

> "These three altars (including that at Ham) are the only remaining witnesses of that holy zeal for pilgrimage, which from the earliest ages of the Church has possessed the souls of the faithful. They directed their steps not only to the great basilicas, the miracle-working tombs, the places sanctified by the presence of our Lord when He was on earth. It was not given to every one to behold the land of the Gospel history, or to accomplish, by a visit to Rome, what was styled in the sixth century, in the language of naïve admiration, 'the voyage to the East' (Gregory of Tours, 'Vitæ Patrum,' viii. 6). To our forefathers Tours, the city of St. Martin, buried in the centre of France, was inaccessible. Devotion, therefore, ingeniously multiplied the objects of pilgrimage. Every district had its venerated spot, to which the Christians of the neighbourhood could bring without danger, if not without fatigue, their homage and their prayers."

And so these peaceful and easy provincial pilgrimages encouraged the spirit which culminated, if it did not expire, in the Crusades (vol. ii. 428).

(7.) The other important inscription connected with St. Rusticus recounts the successive steps in the rebuilding of a church, long previously burnt down, at Narbonne in 445, and records the names of those who aided in the work,—among them, no less a person than the prefect of the province of Gaul,—with the amounts of their contributions,—

> Deo et Christo miserante, limen hoc collocatum est anno quarto consule Valentiniano Augusto sextum, tertio Kal. decembres, xviii anno episcopatus Rustici. Rusticus episcopus, episcopi Bonosi filius, episcopi Aratoris de sorore nepos, episcopi Venerii socius in monasterio, compresbyter ecclesiæ

Massiliensis, anno xv episcopatus sui, die anni v, tertio id. octobres, curantibus Urso, presbytero, Hermete diacono et eorum sequentibus, cæpit deponere parietem ecclesiæ dudum exustæ. xxxvii. die (*i. e.*, from the beginning of the work) quadratum in fundamentis poni cæpit. Anno ii, vii id. octobres, absidem poni fecit Montanus subdiaconus. Marcellus, Galliarum præfectus Dei cultor, prece exegit episcopum hoc opus suscipere, impendia necessaria repromittens quæ per biennium administrationis suæ præbuit artificibus mercedem solidorum DC, ad operas et cætera solidorum ĪD. Hinc oblationes : scilicet Venerii solid. C, episcopi Dynamii L," &c., &c.

The first line appears to mean that "By the mercy of God and Christ this inscription stone was placed at or over the portal in the fourth year from the commencement of the work," *i. e.* probably, when the building was completed. The words "collocatum est" are a conjectural expansion of the letters C L K T E. The prefect Marcellus appears to be the same person who was also the friend of St. Hilary. The name Bonosus is formed from Bonus, as Carosus from Carus. M. le Blant fails to notice the evidence which this inscription affords that the Church of his forefathers did not insist on the celibacy of its clergy (vol. ii. 466).

(8.) The mention of St. Hilary may fitly introduce his epitaph, originally placed over his tomb, and now preserved in the Museum at Arles. He died about the middle of the fifth century; and the epitaph may be presumed to be of the same date. The italics denote conjectural restorations,—

"Antistes Domini qui *paupertatis* amorem
Præponens auro rapuit *cælestia* regna
Hilarius cui palma obitus e*t viv*ere XPS
Contemnens fragilem ter*reni* corporis usum
Hic carnis spolium liquit a*d* astra volans
Sprevit opes dum quærit opes mortalia mut*ans*
Perpetuis cælum donis terrestribus emit
Gemma sacerdotum plebisque orbisque magister
Rustica quinetiam pro XPO *munia* sumens
Servile obsequium non dedignatus adire
Officio vixit minimus et culmine summus
Nec mirum si post hæc meruit tua limina XPE
Angelicasque domos intravit et aurea regna
Divitias paradise tuas fragrantia semper
Gramina et halantes divinis floribus hortos
Subjectasque videt nubes et sidera cæli."

Upon this epitaph M. le Blant eloquently says,—

"On y retrouve les détails donnés par les hagiographes sur la vie du saint évêque : l'amour de la pauvreté, si profond chez cet homme frugal, simple dans ses vêtements, et qui voulut faire à pied, en hiver, le pénible voyage de Rome : le renoncement qui lui fit vendre ses biens pour soulager les pauvres et secourir les religieux ; les humbles travaux de ses mains, occupées au tissage des étoffes, à la culture de la terre, afin de pouvoir assister plus largement les malheureux."—(Vol. ii., p. 253.)

The third line is taken from the Epistle to the Philippians (i. 21), "Mihi enim vivere Christus est et mori lucrum:" the last is an application of the verse in which Virgil describes the apotheosis of Daphnis (Ecl. v. 57):—

Sub pedibusque videt nubes et sidera Daphnis.

(9.) Our last notice of these interesting volumes is one which serves to bring us home to English ground. The author has included in his collection several of the productions of two Gallic poets, Sidonius Apollinaris, who was a native of Lyons and died in 488, and Fortunatus, Bishop of Poitiers, the last Latin poet in Gaul, who died about 600. These poems, as he shows good reason for believing, were intended for monumental inscriptions, or epitaphs. Two of them, written by Fortunatus about 580, the one apparently for a church at Nantes, the other for a church at Paris, have a special interest for the English archæologist, inasmuch as portions of them were copied by Ina, King of Wessex, about the year 700, and inscribed on his church at Glastonbury.* It may be sufficient to quote a few lines of the former, consisting of a comparison between the apostles Peter and Paul:—

"Siderei montes speciosa cacumina Sion,
A Libano gemini flore comante cedri:
Cœlorum portæ, lati duo lumina mundi,
Ore tonat Paulus, fulgurat arce Petrus.
Inter Apostolicas radianti luce coronas
Doctior hic monitu, celsior ille gradu.
Per hunc corda virum reserantur, et astra per illum,
Quos docet iste stylo, suscipit ille polo.
Pandit iter cœli hic dogmate, clavibus alter,
Est via cui Paulus janua fida Petrus."

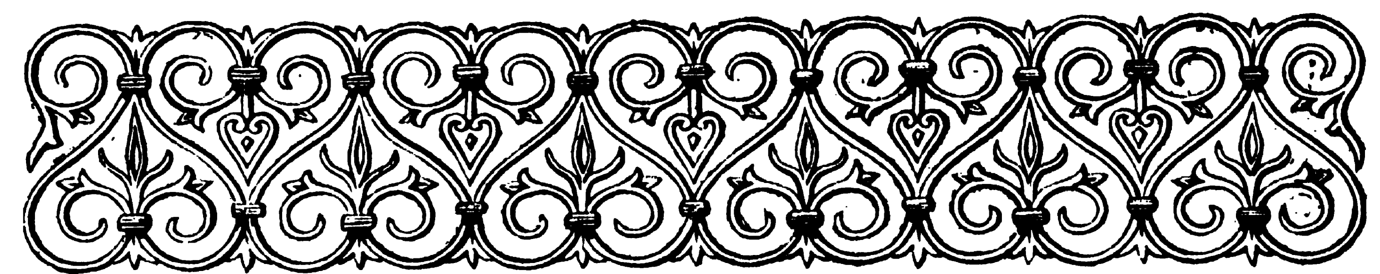
IX.

And here we are naturally led to ask how it is that we have in our own country no memorials of Christianity at all approaching in antiquity to those which have been preserved in France? The oldest Christian inscription existing in Britain is said to be the Saxon monument preserved in Peterborough Cathedral, containing figures of our Lord and the apostles, and recording the murder of Abbot Hedda and eighty-four of his monks by the Danes in 870; but even that stone has not been allowed to pass unchallenged, and grave doubts have lately been suggested whether it be coeval with the event which it commemorates.† Though little reliance can be placed on the highly coloured and legendary accounts of the native historians, a fair infer-

* William of Malmesbury, quoted by Camden, "Britannia," vol. i., p. 58.
† See "History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire," by Rev. T. James, p. 30.

ence as to the importance of the British Church may be drawn from the fact that it was represented by three bishops, those of York, London, and Lincoln, at the Council of Arles in 314. How is it that no monuments remain of that once numerous and flourishing Church? We have seen that a great number of ancient monuments still remain at Trèves and in other parts of Gaul, in which the Christian faith was for centuries suppressed by the heathenish fanaticism of the barbarian invaders; and we might expect that if similar records existed here, the successive hordes of Picts, Scots, Saxons, and Danes, would have failed to destroy them so entirely that not even one should survive. It is, however, to be borne in mind that the influence of Roman civilization was introduced at a later period, was earlier withdrawn, and was less powerful while it lasted, in this remote corner of the empire, than it was in the thoroughly subdued, colonized, and Italianized provinces of southern and central Gaul. The Roman did not here, as in Gaul, indelibly impress his language, his manners, his arts upon the people at large. Among the Britons no Latin poet was produced, like Fortunatus, to celebrate their worthies even in such verses as those which King Ina imported to adorn his church. The use of Latin was probably confined to a few while the Romans occupied the island, and died out altogether when they withdrew. The practice of erecting monuments and inscribing them with epitaphs may never have been introduced, or may never have been common, in a country in which stone was scarce, and the Romans themselves mostly built with brick. After the retirement of the Romans the land became desolate; and the natives, harassed by continual invasions, must have rapidly relapsed into barbarism. The Saxons appear to have been a still ruder people than the Britons whom they dispossessed, and for some ages after their conversion to Christianity probably made slow progress in acquiring the arts of civilized life. Their buildings were constructed of timber, or wattled; and some of the very few churches which can with certainty be referred to the later Saxon period bear marks of the transition which was then going on from carpentry to masonry. This being the state of the case, it is no wonder that our simple forefathers were fain to let their names perish with them from the earth, trusting that they were written in a record from which they would never be effaced.

W. G. HUMPHRY.



THE EXTENSION OF THE FRANCHISE.

Speech of the CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, &c. *May* 11, 1864.
Speech of the Right Hon. ROBERT LOWE, M.P. *April* 26, 1866.
Considerations on Representative Government. By JOHN STUART MILL. Third Edition. 1865.
Constitutionalism of the Future. By JAMES LORIMER, Regius Professor of Public Law in the University of Edinburgh. 1865.

THE time seems to have come for a temperate review of one great public question in which all of us, whatever be our shades of political opinion, are practically interested. We mean the settlement of our parliamentary representation in such manner as is likely to be permanent, and as is fitted to preserve to us the public advantages we now enjoy. If the question were one of political party, in which private interests were involved, we should not attempt to discuss it. These are matters beyond our sphere. But happily there is on this a lull in popular excitement. For the efforts now made to gather large demonstrations indicate rather the intrigues of agitators than the spontaneous movements of the people. The last Session of Parliament has shown us, in a way not to be mistaken, that the gravity of the question has raised it above the passions and the ties of party politics. Whatever satire may be directed against the Adullamite or Tiers party, this is undeniable, that fifty or sixty gentlemen of liberal politics, general supporters of a liberal Government, above all imputation of sordid motives, detached themselves from their party, and endured obloquy, with the view of promoting the temperate settlement of this question. Whether we regard this fact as a type of political progress or as an expression of moderate opinion, it is equally significant. Other views of the state of public sentiment have shown themselves. Efforts have been made

by distinguished men, backed by the influence of Government, to excite agitation on this question, and they have failed. The appeals of Mr. Gladstone to Lancashire last spring were unsuccessful. The torpor shown, with the single exception of Birmingham, both in the metropolis and in our great towns, even in the "perfervidum ingenium Scotorum," is unmistakable. It is plain that the public mind refuses the application of the usual stimulants. Those who remember the passions of 1830 and 1831, and contrast them with the torpor prevailing during the last ten years, are struck by the change. There was at that time no agitator equal in position and eloquence to Mr. Bright. The system of agitation had not then been organized as it was in the struggle on the Corn Laws, yet Mr. Bright's agitation for some years has not much overpassed the local boundaries of half a dozen manufacturing towns. These signs, which mark that public opinion is in one of its deliberate moods, point out that the question of reform may now be handled by those who consult reason and experience, and have no party ends to serve.

There is another sign. To represent the English nation as divided into Tories and Reformers is palpably inaccurate. The desire for a settlement of the question is felt as keenly by Conservatives as by Liberals. Men of various sections, except those who desire a Republic, are earnestly desirous of an equitable adjustment,—Conservatives and Whigs alike inquiring for a solution of a difficult problem. Mr. Lowe, who rose to eminence during the last Session, was accused of characterizing the Reform Act of 1832 as perfection. We are far from endorsing the accusation; but of this we are sure, that if such was his idea he stood nearly alone. The bulk of the younger members on both sides of the House are anxious to find an escape from the difficulties now surrounding them by any scheme which promises to be at once moderate and lasting.

If we turn to the leaders of parties, even among them fewer difficulties than usual are to be found. The danger with the Conservatives, as has been shown on a former occasion, is lest they, in order to get rid of an immediate pressure, should catch too eagerly at an imperfect plan. Of Lord Russell we shall not speak, because we bear in mind his past services, and we could not speak with praise of his dealings with Reform. A statesman who first proclaims the settlement of 1832 to be final, then offers to Parliament some years ago a hasty project of Reform—when this is rejected, tells us to "rest and be thankful," and when that speech brings obloquy, resumes crude schemes of Reform,—can hardly be regarded as a safe guide in perilous times.

But whatever may be thought of Lord Russell's policy, we have indulged hopes from the temperament of Mr. Gladstone. We are

not insensible to his defects. But his genius is undeniable, and the earnestness which he has often shown in the defence of our national institutions—the very charge brought against him by his own supporters, of incoherency,—inspire us with hope. We know well the bondage of party, the iron yoke of the traditions which bind men to every item of a party creed. It is no light thing when a leader breaks the yoke and takes his own line, in defiance of the reproaches of a majority. This on many occasions Mr. Gladstone has done, and we had hoped therefore that he was peculiarly adapted to attempt the settlement of a perplexing problem. He held a great position. Though not Premier, he had the key of the Cabinet. He had only to threaten to retire, and the Cabinet was gone. He could dictate his terms. He was noways bound to defend an imperfect measure. He might prepare and impose, as he has done in his budgets, first on his colleagues, then on his party, a measure suitable to the exigencies of the times.

Even the speech prefixed to this article, if the preface is taken along with the text, shows us that, if in the heat of debate Mr. Gladstone is apt to make unguarded statements, a review in his own closet leads him to revise and modify them. It is true that in the measures of last Session our hopes have not been realized. We are not about to discuss the Reform Bill of 1866: it has gone to the tomb with its predecessors, and we have no wish to disturb its ashes; but it can hardly fail to operate as a wholesome warning. Our present object, then, is to take up and examine the problem of our party representation, to inquire what are its difficulties, and to mark at least the limits within which a satisfactory settlement may be found.

We offer at the outset this consideration, brought before us in one of the last letters of Lord Macaulay. Writing to an American correspondent, he pointed out the evils of the Constitution which Jefferson had inflicted upon the United States. We do not refer to America with the vulgar desire of increasing the dislike of its institutions, or pointing, as Mr. Bright is fond of doing, an inaccurate contrast between their Constitution and ours. We admire the spirit of the United States, their Saxon vigour and indomitable energy. The Southern States, though of different blood, have shown us in the late struggle that they can train noble minds. The combination of these races must give the world a great nation. In the United States individual examples of public spirit, self-reliance, industry, and genius abound. But we cannot read their newspapers, or look at the debates of their Congress, without feeling that it is not the best or greatest of the Americans who influence the public mind. There are exhibitions of intemperance, hatred, and violence, both against their fellow-citizens and against foreign nations, which are

much to be deplored. They make us tremble for the harmony of the States, and for the peace of the world. Nor can we forget a feature quite as notorious, the lobby-hunting and canvassing, bribery reduced to a system, which touches members of Congress and taints their councils. Whatever may be the defects of our House of Commons, these are not yet to be found. Our Parliament is pure in its action, if it is corrupt in some of its elections; and the passions which have been lately displayed in Congress, first to crush other States, and then to defy and overbear the Executive, have as yet no room in our House of Commons. The cause of these abuses in America (so Lord Macaulay wisely indicated) is that, by the Constitution of Jefferson, power has been thrown into the hands of all classes equally; and as the lowest class far outnumbers the other classes, the effect is to present the qualities and the faults of the lower class, as predominant both in the Congress which they return and in the newspapers which they read.

This is the evil of which the United States present us a practical example, which every man, who attempts to correct our representation, should now strive to avoid. It is not far from us. A wrong turn of the wheel may bring it down upon our constitutional machinery. If a man clings with Mr. Lowe to our actual Parliament, it is not because he thinks it perfect, but because he fears that a change may make our position worse. And a wrong step is irreparable. For if you let in another section of the lower class, you know that their first demand will be to open the door to the multitude who are shouting and thundering without; and they, once inside, are not likely to be, as in the United States, quiescent. There are not here waste lands and a new world into which those may pour, who are elbowed out of work and food by a sharp competition. We are packed within a narrow island: the sea is our fence; and when a pressure falls on our people, and they are driven to hard work and scanty fare, who shall say that when they are thrust against the walls and find them immovable, they will not fly at the restraints of society, and attempt to tear them down as unjust? They will accept the conclusions of the Workmen's Congress held last September in Geneva, and declare that the demands of the capitalist are unrighteous, and wages are a robbery of the working-man; and, with some English Proudhon or Louis Blanc to guide them, they will proceed to denounce property and capital, and drive society, terrified by the horrors of a red republic, to fly to the protection of bayonets and a vigorous general.

It is no answer to this fear to tell us, as Mr. Gladstone does, that some of the working classes have faith in their employers; and that others understand and respect the laws of society. Of course there are in that class, as in other classes, many excellent men. No doubt

the temper and spirit of that class is improving. But in all classes, while there is a virtuous minority, the majority are moved by self-interest. And if our laws are to be worth anything, we must legislate, not for the virtuous few, but for the selfish many; and we must take care that public law depends for its execution not on the exceptional qualities of the good, but on the self-interest of all.

It is in this point of view that the disclosures at the late inquiry into our Quadrilateral of Boroughs are instructive. They show us what are the motives which influence a large class of voters of the working class. These electors are indifferent to politics, but regard their vote as a useful instrument for obtaining a lump of money. We may argue that this applies chiefly to boroughs with a limited constituency; and, with some exceptions, this is true. But in larger constituencies the opening of public-houses on both sides is common; and, where the voters are too numerous to be bribed, they are not too numerous to be deceived. In such cases the candidate does not deal in money, but in promises. He is liberal, not with his purse, but with his predictions. He promises his hearers a political millennium, in which privilege shall cease and differences in fortune shall end, and none shall work hard, or be poor or in want. This, he says, may be effected by Parliament, and, if they will send him there he will join in securing it. These are the pinchbeck promises of demagogues, which pass with those who are uninformed for real coin; and when clever men circulate them, no wonder that they pass current and are welcomed by men too busy to study the laws of political economy, and too happy to accept what it is so pleasant to believe. These, then, are the seductions to which the working class are exposed,—the offer of £5 notes, and the bribery of impossible promises; and no system of representation is fitted to last which does not contemplate these evils, and make provision accordingly. It is a mere travestie of this argument to represent it as an attack upon the character of the working class. We deal in the same manner with the characteristic foibles of other classes. Take the other extreme. What is the description truly applicable to the upper class? We speak of its superior opportunities; but what is the character of a Government when it falls into the hands of an aristocracy? We read it in Venice; we read it to a large extent in the character of our own Government when in the hands of leading Whig and Tory families in the eighteenth century. Such a Government is of course conservative of property, especially conservative of property in land; conservative of rank and power, and to a certain extent of the position of the Crown. But it is prejudiced, obstinate, narrow, and exclusive; resisting progress and the laws which regulate trade; admitting corruption as an instrument of Government (only that place and honour are substituted for £5 notes); conniving at vice; careless of morals; hard to the poor;

treating the industrious classes as an inferior caste; sowing wide the sentiments of envy and dislike, which grow strong, and at last end in a sanguinary change.

If the Government of the lower class, *i. e.*, a democracy, has serious evils incidental to it, and tends to despotism, the Government of the upper class is no less to be deprecated, and leads inevitably to revolution.

What is the character of Government when the middle classes preponderate? for that is the type of our Government since the settlement of 1832. There are evils inherent in this also. On this point we presume to differ from Mr. Lowe. These evils have been touched with graphic satire by a writer in the *Saturday Review* (Sept. 1, 1860). In one way or another, money is the implement by which, under such a system, men find their way into the House of Commons; and, while property in land remains the basis of a county representation, money acquired or inherited by those who have made their fortunes in trade, manufacture, or locomotion, opens the doors of boroughs to a large class. These, from their circumstances, are imperfectly educated; and they bring into the House of Commons a certain amount of political inexperience, which, by degrees, affects the House. But to be just, we must set that fault against the fashionable follies which, under the old system, characterized the class of young representatives, whose merit was that they were born to fortune, and whose chief training had consisted in idle dissipation at college, and after that the racecourse, the hunting-field, and the ball-room. On the whole, though not so polished in deportment, we suspect that the House has gained by the change; and rough men, who defy the laws of grammar and pronunciation, have brought to Parliament a shrewdness and knowledge of business which are of value in public affairs.

But there is a vice to which such a Parliament is exposed. Not only is it apt to wink at bribery, and think corruption no such bad way of unlocking the door of the House, but it is inclined to dwell on the interests of capital to such an extent as to forget the national duty and the rights of labour. There were signs of this after the Reform Act of 1832, and it was only after a long struggle that Lord Ashley wrung from an unwilling House of Commons the social measure of the Ten Hours Bill. No doubt that measure at its outset obtained support from some benevolent capitalists. But the Manchester body resisted it vehemently, and nothing but the pressure of public opinion extorted it from the House. And this brings us to the existing defect of our Parliamentary system; and to that which seems to us, as we examine the present conflict, to be the basis of a reasonable compromise. Anything like a predominance of the working class within the House of Commons would, we are sure, be fatal to our institutions, and in the end destroy both capital and industry. But we hold no less

strongly that the working class ought to have a direct, though limited, representation in Parliament. It may be said they have that already. No doubt they have, and in two ways: first, by their votes in counties and boroughs (a power which Mr. Gladstone in his speech of 1865 underrated, but which has now been verified by figures); but secondly, in another way, which, we think, has not been sufficiently dwelt upon. Immediately on the passing of the Reform Act in 1832, there grew up, especially in towns, a new power, that of the publicans. That body rose in a moment to influence, and candidates had to stand before them hat in hand, and consult their wishes. But who moves the publicans? Who are the best customers of ale-houses, gin-palaces, and beer-shops? The worst and most dissipated part of the working class frequent these places, and are the masters of the publicans. But not only so: the small shopkeepers throughout our lanes and alleys derive their custom, not from the upper or middle class, but from working men. Every consideration of interest makes them side with their customers. Every canvasser knows this, and it is easy to see the political power which is thus placed in the hands of the labouring class. But admitting this, as we do, we yet contend that an indirect representation of that class is neither sufficient nor satisfactory. Better that the candidate should stand face to face with the working men, meet them as his constituents, hear their opinions from themselves, and tell them his own mind in his own words. This has a cementing and a beneficial power. The puzzle is how to combine this *direct representation of the more numerous class with the influence of the upper and middle class,* which are essential to safety and order.

On this point we put aside with a surprise amounting to impatience, not only the declamations of Mr. Bright, but the "flesh and blood" arguments of Mr. Gladstone. These bursts of inconsiderate rhetoric may suit the heated temper of a popular assembly at midnight, but have no place in the calm examination of a complicated question by impartial men. We have read such arguments with annoyance, and we wonder when they are used by a man of Mr. Gladstone's genius. He cannot but see the difficulties which beset a change in our parliamentary constitution; he cannot deny its hazards. Instead of shutting his eyes to these, and turning away from them the eyes of his audience (which is the work of a mob orator), his duty as a statesman is to look these difficulties fully in the face, and to endeavour to meet them by proper counterpoise and check. If indeed it is a statesman's object to break up our institutions, to smash their mechanism, as an African savage does a watch, break its springs, crush its wheels, and toss its diamond into the dirt, nothing is easier and no work is more thorough; but it is the work of a savage hand, utterly unworthy of men of forethought. These in-

stitutions of ours, so complete, so marvellously constructed, so nicely balanced, which have adjusted with such skill the buoyancy of popular enterprise and the balance of restraining order, the impulse of freedom and the securities of law, may be thought little of by a Manchester or Birmingham mob, or despised by an elector of Finsbury or Lambeth who holds that Alfred was a low fellow who lived somewhere in the time of the Stewarts, but they will be esteemed by every man worth the name of statesman, and they will be cherished as having solved a problem which has puzzled the rest of the world,—how to combine the most entire freedom of action on the part of each class with the general safety and industry of all. The problem now is, and it is one worthy of the highest talents to settle, how to enlarge our institutions without destroying them.

This brings us to the last work mentioned in the heading of our article, the "Constitutionalism of the Future," by Professor Lorimer. We must caution our readers against supposing that Professor Lorimer's sentiments are those of Mr. Mill, to whom he dedicates his volume. That Mr. Lorimer and all of us have learned much from Mr. Mill's political writings may readily be supposed. Few can have read his work on "Representative Government" without instruction. But Mr. Mill, the member for Westminster, is a different person from the political philosopher; and Professor Lorimer is noways identified with this later and lower phase of Mr. Mill's career.

The object of Professor Lorimer's work is twofold:—it discusses the measures of reform which were passed in 1832, or have been proposed since, and it seeks to set forth the principles on which the question of our Parliamentary representation may be permanently settled. In regard to the Act of 1832, the opinion of Coleridge is quoted:—"I cannot discover a ray of principle in the Government plan." There was however, we may say in passing, this rough principle, that a man who had a house of £10 a-year held a certain amount of property, and, it might be inferred, had both intelligence and an interest in the preservation of property. Mr. Lorimer tells us that the object of Parliament is to secure good government, and the Government has two leading functions,—to protect persons, and to protect property. Those are likely to feel the strongest interest in the latter object who have something to lose. Even Mr. Mill admits that property forms one test of representative fitness, and we apprehend that this is one of the qualifications, and therefore limitations, contemplated in the preface of Mr. Gladstone. If you confer a vote, you intend that the voter shall not neglect the performance of this primary duty; for Mr. Mill's notion that the polling-booth is a training school for the ignorant is too fantastical to be accepted.

But the vice of the Act of 1832, which soon became apparent, and

which has involved us in our present difficulties, is that the line drawn at £10 as an electoral qualification was an arbitrary line, accepted as long as nobody questioned it, but untenable as soon as it was attacked. Why should I be shut out who have a house of £9? Why should Tom Jones, who has a house of £8? Are we not as capable? Have we not the same interests and faculties? But this argument, destructive of the finality of the Act of 1832, is just as destructive of every reform bill proposed since, whether by Lord John Russell or by Lord Derby, or by Lord Russell and Mr. Gladstone last Session. Why draw a line at £8 or at £6? Will it remain there? Will it stop the pressure or satisfy those whom you leave in the cold? Will not those outside thunder as loudly until they force their way indoors? How long will the barrier last? Twelve years? Not twelve months! Before the Bill of last Session was settled, while it was in debate, we had the late Attorney General and the late Lord Advocate of Scotland giving up the very line the Government drew, and telling us that household suffrage was the only settlement that could stand. And they were right. A Reform Act, which pushes the line back from £10 to £8 or £6, is a mere halt, a timid, staggering step to universal suffrage.

What, then, is the evil and hazard of universal suffrage? Let us hear our learned professor; for on this point he, the disciple of Mr. Mill, discourses wisely and well. Mr. Lorimer thus speaks of this, the Radical doctrine. It came in with the French Revolution, and now stands before us in full height in the United States. Its effects in France have been to entail the despotism of Napoleon III. Mr. Lorimer says,—

> "The Emperor of the French is the living embodiment of the Leviathan of Hobbes; ostensibly founded on a plebiscite, his despotism continues to rest securely on the principle of equality, which Mazzini and Mr. Bright agree in advocating; and it is continually defended by himself, and accepted by his subjects, on the ground that it is the only refuge against anarchy. . . . His sway, all hostile to liberty though it be, is the most reputable outcome we have yet seen of a principle which has constituted the false element in Continental liberalism ever since the French Revolution."

The results of universal suffrage are (as Mr. Lorimer says, p. 40) to lead directly to the doctrine of the Levellers; it gives power to men who are indignant at their own position, who, being at the bottom of the social scale, would turn society upside down in order to reverse their place.

You may preach to them the soundest doctrines of political economy from the words of Mr. Mill or M. Thiers. You may warn them that capital is the fund for wages, and that labour needs capital. They flung these dogmas into the dirt with scorn at the

late Congress of Geneva. You are idle; they are hard worked. You loll and live well; they sweat and starve. Nothing will reconcile them to this arrangement, preach we ever so wisely. It is a wrong, and, as they have the power, they will redress the wrong. So they proscribe the rich, and distribute lands, and pass laws against capital; and wealth flies, and labour starves, and discontent grows, and hungry mobs hang the aristocrat, and the lamp-post is loaded, and the guillotine, and from these bloody pastimes society flies in terror to the protection of the bayonet and the cannon.

This is the process of universal suffrage in states of dense population, and it was the sharp experience which the French had of this danger in the first Revolution, that drove them, after a new taste of it in 1849 and 1850, in a paroxysm of terror into the arms of the Third Napoleon.

In our country, situated like France in population and industry, it is these same shadows, crossing our path, which drove thoughtful men of various parties to unite. They see the effects of ill-considered Reform, and they shrink back. Mr. Bright has been useful in giving substance to their fears. When he comes forward to patronize a mob, to praise physical demonstrations, to give the right hand to Mr. Beales, and to look kindly on the brickbats and bloody noses of the roughs of Hyde Park as better weapons to settle a lingering discussion than long speeches of eloquent debaters in the House of Commons, we see what is coming. So, forgetting the ends of party, independent Liberals gave the hand to moderate Conservatives.

But has this united party any reliable plan to offer us? This is now our practical question. At all events the Act of 1832 is gone. That crazy mill-dam has yielded to the stream. Lower the franchise, and you build your dam a few feet forward, where the stream is stronger and the stone and mud less adhesive. That seems a very vain proceeding. But, you say, we have two contrivances which will meet the case. The one is, spend money freely, buy your seat, and your constituents will leave you to vote as you like. The other is, fall in with the popular cry, whatever it is, in this way get your seat, and then, as a man of means and education, you will act in Parliament moderately, and keep things safe and quiet.

The first expedient is in great use. It has been carried on largely on both sides at the two last general elections, and is well understood and reduced to a system by the agents who haunt the rival clubs of the Carlton and Reform. Its fruits are before us in the exposures at the Commission now sitting on four boroughs which form a Quadrilateral of bribery; but, unhappily, the seare only specimens of a large class, for the boroughs which suffer from bribery and treating are legion.

To the rich man the system is convenient. He must indeed join a political party. In most cases he gets his introduction to the seat through one of the party agents, but subject to this he may be called an independent member; his seat is dirty, but it is tolerably secure. This is one way of counteracting Radicalism, but a very precarious way.

The other is the plan pursued by young Liberals whose purses are light and their foresight small. They offer themselves to a Radical constituency, and go in for the creed of Democracy. There is no pledge they won't give, no doctrine they won't bolt. They may, as Lord Amberley did at Leeds, try at first to qualify their opinions; but they soon find that impossible. So when they stand again, whether at Nottingham or Westminster, we find that they have swallowed the whole creed. They trust to events, to wiser heads or firmer principles, to stop the torrent before it sweeps them and their order away.

We are not here discussing the morality of these two plans. We are examining their sufficiency. Will they answer? Will they stop Democracy? Neither will. It is the old story of the French Revolution. The accomplished Girondin brings in, and for a time leads the movement, but he soon hesitates, and falters; bolder men trip him up. Roland, Brissot, and Vergniaud give place to Marat, Danton, and Robespierre.

These schemes are useful to provide seats in Parliament for *nouveaux riches*, or young titled Liberals, but they will not answer our purpose, for they will not preserve our liberties or save the Commonwealth.

The Conservative has another vision. Some think they can stop the stream, either by a limit of £8 or £6, or by causing a panic and rousing the fears of reflecting men, so as to produce a reaction against all reforms. This idea is well discussed by Mr. Lorimer, and shown to be ill-founded. You cannot always legislate in a panic. You cannot long resist the pressure of opinion, if it is reasonable as well as strong. The evils which you cannot deny must be removed. You must find some position which is unassailable by just argument. If you do, use it as your Quadrilateral, guard it, and fight for it. If there is no such position, and we, who want to escape revolution, cannot find a resting-place, then our case is hopeless, and the game is lost, and a struggle is vain. The stream may be stopped for a moment, but the sweep of opinion is irresistible, and will force its way in the end.

Mr. Lorimer thinks he has found for us a sound position, and we need not say with what earnestness we have examined it. He begins, as we understand him, by admitting Mr. Gladstone's dogma, which so terrified the Whigs in the Session of 1865, that every citizen in a free

state has a claim to the franchise, only with such natural limitations of sex and age as are admitted in the business of domestic life. A citizen must have passed his minority, and our Professor is not gallant enough to join hands with Mr. Mill, and to admit the fair sex to the polling-booth. Now if this position appears to many formidable, as it did to the House of Commons when announced by Mr. Gladstone, this at least must be said for it, that it goes to the bottom of the question. You have reached the ground, and if you can find materials for a structure of parliamentary representation, you may set to work with some hope that your building will last.

But there is another position with which our Professor accompanies this, which is not admitted by Hobbes, nor Mr. Bright, nor the preachers of French "Égalité." Though all men are subject to the laws, and therefore, with certain limitations, to be regarded as citizens with political rights, it is certain that by nature all men are not equal; they neither have the same natural capacity nor the same accidental advantages. There is a wide difference in their gifts of ability and in their social position. Humanity is not a dead level any more than the earth on which we stand. The earth has its ups and downs, and so has the moral and social condition of those who live on it. Deny a citizen, capable of age, who contributes to the State, a place in managing the State, you wrong him, and he will never rest till he has righted himself. But tell him he does his part, and he shall have his rights, only these will be adjusted to the amount of help he gives, you put him in his proper place, and the more he thinks, the more the justice of this treatment appears. He sees that all men are not made alike, have not the same capacities, were not born with the same advantages. A man born to wealth has means of improvement which cannot be possessed by the labourer, and the labourer shows in his daily practice that he is sensible of this, for he comes to the man above him for work, for help, and for advice.

That political rights should be equal to every one is the dogma of French theory; that political rights should be enjoyed by every one, but graduated fairly to their place in the state, is the doctrine of common sense, and the foundation of that political system which has lasted for centuries in England.

That system, as Mr. Lorimer shows us, finds already its distinct expression in our political institutions. Its first exhibition is in our monarchy, where a single family is chosen, to the exclusion of all other families, as the one from which the first magistrate can alone be taken. If all men, according to Mr. Bright, are equal, monarchy is indefensible, and the arrangement of an American president, after which the democrat yearns, follows of necessity. Only we may say in passing, not a president with such autocratic power as

Andrew Johnson is now using to the annoyance of the advanced republican.

The next feature of our Constitution is our peerage. "Each peer," as Mr. Lorimer says, "possesses an amount of direct political power equal to that of a whole constituency of commoners. The peerage therefore is an example of the constitutional principle of the recognition of inequality in favour of the wealthiest and most influential portion of society." The radical politician is therefore in this dilemma: either he admits inequality to be the basis of our political system, or he must declare himself an opponent of the House of Lords. This, no doubt, Mr. Bright is, and a great many more besides. But this is not a position, we imagine, which the great Liberal party would like to take up; and, fluctuating and uncertain as are Mr. Gladstone's opinions, this is hardly a view which as yet he is prepared to maintain. But if you accept inequality as a basis of our polity, and give to large fortunes or eminent services a fixed place in our representative system, you must accept the same position in the reform of the House of Commons; for when you tell us, and truly, that the House of Commons now preponderates in the State, and has almost a sovereign power, you are advancing the strongest reasons for the recognition of inequality as the basis of the reform of the Lower House. Otherwise that House cannot long remain in its place, nor can it continue to work in harmony with monarchy and the House of Lords. It is plain to all reflecting men, that if you continue to lower the franchise in the House of Commons, and throw power into the hands of the most numerous and lowest class, the days of the peerage are numbered, and the monarchy will soon follow. The first will pass in a few years: the monarchy may continue, as Louis Philippe's did, for a time, crippled and broken, but in the end it will die. For the law of equality is the law of the French Revolution, and that law leads always, first to the triumph of democracy; then, after a short, sharp struggle, to the destruction of property and capital; and then, through intolerable confusion, to an imperial despotism. But the law of English policy, transmitted to us from Saxon times, recognised in our early institutions, and up to this time ingrained in our habits, is the law of nature and of God,—the law which rules the material world and is fitted to the varieties of our moral constitution. The only reform which is consistent with that great natural law—unhappily overlooked in the debate of 1832, but which, if parties will only open their eyes, may be now asserted—is the law which, admitting that men are unequal in birth, faculties, and fortune, adapts our Parliamentary representation to these inequalities, and gives to men proportionate influence in the selection of members.

We agree with Mr. Lorimer that this doctrine is the only foundation

for a lasting settlement of reform. With these impressions we do not appeal to the demagogue and the republican. They have their objects, and they hate our English system. They yearn for the equality of the French Revolution, and the democracy of the United States. The Brights, Bealeses, and Joneses are types of a class who will always, in this country, have a large and tumultuous following. But we do not believe that they represent the sentiments of the great body of the English people. The nation, as they showed remarkably in 1848, are firmly attached to order and law: they wish to preserve not only the rights of labour, but the rights of capital. They respect not only the industry which is working now, but the fruits of industry which are laid up and stored. They are aware (and every day makes them more so) what is due to the working classes, the neglect with which they have been treated, and the need there is of a vigilant attention to their wants and an active protection of their comforts. But they know, what the demagogue is careful to forget, that if the working classes are left as the only masters, they will do here what they have done elsewhere in all densely-populated countries,—they will try to raise themselves by pulling down the classes above them; and, by laws regulating land, wages, and profits, they will shake capital and starve industry. Not that the working classes are in England generally discontented; for, whilst the section of the working classes who live in cities fall under the influence of leaders, and chafe against the present order, the bulk of the labouring class in our small towns, hamlets, and rural districts, have no wish but to go on as they are, improving in the comforts of their homes, rising in wages, and steadily thriving under the shelter of paternal laws, and forming more friendly intimacies with the classes above them.

It is true that a working man would be unable to explain or perhaps to trace the connection between his comforts and our balanced institutions; all he knows is, he is well off; he can't tell you why. No doubt if a clever talker were to come and assure him that he suffers wrongs, that he might be richer, and more at his ease, and live better, he would (such is the credulity of all of us) be induced to believe him. Quacks and demagogues appeal to the same weakness in our nature, and live by it. This is their trade. Statesmen have a different duty. Their business in Parliament is to face the facts, and to deal with the realities of life. They must leave off deception, and speak kindly but truly to their countrymen. On this branch of the question Mr. Lowe did good service, nor was Mr. Gladstone's onslaught on him justifiable. Perhaps we might have desired, in part of Mr. Lowe's remarks, a kinder and more sympathetic tone with our working men; but he was borne out by facts in pointing out the errors and temptations by

which as a class they are beset. At all events, be their merits what they may, one class ought not to monopolize the Government, either for their own sake, or for the good of the Commonwealth,—they should share power, not absorb it.

We would hope, now that the passions of Parliamentary debate are laid, that men of all parties will unite in an honest effort to enlarge, without destroying, our political franchises. If we revolutionize our Parliament, we shall change fatally the destinies of England. This at least is certain, that nowhere in this wide world is there to be found a country in which men are packed so close in numbers and wealth, and where industry is so well rewarded, action so free, and yet order so perfect.

If you ask what part of our institutions has effected this, we answer without hesitation, *the union of all classes in the Government,* and the combination both of their talents and their interest in the administration of public affairs. One omission there has been. On this point we differ from Mr. Lowe; we have not obtained all the assistance we might from the views and feelings of working-men. They have been, we will not say excluded from Government, but appealed to indirectly, and therefore incompletely. We trust that through a wise reform they will obtain the place and power in the work of legislation which belongs to them. But while they are admitted to these rights, their numbers must not be allowed such influence as to drive out of Government the middle and upper class, who bring to its work an amount of leisure, intelligence, and experience which are essential to good legislation.

We wish we could be sure that the scheme of the present Cabinet would be founded on this sound principle. We fear, rather, that we shall find it only a new modification of the old principle, which is radically unsound. If it is the tune of 1832, with variations, we can wish it no success. It is a measure which will not extricate us from difficulties, but rather increase them. A little lower franchise in the boroughs, a modified franchise in the counties, what is this but a halting expedient to meet a hasty and ignorant demand? This will never give us what we want, what we have had for centuries, the principle to which we owe our greatness, our liberties and order,—the union of all classes in the Government, and the fair participation of all our citizens, according to the degree of their gifts and opportunities, in the construction of our laws.

To substitute for this the inferior principle of the French Revolution and of Jefferson in the United States, that men are to be taken by the head, vote by numbers, and have power over law-making and law-administering in proportion as they hold the lowest place in society, this is not a reform of our institutions, but a radical

change. If all men are equal, and all have equal votes, then Government passes of necessity into the hands of the most numerous class, and their flatterers will be our ministers. The "demos" and demagogues will rule alone. Inside the Cabinet will sit the Potters, Brights, Joneses, Bealeses; the intelligence, prudence, and patriotism of England will wander outside in the cold. The picture by *Punch* of Frankenstein, with his pipe, above, and Mr. Bright crouching under the giant's legs, is the picture of our future government. It is idle to try, as Mr. Mill does in part of his work on "Representative Government," to escape from this conclusion. Mr. Mill says that universal suffrage will educate the people, that they will then follow the leading of the upper class and will respect our laws and institutions. What evidence does he give of this? He has himself answered his theory, and by irresistible arguments. He shows us the decisive experience of the United States. Thus,—

> "The first minds in the country are as effectually shut out from the national representation, and from public functions generally, as if they were under a formal disqualification. The 'demos' too being in America the one source of power, all the selfish ambition of the country gravitates towards it, as it does in despotic countries towards the monarch. The people, like the despot, is pursued with adulation and sycophancy, and the corrupting effects of power fully keep pace with its improving and ennobling influences."—(Pp. 165-6.)

He further shows us, what is indeed plain, that if this is the result in America, much more will it occur in England. With universal suffrage, "the great majority of voters in most countries, and emphatically in this, would be manual labourers, and the twofold danger—that of too low a standard of political intelligence, and that of class legislation—would exist in a very perilous degree."—(P. 173.) He therefore suggests that voters should not have an equal voice; and in order to correct the instincts of a democratic majority by securing in Parliament an aristocratic minority, and to provide the people with leaders of a higher grade of intellect and character than itself (pp. 150-1), he proposes a plan, brought out by Mr. Hare and recommended by Professor Fawcett. Professor Lorimer suggests another and different plan, which all may learn for themselves who will read his volume.

We are not about to set forth in detail, or to recommend in practice, either plan. That is not our place. We do not agree with Mr. Mill in casting aside property as an unfair test of political power. We do agree with him when he says that every one who has a vote should pay taxes to the State (pp. 170-2). But our only business is to point to leading principles which should form the compass for our navigation through this rough sea. And among them we venture to indicate two, which may be regarded as maxims, and may be embodied

in a single sentence,—No rates, no political rights. Men should have rights in proportion to their rates. You may not be able, as Mr. Mill would have you, to meet an elector at the polling-booth with the schoolmaster, and put him through his primer, but of this you are certain,—that any man of industry and conduct in this country has the means of getting, if he will, and storing up some property, and when he has got it the State will find it out and tax him. If these are admitted as maxims for Parliamentary reform, it is for statesmen to work these maxims into a formula of law. This may be done in many ways. To any way hitherto proposed we might offer plausible objections. But this should be fixed in our minds, that all the objections to Mr. Hare's plan, or Professor Lorimer's plan, or any like plan, are as dust in the balance when weighed against the countless objections to the plans lately proposed and that are now hinted at as forthcoming; for these, by setting back an arbitrary line from £10 to £8, or £6, or suggesting as a *tertium quid* the expedient of household suffrage, upset the basis of our institutions, drive out of Government the classes which have leisure, knowledge, and prudence, and cast our complex interests of wealth, wages, and capital into the hands of the class who least understand them, and are most easily led to injure them.

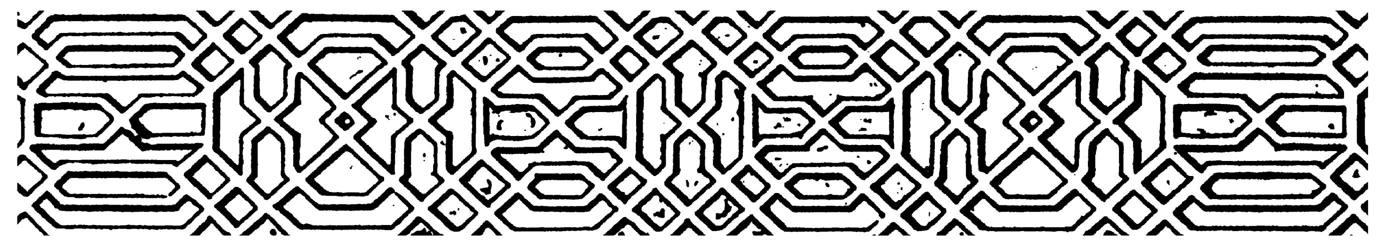
This is to adopt the quaint practice of Japanese statesmen, and to rip ourselves up with very rough tools before the eyes of the public. No doubt, by the fortunate interposition of the House of Commons, the late Cabinet were constrained to confine the operation to themselves in place of extending it to us; but we confess, though thankful for our escape, we breathe short and quick as we think of the risk we ran.

It is a sign of the deteriorating influence of party, that Mr. Mill and Professor Fawcett, who have explained to us so clearly in their writings the mischief of a plan of reform founded on this levelling principle, were yet found, last Session, among those who spoke and voted for it. They have taught us in their works that to hand over the administration of public affairs to the working class, without check or counterpoise, is a measure fatal to our prosperity. Yet this was the inevitable result of the ministerial plan of reform. We hope, though we do not profess to be sanguine, that they, and other politicians, will henceforth adopt a juster view of their responsibility as members of Parliament. To those of them, at least, who have achieved a reputation as political thinkers, the trammels of party are no correct measure of their public duty. We know by experience how seriously the representative is hampered by the short-sighted impatience of his constituents; how easily, when the leaders of a party adopt a hazardous project, it may be forced down the throats of their

partisans in the House by the pressure of popular clamour out-of-doors. This fact ought, at least, to impose the restraints of much forethought on the leaders of the Liberal party, whether they sit on the right or the left of the Speaker's chair. They have a great power, and cannot escape its responsibility. The question of our representation is important, and a false step made now is irretrievable. There are no steps back from the Cave of Cacus. It will be a miserable reflection hereafter to Mr. Gladstone, that a great opportunity for a patriotic course was placed in his hands and that he wilfully threw it away; that he recovered power for his party, but sacrificed his country. He had once nobler aspirations: we will not believe, on any authority but his own, that he has abandoned them.

The present Cabinet have also their responsibility. There are two courses before them, for we agree with Mr. Henley that the third course—of inaction—is not possible. They may offer us a subterfuge, a partial and tricky reform, a twist of the hand downwards to a lower mark. We need not repeat the exposure of that course of policy. But its evils are equally great to the Cabinet. The scheme will fail, and the Cabinet will fall. But there is another course open to them: to take up a clear principle, to present it frankly to the country, and to follow it fairly to its issue. It may appear hazardous, but in the end it will be found safe. It sweeps away rotten foundations, but it builds on the soil. It gives to every class the franchise, which every industrious citizen can get and has a right to claim; but it proportions his power to his stake in the Commonwealth. It opens the door wide to honest industry; but it puts all classes in their natural gradation. Some will shrink from it as radical; the demagogue will denounce it as aristocratic; but it is simple, intelligible and defensible; and it has this great merit, that it is of a piece with our political institutions; it fits into them, and it tends to preserve them.

AN EX-M.P.



NOTICES OF BOOKS.

A Chronological Synopsis of the Four Gospels; designed to show that, on a Minute Critical Analysis, the Writings of the Four Evangelists contain no Contradictions within themselves. By H. GRENVILLE. London: J. Russell Smith.

WE do not know why this little book should have been announced with any boast, as containing new discovery. For on examination we find that the old unsatisfactory assumptions of the harmonists are, even at this time of day, repeated by Mr. Grenville. For example, the precisely similar offer to become our Lord's disciple on the part of two men in succession, related by St. Matthew, early in His ministry, ch. viii. 19—22, and by St. Luke, near its end, ch. ix. 57—60, are here assumed, as by Greswell, to have happened on two different occasions, and are arranged accordingly in the chronological tables. Unfairness like this would be sufficient to condemn any book of this kind; and really, after it, we need not examine much farther. But we could not help catching some renderings which seem to show that Mr. Grenville's scholarship, at least in New Testament Greek, is hardly up to the mark for a task, in performing which the delicate shades of truth which come out in accurate rendering are so important. When a man renders *εἰ υἱος εἶ τοῦ Θεοῦ*, "If thou be A SON OF GOD," we feel as if we did not care much about his judgment where philology is in question. When we see, in addition to this, in his note on John iv. 44, "The conjunction *γάρ* must, I think, be translated 'ALTHOUGH' (not 'FOR')," our small estimate of the author's scholarship is still further narrowed. And the zero point is reached, when we find him rendering *ἀμὴν λέγω σοι σήμερον μετ' ἐμοῦ ἔσῃ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ*, "Verily I say unto thee to-day, thou shalt be with me in paradise." If it be possible to pass beyond that zero point, and mark our author's scholarship with a negative sign, we are tempted to adopt that estimate when we read (p. 33), as a solution of the Greek account in Matt. xxvii. 5, of the death of Judas, *καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἀπήγξατο*, "which I would render LITERALLY (*sic*), 'And going out, HAD A STRANGULATION,' the meaning being that Judas (falling as he dashed out of the temple) died of a 'violent RUPTURE OF THE BOWELS,'

which is designated under its worst form, as STRANGULATIVE HERNIA." And we feel that folly is added to ignorance, as we proceed, and read,—

"This interpretation is fully in accordance with the account in the Acts. Perhaps it may also be deemed to fulfil prophecy [see 109th Psalm (applied to Judas), 18-19]: 'As he clothed himself with cursing like as with his garment, so let it come *into his bowels like water*, and like oil into his bones: let it be unto him as the garment which covereth him, and for a girdle (TRUSS), WHEREWITH HE IS GIRDED CONTINUALLY.'"

After this, we may well say,—

"Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis."

It is not by such egregious nonsense that the cause of truth is to be served. A man ought to be ashamed for having committed to print, in our days, the trash which we have quoted; and there is much more of the same sort behind.

Prison Life of Jefferson Davis: Embracing Details and Incidents in his Captivity, with Conversations on Topics of Public Interest. By Brevet Lieut.-Col. JOHN J. CRAVEN, M.D., late Surgeon U. S. Volunteers, and Physician of the Prisoner during his Confinement in Fortress Monroe, from May 25, 1865, to December 25, 1865. London: Sampson Low & Co.

THIS book carries on its title a motto from Barry O'Meara's "Journal of Napoleon's Life at St. Helena;" and its contents will remind many readers of that somewhat similar work. But there will be a difference, and to the advantage of Dr. Craven. We have here none of the kind of matter which made that Journal so tiresome and offensive to good taste: and besides, the hero, though of course inferior in genius to Napoleon, is, in all that is really great in man, vastly his superior.

The treatment of the fallen chief of the Confederate States will ever remain a dark spot in the history of the American people. By whatever advice, and in pursuance of whatever policy, the refinements of cruelty here related were practised, they are simply a disgrace to humanity. In almost every instance, no purpose whatever could be served by them, but that of petty revenge in inflicting personal suffering. It is humiliating to think that it should have been reserved for an educated Christian nation in this nineteenth century to revive the scenes of the barbarous Roman triumphs of old, when the gorgeous procession to the Capitol terminated by the execution or starvation of the conquered leader in the Mamertine vaults. That such was the case, let the following description show:—

"On the morning of the 23rd of May, a yet bitterer trial was in store for the proud spirit—a trial severer, probably, than has ever in modern times been inflicted upon any one who had enjoyed such eminence. This morning Jefferson Davis was shackled.

"It was while all the swarming camps of the armies of the Potomac, the Tennessee, and Georgia—over two hundred thousand bronzed and laurelled veterans—were preparing for the grand review of the next morning, in which, passing in endless succession before the mansion of the President, the conquering military power of the nation was to lay down its arms at the feet of the civil authority, that the following scene was enacted at Fort Monroe.

"Captain Jerome E. Titlow, of the 3rd Pennsylvania Artillery, entered the prisoner's cell, followed by the blacksmith of the fort and his assistant, the latter carrying in his hands some heavy and harshly-rattling shackles. As they entered, Mr. Davis was reclining on his bed, feverish and weary after a sleepness night, the food placed near to him the preceding day still lying untouched on its tin plate near his bedside.

"'Well?' said Mr. Davis, as they entered, slightly raising his head.

"'I have an unpleasant duty to perform, sir,' said Captain Titlow; and, as he spoke, the senior blacksmith took the shackles from his assistant.

"Davis leaped instantly from his recumbent attitude, a flush passing over his face for a moment, and then his countenance growing livid and rigid as death.

"He gasped for breath, clutching his throat with the thin fingers of his right hand, and then recovering himself slowly, while his wasted figure towered up to its full height—now appearing to swell with indignation and then to shrink with terror, as he glanced from the captain's face to the shackles—he said, slowly, and with a labouring chest—

"'My God! You cannot have been sent to iron me?'

"'Such are my orders, sir,' replied the officer, beckoning the blacksmith to approach, who stepped forward, unlocking the padlock, and preparing the fetters to do their office. These fetters were of heavy iron, probably five-eighths of an inch in thickness, and connected together by a chain of like weight. I believe they are now in the possession of Major-General Miles, and will form an interesting relic.

"'This is too monstrous,' groaned the prisoner, glaring hurriedly round the room, as if for some weapon or means of self-destruction. 'I demand, Captain, that you let me see the commanding officer. Can he pretend that such shackles are required to secure the safe custody of a weak old man, so guarded, and in such a fort as this?'

"'It could serve no purpose,' replied Captain Titlow. 'His orders are from Washington, as mine are from him.'

"'But he can telegraph,' interposed Mr. Davis, eagerly. 'There must be some mistake. No such outrage as you threaten me with is on record in the history of nations. Beg him to telegraph, and delay until he answers.'

"'My orders are peremptory,' said the officer, 'and admit of no delay. For your own sake, let me advise you to submit with patience. As a soldier, Mr. Davis, you know I must execute orders.'

"'These are not orders for a soldier,' shouted the prisoner, losing all control of himself. 'They are orders for a gaoler—for a hangman, which no soldier wearing a sword should accept! I tell you the world will ring with this disgrace. The war is over; the South is conquered; I have no longer any country but America, and it is for the honour of America, as for my own honour and life, that I plead against this degradation. Kill me! kill me!' he cried, passionately, throwing his arms wide open and exposing his breast, 'rather than inflict on me, and on my people through me, this insult worse than death.'

"'Do your duty, blacksmith,' said the officer, walking towards the embrasure as if not caring to witness the performance. 'It only gives increased pain on all sides to protract this interview.'

"At these words the blacksmith advanced with the shackles, and, seeing that the prisoner had one foot upon the chair near his bedside, his right hand resting on the back of it, the brawny mechanic made an attempt to slip one of the shackles over the ankle so raised; but, as if with the vehemence and strength which frenzy can impart, even to the weakest invalid, Mr. Davis suddenly seized his assailant and hurled him half-way across the room.

"On this Captain Titlow turned, and seeing that Davis had backed against the wall for further resistance, began to remonstrate, pointing out in brief, clear language, that this course was madness, and that orders must be enforced at any cost. 'Why compel me,' he said, 'to add the further indignity of personal violence to the necessity of your being ironed?'

"'I am a prisoner of war,' fiercely retorted Davis. 'I have been a soldier in the armies of America, and know how to die. Only kill me, and my last breath shall be a blessing on your head. But while I have life and strength to resist, for myself and for my people, this thing shall not be done.'

"Hereupon Captain Titlow called in a sergeant and file of soldiers from the next room, and the sergeant advanced to seize the prisoner. Immediately Mr. Davis flew on him, seized his musket, and attempted to wrench it from his grasp.

"Of course such a scene could have but one issue. There was a short, passionate scuffle. In a moment Davis was flung upon his bed, and before his four powerful assailants removed their hands from him, the blacksmith and his assistant had done their work—one securing the rivet on the right ankle, while the other turned the key in the padlock on the left.

"This done, Mr. Davis lay for a moment as if in stupor. Then slowly raising himself and turning round, he dropped his shackled feet to the floor. The harsh clank of the striking chain seems first to have recalled him to his situation, and, dropping his face into his hands, he burst into a passionate flood of sobbing, rocking to and fro, and muttering at brief intervals, 'Oh, the shame, the shame!'"*

The concluding words will be echoed by the whole civilized world in all future ages. We have no concern whatever with the great quarrel of which this imprisonment forms not the closing, nor, we imagine, the penultimate scene: but we have to do with the unerring instincts of our Christianized

race: and those instincts teach us to abhor and loathe such treatment of the vanquished as is here described. And this treatment did not, as indeed it could not, stop here. We have used the expression "refinement of cruelty." And what else can it be called, to insist on the prisoner's meals being served, at inconvenient hours, three times a day, in spite of (may we not say *because* of?) the medical report that his usual habit, and his health, required food at other hours, and twice a day? Of course it is not for us to judge the motives of those who counselled such treatment: but thus much seems an inevitable conclusion, that they had a double purpose in view: *appearance* of safe custody, prevention of suicide, &c., and yet, with this appearance, a scheme to wear the prisoner out and put an end to him by the infliction of suffering. That kindness and sympathy found their way through this cordon, ran this blockade, is no more than might have been expected from the chivalrous spirit of soldiers, and the compassionate heart of Christians. Dr. Craven's narrative does honour to him: and not only to him, but to the successive officers of the day, without whose presence none of his visits were made.

The reader will be interested with the abundant notices which this book contains of the character and acquirements of the late "rebel" president. We were hardly prepared to find that his mind had been so stored with such varied and accurate information on scientific and physical subjects:—

"He talked of the molluscs and crustacea of the coast, this appearing a favourite subject, and his remarks being much pleasanter, though of less interest, than when given a political complexion. He possesses a large, varied, and practical education; the geology, botany, and all products of his section appearing to have in turn claimed his attention. Not the superficial study of a pedant, but the practical acquaintance of a man who has turned every day's fishing, shooting, riding, or pic-nicking, to scientific account."—(Pp. 72-3.)

That this is so, is repeatedly shown in the recorded conversations. Nor is his mind unacquainted with subjects of a very different kind:—

"*June* 17*th*.—Visited Mr. Davis with Captain Korte, officer of the day. General Miles, learning that the pacing of the two sentinels in his room at night disturbed Mr. Davis and prevented his sleeping, gave orders that the men should stand at ease during their two hours of guard, both night and day, instead of pacing their accustomed beat. This, Mr. Davis said, was much pleasanter for him, but cruel for the men, obliged to stand so long in one position, as if they had been bronze or marble statues. Feared, as it cost them suffering, it would make them hate him more, as the cause—though innocent—of their inconvenient attitude; and there were plenty of men wearing uniforms of that colour who hated him more than enough already.

"From this point Mr. Davis glided off to some considerations of statuary, commenting on the growing taste for representing animals, birds, and men, in painful or impossible attitudes in the *basso-relievos*, bronzes, and other ornaments of modern sculpture. Stricken deer contorted by death-wounds; horses with sides lacerated by the claws of a clinging tiger; partridges, or other birds, choking in snares or pierced with arrows; dying Indians, wounded gladiators, dying soldiers—pain or death in every variety of grade, seemed to form the present staples for popular bronze and Parian ornament. Our sculptors made their horses stand eternally with fore-paws poised in air, in an attitude only possible for a moment to the living animal. Such works were not pleasing, but the reverse. They fretted the sensibilities with petty pain, and lacked the repose which should form the chief charm of sculpture. The groups of the Laocöon and Dying Gladiator were the only eminent works of antiquity of which he had heard or seen casts, in which pain or horror had been the elements depicted; and in these the treatment had been so overwhelmingly grand as to numb the sense of suffering by the splendour of their beauty. For modern sculpture, however—the statuary designed for parlour ornaments—he wished to see more pleasant themes. The agony of a wounded deer or bird could have nothing to recommend it but the fidelity of imitation with which the agony was portrayed; while in the Laocöon, there was the Titanic struggle of the father to free his children from the coils of the serpent, and behind the Dying Gladiator rose up the gazing circles of the amphitheatre—each subject wakening trains of thought and emotion which concealed our sense of physical pain, or only allowed it to obtrude as a sort of undertone, or diapason, to the awful beauty of the picture.

"Mr. Davis, on this subject, was really eloquent, showing a keen appreciation of art, and I only regret that my notes report him so imperfectly. It struck me as a strange place for such a dissertation, a strange man strangely circumstanced to be its author, and a strange incident—two armed soldiers standing like statues within a cell—to have given origin in such a mind to a lecture on the æsthetics of repose applied to modern sculpture." —(Pp. 89-92.)

One passage we will quote, as it goes directly to the point of the position of the South in the opinion of its chief:—

"Mr. Davis said it was contrary to reason and the law of nations to treat as a rebellion, or lawless riot, a movement which had been the deliberate action of an entire people through their duly organized state governments. To talk of treason in the case of the South, was to oppose an arbitrary epithet against the authority of all writers on international law. Vattel deduces from his study of all former precedent—and all subsequent international jurists have agreed with him—that when a nation separates into two parts, each claiming independence, and both or either setting up a new government, their quarrel, should it come to trial by arms or by diplomacy, shall be regarded and settled precisely as though it were a difference between two separate nations, which the divided sections, *de facto*, have become. Each must observe the laws of war in the treatment of captives taken in battle, and such negotiations as may from time to time arise shall be conducted as between independent and sovereign powers. Mere riots, or conspiracies for lawless objects, in which only limited fractions of a people are irregularly engaged, may be properly treated as treason, and punished as the public good may require; but Edmund Burke had exhausted argument on the subject in his memorable phrase, applied to the first American movement for independence: 'I know not how an indictment against a whole people shall be framed.'

"But for Mr. Lincoln's untimely death, Mr. Davis thought, there could have been no question raised upon the subject. That event—more a calamity to the South than North in the time and manner of its transpiring—had inflamed popular passions to the highest pitch, and made the people of the section which had lost their chief now seek as an equivalent the life of the chief of the section conquered. This was an impulse of passion, not a conclusion which judgment or justice could support. Mr. Lincoln, through his entire administration, had acknowledged the South as a belligerent nationality, exchanging prisoners of war, establishing truces, and sometimes sending, sometimes receiving propositions for peace. On the last of these occasions, accompanied by the chief member of his cabinet, he had personally met the commissioners appointed by the Southern States to negotiate, going half-way to meet them not far from where Mr. Davis now stood; and the negotiations of General Grant with General Lee, just preceding the latter's surrender, most distinctly and clearly pointed to the promise of a general amnesty; General Grant, in his final letter, expressing the hope that, with Lee's surrender, 'all difficulties between the sections might be settled without the loss of another life,' or words to that effect." —(Pp. 95-7.)

The following possesses an interest of its own, besides its testimony to our views at the beginning of this notice:—

"'Doctor,' he said, 'had you ever the consciousness of being watched? Of having an eye fixed on you every moment, intently scrutinizing your most minute actions, and the variations of your countenance and posture? The consciousness that the Omniscient Eye rests upon us, in every situation, is the most consoling and beautiful belief of religion. But to have a human eye riveted on you in every moment of waking or sleeping, sitting, walking, or lying down, is a refinement of torture on anything the Camanches or Spanish Inquisition ever dreamed. They, in their ignorance of cruel art, only struck at the body; and the nerves have a very limited capacity of pain. This is a maddening, incessant torture of the mind, increasing with every moment it is endured, and shaking the reason by its incessant recurrence of miserable pain. Letting a single drop of water fall on the head every sixty seconds does not hurt at first, but its victim dies of raving agony, it is alleged, if the infliction be continued. The torture of being incessantly watched is, to the mind, what the water-dropping is to the body, but more effective, as the mind is more susceptible of pain. The Eye of Omniscience looks upon us with tenderness and compassion; even if conscious of guilt, we have the comfort of knowing that Eye sees also our repentance. But the human eye for ever fixed upon you is the eye of a spy or enemy, gloating in the pain and humiliation which itself creates. I have lived too long in the woods to be frightened by an owl, and have seen death too often to dread any form of pain; but I confess, doctor, this torture of being watched begins to prey on my reason. The lamp burning in my room all night would seem a torment devised by some one who had intimate knowledge of my habits, my custom having been through life never to sleep except in total darkness.'"—(Pp. 133-4.)

This is his estimate of his own character, considered in connection with the tactics of the Southern opposition :—

"From the first there was a strong party in the South—or rather in the Southern Congress and political life—arrayed against his administration. They never deemed it wise to attack him personally or directly, for his people were devotedly and nobly faithful to the representative of their selection; but the plan was to assail any man or measure in whom or which Mr. Davis was supposed, often erroneously, to take special interest. He himself was much to blame for this, perhaps—his fidelity to friendship and the natural combativeness of his nature, prompting him to assume as personal to himself any assaults directed against men or measures for whose appointment or origination he was in any degree responsible. This was a fault of his temperament, but each man must accept himself as he stands, and that man does well who makes out of himself the best possible." —(Pp. 142-3.)

Every reader will be thankful to us for the following extract respecting a man whose place is among history's true heroes :—

"Of Stonewall Jackson, Mr. Davis spoke with the utmost tenderness, and some touch of reverential feeling, bearing witness to his earnest and pathetic piety, his singleness of aim, his immense energy as an executive officer, and the loyalty of his nature, making obedience the first of all duties. 'He rose every morning at three,' said Mr. Davis; 'performed his devotions for half an hour, and then went booming along at the head of his command, which came to be called "Jackson's foot cavalry," from the velocity of their movements. He had the faculty, or rather gift, of exciting and holding the love and confidence of his men to an unbounded degree, even though the character of his campaigning imposed on them more hardships than on any other troops in the service. Good soldiers care not for their individual sacrifices when adequate results can be shown, and these General Jackson never lacked. Hard fighting, hard marching, hard fare, the strictest discipline—all these men will bear if visibly approaching the goal of their hopes. They want to get done with the war, back to their homes and families; and their instinct soon teaches them which commander is pursuing the right means to accomplish these results. Jackson was a singularly ungainly man on horseback, and had many peculiarities of temper, amounting to violent idiosyncrasies; but everything in his nature, though here and there uncouth, was noble. Even in the heat of action, and when most exposed, he might be seen throwing up his hands in prayer. For glory he lived long enough,' continued Mr. Davis with much emotion, 'and if this result had to come, it was the Divine mercy that removed him. He fell like the eagle, his own feather on the shaft that was dripping with his life-blood. In his death the Confederacy lost an eye and arm, our only consolation being that the final summons could have reached no soldier more prepared to accept it joyfully. Jackson was not of a sanguine turn, always privately anticipating the worst, that the better might be more welcome.'"—(Pp. 144-6.)

We shall conclude with a testimony to that portion of the ex-President's character which is in no man's case to be, as is the custom in some biographies, lightly paraded before the public; and which accordingly gains in our estimation by the reserved and modest way in which Dr. Craven introduces it :—

"*July* 21*st.*—Mr. Davis better, but still in bed; the Bible and Prayer-book his usual companions. Complained that his irritation of sight made reading painful, but there was consolation for greater sacrifice in what he read.

"There was no affectation of devoutness or asceticism in my patient, but every opportunity I had of seeing him convinced me more deeply of his sincere religious convictions. He was fond of referring to passages of Scripture, comparing text with text, dwelling on the divine beauty of the imagery, and the wonderful adaptation of the whole to every conceivable phase and stage of human life. Nothing that any man's individual experience, however strange, could bring home to him but had been previously foretold and described, with its proper lesson or promise of hope, in the sacred volume. It was the only absolute wisdom, reaching all varieties of existence, because comprehending the whole; and beside its inspired universal knowledge, all the learning of humanity was but foolishness. The Psalms were his favourite portion of the Word, and had always been. Evidence of their divine origin was inherent in their text. Only an intelligence that held the life-threads of the entire human family could have thus pealed forth in a single cry every wish, joy, fear, exultation, hope, passion, and sorrow of the human heart. There were moments, while speaking on religious subjects, in which Mr. Davis impressed me more than any professor of Christianity I had ever heard. There was a vital earnestness in his discourse; a clear, almost passionate grasp in his faith; and the thought would frequently

recur, that a belief capable of consoling such sorrows as his, possessed and thereby evidenced, a reality—a substance—which no sophistry of the infidel could discredit.

"To this phase of the prisoner's character I have heretofore rather avoided calling attention for several reasons, prominent of which, though an unworthy one, was this: My knowledge that many, if not a majority of my readers, would approach the character of Mr. Davis with a preconception of dislike and distrust, and a consequent fear that an earlier forcing on their attention of this phase of his character, before their opinion had been modified by such glimpses as are herein given, might only challenge a base and false imputation of hypocrisy against one than whom, in my judgment, no more devout exemplar of Christian faith, and its value as a consolation, now lives, whatever may have been his political crimes or errors."—(Pp. 155-7.)

We have noticed this book with no party interest, but from a point of view far above that of party interests. We have ventured these remarks at the present time, when the great nation's tragedy has not yet been played out, and the chief actors have not yet left the scene, because we feel that no apparent temporary success ought to let us forget the crime, and no recovered wisdom in other matters ought to atone for the blunder which the North has made in its treatment of Jefferson Davis. Every month's continued injustice may render it more difficult to retrace the steps which have been taken: but to himself and "his people" it is due, and to a justice far above either, that those steps should be retraced, promptly, publicly, generously.

L'Eglise et l'Empire Romain, au IVe. Siècle. Par M. A. de Broglie. Vv. I.—VI. Paris: Didier. 1857—1866.

This history claims our attention, as well on account of its author as for its intrinsic value. It is the first considerable work of a writer well known in France for many earlier historical *brochures* of merit, the son of one of the most respected of the early ministers of Louis Philippe, and the grandson of Mme. de Stael. His present volumes are not unworthy of what he has already done: they have their weak points, but they are a very thoughtful, candid, and well written account of the greatest single period of early church history,—the whole of the fourth century. Extending as they do from Constantine to Theodosius, they embrace all the most interesting points in the great transition period from paganism to Christianity,—the three great emperors, Constantine, Julian, and Theodosius, who sum up in themselves the characteristics of the time; the last—or nearly the last—struggles of paganism; the great early church teachers, Athanasius, Basil, and Gregory; the varying scenes of the long contest with Arianism; and the final official establishment of Christianity under Theodosius. They are, on the whole, a really good history of the times. Inferior both to Gibbon and Dean Milman in animation, and in a thorough grasp of the subject, they have a great advantage for the ordinary reader, in the mere fact of being a continuous historical narrative. Their aim—and it is to a great measure successful—is to bring the united civil and religious history of the empire before us, instead of dividing it into two separate portions, as is the case with the eminent writers we have alluded to. We should be glad to see them translated; for, with some want of liveliness in the narrative, and with an excessive timidity in judging the actions of the great church leaders, which a little affects M. de Broglie's real candour and learning, we yet do not know any history which gives so complete and fair an account of the fourth century.

Not professing to review or criticise the work in detail, we shall chiefly aim in the present notice at giving our readers a connected idea of its contents. Beginning with a preliminary chapter on those circumstances in the Roman Empire which, breaking up both its political and its religious system, made the Christian Church the only great united body in existence, M. de

Broglie first describes the whole life of Constantine under the following heads:—(1) His gradual conquest of the Western Empire, down to the victory over Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge, and the famous Edict of Milan, which granted liberty of worship. (2) His establishment of Christianity as the religion of the whole empire, after his conquest of Licinius; and his early difficulties in dealing with the Donatists in Africa. (3) The gradual rise of Arianism in Alexandria, with the first summary attempts of the Emperor to put it down, and a general sketch of the Eastern Church. (4) An interesting account of the Council of Nicæa (325), though inferior in fulness to that which we have had more recently from the pen of Dean Stanley. (5) The gradual darkening of the twelve last years of Constantine's life; the murders of Crispus and Fausta, the attempt to find fresh activity and consolation in the building of Constantinople; and lastly, the ascendancy which the Arian prelates of the court, the two Eusebii, gradually gained over his mind, and which ended in the temporary triumph of Arius. This outline brings us down to the death of Constantine, in 337, and to the end of M. de Broglie's second volume. The next is occupied chiefly with the twenty years of struggle and exile of Athanasius, under the wretched sons of Constantine, from 337 to 360; and a fair account of some of the reviving struggles of paganism to regain its place, particularly in the establishment of the Mithratic worship. The whole of the *fourth* volume is devoted to Julian, from 364: and far more justice is done, than is usual with religious writers, to his morbid and eccentric, but sincere and passionate, belief in paganism. We will attempt to enable our readers to judge for themselves how M. de Broglie has dealt with some of these points, reserving his two last volumes, on Valentinian and Theodosius, for another occasion.

(1.) M. de Broglie always writes "en bon Catholique," and ends his preface with a statement which we are surprised at, even in the most devout Catholic, that being "laïque, et nullement théologien de mon métier," he had submitted his opinions on all religious points to competent authority, and that any involuntary error will be "rétractée aussitôt que connue. Je n'ai point étudié l'histoire de l'Eglise, pour meconnaître le premier devoir de tout fidèle." Occasionally, as we may observe, this tendency blinds a judgment naturally clear, and he is disposed to find the Roman Primacy in every important ecclesiastical event. He is right, however, in a leading point which he has worked out with care in the first chapter,—the unity of the Church contrasted with the dissolution, politically and religiously, of the Empire in the three first centuries. The political collapse of the vast imperial system, and the impotency of paganism to affect its votaries in any way except by amusing them and giving them pretexts for immorality, are indeed such commonplaces of history that there was very little now to be said on the subject. Arnold has remarked about Scipio, that it is astounding that any powerful mind should have ever believed in paganism, even in its best days; and when it came to its worst, Gibbon's pithy saying is true of at least two of the classes to whom he applied it, that "all religions were regarded as equally useful by the magistrate, and equally false by the philosopher." What M. de Broglie has brought out with some freshness is the constant effort, and as constant failure, to remedy this growing disbelief, and thus to introduce some principle of moral and religious union into the huge struggling members of the empire. *Three* such attempts were successively made by the politicians, the moralists, and the metaphysicians. Cicero had recommended, in the "De Legibus," that Rome should admit no fresh deities; Augustus discerned the increasing danger to the old feeling, when "in Tybrim Syrius defluxit Orontes;" and the devout

Virgil delights to regard him as the representative of the ancestral religion of Rome, as opposed to Antony, with his "latrator Anubis:"—

"Hic Augustus agens Italos in prælia Cæsar,
Cum populo, patribusq., penatibus, et magnis Diis."

He tried to give it importance by placing himself at its head as Pontifex Maximus, and himself determined the gods who were to be admitted into the calendar, and for whom his favourite, Agrippa, erected the Pantheon. But the attempt failed in his own days, and still more in those of his successors. He was himself made a God against his own will, in his lifetime; after him, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, all had their temples, and Thraseas was put to death for refusing to own that Poppæa was a goddess. The feeling of the more devout heathen against this increasing multitude of gods may be best traced in the lamentations of Plutarch, and in the curious reform attempted, about the time of our Lord, by Apollonius of Tyana.

(2.) Next, the attempt of the *philosophers* at a restoration of belief failed quite as signally as that of the politicians. The philosophers of the empire, and indeed of Rome from the very beginning, had nothing but morality to offer. In the old Greek days philosophy had grappled,—in the Phædo, the Timæus, the Parmenides,—with all those questions of "Whence is the soul?" and "Whither does it go?" whose mysterious interest is so far beyond that of morality. But all this was changed into hard morality when philosophy passed from Greece to Rome, and from Plato to Marcus Antoninus. M. de Broglie has put this very well, and we will give it in his own words:—

"En passant d'Athènes à Rome, la philosophie Grecque avait semblée, en effet, descendre des nuages sur la terre. . . . Le côté moral des systèmes était le seul qui eut survécu. . . . Le résultat de cette simplification est celui qui n'a jamais manqué à toute morale qui prétend marcher seule, en dehors des préoccupations religieuses. . . . L'accomplissement du devoir n'est possible et ne devient cher aux hommes que quand il leur est imposée par une main divine qui tient en perspective devant eux le châtiment et la récompense, quand les forces de leur âme se trouvent ainsi doublées par les excitations combinées de l'espoir, de l'amour, et de la crainte. Abandonnée à elle-même, ne disant rien à l'imagination, ne se rattachant à aucune inspiration divine, ne conduisant à aucune perspective de félicité, n'ouvrant même que très peu d'accès au repenter la morale stoïque était sans attrait, comme sans appui. . . . Regarde en dedans, dit Marc-Aurèle là est la source de tout bien, et une source qui peut couler infiniment si tu y penses sans cesse. Une pareille doctrine dans son avidité mélancolique, ne pouvait aspirer à devenir populaire, à communiquer son esprit au culte brillant, sensuel, tout extérieur, avide de plein air et de soleil, que recherchaient les populations paiennes."

(3.) If the *religious* system had broken up, the *political* had done so equally. The famous Edict of Caracalla, which conferred the Roman citizenship on the provinces, had weakened the *prestige* of Rome herself. Even as early as Julius Cæsar, the senate had been opened to foreigners. Soon afterwards the army was crowded with them. Foreigners became emperors, in the persons of the Spaniard Trajan, the African Severus, even the wretched Oriental Heliogabalus. Lastly, the foreign invasions began, about 250, and during the next ten years the "inundation advanced," as M. de Broglie expresses it, "with the regularity of a physical law;" for the Goths had ravaged all the coasts of the Euxine and the Ægean from Trebizond to Athens; the Franks were in Spain and Africa; and after the attempt of Valerian to resist the Parthians, the body of the Roman emperor had been preserved, stuffed with straw, as a trophy in the chief temple of Persia. The last days of what may be described as the first epoch of the Roman Empire, were marked by the succession of what historians have called the *thirty* (they were in reality *nineteen*) *tyrants*, within the space of eight years,

from 260 to 268; and it was only the vigorous hand of Diocletian, himself originally a slave, but a man of truly great character, whose fame has been tarnished by his unwilling persecution of the Christians, that the empire rallied for a time, and obtained that suspension of its doom which, beginning with Constantine and ending with Theodosius, delayed for a century its fall, and, we may perhaps add, gave occasion to some of the greatest works of genius in the Christian Church.

M. de Broglie has noticed, but has scarcely brought into sufficient prominence, the altered character of the new empire, marked as it was under Diocletian and Constantine by an almost Oriental splendour of apparel and ceremonial. In the now utter *political* decay of Rome—for *socially* the city long continued to be a great power—the emperor "became the State" far more than formerly. His position was indeed at once strengthened and tempered by his having become also the head of the Christian Church; and this feature has been well brought out by M. de Broglie, especially in his character of Constantine, whom he seems to us to have understood better than any previous historian. It is hard to see how Constantine could have avoided being to some extent a theologian; but that mixture of vanity and sincerity which led him to become so, certainly injured the greatness of his character. All through life we trace in him the strong element of barbarism, which he derived from his mother, Helena, the daughter of the Thracian innkeeper, and which constantly comes out, as the passions of Olympias did in her great son, Alexander. His resemblance to Alexander is indeed a very curious one, and by no means merely external. There is the same union, which marks the half barbarian, of daring, generosity, and craft, though the last is by no means (as Gibbon is fond of hinting) the predominant quality of Constantine. Each was both a warrior and a powerful legislator; each conceived the idea of a new capital for their conquests; and in each their passions were unable to resist the temptations of despotism, and the murders of their dearest friends darkened the last years of their lives. But the most remarkable, perhaps the leading, feature in Constantine was, along with all his faults, his evidently sincere love, or perhaps rather awe, for Christianity. M. de Broglie describes very well, and with some humour, his evident disgust when, on the first occasion of the Donatist disputes in Africa, he finds that the Christian Church was by no means so completely united as he had taken it to be. His own letters and rescripts are full of a kind of grumbling on the subject. "I had hoped," he says more than once, "that these disputes, which have really nothing serious in them, had come to an end; . . . but they are still giving occasion of scandal to those who refuse to obey our holy religion." But impatient and vacillating on such points as he often was, we never see in him the least tendency to throw the blame of such dissensions upon religion itself; and on all great occasions, like that of the Council of Nicæa, he appears to have really felt a deep respect both for it and its representatives. The following passages of M. de Broglie seem to describe him justly:—

"Du moment où il s'agissait de l'Eglise et de la religion Chrétienne, cette âme impérieuse et cet esprit résolu semblaient atteints tout d'un coup d'hesitations et de scrupules. Le sentiment d'un droit étranger, le respect d'une vérité qu'il redoutait sans la bien comprendre, la grandeur d'un corps qui ne recevait ses bienfaits mêmes qu'avec une dignité indépendante l'intimidaient involontairement. Il était décidé à tout faire pour rétablir la paix dans l'Eglise, excepté à y faire loi lui-même. Son impatience était contenu par la crainte d'une usurpation sacrilége et avec plus de zêle que de science il s'y reprenait à plus d'une fois pour être sûr de pouvoir agir en liberté de conscience aux ordres d'une autorité régulière. Tel il se montra toujours dans les longues querelles religieuses qui desolèrent son régne; ardent à prendre parti dans l'Eglise, mais prompt à en changer, jamais lassé et jamais fixé, infatigable et incertain, prêt à employer la violence pour servir la religion,

jamais pour la dominer. Rien ne peint plus vivement la nature simple, sincère, souvent même grossière de sa foi. Ce grand homme, si jaloux de commander d'ordinaire ne se montra dans l'Eglise inquiet et impatient que d'obéir à un pouvoir légitime."

The history of the pitched battles of the Church, its great councils, is described by M. de Broglie with spirit, and with an orthodoxy which quite rebuts his charge against himself of being "nullement théologien de son métier." The principal ones of the time are five—Nicæa (325), Tyre (335), Sardica (347), Rimini (359), and Alexandria (362); and each has a considerable dramatic interest in the fortunes of Athanasius, though two only are of much doctrinal importance—Nicæa and Rimini; in the last of which the Western prelates were tricked into signing a Semi-Arian Formula, and, in Jerome's phrase, "ingemuit totus orbis, et Arianum se esse miratus est." Here the history gains much by being a continuous narration instead of a series of philosophical disquisitions, like most ecclesiastical histories. Thus the Council of Tyre forms a spirited chapter in the life of Athanasius; that of Sardica is connected with Hosius of Cordova, one of the great saints of the time, the religious adviser of Constantine. Milan again, if it can be called a Council, is the scene of the daring resistance of Pope Liberius and Lucifer of Cagliari to Constantius, while Rimini, and the contemporary Council at Seleucia, are the occasion of showing the ability of a very remarkable character, to whom M. de Broglie has done justice,—Hilary of Poitiers. But the chief interest is rightly thrown upon Nicæa, the one pre-eminent Church Council, doctrinally and historically; and M. de Broglie's account, as well as Dean Stanley's, make it a great picture at once of the Empire and the Church. First, there is the remarkable fact of its being the first assembly, with freedom of thought and speech, since the days of the Republic. The whole empire is stirred with excitement; for months the great roads are covered with the bishops and their attendants, some three thousand of whom at last meet at Nicæa. Then come the strange diversities of character and appearance—the excited Egyptians; the four or five bishops from the extreme East; the "Metropolitan" of Persia; Hosius, the great Spaniard, from Cordova; the single, light-haired Goth, Theophilus; the band of the old Confessors—Paul, Paphnutius, Potammon, some with the right eye torn from its socket, others hamstrung and dragging their wounded limbs. Then again, the learned party of the Eusebii, most of them friends to Arius; Arius himself, a tall, melancholy, wild-looking man of sixty, whom his enemies called "the mådman of Ares;" and lastly, he who was the soul of the Council, and, for fifty years, of the Church, and almost the world,—who, in firmness, energy, knowledge of men, was more than a match for them all,—the little, insignificant-looking deacon of twenty-five—the great Athanasius. Nor should Constantine himself be forgotten, with all his strange mixture of pomp, exultation, and modesty, presenting, in his lofty stature, noble aspect, and blaze of Oriental magnificence, an appearance which made almost the whole assembly regard him as if he were an angel sent down from heaven; he himself blushing with modesty at what he called "the sacred company he enjoyed," faltering in his steps, and standing for a moment motionless, before he seated himself on his small gold throne, between Hosius and Eusebius. Many of these points have been well seized by M. de Broglie, who shall give us a brief statement of the result of the Council:—

"Outre le mérite d'une parfaite clarté, le mot *consubstantiel* avait l'avantage d'avoir été positivement condamné par Eusèbe de Nicomédie dans une lettre qui circulait sur les bancs du Concile. Il lui était donc impossible de continuer ici cette adhésion captieuse qu'il avait donné jusque-là à tout ce qu'on lui avait proposé. Le but d'Athanase était atteint. On allait distinguer dans le Concile ceux qui voulaient rendre un hommage sincère à la Divinité de Jésus Christ de ceux qui ne lui payaient que le vain tribut d'un

respect apparent. Aussi les Eusébiens embarrassés firent ils eclater, sur le champ, une grande colère et se donnerent ils toutes les apparences du scandale. Ils étaient inépuisables en railleries, en interpretations ridicules et même inconvenantes sur le sens de l'expression proposée. Le Concile, sans s'intimeder, soumit la proposition à un sérieux examen, et comme on reconnut qu'elle ne prêtait à aucune des significations mauvaises qu'on voulait y trouver, d'un avis commun, dont dix-sept voix seulement y'abstennent, le mot *consubstantiel* doit être écrit dans la profession de la foi."

Constantine's own decree follows—a curious comment on an assertion, far too common in M. de Broglie, that the Church repudiated temporal penalties :—

"Constantine Auguste aux Evêques et aux peuples :— . . . Arius ayant imité les hommes méchants et impies, il est juste qu'il subisse la même peine qu'eux. . . . Tous les livres écrits par Arius devront être brûlés par les flammes, partout on ils se trouveront, afin que non seulement son odieuse doctrine soit anéantie, mais que la mémoire même n'en passe pas à la posterité. *Et je déclare de plus, que si quelqu'un est surpris, ayant caché un livre d'Arius, et ne le brûle pas sur le champ, il subira la peine de mort. Le supplice capital suivra immediatement la découverte de la faute. Que Dieu vous conserve !*"

We had intended to say a word on the picture which M. de Broglie has given us of Athanasius, which, with those of Constantine and Julian, he has drawn carefully. It is not, however, his best, and Gibbon has shown far more skill in bringing the whole life of Athanasius under a single view. But our space forbids us to enter on the character of one who, perhaps, alone of all the heroes of *ecclesiastical* history, has united all suffrages in his favour, has almost changed Gibbon into an eager partisan against Arianism, while he has been rightly hailed by Dean Stanley as "the father of all theology, and the founder of orthodoxy." It is possibly his singular union of firmness and intense conviction and energy with equal modesty and moderation—a very rare union in men of action,—which has won for him this pre-eminence. But we reserve his whole character, together with that of Julian, for another occasion.

On many points in M. de Broglie's volumes it has been impossible to touch, such as the foundation of Constantinople, the transformation of Paganism, and an account of the schools of Alexandria. In some of these we find a want of liveliness and fulness ; but the grace and clearness of the style atones to a great extent for these defects. We will, on another occasion, follow his description of a period more noble in some respects than that of Constantine —the reign of Theodosius ; and meantime we repeat our belief that this present work is a valuable contribution to the history both of "the Church and the Empire."

Louis XV. Par J. Michelet. Paris : Chamberot. 1866.

This recently published volume of M. Michelet's history contains the earlier portion of the reign of Louis XV., down to the commencement of the Seven Years' War in 1757. Its leading topics of interest are, therefore, the Ministry of Fleury ; the War for the Polish Succession in 1734 ; and the Great Succession War, down to the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle ; the conflict between the King and the Parliaments ; and lastly, the private and scandalous history of the morals of the Court, with the rise of the literary and sceptical party of Voltaire and Diderot. To these two last, which are in fact by far the greatest features of the reign, M. Michelet has devoted his chief attention.

Graphic and flashing as M. Michelet's style always is, his later volumes have never realized the promise of his earlier ones. This is partly, no doubt, from his neglect of Goldsmith's famous canon of criticism, that "the picture

would have been better, if the painter had taken more pains." He has made so many digressions into the regions of "La Femme," "Le Prêtre," "L'Amour," "L'Oiseau," "L'Insecte," that he seems to find history comparatively dull after these exciting subjects, and always aims at enlivening it by an infusion of scandal, which is not indeed uninstructive, but is out of all proportion to the more serious parts of his work. But his defects of style tend in the same direction. His narration, if it can be called such, was always mere allusion; but this was, to some extent, corrected in his earlier volumes by a very large quotation of original documents. His later histories, written more carelessly, contain the allusions without the documents; and are often, in their narrative parts, simply unintelligible. An eminent writer of our own, Mr. Carlyle, is no doubt open to the same charge; and great as is the genius both of his "French Revolution" and his "Cromwell," it may be doubted whether this defect will not seriously endanger their permanent popularity. But, in spite of all this, M. Michelet has undoubtedly given us many vivid pictures, a few of which we will place before our readers.

I. It is needless to say much of the character of Louis XV.: the most degraded—without excepting that of the Regent, D'Orléans—which has appeared in the history of the two last centuries. His own people, when they began to understand him, compared him to the worst of the Valois,—"It is Henry III. over again." But the most astonishing fact in connection with him—and it is curiously characteristic of the royalist days of France,—is that not only was he an object almost of idolatry in his youth, but, even in 1744, when his vices were full blown, the President, Hénault, describes him, "in his sleek, official way"—we quote Mr. Carlyle's words,—as follows:—

"The surname of Bien-Aimé will leave posterity in no doubt as to its meaning. Louis XV., in 1744, when flying to the assistance of Alsace, was arrested at Metz by a malady which threatened to cut short his days. At the news of this, Paris, all in terror, seemed a city taken by storm; the churches resounded with supplications and groans; the prayers of priests and people were every moment interrupted by their sobs, and it was from an interest so dear and tender that this surname of 'Bien-Aimé' fashioned itself, a title higher still than all the rest which this great prince has earned."

A more curious instance of "Provida Pompeio dederat Campania febres," &c., could hardly be quoted. He was then forty-two or forty-three years old. In the next thirty years his immoralities had equalled anything recorded of the worst days of Rome; and the "Parcs aux Cerfs," the foul Harem, "the five hundred thousand ghosts who sank shamefully on so many battle-fields, from Rosbach to Quebec, that his harlot might take revenge for an epigram," had made his very courtiers regard him as a monster, "whose whole existence seemed one hideous abortion and mistake of nature." Few will forget Mr. Carlyle's description of the scene in the Œil de Bœuf, on his deathbed.

M. Michelet has given us two vivid descriptions of his early life—one, of his cruel marriage, and the other of the incident to which we have just referred. He was married, at fifteen, to Maria Leczinska, daughter of the titular King of Poland:—

"Ses tristes habitudes d'enfance semblaient l'avoir séché. Son plaisir dès qu'il fut un peu grand, n'était pas d'un cœur gai, d'une nature bonne; c'était, de faire le maître et de tenir école, d'user avec ses écoliers de sevérités libertines (Maurepas). Marié, presque malgré lui, comme on a vu, il fut six mois sans voix qu'il avait une femme. Elle avait vingt-deux ans, lui quinze. Elle n'était pas belle, mais très charmante. Elle était tout-à-fait à son père, et si aimée de lui, que sa mère en était jalouse. Elle avait l'air un peu garçon, d'un enfant bon et doux, et de petit esprit. Mais jamais cœur de fille ne vont au mariage plus amoureux, plus tendre. Le Roi de France avait été son rêve; on lui avait prédit qu'elle l'aurait. Il fut le ciel pour elle. . . . Cette grande fille, innocente et tremblante, près de cet enfant vicieux, ne fut longtemps pour lui qu'un autre camarade,

moins rieur, plus soumis. Elle l'aimait trop pour le changer. Elle était si faible pour lui que, quand il fut malade, on cont qu'elle mourrait elle-même."

2. As to the popular feeling in 1744, when Louis was attacked by fever at Metz :—

"Le 4 Août, le Roi tombe. C'est la fièvre putride, alarme immense. Que va-t-on devenir?

"On a fait cent récits de la douleur du peuple, des Eglises assiégées, des prières, des pleurs, des sanglots. Il est sur qu'on gardait alors beaucoup de cet amour de mère, que la France avait en pour l'enfant Louis XV. Mais on a dit trop peu que, dans cette douleur, la terreur de l'envasion, l'effroyable récit de ce qu'ils faisaient en Alsace. On les cont à Paris. Lamentable faiblesse d'une grande nation qui se croit ou perdue ou sauvée dans un homme!"

II. A Sybarite like Louis was not likely to be much of a warrior, and when he appeared at the campaign of Flanders, in 1744, it was *en voiture*, and with the reigning mistress, La Tournelle, at his side. All the wars of the reign were indeed more or less disgraceful to France, with the exception of the first, the War of the Polish Succession, in which Berwick commanded, and was killed at Philipsburg. In the great War of the Succession, France, without the smallest pretext, joined with Frederic in his shameless attempt to dismember the dominions of the young Maria Theresa. We need not here repeat the story of the Hungarians, with their shout of "Moriamur pro Rege nostro, Mariâ Theresâ!" coming to the rescue; and, after a few gleams of success, the French were nearly destroyed at Prague; were only saved at Dettingen by the blunders of our own George II.; and can scarcely be said to have won at Fontenoy, from the almost equal want of capacity of his son, the Duke of Cumberland. Two stories have made these battles famous, if not exactly glorious, in our military annals. The first, we believe, belongs to Dettingen, where the commander of the English guards, with old-fashioned politeness (and before the days of rifled muskets or needle-guns), offered the French the first fire,—"Messieurs de la Garde française, tirez les premiers." The other is a far more remarkable one, when the famous English column at Fontenoy, ill led and manœuvred, wedged itself into the middle of the French army, and by sheer dogged courage almost won the victory. Marshal Saxe commanded the French. M. Michelet's account, which is never, when he can help it, favourable to the English, is as follows :—

"Le ravin fut passé par les Anglais. Et l'on passa encore entre les deux redoutes sous la grêle. Cette grêle elle-même fit serrer les Anglais, les masses en une colonne. . . . Elle avançait, et faisait quelques pas. *Six heures durant elle avança:* et ce qui est sur c'est que Maurice tremblant pour le Roi commençait à effectuer la retraite. Mais plusieurs ne voulaient pas se retirer. Nos Irlandais frémissaient de fureur. Ce spectacle terrible, et rapproché du Roi le fit suer à grosses gouttes. Il descendit plus bas. Tous autour de lui, fort émus. Les uns disaient que si le Roi mettait en sureté sa tête sacrée, on pourrait disposer de ce gros corps qui le gardait. Que le Roi port part au combat, nul n'en avait même l'idée. Beaucoup regardaient de travers ce moulin qui paralysait les sex mille hommes de la maison du Roi, qui gardait ses canons, si nécessaires alors. En les faisant tirer, on avait chance encore. . . . Richelieu hasarda de dire 'Qu'il faudrait des canons.' 'On les prendre?' dit un courtisan. 'Tout près; je viens d'en voir.' 'Oui, mais le Marechal defend que l'on y touche. Le Roi peut l'ordonner.' Là-dessus grand silence. (Richelieu ventures to ask, and the king all in a tremble consents.) Ces canons, à l'instant trainés devant la masse Anglaise, tirés à quelques pas, y firent une horrible trouée. Le Roi y lacha sa maison. Tous se lancèrent, même les pages. . . . La colonne qui en six heures devait avoir perdu beaucoup, n'était plus que de dix mille hommes; et sous la charge elle fondit."

We may briefly add Voltaire's account of a feat of arms which recalls Albuera and Balaklava :—

"Regiment after regiment attacked them, but the English column, facing on all sides, drove them all back. There was nothing but astonishment and confusion throughout the

army. Marshal Saxe ordered the cavalry to fall upon the column, but they had no effect upon a body of infantry so disciplined and so intrepid. If the Dutch had passed the redoubts, and given proper assistance to the English, the French would have had no chance of escape."—*Siècle de Louis XV.*

III. M. Michelet has scarcely done justice to the last and gallant struggles of the French Parliaments. Their final effort indeed, in 1770, is beyond the limits of the present volume; and we can but briefly allude to a struggle which, with characteristic differences, curiously resembles the beginning of our own Civil War. The resemblance lies in the fact that the subject of dispute was chiefly a religious one; it was on the famous Bull "Unigenitus," the final decision in 1715 of the Court of Rome against Jansenism, which was directly aimed at a book still well known amongst ourselves—Quesnel on the Gospels. The result of this had been that the Jesuit party, embracing all the higher clergy, refused the sacraments before death to every one who would not make a strict Molinist confession of faith. This roused the old Gallican spirit of the French lawyers; and the Parliaments and the Jansenists might have fought a successful battle, if the latter had not offended the literary men of the time, both by their asserted miracles, and by their piety. Besides this, as Tocqueville has remarked, "the nation about 1750 had lost all taste, and even all idea, of liberty." Still, the French lawyers, who have been always the honourable defenders of French liberty, died gallantly. The Parliament of Paris declared it illegal in the clergy to refuse the sacraments, and when the King's Council and the Archbishop of Paris resisted, it seized the temporalities of the latter, and voted its own permanence, until it should be dissolved by force. In the end, the King held "a Bed of Justice," and quashed all the acts of the Parliament. A hundred and fifty members resigned.

The last scene is described in his usual style by M. Michelet:—

"Le 13 Décembre, par un temps beau et froid, un grand appareil militaire occupe Paris silencieux. Pour la première fois, le Parlement lui-même ne dresse pas le Lit de Justice. Il refuse de coopérer au meurtre de la loi. Ce sont les Ouvriers *du Tyran* qui ont envahi le palais et tout préparé.

"Le *tyran, c'est* le mot nouveau qu'on échange à voix basse.

"Deux chambres des enquêtes sont effectivement supprimées et plus de soixante conseillers. Le Parlement est mutilé en la partie active, ardente aux remontrances politiques, aux accusations du clergé. Maintenant, au Parlement eunuque et énervé que va-t-on ordonner?

"1. *Soumission au Pape.*—Toute affaire de ce genre ira aux seuls juges d'Eglise. Le Roi, quoiqu'il désire le silence, déclare que les évêques peuvent dire ce qu'ils veulent, 's'ils le disent avec charité.'

"2. *Soumission au Roi.*—Le Parlement, désormais simple scribe, en registre aussitôt que le Roi a écouté ses remontrances. Remontrances illusoires."

We must not follow M. Michelet much farther at present. He has described with a great deal of spirit the general excitement about this time, which resulted in Damiens's almost mock attempt at the King's assassination: the people shouting "Brûlons Versailles!" the women, furious at the trepanning of mere children, assailing the King; the belief of the Jansenists that "fire from heaven would fall on Versailles." The whole history of the poor wretch Damiens, who seems merely to have intended to frighten the King, and only scratched him with a penknife, is also well described, together with the incredible, undescribable tortures, which themselves are an indication of a state of society in which utter profligacy had taken the hearts out of men and women. The endurance of the wretched man surpassed belief. They wished to force him to compromise either Jansenists or Jesuits, but he steadily declared, "Point de complices ni de complot." M. Michelet does not mention the saying attributed to him on the day

of execution, "Oui, le jour sera longue, mains il finira en fin." The execution itself scarcely bears referring to:—

"Cette horrible chose eut lieu le 28 Mars. J'aime mieux que le greffier raconte. Il suivit l'homme et il est tout, tant qu'il en resta un morceau. . . . Sur l'échafaud on lui brûla d'abord la main qui tenait le couteau. Je lui demandai ses complices. Il ne dit rien, fut alors tenaillé aux bras, cuisses, et mamelles; et dessus on jetait huile, poix, cire, soufre et plomb fondu. Il cirait, 'Mon Dieu, de la force! Seigneur, ayez pitié! Dieu, donnez moi la patience!' Il était fort, et quatre forts chevaux ne purent l'écarteler. On en ajouta deux avec peu de succès. Le bourreau ayant pitié demanda aux commissaires permission de donner un coup de tranchoir aux jointures. Cela aurait trop abrégé. *Nombre d'amateurs distingués, de grandes dames, qui avaient loué cher les croisées de la grave, n'auraient pas en pour leur argent.* A la longue on permit de trancher. . . . Il expira à six heures un quart, le jour finissant (28 Mars, 1757)."

Bad things have been done in England, but we may thank God that no such unimaginable ferocity is known in our annals. In earlier days, when even worse cruelties were done upon the Templars in France, it is a noble trait of our fathers that "nullus tortor in regno Angliæ inveniri potuit." The difference has stamped the history of the two countries. Violent and ferocious as the first French Revolution was, we are inclined, if not to thank God that it happened, at all events to believe that it has made it impossible for any human being ever again to play the demon over his fellow-creatures after the fashion of Louis XV.

Words of Comfort for the Wayfarer, the Weary, the Sick, and the Aged. Gathered from the Writings of the Wise and Good. With an Introduction. By JOHN MORRIS. Cambridge: Deighton and Bell. London: Bell and Daldy.

THIS is a goodly volume of nearly 600 pages, carefully got up: and we are bound to say that its inside is still better than its outside. Mr. Morris has carefully culled all noble and comforting sayings about *death* from writings and biographies, ancient and modern, and sown them broadcast on his comely pages. The book may be a welcome pastime and a great consolation to those who are laid by in sickness; but it may also be profitably studied by all, at all times. We seem to miss from it some of the very choicest sayings; and some few have been inserted which certainly did not deserve a place in such company. Take, for example, that of Spurgeon, No. 211: "Christ is the reaper who cuts his own corn. He will not trust an angel to do it." But why, then, does our Lord himself, in the interpretation of a parable *about the cutting of His corn*, tell us, "The reapers are the angels"? If Mr. Spurgeon is ignorant of his Bible, why should Mr. Morris record this ignorance as a thing in which the thoughts of Christians should share? Then, again, we have some sayings which are the veriest commonplace: *e. g.*, that from Chatterton, No. 679,—

"Quod Canynge, 'Tys
A goodlie thynge
To bee prepared to dye,
And from thys worlde of peyne and grefe
To Godd in heaven to flye:'"

that of Matthew Henry, No. 700, "We know God will bring us to death, and it is our great concern to be ready for it:" that of Bishop Jewel, No. 1349, "The death of a godly man is nothing else but a sleep:" that of Napoleon Buonaparte (Qu., one of "*the wise and good*"? see title), No. 1889, "Our hour is marked, and it is not in our power to claim a moment

longer of life than fate has predestined us." We can hardly acquit Mr. Morris of a blunder in his No. 594, which makes nonsense of one of the finest sayings of Shakspeare. Would it be believed that he prints

> "To die, to sleep
> No more, and by a sleep to say we end," &c.

instead of

> "To die, to sleep:
> No more: and by a sleep to say we end," &c.

It is perhaps hardly fair of Mr. Morris to entitle his book generally "Words of Comfort," seeing that all the quotations refer to one subject among the many on which comfort is required. We had expected, on opening it, to find a chapter on bereavement, one on loss of substance, one on failing powers and old age, &c., &c. We would invite Mr. Morris to try his hand on some of these: a good book, *e. g.*, of the kind of which this is the example, might be compiled for the consolation of the bereaved. None more gladly turn to books written for them, or more simply accept touching words of comfort.

We may mention, in concluding our notice, that an introduction in verse of the elegiac metre of Tennyson's "In Memoriam," possesses great merit without being of a high poetical order.

We heartily wish the work God speed on its labour of consolation.

The Journal of a Waiting Gentlewoman. Edited by BEATRICE A. JOURDAN. London: Sampson Low & Co.

THIS is a little book in the style with which, first the reality of "Pepys's Diary," and then the fiction of Miss Manning's works, have made us familiar. It purports to date from the year 1677, the time of burning witches and persecuting Quakers and Nonconformists.

We have not read two pages before we are placed in a curious dilemma, from which, owing to the absence of any preface or other explanatory matter, we gain no deliverance. A footnote (p. 2) informs us that "the original is in cypher." Now if this information is itself *part of the fiction*, we can only say that it seems to us to trench very much on the province of what is politely called a "fib:" if we are to accept it as matter of fact, a more marvellous veritable diary was never kept—a diary in which every mysterious circumstance, or fact previously unknown, is carefully explained, we suppose for the benefit of the diarist herself.

The story is a simple one enough, and not badly told: and the manners and ways of the time are as well assumed as in most books of this kind. Granted a certain amount of reading, and an average power of dramatizing, this sort of writing seems to sit very easy on our lady authors. But we venture to think that the public have had nearly enough of it.

The Oberland and its Glaciers: Explored and Illustrated with Ice-axe and Camera. By H. B. GEORGE, M.A., Editor of the *Alpine Journal.* The Photographic Illustrations by ERNEST EDWARDS, B.A. London: A. W. Bennett.

THIS is a splendid book: good in its matter, good in its illustrations, and thoroughly well got up and put out of hand. It relates how, in the autumn of last year, a party of five gentlemen, accompanied by four ladies, accomplished various expeditions in the Bernese Oberland: the narratives

being diversified by digressions more or less scientific, in which the phenomena of glaciers are described up to the latest theories of modern philosophers.

We do not want, it is true, for *number* of ornamental quartos, whereby the seasons of drawing-room lounging may be rendered amusing and profitable: but we doubt whether this may not bear away the prize from them all, in the solid gain which may be got from it: in the amount of the very best information on every part of its subject. It has also the advantage of being a wise and experienced counseller for all those (and who in these days is not among the number?) who are, or intend to become, Alpine tourists. And if our parenthesized question admit of a negative answer in the case of those whose climbing days are past, then we may still say, that no book of Alpine adventure which we have read will more vividly and pleasantly recall those glorious days of crisp mountain air—those spotless peaks and faces of pathless rock, than this of Mr. George's.

The photographs are very beautiful. Their clear, stern faithfulness to nature's forms, without any of the medium through which nature softens and idealizes those forms, never strikes one more than when they represent these Alpine regions, where so much of the effect on the human eye is owing to the veil of atmospheric colour. This defect however does not disqualify them from doing the work here required of them as illustrations, except perhaps in one respect: the inability to represent distance. An effect of distance in photograph being solely dependent on the illusion of perspective,—in cases where that illusion is not favoured, but is even counteracted by the relative position of masses of substance, the real relative distance of objects is disguised and sometimes even reversed.

One misgiving crosses us as we enjoy these exquisite delineations of rock and crevasse. When our grandchildren turn over the leaves, what will they find? Will they have to ask us what once occupied the place of the blank squares of yellowish brown? whether those ghostly outlines were ever filled up? Who knows?

Posthumous Gleanings from a Country Rector's Study: also Essays contributed to the "Saturday Review." By the late Rev. E. Budge, B.A., Rector of Bratton Clovelly, Devon, one of the Translators of the "Oxford Library of the Fathers." Edited by the Rev. R. B. Kinsman, M.A., Vicar of Tintagel. London: Rivingtons.

On opening this book, we naturally looked for some notice of its author; but, over and above the information in the title-page, all that we find is this in Mr. Kinsman's preface,—

"Of the Author himself, the Editor would only remark, that he was both a learned theologian and an accurate and able scholar, while he possessed a mind of no ordinary grasp, which was richly stored with the most varied knowledge. On all subjects to which the late Mr. Budge devoted his labours and study, he might be quoted as a safe authority, while with many of the most interesting questions of the day he was intimately and fully acquainted."

But this is really not enough wherewith to light up an ordinary man's posthumous remains. Their interest, unless they are something far beyond the average of essays and articles, will depend on the *élan* which a lifelike biography can create for the few days during which a reader is employed on the book.

We further are informed that—

"The publication of the following pages is the result of an earnest desire on the part of

the Editor to benefit the family of the author, who by his recent death, and from a combination of unfortunate circumstances, are left unprovided for."

We have in them chiefly notices of books, well written, in a clear and simple style, and with a fair seasoning of native wit and spirit. We would instance especially the first in the book, on an American theory that *keeping the mouth open* is the inlet to all bodily mischief; the second, on Halliwell's "Rambles in Western Cornwall;" the lecture entitled "Reminiscences of the Art Treasures at Manchester" (in which we notice a few curious mistakes—Sim*e*ne, for Sim*o*ne, Memmi; Pe*rre*gino, more than once, for Pe*ru*gino; Innocenz*io* da Imola, for Innocen*zo*, which is elsewhere given), and the longest paper in the book, entitled "England's Glory, England's Mission." All the others are worth reading: there is no mere commonplace in any of them.

We heartily trust the book may be found to answer Mr. Kinsman's kind purpose in sending it to the press. There is no reason why it should not: for in this touring time of the year, many a worse companion is admitted into the black hand-bag of the intelligent holiday-maker.

Studies for Stories, from Girls' Lives. London and New York: Alexander Strahan.

"Have you read these 'Studies'?" we remarked to a friend the other day. "Well, to say the truth," replied he, "I tried the first and couldn't get through it."

We took the volume with us to the seaside, and as we read it in the train our attention became more and more engaged. The lines of a reviewer had fallen to us in pleasant places: this was a book of no common order.

Arrived at our destination we soon missed the volume, which was found in the possession of a young lady who read it early and late, and even practised her scales with the book open on the piano before her. "And what do *you* think of it?" we inquired.

"Oh, it is charming! exquisite! delicious!" she exclaimed in an ecstasy, hardly lifting her eyes from the fascinating page.

Now these stories are very minute and subtle studies of girls' characters; and such studies, to please girls, must be singularly forcible and true. We felt glad to have our own opinion confirmed by so good an authority; and we humbly conceive that the gentleman who could not read the book was wrong, whilst the young lady who could was right.

There is not much incident—the plots are simple. There is not much action; even the sensation scenes are rather commonplace, and sometimes a little strained. There is not much wit; the jokes, whenever they do occur, are so mild that we are not anxious for their multiplication. There is very little of the master passion in the whole volume, and hardly anything depends upon it, even when it is introduced.

What, then, constitutes the power of this little book? What makes the illustrations by Millais, which are very beautiful, only appendages after all? We reply, three qualities:—

1st. The tender love of girl-nature, combined with that intimate acquaintance with its foibles and capacities which can only be possessed by one who is herself a noble and true woman.

2nd. The delicate tact and refined delineation of a real artist.

3rd. The power of severe moral principle, tempered with the charm of a personal faith in religion which is, after all, the keynote of the whole book.

Of course the book has its faults—faults we are not anxious to dwell

upon. Sometimes it does get a very little dull, like "The Daisy Chain" and "The Wide, Wide World." The authoress spins out descriptions which possess neither the coloured crayon charm of Charles Kingsley nor the matchless photographic power of Thackeray; *e. g.*, the description of the fire in "The Stolen Treasure," despite the very powerful opening, is too long.

In "Emily's Ambition" the authoress sends a young girl up to London by herself, where she lives for many months, picking up a precarious livelihood as an extra hand in milliners' shops.

In this sketch, which is by far the least powerful and real of any, the most remarkable ignorance of what London would prove to ninety-nine out of a hundred such young girls under similar circumstances is manifest. It is, however, a great thing to say of a writer of fiction in the present day that she errs on the side of nobleness; and as heathen emblems in the Catacombs derive a certain lustre from their adoption by the rude and feeble art of the early martyrs, so a narrative may gain a certain moral grace from that charity which mars its perfection as a work of art, in refusing to "think evil."

The style is charming from its unaffected simplicity. Nothing is more painful in the heated and overwrought state of modern literature than a too often fruitless effort to be simple. Our authoress is simple without effort. And being simple, she is sometimes really graphic: if it is possible to be like Sterne without being artificial, she is so. The following sentence, which occurs in the description of a mother's parting from her child, slight and insignificant as it may appear to some, might have come from "The Sentimental Journey:"—

> "Massey then put on her shawl and veil; and when she had picked up a little Indian toy that her child had dropped on the carpet, and put it in her bosom, she gave her hand to her husband, who led her to the carriage."

The readers of "Villette" will miss the strange dramatic interest and exciting reality of school life which pervades that wonderful fiction. The school life in "Studies" is interesting but not dramatic; real but not exciting. A connoisseur in such doggrel will also miss the piquancy of Miss Brontë's "French-English," or the marvellous and successful effrontery of Mr. Thackeray in this line of art. To write English so as to make it sound like a Frenchwoman speaking French, it is not enough to translate French idioms literally into English nonsense. The sentence chosen for translation must itself be such as it is likely a Frenchwoman would under the circumstances utter; and then the characteristic turn in that sentence must be delicately caught, and somehow or other not always literally rendered in the English version. Writing English-French like Thackeray or C. Brontë is not a trick at all, it is the result of a certain profound appreciation of French character, and can be no more imitated than any other product of genius.

What this writer does appreciate she is able to reproduce with the tone and accuracy of a delicately coloured miniature. Her dialogue is so good that we often feel sorry to get it in such little bits. We consider the following little bit quite perfect:—

> "She (Dr. Dean's governess) had been seated twenty minutes in this position, when one of her little pupils ran up to the window, and exclaimed, 'Oh, Miss Salter, Johnnie has got papa's great squirt, and he is squirting the roses!' Thereupon Miss Salter started up, and in a voice a little sharp for such a pensive heroine, exclaimed, looking forth from the window, 'Johnnie, you naughty boy, bring that squirt to me immediately;' and Johnnie reluctantly approached the arbiter of his fate with a large greenhouse syringe under his arm.

"'How came you to take that?' asked Miss Salter, with impressive solemnity.
"'It was only just inside the greenhouse door,' said the chubby little culprit, 'and I've only just been squirting some bees that had got into the roses.'
"'Put it back directly,' said Miss Salter.
"'Mayn't I just squirt the rest of the water out first?' asked the boy.
"'No,' replied the governess, 'you may not; and you are not to be always saying, "*I only just*" did this and that. It is very naughty to make excuses. Put back the squirt where you found it.'"

All these stories have a moral, which is announced generally in so many words at the end of the story. This would be enough to ruin most tales, but it is part and parcel of these, and does them no harm whatever. We even like it. We read it with approving and sympathizing nods: it is all so true, and good, and genuine. The writer is so evidently longing to do good; is evidently so good herself, and so humble, and diffident, and right-minded, and talented. If we could afford it, we would buy a number of copies, and give them to our sisters, or to any young girls at school, or at home, as for the matter of that, instead of Mr. Tupper's poems, which nevertheless are extremely fit for young girls to read.

This is one of the few books of its kind likely to bring about a real change in life and character, at an age when such changes are most needful and most easily wrought. This is very high praise, but we have reason to suppose that it is not too high.

In "The Cumberers," the young lady who was of no use to anybody,—a fact which everybody but herself knew,—is sketched so to the life that the cumberer who reads must be shamed into amending her ways, or she would never be able to hold up her head again.

The little drama of "Envy" is beautifully played out in "My Great Aunt's Picture." The way in which that evil passion is first developed, and then combated by the disciplinary circumstances of daily life; the awful misery it produces; its triumphant extinction, and final submersion beneath the great water-floods of highest and holiest human feeling,—this, and much more, will be read by many, and will at once condemn and comfort many an unquiet and envious heart.

The folly of pretending to anything for which you are socially unfit, or which you are at any rate denied, is the theme illustrated by "Dr. Deane's Governess." A farmer's daughter, who has taken a place as nursery governess, discovers at last that it is better to marry an honest and intelligent young farmer than to dream of an imaginary baronet. Some young ladies may consider this a lame and impotent conclusion. We can only ask them to follow the steps by which our authoress has arrived at it.

"The Stolen Treasure" shows the wickedness of undermining another's influence because you are jealous of it. It also shows how the attempt to exercise an influence which you have not got must end in failure and disappointment.

"Emily's Ambition" is rather a dull sermon, in narrative, about the advisability of stopping where you are in this world. The advice seems to be twofold,—

1. Do well what you have to do.
2. Don't try to do anything else if you can do that.

The second point is not so sound or so obvious as most bits of moral advice contained in the book. It would not be hard to combat it, but we prefer to close our notice with a hearty appreciation rather than with a single word more of dispraise. Does the reader complain, "You have not analyzed the book for me; I know little or nothing of the people or the events; you have only excited my curiosity"? We reply, "It is ours to excite curiosity; it is yours to satisfy it."

To the Editor of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

SIR,

I BEG to say that I *had* read the last page of Mr. Mozley's paper.

On Mr. Mozley's own showing, I correctly described its purport when I said that he "desires to largely increase the scope of the Classical Tripos Examination." At present candidates are examined in Latin and Greek. Mr. Mozley would add French and German, and proposes for one year, as an example, the works of Montaigne, Pascal, Montesquieu, and Goethe. If this be not a large addition, I should be glad to be informed what is.

In justification of what I further said, I shall simply transcribe the following paragraph:—

"In answer to designs like the present, of introducing the study of modern writers into the ordinary University course, it is commonly said, that men may read these writers after having taken their degree. This, even if true, would be no defence of the present system; but I should like to test the truth of it more particularly. I cannot help thinking, that when people speak of 'reading modern authors,' they mean merely a few of the easier poets and novelists, who by no means represent the solid force of a literature. Here, then, are six French writers of the first rank; Montaigne, Pascal, Bossuet, Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau. Here are six Germans; Luther, Lessing, Goethe, Schiller, Humboldt, Fichte. Here are six from the rest of Europe; Dante, Machiavelli, Erasmus, Grotius, Cervantes, Calderon. There is not one of these writers that has not had an influence, as far as power goes, of the very highest order; and even where that influence may justly be thought not to have been altogether exercised for the good of the world, it is still most important that it should be known and understood, in order that the tendencies of the age, and of mankind in general, may be appreciated. Now I should like to ask (if so personal a question is admissible), how many men are there who have taken honours at Cambridge who have a tolerable acquaintance with even half of these?"

I adhere to the reply I gave to this inquiry.

I am, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

THOMAS MARKBY.

To the Editor of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

SIR,

Mr. Wilkinson is fully entitled to an apology for the misprint of "*unchristian*" for "uncritical" in my notice of his paper.

The space which you can afford will not allow me to examine the passages which he has selected for the purpose of convicting M. de Pressensé of unsoundness with regard to our Lord's divinity and atonement. I have carefully read again the chapters to which Mr. W. refers, and think he misinterprets much in them; for where the author means rightly, he has not always spoken cautiously. And when such passages are insulated, they suggest a meaning very different from that which they bear when construed with due reference to the context which defines their scope, and with fair allowance for the rhetorical forms of discourse natural to a French writer. M. de Pressensé, I think, entirely believes the true divinity and humanity of our Lord. But he believes (as the Gospels teach *) that our Lord, in His earthly life, acted always under conditions imposed by His voluntary assumption of our humanity. He regards it as the essence of the humiliation of the Eternal Word that He condescended to think, feel, know, and act *as truly man*. In his anxiety to maintain this truth, M. de Pressensé has been too much afraid (as I said in reviewing his book) of the technical language of orthodoxy. On one or two points of detail I think him decidedly wrong. But to represent him (in the teeth of the passages which I quoted and referred to) as denying or explaining away our Lord's divinity, argues a strange want of regard for the difficulties at once of the subject itself, and of a writer who has to deal with it in the present circumstances of a French Protestant.

On Mr. Wilkinson's other point of attack, I must remind him that when he demands that the atonement shall be regarded as consisting in our Lord's "*substitution for the*

* Compare, *e.g.*, St. Mark vi. 6; xiii. 32; St. Luke ii. 52; St. John iii. 34; xiv. 10; and see Phil. ii. 7.

guilty, and His satisfaction of Divine justice," his own statement goes beyond anything which is directly affirmed in the formularies of the Church of England, or can be gathered from them, except by way of somewhat precarious inference. Many think that such statements represent the truth very imperfectly, are unauthorized, easily misunderstood, and hinder rather than help the reception of the apostolic doctrine on the subject, who yet entirely believe and rest all their hope upon Jesus Christ the Righteous, as the propitiation for their sins, and their Advocate with the Father.

Mr. Wilkinson's expression of surprise at my approbation of a sentence of M. de Pressensé's compels me to ask whether he himself really denies to our Lord's *perfect holiness in life and in death* any share whatever in the efficacy of His atonement? Surely not. Yet his words, were they judged as he judges those of M. de Pressensé, would lead me to think so.

I remain, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

E. T. VAUGHAN.

HARPENDEN, *October* 17, 1866.

M. COMTE AND HIS DISCIPLES ON INTERNATIONAL POLICY.

International Policy. Essays on the Foreign Relations of England. London: Chapman & Hall. 1866.

A BOOK of essays is of all books most difficult to review; for not only do essays condense information and express opinions which it is impossible to follow, step by step, in a review, since detailed criticism would run to immoderate length, but the essays themselves are for the most part bound together by some peculiar link, which is of much greater importance than the particular facts or opinions evolved in the course of the discussions. This was not so in the series of Oxford and Cambridge Essays which appeared for a course of years; but, dating from "Essays and Reviews," we have had volumes from several quarters, such as "Aids to Faith," or the "Church and the World," which cannot be viewed as mere dissertations, but are manifestoes of parties, or represent at least some common tendency which unites the essayists, and is to some degree intended to be forwarded by their work. There is nothing more unpleasant than to be discussing details while the point of real interest is elsewhere; and it is most desirable that the reviewer should define the system which is advocated by the writers before him, and his own attitude towards it.

The present series of Essays has a certain relation to the philosophy of M. Comte, and is written avowedly for the purpose of advocating certain views derived from his writings. The profession of adherence to M. Comte's doctrines is, indeed, very limited; but this limitation is

by no means satisfactory; for, on the one hand, it was a peculiarity of M. Comte (or rather a necessity of the overweening claims of his system) to describe as part of Positivism what belongs equally to other systems which he wished to supersede; and, on the other hand, those enormous claims, which are professedly the modern counterpart of the Roman Catholic system of the Middle Ages, make it impossible to look at one or two of its tenets in an isolated manner. It will have all or nothing; and that not in the broad Christian sense which, taking its stand on conscience and truth, says, "He that is not with me is against me," but in the narrower sense of a definite political and philosophical system, which has reduced every truth to a formula and every political idea to a scheme or policy. If we are asked to assent to a proposition because it is true, we frankly weigh the evidence, and assent or dissent; but when the same proposition is set before us as a part of Positivism, it is necessary to observe the peculiar tinge which both question and answer must derive from the association. Before saying Yes or No, that association must be defined, and our view of the system itself must be stated. It is this course which the form of the present work imposes, and this review will therefore consist of two discussions, the first of which will be upon the book as an emanation of Positivism, and the second on the book as containing advice to a Christian nation on its policy towards the rest of Christendom, and towards other nations as yet but partially reached by Christian civilization.

I.

The preface of this volume (which from the use of the first person must be attributed to an individual, and can hardly be attributed to any one but Mr. Congreve, the well-known head of the Positivist Society in England) states the extent to which the writers are responsible for the adoption of the doctrines of M. Comte:—

"There are three propositions on which the writers are agreed,—

"First. That the international relations of mankind are a fit subject for a systematic policy.

"Secondly. That such systematic policy is to be based on the acceptance of duties, not on the assertion of rights; that it ought to have a moral, not a political or purely national foundation. All questions, therefore, concerning the interest, power, or prestige of any particular nation are secondary and subordinate. All appeals to motives drawn from such considerations are consistently discarded: all arguments which ultimately involve the doctrine of the rights of such nation are put aside as irrelevant and futile.

"Thirdly. The arguments advanced are in all cases drawn from considerations of a purely human character, as alone susceptible of legitimate and profitable discussion."

That is, (1) we can adopt some defined principle of action in our dealings with other nations; (2) that principle should be the good of others, not our own interest; (3) we need not import theology into such discussions.

As to the first of these, no thinker or statesman can doubt its truth. Though questions may be raised in this case, as in all that is connected with Positivism, whether the extreme love of system, which has been dwelt upon so much by Mr. Mill in his late review of M. Comte's labours, has not penetrated too far, so that theory in some cases goes beyond the ascertained facts; yet the necessity of coherence in policy, as in other departments of life, is one of the greatest safeguards of morality. We owe a debt, therefore, to the writers of these Essays for bringing to a focus the multifarious interests and responsibilities involved in our dealings with other nations.

As to the second proposition, it is winning its way, thank God, wherever the Christian teaching of the supremacy of love is acknowledged. "If," said an excellent clergyman, who knows little or nothing of M. Comte, and to whom I showed this volume of Essays, "Positivism means that we should be guided in our political relations by moral principle, I am a Positivist to the backbone."

But the third principle is not so easily disposed of. If it meant simply that theological questions ought not to be imported into a discussion of politics, we might, to a considerable extent, concede it. There is a moral basis of action which is sufficiently acknowledged by us all to enable us to discuss many political questions without opening the further questions with which the more eager hopes on both sides are bound up. But, first, there must be a mutual understanding of the limits of those questions, and, secondly, the limits must be rigorously observed. It can hardly be supposed that theology is avoided by alluding to cases in which it is closely concerned in words which studiously ignore the existence of Christianity, or definitely advocate its replacement by an atheistic system. M. Comte's views were based on a philosophical formula involving several propositions of metaphysics and psychology, and his religion on certain grandiose conceptions of the universe and of mankind which were to him an equivalent for theology. It is not to be supposed that, by simply asserting these, metaphysics and theology are swept away, still less that one really avoids the irritations which theological differences engender by assuming that the reigning theological ideas are false. The fact is, that no one could understand these Essays without knowing and appreciating the theological views of M. Comte. When, for example, Mr. Congreve speaks of "the so-called Reformation of the sixteenth century," it is necessary to explain that M. Comte actually believed the Roman Catholic system to be the only genuine form of

Christianity, of which other forms were merely degenerate types. When he speaks of "the body which should organize the education of the West," or of "the new order which can only rest, as its prototype the Catholic system did, on a community of faith," the appeal is made to M. Comte's notions of a scientific and religious hierarchy, and of a system of life and so-called worship which appears to most men a mere copy of the worst parts of the fabric of Roman Catholicism without its redeeming features, and to the doctrine of "the three stages of human development," which he supposed to be a sufficient ground of religious sympathy. But when Mr. Congreve speaks of the religious missions of the present day as "elements of disturbance" which "offer no compensation for such disturbance," and as "engaged, in the main, in the hopeless attempt to spread an exclusive and unsympathetic faith, which has no chance of being accepted," he must be reminded that he has abandoned the ground with which he started. The Essays deal largely with the intercourse of Christian and un-Christian nations; and it should be clearly understood, *in limine*, that the belief of most of the writers is that Christian influence is pernicious. Otherwise it will seem to many readers, who have sought in this book a series of innocent discussions on politics from which theology was excluded, that they have been entrapped into reading the tracts of a denomination which, under cover of politics, was occupied in making proselytes to its faith. There is hardly an essay in the volume which is free from attacks of the kind; in some of the essays they abound, and are supported by misrepresentations of Christian teaching quite unworthy of men like Mr. Congreve and Dr. Bridges. But the book contains too much that is good, and the authors have too high a character, to make us willing to leave these parts of their work in their ambiguity and liability to misunderstanding. It is best for all parties that we should know where we stand.

There are two points in the manner in which M. Comte and his disciples speak of social subjects which do them great injustice and cause irritation in their readers. The first of these is the quiet assumption that Christianity is a thing of the past, doomed, and rapidly passing away. The second is the claim to a kind of infallibility which, notwithstanding its inherent absurdity and its disproof by experience, is never abandoned, and to which constant reference is made as often as the present social conditions of Europe are stigmatized as merely transitory, in favour of a "new order" which is about to be established.

I will endeavour to clear away these disturbing causes.

(1.) M. Comte always spoke of Christianity as a mere phase of monotheism. It was his belief that the human race, and each human mind, and each subject of human inquiry, passes through three phases, —the theistic, in which some superhuman influence is acknow-

ledged; the metaphysical, in which these influences are replaced by abstractions; and the positive, or scientific, in which all inquiry into causes is abandoned, and we are content with tracing the connection between phenomena.

It is evident that such a conception is borrowed entirely from the physical sciences; and it is remarkable that it was propounded at a time anterior to that at which M. Comte, undergoing a kind of conversion, learnt to look upon the moral life as the chief aim of mankind. He viewed Christianity therefore, in itself, not as a great regenerating power in the human soul, but as a mode of deism, a notion by which men accounted for the phenomena of the world. The power of a belief in a moral supremacy over the universe, which is embodied in the words "God is love," was never understood by him. He could feel that what he afterwards spoke of as his religion had a sphere apart from questions of physical philosophy; but he never brought himself to look at Christianity in its most important aspect, as a quickening spirit in the heart of man.

It has already been mentioned that M. Comte believed the Roman Catholic system of the Middle Ages to be the only genuine expression of Christianity. His wish to systematize human life after the manner of one of the physical sciences led him to admire a system in which moral life was subject to rigid prescriptions, and society was thoroughly organized. And he determined to look no farther. "This," he said, "is Christianity. Since this has been broken up Christianity has departed." The single thing of which he could make nothing was Protestantism. He never spoke of it but with a protest as against a shapeless anarchical system, and he talks of being "preserved from Protestantism" with an unction worthy of a Romish zealot. He had, indeed, no idea of a man living simply by faith in Christ; and this he confesses:—"Chacun sait certainement encore ce que c'est qu'un catholique, tandis qu'aucun bon esprit ne saurait aujourd'hui se flatter de comprendre ce que c'est qu'un chrétien." On these grounds it is that M. Comte discards the name of Christianity and uses only that of Catholicism.

It is true that M. Comte dealt in a certain manner with Christian doctrines; but they were to him merely parts of a system of organization, and it was impossible for him to understand them, as is abundantly evident from his works. But this was merely the result of an error far deeper,—of a fault, as it appears to me, equally irreconcilable with his own principles as an historical inquirer and with a sound moral judgment. It would hardly be believed, were not his words before us, that M. Comte deliberately asserts St. Paul (1) to have been the founder of the Roman Catholic system, and (2) to have through modesty transferred to our Lord the honour of the foundation.

The following expression of his views is so *naïve* and unconscious that, but for the awful importance of the subject, and the fact that some good and able men have a very high respect for M. Comte, one would be inclined to smile, and shut up his works in derision:—"It was to satisfy this great want of some complete discipline that Catholicism rose. Its success was due to the impulse given by the incomparable St. Paul, a fact as yet too little recognised. In his sublime self-abnegation he facilitated the progress of the new unity, by accepting a founder who had no real claim."

These words of the "Positive Catechism" are drawn out at length in another of M. Comte's works. To be quite clear on this central point, I will quote the words:—

"Pour expliquer l'abdication personelle de St. Paul, je dois seulement compléter le principe posé ci-dessus quant à la nécessité speciale d'une révélation divine dans la construction du monothéisme occidental, afin d'y mieux assurer la séparation des deux puissances (*i. e.*, the temporal and spiritual powers of the State).

"Un tel besoin semble, en effet, exiger, chez le fondateur, un mélange d'hypocrisie et de fascination, toujours incompatible avec une vraie supériorité de cœur et d'esprit. Cette difficulté n'admettait d'autre issue que la disposition spontanée du véritable auteur à se subordonner à quelqu'un des aventuriers qui durent alors tenter souvent l'inauguration monothéique, en aspirant, comme leurs précurseurs grecs, à la divinisation personelle. St. Paul fut bientôt conduit à traiter ainsi celui de ces nombreux prophètes qui soutint le mieux un tel caractère."

With these words (to which I forbear to give an epithet, as I desire a dispassionate discussion) M. Comte turns away from the most momentous subject which has occupied this generation, and thinks himself absolved from the necessity of examining the Gospel history. It is a very easy course; but, as it appears to me, quite fatal to the claims of M. Comte to historical insight. We may see from the experience of M. Renan how different the life of Christ appears to a man who looks closely into it, and to a man who, like M. Comte, merely theorizes about Catholicism. He says that when he first thought of writing upon the origin of Christianity, the idea before his mind was that of a history of doctrines, in which individual men would have played little part, in which "Jesus would have scarcely been named." He was then, in fact, in the state of indifference in which M. Comte contentedly remained. "But," says he, "I have since found that history is not a play of abstractions, that men count for more in it than doctrines." And he describes how, as he studied the Gospels in Palestine, their history, which had been unreal to him before, took shape in a manner which astounded him, and he had before his eyes no abstract being, but "an admirable human figure, living and moving." Perhaps some of M.

Comte's followers may one day make this experience. But certainly, till they have shown by a serious examination that Jesus of Nazareth was merely a person of the type of Judas the Gaulonite or Barchochab, they are not at liberty to make light of the faith of those who believe in Him as the Son of God. At present they have propounded a view of human history which would lead to a tremendous revolution in the interest of a "new order" which appears to us a wild dream; and they have done this without even examining what has hitherto been the central object of human interest, and the real foundation of European civilization.

Nevertheless, in M. Comte's theories there is enough to form a basis of agreement. When we find that the motto which he takes as the guide of all his moral and political speculations is one which every true Christian echoes from the bottom of his heart—"Vivre pour autrui," we cannot look on such speculations as merely anti-Christian. Nor, though Positivism has yielded to the temptation of carrying the methods of physical science into regions to which they are unsuited, have we any wish to undervalue its services in systematizing and correlating the sciences, and in giving a connected view of the progress of mankind in the understanding of them. Even as applied to human life, the doctrine of "the three stages" is not without value, for it cannot be doubted that theological dogmas have constantly invaded the provinces of trade and politics and social life, and that, as has been shown by Mr. Lecky, nothing but good has resulted from their expulsion from a ground into which self-ignorance alone had thrust them. We cannot but believe that, starting, as the Positivists' principles no less than ours bind them to do, from a truthful examination of facts, we may one day be drawn closer together, especially as to the one great region of human interest whence our best hopes have sprung, and which to Positivism is a mere blank at present.

Till then we must be content to see much earnestness and self-devotion, and a high-toned morality, joined with absolute faith in a blind system, and many excellent moral and political ideas combined with violent and even sneering remarks upon much that we hold dear. The way to separate these discordant elements is by pointing out what we think mistaken, and gladly admitting what is manifestly good. As Christians we have nothing to fear. If Christianity were, as M. Comte supposed it to be, a mere fabric of dogmas and institutions, it might shrink from all that opposed the form into which it is at present cast or of the society with which it has been connected; but being first of all a spiritual idea, a source of life and a stimulus towards truth, its proper position is that of fostering every truthful inquiry, every germ of goodness or truth, however imperfect. It claims to be the light of the world; no truth can appear among

men with which it does not own the sympathy of a kindred nature. It is possible to draw out the opposition between Christianity and Positivism, and to say, "We Christians worship God in Christ; you deny God and misconceive Christ." We had rather say, "You would have us worship and serve humanity: we have learnt from the Bible to place man at the head of creation, and to worship the glorified humanity in the person of Jesus Christ. If you think our doctrine mixed with worn-out ideas, you are at liberty to attack it, but do so as attacking the form, not the spirit of it. If your doctrine appears to us merely an imperfect and mutilated form of Christian morality, we can nevertheless welcome the elements of truth which we discern in it."

I do not scruple to say that I believe the strength of Positivism lies in its negations. It presents a compact nucleus, round which all that is discontented may gather. I have known many who look with sympathy upon it as undermining the belief in the supernatural, which they have come to connect with a stolid dogmatism; but hardly two or three who accept the reconstruction which it offers. We must remember that, however much we may dislike these attacks, they have always some good in them; that we may have our attention called to weak points in our system by an adversary's sword; that the most hostile criticism may be the means of inducing thought, and making us realize more fully the meaning of the doctrine we profess; and that, if only we are sincere and gentle, we shall come forth the stronger from the contest.

(2.) I have disposed of the "religious difficulty" of the subject of these Essays. But there is another, which to many minds is a greater stumbling-block, viz., the constant reference to a certain ultimate state of human society which is believed to be approaching, and of which the secret, though not explained, is supposed to be with the writers, not with the public whom they address. There is an *arcanum* somewhere in the minds of the initiated, in view of which all the present arrangements of society are regarded as merely transitional. Thus we find Mr. Hutton speaking of the movement which has dissolved the social system of the Middle Ages as "tending to reconstitute these in the interests of a normal and regenerated society, commencing in Western Europe, and thence destined to extend gradually throughout the world:" and Mr. Harrison describes the result of Mr. Congreve's essay, which precedes his own, in these words:—

"The system of this book, it has already been stated in earlier pages, implies the organization of the West upon a system of common moral and intellectual principles, and on one uniform tone of public and private life, the whole animated and knit together by a common education and a common body of intellectual teachers and guides. How far we are from the realization of this, it is not part of this work to consider."

There are, it is true, one or two of the Essays in which we do not find this notion distinctly expressed; but it occurs sufficiently often to make unintelligible the ground of many of the arguments, without a knowledge of what M. Comte and his adherents expect to be the eventual condition of the European societies.

"Before the end of the nineteenth century," says M. Comte, "the French Republic will, of its own free will, break up into seventeen independent republics, each comprising five of the existing departments." A similar process is to go on throughout Western Europe, which will form sixty republics. The constitution of these states, and of the aggregate formed by them, is to be very simple:—

> "In each separate republic the government, properly so called,—that is to say, the supreme temporal power,—will be vested exclusively in three bankers. These three will have their separate departments; they will represent commerce, manufactures, and agriculture. Before these two hundred triumvirs the Western priesthood, acting under the direction of the high priest of humanity, will lay in proper form the legitimate claims of an immense proletariate."

The "proletariate" and "patriciate" are to represent the employed and employers of the new industrial civilization; and they are to be organized on the strictest principles of Positivism:—

> "2,000 bankers, 100,000 manufacturers, 400,000 agriculturists, such are the numbers sufficient, in my judgment, to provide industrial chiefs for the 120 millions who inhabit Western Europe. In the hands of this small number of patricians will be concentrated the capital of the West. Their task is to direct its employment. They are subject to no control, and must act on their own responsibility, and in the interest of a proletariate of thirty-three times their number."

As to the "spiritual power," it is to represent not only the clergy of the present day, but the whole scientific and educational staff also. There is to be a high priest of humanity, resident at Paris, as the metropolis of the regenerated West, whose stipend will be £2,400 (with allowance for his expenses), and who will be assisted by four national superiors, with an income of £1,200 each. There will be one priest for every 6,000 people, their salaries varying from £120 to £480. "The high priest of humanity will be, more truly than any mediæval Pope, the only real head of the Western world."

It would be impossible to pursue this description consistently with our present object. But it is pursued by M. Comte into the minutest details of life and of worship. There are to be three daily prayers; there are to be nine sacraments, corresponding to the stages of human life; there are to be churches, surrounded with the ashes of the dead, and pointing towards Paris as the centre of the world. And this organization is not only to be adopted uniformly throughout Western

Europe, but is to be the means of regenerating the whole world:—"Once let the reorganization of the West be fairly secure, and a noble proselytism will become the principal collective occupation of the Positive priesthood."

Now it may be asked, "Is not this a mere dream, like the 'Republic' of Plato, or More's 'Eutopia'? for surely no sensible man can think it likely to be realized." It is just this question which both M. Comte and his followers seem never fairly to have asked themselves. But if this question be left undecided, it is impossible to read speculations like this book of essays with simplicity, and to estimate their contents at the true value. Are we on common ground or not? Mr. Mill, in his late work on the subject, expresses an opinion that M. Comte, whom he knew, believed that the whole reorganization would be effected within half a century. Dr. Bridges, one of the present essayists, in a letter to Mr. Mill, has replied that all that was intended was to bring general views to an issue, and to hazard a speculative solution of them. "What he intended was to give the best counsel he could for the practical guidance of society; and in doing so to guard his ideas from vagueness, to make his meaning clear, distinct, precise, vivid, and so to fix public attention on it more and more." I am bound to say that, as far as I can judge, Mr. Mill's estimate is the truer; but that M. Comte, in his later days, seems to have lived in an intellectual atmosphere in which he scarcely thought it necessary to ask the question. There are several questions of equal importance that occur the moment one attempts to reason upon his system, to which it is no easier to find an answer.

The question, however, is not solved, even on Dr. Bridges' representation. If M. Comte's notions were mere hypotheses, liable to all manner of changes by his followers, why should we be constantly reminded, in a solemn manner, that we are in a state of transition, and that some final state, which M. Comte's disciples know of, is at hand to supersede the present "transitional state," or "state anarchy," by which terms the present condition of Europe is constantly denoted? Why should Christian missions to the heathen, and the attempts of Christian nations to influence and govern the East, be looked on with so much contempt, and all the real difficulties of the connection of the West with the East glossed over by the notion that the future organization of Europe, when it comes, will easily deal with the fetichists and polytheists on some system which is not clearly revealed, but for which the writers give us to understand that they have taken out a patent? If the writers really believe in the reconstruction proposed by M. Comte, let this be understood, however much it may prejudice their cause. But if

they feel it to be a perfectly open question, let them cease from speaking with the oracular and contemptuous tone which is so familiar to us in the writings of their school, and let us feel that we all stand on the same ground, with doubtful light to guide us into an unknown future. The perfection at which we aim is at an infinite distance beyond us, and not this age but every age is an age of transition till that be come; and whether the object of our hope is a kingdom of Christ and of God, or an organization of the human race on the rules of Positivism, let us agree in this, at least, that the only road to it is by justice and truthfulness and self-denying love, and that we must welcome every exhibition of these, wherever it may appear, whether it seems to make in our favour or not.

II.

We proceed to criticise with more detail the views expressed in these Essays.

We may describe their general scope as follows:—England is not an isolated unit, but a part, first, of the great civilized community of Western Europe, and secondly, of the larger whole which comprehends all the races of mankind. The first three essays may be said to deal with the illustration of the first of these propositions, the four last with that of the second. The first three discuss the relations of this country with the German and Latin races; the four last essays, its relations with India, China, Japan, and the savage tribes. Every relation involves duties; and we are shown the duties of England, first to her compeers in Europe and then to the rest of the world.

The general principle, we have already shown, is the bringing into political relations the spirit of unselfishness. It is well pointed out by Professor Beesly, that many persons who are unselfish in their private conduct think that the glory of their country is a sufficient excuse for dealing in a violent and aggressive manner with other countries. It was a favourite notion of M. Comte that love of country might become a great evil when it conflicted with the love of the human race. And, doubtless, as international relations and the points of contact between the nations are multiplied, the need for this consideration will greatly increase, and the feeling towards other races than our own will become as integral a part of our moral condition and of our religion as it was with St. Paul. It is certainly a grand view of national duties which is advocated in these Essays, according to which the whole of Western Europe is looked on as one great commonwealth, with common sympathies and objects, each nation desirous of the good of the whole rather than of its own, and all

combining to spread their common civilization among the other races of mankind. We cannot doubt that, thus far, the more the matter is considered, the more the views enforced in this book must commend themselves to all thoughtful and good men.

Mr. Congreve has given himself a certain amount of unnecessary trouble in seeking to define, with a precision worthy of M. Comte himself, the exact limits of "the West," and what constitutes each of the five nations, French, English, German, Spanish, and Italian, a member of the great commonwealth. Does a nation become part of the West by the fact that it was once part of the Western Roman Empire? or because it came under the Roman Catholic system of the Middle Ages? or (an alternative indignantly dismissed) because it is Christian? or because it has attained a certain progress in the chief elements of civilization? Is Russia, is Turkey a part of the West? Do the American nations belong to the unity as parts of the nations from which they sprang, or as integral units? Mr. Congreve is anxious to show that Turkey might more justly claim a place than Russia—that the United States are not an essential element. He speaks as if a great council was being held to decide what nations should lead the world, and as if it were a question whether the door should be shut in the face of the representatives of Russia or of the United States; and he shadows forth possibilities, like those alluded to in the late manifesto of the Emperor of the French, of the united West having to withstand some aggression from the Americans or the Russians. But the fact that the western nations of Europe are the leading nations of the world needs no demonstration; nor can any description of the causes of this fact meet the complexity of the circumstances. In whatever degree any nation partakes of European civilization, in that degree it belongs to "the West," which is much more an idea than a geographical expression. And it would be a great mistake in the nations of Western Europe to imagine that they have nothing to learn from other nations. Certainly from the United States Europe has much to learn. The educational system and the thoroughness of local self-government are features which should commend themselves more to Mr. Congreve; and that individual self-reliance and independence which Mr. Congreve so much dreads—though capable, of course, of abuse—appears to me one of the noblest of human attributes, and one without which there would be little hope for the future of Europe. We are not to be saved from our social difficulties by a system, but by each man knowing his power and his duty, and consciously acting out his part as a citizen.

As to Russia, Mr. Congreve and Mr. Harrison appear to dread her power and influence almost as much as Lord Stratford or M.

de Custine before the Crimean war. But the fear is surely exaggerated. It must be evident that Russia has difficulties at home which for the present are likely to render her innocuous, and from which she can only emerge by a greater assimilation to Western Europe, both in institutions and in sympathies. On the other hand, the true mission of Russia is in Asia. There she is nobly performing the part of an European and civilized power, the part which "the West" must ultimately perform throughout the Eastern World: while, as to her conflict with Turkey, and the comparison which is raised between the two powers, it would almost seem as if Mr. Congreve, in his zeal to say something, like M. Comte, for "Islam," and to compare it with "the rival monotheism," had forgotten the fact that in all the essentials of civilization, during the last 150 years, Russia has been steadily going forward, and Turkey steadily declining.

The questions of the comparative importance of England and France in the European system, and their mutual relations as the two foremost nations of the West, are very ably discussed in the essay of Mr. Harrison. He shows that not only is the popular idea of a natural enmity between them immoral and hateful in itself, but that the greatest statesmen of both countries downwards, from Elizabeth and Burleigh, Henri IV. and Richelieu, have made their union an essential object of their policy, except when, as in the time of Louis XIV. or Napoleon, the ambition of France rendered this impossible. This union Mr. Harrison desires to complete; and he defines it as "not an alliance with France or a friendliness towards France, much less a flattery of the actual ruler of France—rather a well-considered agreement with the French nation upon the main features of their joint policy." But his proposal appears to falter between the idea of political agreement gradually diffusing itself through the press, or by means of extended intercourse, and the formal announcement of a definite policy. The former is a thing greatly to be desired; but that England and France should "definitely conclude a comprehensive agreement on all the greater questions of policy" would be of very doubtful advantage. Had they attempted last winter to agree on the questions which have been solved by the German and Italian war of the present summer, their agreement might have been very disastrous for themselves and for Europe.

To Mr. Harrison, France represents "the Revolution," a power destined, as he thinks, to remodel Europe in three ways,—politically, by substituting rule by merit for hereditary government in all departments; morally, by the subjection of individual propensities to a recognised code of social duty; and intellectually, by introducing a common system of belief, resting on free and accepted demonstrations.

The two last somewhat vague and ambitious functions, which however gain a fatal distinctness if they are to be brought into connection with M. Comte's "new order," have been sufficiently touched on above. As to the political aspect of the Revolution, it can hardly be thought to be adequately expressed by Mr. Harrison's words. That since 1789 there has been a vast movement in Europe towards the raising of the masses of the people cannot be doubted, and we wish it all success: that this movement necessarily tends, in some cases, to greater equality is also clear, and also desirable. But that this movement is to be mainly described as an abolition of the hereditary principle, is one of those generalizations which do not cover the whole ground. The results of the popular uprising must be very different in different countries,—notably different in France and England. The Revolution in France meant the compulsory subdivision of property, and the abolition of monarchy and aristocracy. But in England neither the monarchy nor the aristocracy are what they were in France; they have adapted themselves to a thousand changes, and may adapt themselves to more than those which we foresee. So also as to the great question of the tenure of land. Even if we think that the law of entail might with advantage be modified, yet it is a question in which the more advancing classes, the inhabitants of our towns, can have but little interest; and the outlets presented by trade and the colonies are so disproportionate to the advantages of any great change in the law of succession, and the tendency of Englishmen to be satisfied with any system which does not work with manifest injustice is so strong, that one may well doubt whether any "revolutionary" impulse need take the direction just described in this country. Certainly it is very unlikely that the free life of England should be organized on a model which would hold equally good for the other nations of Europe.

It is due to Mr. Harrison to say that he is no revolutionist in the common sense of the word. He looks to a gradual change by the progress of opinion, and deprecates violence and haste. Indeed, he will seem to many sober men to carry this tendency to an excess in his favourable estimate of Louis Napoleon. Surely it is somewhat too partial an estimate of the present ruler of France which, on the one hand, attributes to him its salvation from the Royalists and the Ultramontanes and the *littérateurs*, and on the other hand, makes light of the dangers and the immorality which result from the suppression of a free press among an intellectual race, and the dependence of the greatest interests in the world on the whim of a single man, on whose death, by any accident, France might find that all the evils from which he is supposed to have saved her had only been adjourned and intensified.

There are two or three points in which the reconstructive theories

of M. Comte are more distinctly adopted in these Essays, and which deserve special notice. The principal of these is the idea that small States will eventually take the place of the present large kingdoms throughout the civilized world. On this ground the national principle is looked at as merely a makeshift to suit a present emergency, and as a thing in itself barely tolerable. Even in the case of Italy, Mr. Congreve and Mr. Harrison regret the necessity which impels the citizens of the different provinces, so long distinct, to gravitate to a common centre. But this is just a question in which it is extremely unsafe to indulge in M. Comte's uniformity of system. It may be true that much that is now considered the duty of the central government ought to be settled by provincial and municipal arrangements; but the principle of local self-government does not break up the unity of a State. It is true, also, that one great cause of the assertion of nationalities is to be found in the necessity of defence against aggression. But this is not the only cause. Indeed the only means which have enabled Italy to combine for purposes of self-defence are such as are likely to hold her together permanently. In a remarkable article in the *Revue des deux Mondes* last year, it was shown how, at Naples, the national sentiment had been awakened mainly by literature, and that the desire for political unity with the rest of Italy was an afterthought, brought about by the sense of a common literature and a desire for a national culture. It is no doubt devoutly to be wished that armies could all be disbanded, and States no longer deal with one another as rivals. But that consummation is so far off as to be beyond the scope of the question in hand. The three great necessities for a central government, as lately asserted by the demands of Prussia in the reconstruction of Germany, are the army, diplomacy, and internal commerce. At a time when all the world is in arms, when diplomacy is becoming more and more the organ of national opinion, when Governments are but beginning to act upon sound economical principles, there is very little prospect of good from any proposal to split up the existing unities into a number of small sovereign States. The tendency might seem rather towards larger States, when we reflect upon the enormous probable extension of the facilities for and habits of locomotion, and the European culture which tends to restore, among the educated class, the bond of union which was broken when Latin was disused at the Reformation. We look upon the strong feeling of nationality awakened of late years as a barrier which the conscience of men has erected against the spirit of aggression and domination, and which, if not absolutely secure, is far more effective than any barrier, such as that of the "balance of power," which the jealousy of rival ambitions had raised before.

There are two powers which may probably, in their development, greatly foster the national spirit, but of which this book, following the opinions of M. Comte, takes no account. I mean constitutional or representative government, and the progress of freedom in the Christian Church. It cannot be doubted that constitutional government has a great effect on the sense of unity and self-reliance in a nation; nor can it be doubted that the Christian religion, in countries in which it is not fettered by Ultramontanism, has readily adopted national characteristics and been a great support to that independence of character which issues in constitutional government. M. Comte despised constitutionalism, as "a political anomaly peculiar to England;" and he hated Protestantism because, from his views of Christianity, he could not understand it. It is certainly a curious phenomenon, which has hardly been witnessed in England since the time of Bolingbroke, to find English political writers simply ignoring both these forces. But if they choose to make light of them, Europe seems little inclined to do so. Since the time that the late Prince Consort ventured to say in England that constitutional government was on its trial, it has sprung up and flourished on the Continent in a manner which may well make England feel proud to have set the example; and the two great political changes in Europe this year, the uprising of Protestant Germany and the withdrawal of the French garrison from Rome, are likely to have very important, if not immediate consequences, in giving freedom to Christian thought and life throughout the world. It is impossible to say what blessings might result from the breaking up of the forced unity of the Romish Church into its component national churches, in all of which free thought would be able to work with a power which has hitherto been unknown. These, and similar reflections, should make us pause before we look upon the national principle as likely to be of short duration, and still more before we imagine that we have already exhausted the influences which may lead to any more permanent settlement of the West.

The essay by Professor Beesly on the "Maritime Supremacy of England" needs but little comment from the point of view which we have taken. It is spirited and vigorous beyond any other in the volume, and gives a most interesting and, as far as facts go, not unfair account of the growth of the English sea power. But its object is to fasten on England the accusation of a grasping ambition almost equal to that of Napoleon. There are two things which seem to be forgotten or passed over too lightly; the one, that the statesmen of the last century acted upon maxims which were universal among the rulers of that age; the other, that the superiority which we imposed by force was but the expression of a real superiority in commerce and

expansive power which a peaceful rivalry has fully justified. Mr. Beesly himself allows that England must, under present conditions, however self-renuntiant she may be, remain the greatest naval power. It is because English commerce is much greater than that of other nations, because English population increases steadily while that of France is almost stationary, because England has cared to found colonies to which the Germans emigrate rather than found colonies of their own, that we have justly the mastery of the sea.

In the application of the "self-denying ordinance," which it is one object of this book to enforce, Mr. Beesly urges England to abandon Gibraltar; indeed this abandonment may be said to be the most practical and most universally adopted article of the creed of the writers. It was urged originally by Mr. Congreve in a pamphlet published in 1857; but the peremptory tone which that publication adopted made it lose whatever influence it would have had. It ought, however, to be remembered, to the credit of the writer's foresight, that he urged at the same time the abandonment of the Ionian Islands, that that suggestion was met with equal derision, and that within six years it was an accomplished fact. The two cases, however, stand on very different ground. The Ionian Islands had a population whose constantly expressed desire was to be united to Greece. Gibraltar is a fortress, and nothing more. It may be true that our retention of Gibraltar is a source of irritation to Spain; but it is very doubtful whether our possession of it has not been, during the era of conquests, an advantage to Europe rather than the contrary: and who that estimates aright the danger from French usurpations in Spain, from Louis XIV. to Napoleon, and even Louis Philippe, or looks at the present attitude of Spain itself, and its unprovoked aggressions on Morocco and Chili, can think that the question is one of simple restitution of stolen property which is put to us when we are asked to relax our hold upon her, and consign to her keeping the fortress which guards the entrance of the Mediterranean? Rather we hope that the time is coming when it may be safely done.

The remaining essays do not present so much scope for criticism. They are, on the whole, able discussions of the subjects of which they treat,—the relations of England with India, China, Japan, and the uncivilized communities, of which the Maories and the Kaffirs are taken as the chief examples. They are conceived, as it appears to me, in too censorious a spirit. The only parties in the transactions they relate, for whose conduct no allowance is made, are the countrymen of the writers. The temper which, either through preconceived theories or carelessness to investigate, derides or puts out of sight the work of Christian missions, spreads a kind of hopelessness over these pages. And in the case of Dr. Bridges' essay, and in part also in that of Mr.

Hutton, the baneful influences of the Positivist reconstruction make themselves felt; so that we seem to be told, "You ignorant persons had better stand aside and wait till our advent. Then you will see how Positivism can deal with the inferior races." Several questions of importance, however, are suggested, which may be briefly touched upon.

In reading a book of Essays edited by Mr. Congreve, one could not but remember a certain pamphlet which appeared at the time of the Indian mutiny, which demanded that England should at once withdraw from India, and leave its future fate to be settled by a commission. It is a relief to find that the infallibility of Positivism does not forbid an alliance with a writer like Mr. Pember, who believes that "the maintenance of English power in India is essential until the regeneration of Indian society is complete," and the whole object of whose recommendations is that we should use our power there for the moral and social good of the inhabitants. We may without hesitation, and without feeling that a blow is dealt to any but a false pride, adopt the conclusion that our great aim should be to educate the nations of India to rule themselves, and, as with our colonies, hope for the day when they may be able to stand alone. Whatever modifications may be introduced into this view by the possibility of a closer union springing up, by religion or emigration, or even intermarriage, with a nation of which the upper classes at least are of the same Aryan stock as ourselves, yet this conclusion remains unshaken.

The assertion that it has been the ambition of English rulers to which most of the annexations of territory have been due, is often assumed without proof. It was shown in an able pamphlet by Mr. Marshman, some twelve years ago, that each successive ruler of India had gone there with a determination not to annex territory, and had even denounced the annexations; that the East India Company and the English Parliament repeatedly demanded that our territories should not be further extended; nay, that Lord Dalhousie himself, to whom Mr. Pember imputes such lust for annexation, declared repeatedly that it would be a great calamity to annex any part of Burmah, from which, nevertheless, the province of Pegu was taken during his administration. It might have been well, also, if Mr. Pember had, in his severe criticisms on the dealings of the English Government with the courts of Lucknow or Mysore, which had become intolerable through the vices of their princes, remembered his own maxim, that it is the peoples, not the princes, who are to be considered in the changes which have to be made by us. Nevertheless, his principle, that we must reconstruct with elements which are already in existence and can be improved, rather than by attempting to absorb all the functions of government into English hands, is undoubtedly true.

Mr. Pember thinks that Christian missions have failed. It might be more plausibly maintained that, in the very short period in which they have been really at work upon a system of three thousand years' growth, their influence has been enormous. It is true that it is only in the south of India that any system of Christian belief has established itself widely; but let any one read the pamphlet published last year by the lamented Bishop Cotton, after his visit to Tinnevelly, describing an organization of the Christian villages which even a Positivist might look on with complacency, and let him remember that the first churches there were founded by Swartz just a century ago, and he will not think it an extravagant belief that Christian efforts will in time bear ample fruit. No one interested in missions would shrink from criticism upon the manner in which they have been conducted, or reject advice from any quarter as to the best mode in which the more civilized race may act upon the less civilized. But it appears to me unworthy of a philosophy which views human history on so vast a scale as that of M. Comte, to pronounce an effort which, on any adequate scale, is hardly forty years old, to be a failure, and to refuse to hope for any good from a great moral power, even if it regards the special form of its development as imperfect and "transitional." But it is not merely in the formal conversion of individuals that we see the influence of Christian civilization. The silent changes wrought by legislation in such matters as the suppression of suttee and infanticide and of many forms of self-torture, and in the permission to widows to remarry, have greatly influenced the moral and even the religious tone of society, as may be seen in the petition lately sent to the Indian Government from a vast body of the Brahmins, for the abolition of polygamy. And when we look at the tracts and prayers published by the Brahmo Somaj, a religious society entirely founded by natives of India for the reformation of worship and of morals, which has its branches in almost every great city of India, and find that the ideas of God, of holiness, of prayer, which they enforce are distinctively Christian ideas, we can have no doubt that the influence of Christian civilization is working very widely in the thoughts of the more educated Hindoos. A writer in the *Revue des deux Mondes* in the early part of this year, on "Christian Civilization in the East under the Reign of Queen Victoria," who certainly has whatever impartiality scepticism can give, points out, as the result of his investigation, the probability of Christian missions rapidly absorbing the inferior races, and then winning their way, by a longer process, among the upper castes of the Hindoos, till the battle—which he still regards as uncertain—is fought out on the field of philosophy between Christian theism and Brahmin pantheism. The true strength, however, of Christianity is not to be sought in philosophy but in the

moral life. And any Englishman who has not been driven, by the exigencies of a partial system, to abandon the religion of his country, may feel sure that all the moral influence of good government, and the enlightenment wrought by science, and the social aspirations engendered by an acquaintance with European history and the bonds of intercourse which commerce creates, will conspire with the direct influence of missions for the regeneration of India by the power of the Christian life.

The remarks we have made upon missions will apply to many allusions in the concluding essays, which must be noticed very briefly. Those of Dr. Bridges and Mr. Cookson give a thorough and interesting account of the government and history of the Chinese and Japanese Empires. There is a novelty in the attempt, which is not unsuccessfully made, to show that there has been throughout Chinese history a real though not rapid progress, and that the admiration which some of the philosophers of the eighteenth century felt for China was justified by the state of the country and the superiority of its rulers at that epoch. But one cannot but be reminded as one reads the essay of Dr. Bridges, of the comparison which has sometimes been drawn between the organization desired by M. Comte for Europe and the stereotyped social system of China, and of the almost humorous saying of M. Comte himself, that Positivism had a special capacity for sympathizing with fetichism.

It may be doubted whether the writers of the essays on China and Japan have not received too implicitly the statement that the natives of these countries are averse to European intercourse. That their rulers are often jealous of it, and dread the consequences to themselves which may follow from a closer contact with the western powers, is natural enough; nor is it difficult at any time for the rulers of a country to stir up popular hatred against the foreigner. But even as to Japan, the statement that the people are averse to intercourse with Europe is a very doubtful proposition. I was told by an Englishman recently returned from Japan, that a considerable number of Japanese gentlemen were making preparations to come to the International Exhibition of 1867 at Paris, and that the next steamer would bring a number of lads of good families in Japan, who are on their way to America to be educated: while even the rulers appear to be so far reconciled to the influx of foreigners that they have recently added Italy to the list of nations with which they have concluded commercial treaties. There was no place the repugnance of which to Europeans was believed to be so strong as Canton, and Dr. Bridges thinks that even now it may be right to give up Canton as one of the treaty ports, because of the bitter feeling there against us. It was the habit of Commissioner Yeh, when demands for commercial con-

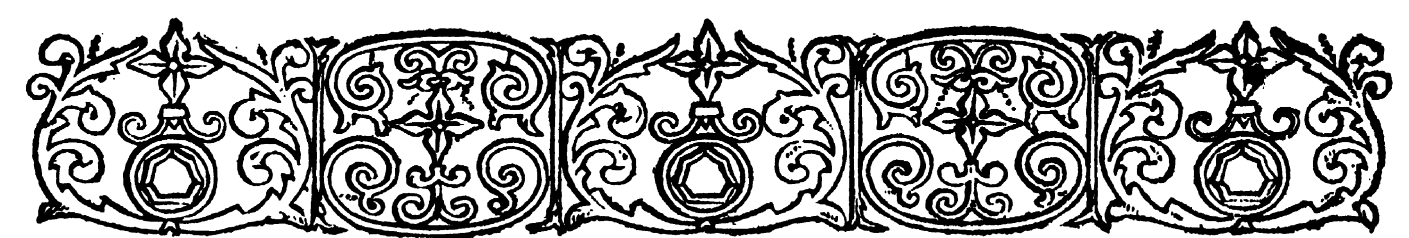
veniences were pressed upon him, to put them away with the answer, "Alas! you little know the feelings of the Quang-Tung people." But when Sir R. Alcock saw Canton in 1859 still occupied by a few European troops, he was astonished at the serenity and the happiness reigning there, and at the respect of the people for Europeans. "Clear proof," he says, "was furnished that the often invoked hostility of the Cantonese was entirely of factitious growth, due exclusively to the machinations of the mandarins, as a part of the policy of the Court of Pekin."

In much that is said in the three last essays as to the intercourse of England with barbarous nations, it appears to me that there is some indistinctness occasioned by the identification of the Government with individuals. Individuals will press on, even when the Government holds back: it cannot be supposed that the Government of England, or of any free country, could enforce a law prohibiting intercourse with particular parts of the globe. And therefore the Government arrives upon the field when it is already occupied and complications have arisen. We were unwilling to take possession of New Zealand till the settlement of traders at Kororarika was described by all who saw it as a "hell upon earth:" and it is no blame to the little band of missionaries who on the opposite side of the Bay of Islands presented so fair a contrast to their demoralized fellow-countrymen, if they deprecated colonization, and wished that the experiment might be tried out of attempting by moral and industrial agencies alone to raise the cannibals of New Zealand. That attempt, as all attempts to civilize savages, has hitherto had but partial success. But it did not fail through any unfairness in the Government. Let it never be forgotten that, in our intercourse both with the savages and with the Eastern civilizations, we are trying an experiment which has never yet succeeded, in which the Macedonian and Roman Empires alike failed: and if we can point out mistakes in the conduct of our Government, it is not necessary to speak of it, as is done by one of the essayists, as "the tool of our commercial rapacity." The same must be said of missionary work among the savage tribes. You may see many mistakes that have been made; but it is not necessary to charge them on the folly of the missionaries, or the apathy of the churches at home, still less upon the Christian doctrines which are taught. No doubt many acts of the Government are liable to blame. We heartily join with Dr. Bridges in his condemnation of their connection with the opium traffic in China, and we thank him for his testimony as a medical man, which, by confuting the fallacies of its defenders, comes in aid of convictions widely entertained, and often loudly expressed, as we can assure him, in Christian societies. That our Indian exchequer should gain five millions a year by fostering the

growth and monopolizing the sale of a baneful poison is to us, as to him, simply hateful, and we are glad of any protest such as his, which may keep the question before the public, and which may arouse religious men, to whom he appeals, even by reproaches, to a sense of their duty. But when he proceeds to deduce the slowness of Christian men to preach a crusade against this and other evils from the unworldly doctrine which they believe; or when Mr. Hutton deduces the little success of the missionaries in overcoming indolence and the oppression of the female sex among savages, from their teaching that "labour is a divinely inflicted punishment, and woman the source of evil," we tremble for the effect of any good advice which these Essays contain, since their "higher morality on a purely humanistic basis" is seen to be so capable of an alliance with perversity and fanaticism.

The last remark may, I hope, be made in sober truthfulness and without bitterness. I have endeavoured to view these Essays, as I believe their authors would most wish them to be viewed, in close connection with the principles on which they are grounded. The motto of the work, which is kept in view throughout, "the subordination of politics to morals," is too precious and too rarely acknowledged to make any serious man indifferent to it. The aim at a high moral standard is in itself a good, however different from our own its form may be. And one who has long known a system of very mixed value, and seen the attraction which it gains to some minds from its thoroughness—at least on the destructive side, from its vast claims, and from the kind of mystery which has given its votaries the feeling of a secret brotherhood, cannot but be glad that it should come forth to the light by a series of direct illustrations, in a field where, by public discussion, its good and its evil may be sifted. "Whatever a clergy may think," says Professor Beesly, "no religious organization can long hold its ground in popular esteem when confronted by a loftier morality than its own." I have no fear in reading these words, which I hope those who aspire to be "priests of humanity," whether they call themselves Christian or Positivist, will lay to heart. If it be a "religious organization" to which we trust (and let the reader judge to which side this word is most applicable), we may have cause to fear criticism and the verdict of events; but if our trust be in truth and in love, we need not doubt that the Spirit of Him who proclaimed Himself as the Truth itself, and bade us love one another, will be our guide in the nineteenth century as in the first, and that faith in Him will be our best director in our dealings with other nations, as much as in the more secret parts of our individual life.

W. H. Fremantle.



RECENT POETRY.

SECOND ARTICLE.

XI.—*Poems.* By ROBERT LEIGHTON. Liverpool: Howell. 1866.

SUCH writers as Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Leighton,—one true poet for each part of our article,—leave no real ground of complaint against the present generation of verse-writers. We hardly know whether of the two to prefer. As Mr. Buchanan is somewhat exuberant in imagery, so is Mr. Leighton in thought. His lines are even too crowded with meaning, which thereby becomes not seldom unduly compressed, and passes into the obscure. But there can be no question of his great powers. Like those of most deep thinkers in verse, his poems are almost all egotistical: regarding his own course, his own frames of mind, his own home and those that dwell in it. Nor is any fault to be found with this, as long as the poet can turn his private matters into food for the poetic imagination. There is nothing that wins the reader's heart so much as true poetry which lifts the veil from the personality of the writer. We shall proceed to justify our high estimate of Mr. Leighton's verse.

> "The records of a life should be a poem;
> We need not go abroad for stones to build
> Our monumental glory; every soul
> Has in it the material for its temple.
> The universal beauty is our own;
> We steep our thoughts in sunsets, and we hang

Our adoration on the morning star,
And yet from us they get that alchemy
Whereby they strangely move us. Nought is ours
But that which has gone from us. Therefore 'tis
That disappointments often tread upon
The toes of expectation. Things without
Are bare until we clothe them. Let us seek
Each one our gods in our immediate heaven :
There is no breathing for us in another ;
But either is the air too coarse and weighs
Like nightmare on our thoughts, or 'tis too fine,
And, like the atmosphere of mountain tops,
Usurps the brain, and finds insidious way
Into its chambers, pressing out the soul,
Till death o'ercome us in the guise of sleep.

"Yet all may grow to live upon the heights ;
Deep thought and action of the soul make close
The fibres of the brain, so that no air,
However fine, can press the spirit out ;
In time thus fitting us for another heaven
Above what was our own.

"Our truest life
Is THOUGHT, high and sincere, and to ourselves.
When eyes are felt upon us we are players,
And life becomes untrue."—(Pp. 1-2.)

"To him that shrinks from frost the frost is cold.
Let him go forth and meet it, and it warms
More kindly than red brands. The way to life
Is towards forbidding things : growth in approach ;
In nearness, love ; and reach'd, the soul's great life."—(P. 5.)

"I have found
My richest jewels in the hardest rock,
But spoil'd them oft in breaking it ; lost more
Through leaving much unbroken."—(P. 39.)

"O ever in our lowest grades of sense,
Or when we use false shifts to bring about
Ends otherwise all good, or when our hearts
Are in the heaping up of cumbrous wealth,
We tremble for our safety and fear Death,
Lest it should come between us and our heaps,
Let fall the cloak that blinded our false shifts,
Or take us from the luxury of sense.—
But in our highest walks where Duty leads,
Not falteringly in doubt, but to the Right
Pressing still onward,—then is life itself
Sunk in the Right, and asks no separate care.
If Right be gulf'd in Death, Duty leaps in,
With eye full on the Right, but blind to Death.
The soul's integrity we buy with life,
And hold ourselves the gainers : yet if life
We had not after that, where were the gain?"—(Pp. 43-4.)

"A King was prophesied, surpassing all
Earth's former kings in glory. When He came,
No one believed the meek and lowly man
Of Nazareth, in very truth was He.
So when we seek high missions, and are told
They wait us in the drudgery despised,
Who is it has the faith to find them there?"—(P. 59.)

"We cannot get beyond the fact of beauty:
It is to be adored, not analysed:
We seek to analyse, and it recedes
Into the deeper beauty. For in truth
The merest thing in Nature is a spirit:
All outward forms of beauty take their form
And beauty from the inward. Can it be
That when the outward forms have gone to dust
The inward are within the world of spirits?"—(P. 74.)

The above extracts are from "Records," a series of twenty-five pieces in blank verse, which occupy the former portion of Mr. Leighton's volume. The remainder is devoted to lyrical pieces and sonnets: at the end are added some Scottish ballads.

In each of these classes are remarkable pieces. Mr. Leighton cannot write commonplace. We take the following almost at random. Will any one find us a much nobler utterance of a noble sentiment?—

"DUTY.

"I reach a duty, yet I do it not,
And therefore see no higher: but if done,
My view is brighten'd, and another spot
Seen on my moral sun.

"For, be the duty high as angel's flight,
Fulfil it, and a higher will arise,
E'en from its ashes. Duty is infinite—
Receding as the skies.

"And thus it is, the purest most deplore
Their want of purity. As fold by fold,
In duties done, falls from their eyes, the more
Of Duty they behold.

"Were it not wisdom, then, to close our eyes
On duties crowding only to appal?
No: Duty is our ladder to the skies,
And, climbing not, we fall."—(P. 130.)

Who again will not be thankful to him who has so put into verse the following experience of every sensitive mind?—

"PRESENCES.

"To what dark chambers of the heart or brain
Do all our welling thoughts at times retreat?
One presence seals my fountains, and in vain
The rock of thought I beat.

> "Some other comes, and then, though he be dumb,
> My seals are broken and my fountains leap;
> And mind, that felt so shallow, has become
> A yet unfathom'd deep.
>
> "I may not read the old astrologies,
> Nor tell how moon-touch'd seas should ebb and flow,
> Or mind should be more tidal than the seas,—
> But that it is, I know."—(Pp. 148-9.)

Ballads are too long to quote; but Mr. Leighton has some very good ones. We especially recommend "Lady Margaret," and "Pease Brose."

We shall look with great interest for Mr. Leighton's next poetical work. It is seldom, indeed, that such wealth of thought and power of numbers combine, and we confidently predict the day when Mr. Leighton will stand high among the meditative poets of our century.

XII.—*Master and Scholar, &c., &c.* By E. H. PLUMPTRE, M.A. London: Alexander Strahan. 1866.

Whatever Mr. Plumptre writes, prose or verse, must necessarily be terse, scholarlike, and sensible. His versification is faultless: almost too faultless. We miss some of that ruggedness and irregularity, which might give relief, and exercise the ear. Nor do his strains often rise above the blameless level required for all verse which is worthy to be called poetry. We say this not in disparagement, but in commendation: really meaning that all deserves praise alike, but that we fail to find many salient points requiring special admiration.

All is poetry, but not of the highest order: fair material, beautifully worked up by one who has access to no ordinary stores of learning, whose taste is almost unerring, whose piety and lofty feeling never forsake him. These things being so, the product must necessarily be well worth reading and possessing. No one who has read through this volume will ever regret having done so. He may not find that many strains stay by him and refuse to quit hold of his memory: but his ear will have been gratified, his heart warmed, and his best aspirations encouraged.

The character of these remarks will account for our not quoting, but sending the reader to the volume itself.

XIII.—*The Prince's Progress, and other Poems.* By CHRISTINA G. ROSSETTI. London: Macmillan & Co. 1866.

We may claim one privilege of being a Contemporary Review,—that of ignoring previous works, and confining ourselves entirely to that which is before us. We heard, if we may so say, in our ante-natal state, the echoes of Miss Rossetti's praise: but it is for us now to judge strictly

by these volumes, whether that praise be still merited. And thus judging, we cannot, we confess, as evidence is furnished *at present*, allot Miss Rossetti a high place on our list. She has undoubtedly the knack of verse; we will say more, the knack of poetry: but never was capability more wantonly thrown away. Her verse is most unequal: for some lines together unexceptionable, even pleasing: then of a sudden it becomes broken-backed and limping. And her poetry, sometimes for a short interval well balanced and artistic, flies off into extravagances, and childishnesses, and not seldom degenerates into utterly contemptible nonsense.

Many of the pieces in this book are only fit for children: but then they are *not* fit for children, because they are ambitious of high poetry, into which children cannot enter. If she has hold of an original idea, as in the piece named "The Queen of Hearts," she breaks up and confuses it till it ceases to please, and becomes a bore. Besides which, Miss Rossetti does not seem gifted with a sense of the ridiculous, and curiously mixes serious and comical without any idea of having committed an absurdity. A lady is weeping and waiting for her husband: instead of him, his ghost enters:—

> "'O Robin, but you are late:
> Come and sit near me—sit here and cheer me.'—
> (*Blue the flame burnt in the grate.*)
> . . . . .
> "Oh, night of sorrow!—oh, black to-morrow!
> Is it thus that you keep your word?
> O you who used so to shelter me
> *Warm from the least wind—why, now the east wind*
> Is warmer than you, whom I quake to see."—(Pp. 116-18.)

We do not know that we could select a more striking example of all the faults which we have found with Miss Rossetti, than one from the poem called "Eve:"—

> "Thus she sat weeping,
> Thus Eve our mother,
> Where one lay sleeping
> Slain by his brother.
> Greatest and least
> Each piteous beast
> To hear her voice
> Forgot his joys
> And set aside his feast.
>
> "The mouse paused in his walk
> And dropped his wheaten stalk;
> Grave cattle wagged their heads
> In rumination;
> The eagle gave a cry
> From his cloud station;
> Larks on thyme beds
> Forbore to mount or sing;
> Bees drooped upon the wing;
> The raven perched on high
> Forgot his ration;
> The conies in their rock,
> A feeble nation,
> Quaked sympathetical;
> The mocking-bird left off to mock;
> Huge camels knelt as if
> In deprecation;
> The kind hart's tears were falling;
> Chattered the wistful stork;
> Dove-voices with a dying fall
> Cooed desolation
> Answering grief by grief.
> Only the serpent in the dust
> Wriggling and crawling
> Grinned an evil grin and thrust
> His tongue out with its fork."
>
> (Pp. 145-7.)

But we would not have it supposed that there is nothing to praise. In the poem entitled "Under the Rose," a child of shame narrates her mysterious cheerless life, and her adoption as a half-servant half-companion to "my lady at the hall," whose dark secret she will never betray, but will keep faithful unto death. Here for once the balance is well kept, and there are no extravagances in imagery or metre.

We are happy also to be able to speak well of the "Devotional Pieces" which conclude the volume. They are full of thought and pathos: rather redolent of Herbert and Crashaw: erring, as it seems almost impossible for Miss Rossetti not to err, from want of equilibrium. We mean this: that whereas in her secular pieces, gravity and joy, though sometimes strangely intermixed, do yet in some sort compensate one another, here all is mourning, all is desertion, with no ray of joy. Even poor Cowper sang not thus, but mingled brightness with sadness, and dowered the Church with some of her most triumphant hymns. Where all is in such a set mood of gloom, we are apt to suspect art, and not nature. Yet the genuine pathos of Miss Rossetti's strains disarms the suspicion as it arises. One specimen we must give, and that chosen only for its shortness:—

"GOOD FRIDAY.

"Am I a stone and not a sheep
That I can stand, O Christ, beneath Thy Cross,
To number drop by drop Thy Blood's slow loss,
And yet not weep

"Not so those women loved
Who with exceeding grief lamented Thee;
Not so fallen Peter weeping bitterly;
Not so the thief was moved;

"Not so the Sun and Moon
Which hid their faces in a starless sky,
A horror of great darkness at broad noon—
I, only I.

"Yet give not o'er,
But seek Thy sheep, true Shepherd of the flock;
Greater than Moses, turn and look once more
And smite a rock."—(Pp. 214-15.)

We have lingered upon Miss Rossetti's work, in spite of its great faults, because we feel that she is really capable of doing far better. She needs more self-denying pains: more study and discipleship of England's best ancient and modern poets, and less affectation of that unequal, enigmatical, spasmodic style, which has set in upon the decline of our national literature. Through penitence back to simplicity: it is a path hard to tread, and a process which eliminates the trifling and worthless: but we think better of Miss Rossetti's wealth of thought and power of numbers, than to have any fear that she will not abide the test.

XIV.—*Ten Miles from Town: with Poems.* By WILLIAM SAWYER. London: Freeman. 1866.

THIS is a little volume of poems far beyond the common mark. There will be no need to justify or to analyse this praise to the reader who shall have made his own the following, which is the introduction to the whole:—

"PRELUDE.

"The city streets are full of light,
Through waves of flame the sun goes down,
I droop my eyelids, and it sinks—
Ten miles from Town.

"The village street is full of light,
And black against a sky of fire,
The church upon the hill-top rears
Its quivering spire.

"Brighter and brighter grows the West,
Till common things its glory share,
And round about them as I gaze
A halo bear.

"Onward with rosy flush and gleam,
Thro' sedgy rifts the mill-stream flows:
The coppice, purple to the heart,
Transfigured glows.

"The cottage roofs are thatched with gold,
Blood-red each ruby casement turns,
The road-side pond beneath the elms
A sapphire burns.

"The wasted faces of the old,
Bright with the momentary glow,
Regain the loveliness of youth
Lost long ago.

"Lost long ago! Ah, mournful thought
That comes upon me as I gaze,—
Where are the eyes that never more
Sunsets will daze?

"Where is the face that in the glow
Of such an hour I swooned to see,—
As if an angel out of Heaven
Had looked on me?

"Gone—gone! The glory and the grace
Died slowly from my life, as dies
The splendour of the sun that sinks
In ashen skies.

"Died out and left me like the dead;
Yet—cold to pleasure and to fame—
Rich with the memory of a joy
That has no name.

"A memory that is my life,
And lights with its Auroral crown
The village straggling up the hill—
Ten miles from Town."—(Pp. 1-4.)

There are many other beautiful pieces in the book; we would especially mention "The Painted Window," and "Found Drowned."

We know nothing of Mr. Sawyer, but that he advertises a dramatic poem, with some lyrics. He can hardly write what is not worth reading. We heartily wish him well.

XV.—*The Dole of Malaga: an Episode of History dramatised.* By DIGBY P. STARKEY. London: Cassell & Co. 1866.

This, which Mr. Starkey modestly calls "an Episode of History dramatised," is in fact a full-blown tragedy in five acts. Nor has he any need to be modest over his work, for it is really a most creditable one. He seems well aware of the difficulty of his task. In an exceedingly well-written introduction, he anticipates criticism in words which our readers will thank us for quoting:—

"Ferdinand, Isabella, Torquemada, Talavera, Ponce de Leon, and the rest, are found drawn by cotemporary chroniclers with an accuracy of portraiture

sufficient to preclude any possible exercise of fancy. The king and queen are photographed in Mariana. Pulgar has presented one at least of the rest at full length, and another is painted to the life by Galindez de Carbajal. My difficulty lay chiefly in the delineation of Ferdinand of Aragon. Were I to take his ideal from the eulogies of his flatterers, I should represent a Dunois, a Bayard, a Cid. To draw him from the records of involuntary truth, would be to paint an artful, shrewd, jeering, selfish despot, only retained within the precincts of propriety by the force of his Queen's character, and sinking away from the level of our respect the moment her elevating influence is withdrawn. To avoid the latter extreme, I was constrained to transfer some royal enormities to shoulders not so likely to sink under the burden. For instance, the main act of treachery I have given to Torquemada, who had already the load of the New Inquisition on his back. It is a mere feather, to one accustomed to such a millstone. As a general rule, you may safely take whatever casual details of conversation or personal anecdote you find, to form your estimate of an historical character; but you must be very cautious about relying on premeditated descriptions. The former are seldom written with the express object of deceiving, and therefore possess some unintentional truth : the latter generally are. Nothing can be more irreconcilable than Mariana's description of Ferdinand with the fragments of his conversation, &c., which have come down to us. I adopt these latter as my text-book.

"To having taken many liberties with a very vague and conflicting historic text, I plead guilty. For example, my hero's character I have illustrated by a feat of chivalry which properly belongs to a noble Moor, named Abrahen Zenete. To have observed the spirit of the time, of the distinct races, of the hostile creeds, and of the various characters, and to have been faithful to these, would be my proudest boast, as it has been my chief endeavour, were it not that I had an object paramount even to this—that of giving human interest to human action, and enlisting the first feelings and sympathies of the reader on the side of natural incidents and natural emotions. And the one aim is consistent with the other. While the dramatic element calls for the individualizing of each personage introduced upon the scene, and dressing him up, as it were, in his own appropriate costume, this universal principle demands that they should all be united to each other, and to the spectators' sympathy, by an intrinsic vitality, as are man and man by the common bonds of a common nature.

"Besides, a work of this kind must be true to nature before it can be true to art. Dress the puppets as accurately as you please, still they *are* puppets, if they are not men and women. And puppets never yet conquered, or betrayed, or lived, or loved, or died. On the contrary, they are fabulous, hollow, wax, wire, bran, playthings. Whereas great solecisms may be committed, and forgiven, so we have flesh and blood, soul and spirit, moving before us—

'My father in his habit, *as he lived.*'

It is on this element I would rely. By my fidelity to universal nature I wish to stand—or fall—in this humble attempt of mine. The simpler and more domestic virtues are, after all, those sought to be portrayed. The husband, wife, daughter, mother, such are the relations brought nearest the eye; though the tramp of War treads across the background of the scene, adding a sort of martial accompaniment to the expression of the natural affections." —(Pp. xxiv-xxviii.)

Perfectly true: but it is in these natural affections breaking through

the mingled intrigues of human action, and the waywardnesses and obstinacies of individual character, that the dramatic interest of highly-wrought scenic poetry consists. "One touch of nature makes the whole world kin:" but it is well to remember, that too many touches of nature consign the performance to the nursery. The fright of the babe Astyanax at the helmet of Hector does masterly work once in the long "Iliad:" and here the master will hold his hand. Hardness, greed, treachery, ambition—these are the gloomy landscape, over which the redeeming graces of sweet humanity gleam like stars: but like stars only.

We make these remarks more to temper Mr. Starkey's theory, than to condemn his practice. For his drama is thoroughly well written and ably sustained: and history and "touches of nature" seem to us to hold their due proportion. He has not the strength of a giant: there are very few salient passages, very few great speeches made for effect. The inaptitude for being *performed*, which clings to all these long historical dramas, and of which Mr. Starkey is himself quite aware (Introd., p. xxix), has this effect on their fortunes: it consigns them, except in very rare cases of excellence, such as "Philip van Artevelde," to oblivion on the shelf. And however pleasing we may have found "The Dole of Malaga," we fear its author must make up his mind that such eventually will be its lot. In the present multitude of poems continually welling forth from the press, really good and creditable workers must thankfully accept that modicum of praise which contemporary interest and fair criticism can award them, and be content to forego the dream of immortality.

XVI.—*Athenäis; or, the First Crusade.* By WILLIAM STIGAND. London: Moxon. 1866.

This is an epic, in Spenserian stanza, consisting of six cantos, and occupying a volume of 320 closely printed pages. When we say that it possesses considerable merit, and rises in some places to beautiful poetry, we fear we have yet not said that which in our days will recommend a Spenserian epic to general reading. It is said that there hardly lives a man who has read through the "Faërie Queene." We remember, in the energetic days of the thirties, resolving to form one of the rare exceptions: but we ignominiously failed. That we *have* read through Mr. Stigand's "Athenäis," is to be set down to the score of duty: but we confess that the performance of the duty has been beguiled by much interest and pleasure. He has caught what seems for a man of taste and ear not difficult to catch, the march, and the level melody, of the classic English stanza. His powers of description, as we shall presently show, are almost in exuberance: and his com-

mand of words enables him to avoid repetition, even where whole pages are devoted to lavish depiction of scenery and decoration, as is the case in his fifth and sixth cantos. Where incident is not abundant —the whole may be summed up in the siege and deliverance of Antioch, and the banning, and amorous exile, of the hero, Count Bertrand d'Aureval—narrative is apt to flag: but Mr. Stigand is a great master of digression and episode, and he breaks the monotony of warlike cantos by invocations and apostrophes, well managed, and sometimes rising into, or near, that dangerous stratum of air known as the sublime.

It remains that we proceed to justify our estimate of "Athenäis" by a few specimens:—

"And as they float along unto the isle,
    A faint perfume of violets fills the gale,—
The purple flanks of each peak'd mountain-pile
    Sandall'd with green luxuriance, hill and dale
    Stand forth in sweep harmonious as they sail
On to the rising shore; sheer cliffs of grey
    Surround the marge, save where a gorge-like vale
Ran from within unto the rocky bay,
Where, like half-hidden nest, Arsinoë's haven lay.

"A rocky headland, like an arm outthrown
    Clasping the sea, Arsinoë's haven made—
Whence curl'd a deep firth, like a sapphire zone
    Thrown down by some fair empress disarray'd;
    Blue Ocean roll'd beneath the plum'd cliffs' shade
A tract of waveless azure, on whose sleep
    Fine feathery shapes of rock-born foliage play'd.
There pine and cedar crown'd each dizzy steep,
And slept with mirror'd grace within the gleaming deep.

"It was a land where Pleasure with Delight
    Might wander all the day, from the first dawn
Of sunrise, when the golden floods of light
    Surg'd o'er each mountain-crest; then wood and lawn
    Glisten'd in dewy splendour, threads o'erdrawn
Of silky gossamer with elfin beads
    Of opal quiver'd, as the rousing fawn
Went from his lair to seek the clover meads,
Or wade across the mere through dew-besilver'd reeds.

"Clear as rock-crystal of light-golden hue
    And unflaw'd bright transparency, the morn
Advanc'd, and from the purple distance blew
    Fair breezes in the cool of ocean born,
    Rifling the flower-woods of acacia thorn,
The myrtle thickets and the groves of balm,
    They hover'd o'er the vineyards and the corn,
And shook the feather'd crest of every palm,
And wak'd each minstrel bird amid the forest's calm.

"And ere the night-dew faded from the blade,
The playful hares along the grass would run,
Leaving a green trail on the hoary glade;
The peacocks then would sit within the sun
Upon the sweeping branch, and one by one
Uplift their radiant fans of emerald eyes
To dry the night-damp: where the sunbeams shone
Throng'd crimson pheasants, birds of Paradise,
And the Sultana bird wav'd wings of azure dyes.

"Then rosy-breasted doves and flame-wing'd cranes
Would flock from out the woods, whose depths among
The golden oriole, in flute-like strains
Would call unto the skylark; while in song
The bulbul sent his soul forth soft and strong,
And from its feather'd throat each bird would fling
Harmonious undernotes; then all along
The flow'ry slopes would dance and wave and spring
Bright clouds of butterflies on gemm'd and radiant wing.

"Some sapphire-pinion'd, ruby-wingèd some,
More bright-hued others than the peacock's eyes;
Then golden bees would flit with simmering hum
Round rose and violet, lading their small thighs
With liquid sweet; then filmy-wingèd flies
And midges forth would swarm, and in wild strife
Blue swallows flash among them, with sharp cries
Of exultation, as all air grew rife
With the soft murmuring glow and stir of insect life."—(Pp. 236-9.)

Here is a battle-picture, one of many: we wonder what our friends of the Peace Society would say to it:—

"There are who love upon the harbour shore
To see the ocean's white wrath leap the bar
And hear the baffled monster's painful roar;
There are who love to look upon the war
Of elements in conflict, and the jar
Of thunders bursting on the mountain's side,—
Yet is the battle storm sublimer far
When nations meet, and in their armèd pride
The sovereignty of Right by slaughter's steel is tried.

"The blazon'd standards far and wide array'd,
The crash of spears as brazen trumpets blow,
The arm uplifted, and the flashing blade,
The fainting knees, the emptied saddle-bow,
The horse-hoofs trampling on the cloven brow,
The earth all steep'd with blood as lees with wine,
The groans unheard of mightiest chiefs laid low,
Of Heavenly will are hierophantic sign,
The characters are dark yet not the less divine."—(P. 181.)

A critic would not be true to his craft, who did not pick holes. Let us say then that to the "aliquando dormitat," Mr. Stigand forms no exception. We may be given to wish that this did not occur sometimes in the very places where it is least tolerable,—as for

instance, in the beautiful episode of King Eric of Denmark and his bride Adelaïde; where, in the very opening of the final scene, we have—

> "The ruin'd shell
> Of that huge tower was lit in every nook
> By light of burning wains: like fiends from hell
> The Moslems shouted. *Adelaïde* took
> *Her lover's hand with an unutterable look.*"

In a passage of lamentation over the present state of Syria, near the opening of the first canto, we have another such instance:—

> "And 'neath the Bedawee's destroying spear
> The peasant reaps his meagre sheaves of corn,
> While still from time to time upon the ear
> Are shrieks of massacre and havoc borne
> From homeless crowds and orphan'd troops forlorn,
> From Christian streets o'erwhelm'd in blood and flame,
> Where Moslems still spit on the Cross in scorn,
> And the Frank walks the Pharpar's banks in shame,
> *Since Europe shriv'd those fiends with indignation tame.*"—(P. 9.)

This line besides labours under the fault of ambiguity: for "*tame*" may agree with "*fiends*," or with "*Europe*," whereas it is evidently meant to belong to "*indignation*."

Mr. Stigand has a way of dealing with the abbreviation "e'er" for "ever," which is hardly *en règle*: *e. g.*,—

> "Which then *as e'er* by force and cunning throve,"—

"*as e'er*" meaning "*as ever.*"

Again, in p. 46:—

> "And though to think on nought he daily strove,
> But on his vow in Christ's dear name to bleed,
> . . . . .
> Yet *e'er* his passion, like a down-press'd reed,
> Which rises when the blast has hurried by,
> Would spring up blithe anew fresh effort to defy."

Here "e'er" means "*ever*," in the sense of *ever and anon.*

Again, in p. 81:—

> "*E'er* that the Christians make
> League with the Paynim in equality,"—

represents "ere that," &c.

The rule, we believe, with regard to this abbreviation is, that "ever" must not be written "e'er," except in composition with "when," "where," or "how," and in the idiomatic "or e'er" for "or ever." "Ere," meaning "before," is a different word, and probably the same which enters into the composition of "early."

Surely no excuse can be made for reproducing the wretched vulgarism of "*lay*" for "lie," even though Lord Byron was once guilty of it for the sake of his rhyme:—

> **"So stood he; and he felt a horror *lay***
> **Of dark annihilation o'er his mind."—(P. 224.)**

Besides, there is something very awkward in thus interposing the verb between a noun and the genitive which is in government after it. It reminds us of the present style adopted by some of our newspapers: "The *death is announced of* . . . ."—or, as we have sometimes seen it, even worse, filled in after this manner: "The *death is recently reported* by the local papers, at his seat in Pembrokeshire, of a malignant fever after a very short illness, *of* . . . . ."

Consistency may fairly be required in the metrical use of foreign names. Let us have Kòran, *or* Koràn; but not one or the other arbitrarily, as the verse requires. Still less should the printed accent protest against the actual one, as here,—

> **"Whose doctrine is the Koràn (*sic*) and the sword."—(P. 6.)**

Koràn being plainly Mr. Stigand's usual pronunciation: witness—

> **"And this on the Koràn swear wholly to fulfil."—(P. 77.)**

In the glowing description of Cyprus, Canto V., we think we detect an anachronism:—

> **"And round each close**
> **Of flow'r-enamell'd mead and by each way,**
> **The *blue-green aloe* stood."**

We had been always taught to believe that the aloe (*Agave Americana*) was not known in the Old World before the discovery of the New.

We observe that Mr. Stigand clings to the use of the apostrophe in the case of the mute "*ed*" of the past tense of verbs, and in monosyllables such as "*flow'r.*" But we also see, that when he means the "*ed*" to be pronounced, he marks it with an accent. If this latter be necessary, then it is unnecessary to elide the "*e*," where acute: and *vice versâ*. And who, in our times, would ever think of making "flower" or "bower" a dissyllable?

We have noticed these few blemishes, because the Spenserian stanza, more than any other form of English verse, requires to be faultless, and thoroughly polished: and in hope that Mr. Stigand, if, as some have believed, this poem is as yet incomplete, may in its concluding cantos exercise a still severer discipline over his versification and diction.

XVII.—*Shadows of the Past. In Verse.* By Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe. London: Macmillan & Co. 1866.

Our veteran diplomatist, so well known and honoured among us, has at last assumed before the public a character which, we have no

doubt, he has long borne in private—that of a wooer of the Muse. The volume is, on many accounts, a pleasing one. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe does not aim at being accounted a poet; but records his feeling and elegant prolusions on incidents which have prompted "harmonious numbers" during a long and varied life. It is a pleasure to read the terse and somewhat old-fashioned odes, fables, epigrams, and rhapsodies, which follow one another, page after page, in this volume. Many stirring events, many touching scenes, public and private, here find record in verse. One large poem, "The Fortunes of Genius," belongs to the class of which Campbell's "Pleasures of Hope" is the type, though by some of its lines its date is fixed far nearer our own day:—

> "Horsed on the lightning rushes soul to soul,
> And wires have life, where oceans o'er them roll."—(P. 169.)

Our readers will thank us for the following specimen of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe's elegiac verses, especially as many of them have fresh in remembrance the sad occurrence which is their subject:—

> "She left us in her twentieth year;
> Never, ah! never to return!
> Why snatched away so young, so dear,
> We dared not even wish to learn.
>
> "She left us; yet in death so fair,
> We seemed as in a dream to weep,
> And half believed the freshening air
> Might break too soon that fatal sleep.
>
> "The lovely form, the grace, the worth,
> Of many a bosom long were guests;
> If more ye seek, the jealous earth
> Will haste to answer, 'Here she rests.'
>
> "Dull nurse of bones! her dust is thine,
> At least in these thy fleeting hours;
> 'Tis life we store in memory's shrine,
> And that, nor age nor worm devours.
>
> "Bathed in her smiles the landscape glowed;
> At home their softest lustre shone;
> And still from joy's forsaken road
> There breathes a charm though she is gone.
>
> "When deepen most the starry skies,
> A cloud may veil the queen of night;
> Yet every glade in silver lies,
> And e'en the cloud is edged with light.
>
> "Nor youth, nor all we prize, when youth
> Our nature's proudest aim reveals,
> Nor love, nor love's rewarded truth,
> Can foil the blow destruction deals.

"Alp speaks aloud; the sounds of wrath
From crag to crag their mission tell;
They roll along the lightning's path,
And shake the rock where Alice fell:

"Where Alice fell ere yet the wreath
Of bridal joy its leaves had shed,
Ere yet the smile that played beneath—
So light the parting hour—had fled.

"Sweet bride! the tears that flow for thee
Are more thy widowed husband's due.
From fortune's mockery thou art free;
He lives to mourn the bliss he knew.

"He marked the dazzling arrow's track,
Nor guessed what ruin closed its flight;
Without a fear he hastened back,
And sank at once in hopeless night."—(Pp. 332-4.)

XVIII.—*Dramatic Studies.* By AUGUSTA WEBSTER. London: Macmillan & Co. 1866.

Mrs. Webster's dramatic and poetic powers are of no common order. Her special line is the subjective analysis of thought and feeling. It is an illustration of this (see our opening remarks on Mr. Leighton), that every poem in the volume is in the first person.

There may be a question, we think, whether this analytical process may not have been in our time carried too far. The Laureate set a noble example in this style, as in the other styles which he has introduced or revived. But since the time of "Simeon Stylites," "Love and Duty," "Ulysses," "Locksley Hall," and "The Two Voices," the vein has been somewhat unsparingly worked: and the blank verse introspective idyl, if we may so name it, has come to be rather a plague. Moreover, the more our poets have looked within, the deeper they have seen, or seemed to see: so that this same idyl has, in some of their hands, become a thing of dark hints and puzzling ellipses. Men and women are made to wear their hearts upon their sleeves, and that not in legible embroidery, but in provoking tangles, which the daws, when they peck at them, will infallibly make ten times worse.

In the midst of so much beauty and so much poetic power, it seems a shame to find fault: but this is our only ground of complaint against Mrs. Webster, and we make it not as cavillers but as admirers. We proceed to justify what we have been saying by an examination of her really remarkable pieces.

In the first, "A Preacher," the subject is very plain, and of deep interest. The preacher, after his evening sermon, soliloquizes in a strain of self-accusation, in that he does not, in his own heart or hearts, feel, and live upon, the truths he has been declaring to his

people. He is no hypocrite; no castaway: he strives to love and to obey: he is an earnest searcher for truth:—

"If it be sin, forgive me: I am bold,
My God, but I would rather touch the ark
To find if thou be there than—thinking hushed
'’Tis better to believe, I will believe,
Though, were't not for belief, ’tis far from proved'—
Shout with the people 'Lo our God is there,'
And stun my doubts by iterating faith."—(P. 11.)

How came he then to say things that will not bear the test of his own inward questionings? As for instance:—

"Take to night—
I preached a careful sermon, gravely planned,
All of it written. Not a line was meant
To fit the mood of any differing
From my own judgment: not the less I find—
(I thought of it coming home while my good Jane
Talked of the Shetland pony I must get
For the boys to learn to ride :) yes here it is,
And here again on this page—blame by rote,
Where by my private judgment I blame not.
'*We think our own thoughts on this day,*' I said,
'*Harmless it may be, kindly even, still*
'*Not Heaven's thoughts—not Sunday thoughts I'll say.*'
Well now do I, now that I think of it,
Advise a separation of our thoughts
By Sundays and by week-days, Heaven's and ours?
By no means, for I think the bar is bad.
I'll teach my children 'Keep all thinkings pure,
And think them when you like, if but the time
Is free to any thinking. Think of God
So often that in anything you do
It cannot seem you have forgotten Him,
Just as you would not have forgotten us,
Your mother and myself, although your thoughts
Were not distinctly on us, while you played;
And, if you do this, in the Sunday's rest
You will most naturally think of Him;
Just as your thoughts, though in a different way,
(God being the great mystery He is
And so far from us and so strangely near),
Would on your mother's birthday-holiday
Come often back to her.' But I'd not urge
A treadmill Sunday labour for their mind,
Constant on one forced round: nor should I blame
Their constant chatter upon daily themes.
I did not blame Jane for her project told,
Though she had heard my sermon, and no doubt
Ought, as I told my flock, to dwell on that.
Then here again '*the pleasures of the world*
That tempt the younger members of my flock.'
Now I think really that they've not enough

> **Of these same pleasures. Grey and joyless lives**
> **A many of them have, whom I would see**
> **Sharing the natural gaieties of youth.**
> **I wish they'd more temptations of the kind."—(Pp. 11-13.)**

His own account of this is:—

> **"'Twas just this,**
> **That there are lessons and rebukes long made**
> **So much a thing of course that, unobserving,**
> **One sets them down as one puts dots to *i*'s,**
> **Crosses to *t*'s."—(Pp. 13-14.)**

This self-questioning is pursued in really a wonderful manner: especially so, if we reflect that it is not the preacher, but a woman, who is personating the speaker. Still we may be forgiven, amidst all that is admirable in the poem, for saying that it would have been more generally felt to convey that which in our day thousands of clergy and laity feel, if it had been simpler, more plainly *thought*, and more plainly expressed. Take but one trifling example, the words "thinking hushed," in our first-quoted passage. On first reading, we are put into doubt which of three meanings they represent: whether,—

1. "*Thinking* (substantive) *being hushed?*
2. "*Thinking* (participle) *that the following saying is hushed*; or,
3. (which eventually asserts itself to be the meaning) "*thinking* (participle) *in a hushed or silent manner within one's self.*"

And of these difficulties this and the other poems are full: obscurities worth clearing up, depths worth fathoming,—but which need not have been obscurities, and seem to have been hidden away in the deeps merely from the habit or the love of hiding away. There is also to blame in this the old story, "Brevis esse laboro: obscurus fio."

But at all events, in the principal poem in the volume, "Sister Annunciata," Mrs. Webster has been guiltless of this study of brevity. However the fault may sometimes appear in single sentences, the whole poem, in which a nun, once in love, alternately recalls former days and bewails her sin in recalling them, and is lectured by the good abbess on her lot, throughout *seventy-one pages*, cannot be found fault with for being too short. It is impossible that Mrs. Webster could handle such a theme without giving us striking and noble passages, and laying open sources of conflicting thought and feeling. Take for instance the following: and there are many more such:—

> **"Alas!**
> **Even if I would, how could I now recall**
> **To their long-faded forms those phantasies**
> **Of a far, other, consciousness which now**
> **Beneath the ashes of their former selves**
> **Lie a dead part of me, but still a part,**
> **Oh evermore a part.**

> I do not think
> There can be sin in that, in knowing it.
> I am not nursing the old foolish love
> Which clogged my spirit in those bitter days.
> Ah no, dear as it was even in its pain,
> I have trampled on it, crushed its last life out.
> I do not dread the beautiful serpent now;
> It cannot breathe again, not if I tried
> To warm it at my breast, it is too dead
> And my heart has grown too cold; the Lord himself,
> I thank Him, has renewed it virgin-cold
> To give to Him. I do but recognise
> A simple truth, that that which has been lived,
> Lived down to the deeps of the true being, *is*
> Even when past for ever, has become
> Inseparable from the life-long self:
> But yet it lives not with the *present* life.
> So, in this wise, I may unshamed perceive
> That the dead life, that the dead love, are still
> A part of me."—(Pp. 48-9.)

Still we cannot help feeling that here again the process has been overdone. Again and again we cry, "Ohe! jam satis!" and reflect whether the work of art would not have been more perfect by the loss of one half of its present material.

"The Snow Waste" is a grand Dantesque allegory, in which one who has been guilty, during life, of unnatural cruelty of hate, is condemned to wander for ever in a waste of snow between the corpses of his two victims. The effect of this "doom of cold" is strikingly expressed by the tale, told by the condemned, being given in eight-line stanzas of one rhyme only—"shadeless rhyme," as it is called in the poem: or as elsewhere,—

> ". . . An uncadenced chant on one slow chord
> Dull undulating surely to and fro."

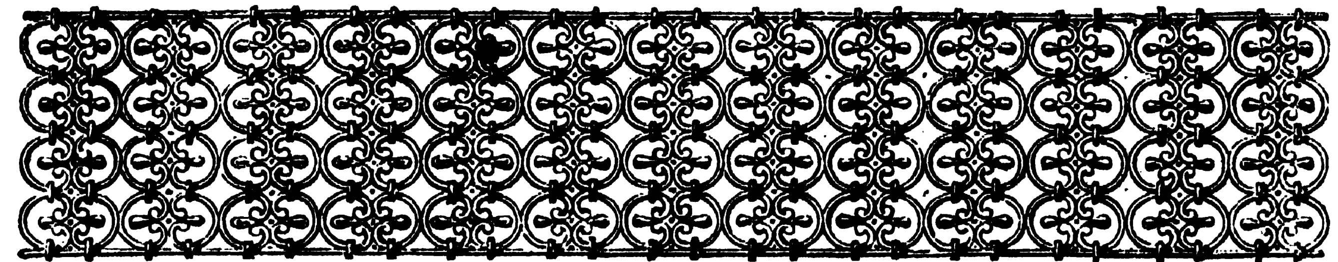
Thus they run:—

> "What love is now I know not; but I know
> I once loved much, and then there was no snow.
> A woman was with me whose voice was low
> With trembling sweetness in my ears, as though
> Some part of her on me she did bestow
> In only speaking, that made new life flow
> Quick through me: yet remembering cannot throw
> That spell upon me now from long ago."—(Pp. 117-18.)

In another poem, entitled "With the Dead," is related the story of the persecutor who, seeking to betray the Christians in the Catacombs, was condemned to wander for ever up and down their labyrinths. The volume closes with a short and most touching poem entitled "Too Late"—a lament of one who in his profligacy has received news of his dying wife, and has arrived only to find her passed away.

And thus our present task is done, and the general estimate only of the volumes which we have noticed has to be spoken. From them all, the thought arises that we are for the most part elaborating with credit, rather than originating. We began by speaking of Tennyson and Browning: and as we began, so we end. The procession of their followers, and the followers, in them, of all that is best and truest in our literature, is still passing onward: its ranks not yet degenerate, its banners not yet faded. But the eye which pierces where others have not seen—the unbidden step that first treads the wild, are as yet hardly known to us among the poets of our own time. This cannot be because all wilds are enclosed, nor because all dark places are explored. It may have been enough for our age to have witnessed the advent of one great poet: and the way may not yet be prepared, among the wrecks of his imitators, for a new path to Fame.

Meantime let us use what has been given us. It will be no mean preparation for what may be yet in store, to have profited well by the patient definition of nature, and the thorough searching of the human heart, which characterize our present school of poets.



RECENT RESULTS OF PHOTOZINCOGRAPHY.

Facsimiles of National Manuscripts from William the Conqueror to Queen Anne. (English Series, Part I.) Photozincographed by command of Her Majesty Queen Victoria. By Colonel Sir HENRY JAMES, R. E., Director of the Ordnance Survey. With Translations and Notes, by W. B. SANDERS, Esq., Assistant Keeper of Her Majesty's Records, Ordnance Survey Office, Southampton. 1865.

THE volume before us contains the first portion of a series of facsimiles of our national records, recently issued by command of her Gracious Majesty, from the Ordnance Survey Office at Southampton, under the direction of Colonel Sir Henry James, R.E., the present accomplished and courteous head of that department.

The purpose of the publication is stated in the introductory notes to be the illustration of the changes that have successively occurred in the language and in the character of the handwriting employed in England, during the period to which they relate. This object would evidently have been answered by a chronological arrangement of any documents, however dry and devoid of historical interest. But the opportunity of presenting to the public copies of records, valuable and instructive for the facts they contain, or otherwise remarkable, was not one likely to be neglected by those who planned and directed the undertaking, and an inspection of the series will prove what a wise discretion has been exercised in the selection, and with how much judgment the principle stated in the introductory notice has been carried out—"That only such records should be chosen as were either historically important or curious in themselves."

It is not, therefore, to the collector of autographs or the curious in handwriting, to the philologist or the antiquary alone, that this volume will be valuable. To the historical student, and indeed to

every one who feels an interest in the history of his country, and seeks to realize the persons and the events which have made her what she is, the present collection will be a most desirable aid: and if, as we shall not be surprised to learn is the case, the volume finds its way into the libraries of our great schools, and the lecture-rooms of our universities, it will do more to invest the facts of history with life and reality, and awaken a taste for a study which is too often presented in such a manner as to disgust and repel the young, than the ablest lecturer could otherwise hope to effect.

It is intended that the series should embrace the period from the Conquest to the reign of Queen Anne, and close with Marlborough's despatch of the Battle of Blenheim. The present volume goes no farther than the reign of Henry VII. Within these limits it contains documents selected from every reign, and gives us facsimiles of the autographs of each sovereign, from that of Richard II., the first of our kings of whom we can certainly say that he has left a name behind him in his own handwriting—his father, the Black Prince, having probably anticipated him in this accomplishment—to the hieroglyphical scrawl of the first of the Tudors.

The process adopted for the reproduction of these records is that exquisite combination of photography and zincography, with which the public has of late become familiar under the name of photozincography, as the surest, readiest, and most inexpensive means of obtaining an exact facsimile of any document, printed or written, as well as of engravings or photographs.

One of the very earliest applications of this, then newly discovered art, was in the reproduction of the Anglo-Saxon legend of St. Swithun, published by the Rev. John Earle, in 1861. The learned and keen-sighted editor, in his introduction to his work, in the spirit of a true prophet, expressed his belief that "photozincography might produce a change which would be the greatest stride made by literary appliances since the invention of printing." The complete reproduction in exact facsimile of our great national κειμήλιον—the envy of other nations and the peculiar glory of our own—"Domesday Book," has since then proved its capabilities, and the truth of Mr. Earle's anticipations has been further evidenced by the publication of the first folio Shakspere, and still more recently by the series now before us.

To some of our readers the art of photozincography may be little more than a name, and therefore before we proceed farther it may be desirable to say something of the mode by which these facsimiles have been executed, and the discovery, as simple in its principle as important in its results, which has enabled Sir Henry James and his coadjutors to reproduce thus perfectly the literary treasures

entrusted to him by the well-placed confidence of the Master of the Rolls. We say "reproduce" advisedly, for no other word will adequately express the effects of the photozincographic process. The copies here before us are not, like the facsimiles formerly executed,—specimens of which are to be seen in the various publications of the late Record Commission,—mere tracings of the original, etched upon copper, and incised with the graving tool. Many of these are admirable as specimens of patient skill, but they are, after all, as Mr. Burtt reminds us in his excellent paper on the "Domesday Facsimile" (*Archæolog. Journal,* vol. xviii., p. 129), merely the copyists' "*reading* of the original." If he mistook the meaning of the record, that mistake is perpetuated, and all the more fatally, as his solution of any doubtful passage might not unnaturally be regarded as settling the question. So that, in cases of difficulty, where a real facsimile would be of essential service, the result would be either a stereotyped error, or confusion worse confounded. No such hazards attend the reproduction of facsimiles by the photozincographic process. Traced on the sensitive plate by the unerring accuracy of the sun, and transferred to the zinc by the process we are about to detail, we have in effect the autographs themselves before us; not "filtered through the brains" of a transcriber, whether stupid or clever—the clever artist being far the more dangerous,—and depending for their fidelity on the eye and hand with their countless possibilities of error, but in the strictest sense *reproduced,* with every minutest peculiarity of penmanship, every variety in the form of a letter, every mark of the writer's individuality, faithfully preserved. Not a dot, not a stroke, not a tittle of the original, is passed over by the solar draughtsman. As we look at these facsimiles we may feel satisfied that we have before us all that there is in the record itself, and that we are in precisely the same position as decipherers, no worse off nor any better (but for the excellent translations, or copies in modern typography which accompany them) than if we were reading the original manuscripts. Many and varied as the applications of the wonderful discovery of photography have been, there is hardly one to which the world of literature may look with more hopeful interest than that of which these are among the most recent results. Little, indeed, could those who were ridiculing the first experimenters as a set of well-meaning enthusiasts who were amusing themselves with a newly-discovered toy, the utmost power of which might be to produce a pretty picture, have imagined to what those experiments would lead. Great indeed would have been their astonishment if they had been told that those amateurs, so busy with their cameras and chemicals, were the pioneers of an art the practical utility of which would be as great as the artistic beauty of its productions. Hardly less would

have been the surprise of the operators themselves could they have foreseen that their discoveries would provide a method by which the guardians of our ancient manuscripts might practically secure their priceless treasures from the risks of fire or malicious injury, and by the multiplication of facsimiles throw open to the many that which had hitherto been the privilege of the few. Had the possibility of such an adaptation of the invention suggested itself, it would have been regarded as costly and difficult in its application, and fraught with danger to the original. The facility and economy of the process, and the safety with which the most valuable documents may be subjected to it, could hardly have been anticipated by the most sanguine. Nor has the limit yet been reached. The art is still in its infancy. We cannot doubt that greater triumphs of photographic reproduction lie in the future; and that the skill and ability devoted to the art at Southampton and elsewhere will be rewarded with further successes as remarkable and as little anticipated as any the present volume can show.

The mode adopted is, as we have said, conspicuous for its beautiful simplicity. It is based on the chemical fact, that when certain organic substances—gelatine is that employed in this process—are mixed with bichromate of potash, they become insoluble in water on exposure to the sun's rays. If, therefore, a negative is taken in the ordinary way, and laid upon a sheet of paper coated with a thin layer of a mixture of the bichromate and gelatine, and then exposed to the sun's light, we obtain a copy of the original in insoluble lines on a soluble ground. In this simple fact we have a key to the whole process. The positive thus taken is coated with a uniform layer of greasy, carbonized ink, obliterating for the time every trace of the photograph. The blackened sheet is then floated on tepid water. The soluble parts of the gelatine speedily begin to swell, and the ink may be seen breaking up under the action of the moisture. When rendered sufficiently viscid, the next object is to get rid of the superfluous ink. This is effected by gentle rubbing with a soft sponge, carefully repeated until all that was unnecessary is removed, and the picture, plan, or writing, appears in exact facsimile. Such is the outline of the first stage of the process. But, "simple as it appears," remarks Sir Henry James, "in practice, like every process in photography, it requires care and judgment, and many difficulties had to be overcome before very good results were obtained."

Those who have followed our description will not fail to remark that the process, so far, does no more than produce *one* copy of the original; and that the only superiority it can claim over the ordinary method of photographic printing is the permanence of its productions. And for a considerable time it was to the execution of these "carbon

prints" (the name by which they are known to the photographic world) that the method was limited.* The one grand step, on which the very existence of photozincography as a useful art depends, remained to be taken. No mode had been discovered of repeating the "carbon print," except by going through the whole process again from the beginning. It is to Sir Henry James and his able assistant, Captain A. de C. Scott, that this step is entirely due. An accidental circumstance led to the discovery of the "missing link" between the "carbon print" and the lithographic stone, or zinc plate. A lady at Ryde had executed a small etching of a cottager's fireside. Wishing to obtain copies for distribution in an inexpensive manner, she consulted Sir Henry James on the subject. At the moment he was unable to mention any expedient. But as he paced the Esplanade the idea occurred to him that the chromo-carbon process might effect what was desired. The next day, on his return to Southampton, the thought was tested. A chromo-carbon copy of the etching, taken in the mode described above, was transferred by pressure to zinc. The experiment was successful. The "missing link" was found. The drawing was reproduced, and Sir Henry had the satisfaction of despatching to the fair artist, by that evening's post, fifty copies of her etching, produced at an almost nominal cost. This was the first photozincograph ever taken, and appropriately occupies the first place in the interesting album in the library of the Ordnance Survey Office, in which we can trace the gradual progress of the art from its first beginnings to its present stage.

A discovery so rich in promise could not have long remained unproductive in a mind so active and intelligent. Still, but for a remarkable coincidence, it might not so soon have found the precise field in which it has gained its greatest triumphs. The circumstances were these. The subject of the reproduction of our more important national records, more especially the "Dómesday Book," had, it seems, been for some time engaging the thoughts of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer. The very day after Sir H. James had printed his first photozincograph, he was summoned to London to meet the lamented Lord Herbert, then Secretary at War, on business connected with the Survey. Mr. Gladstone also was there, and, during the interview, mentioned to Sir Henry the idea that had been passing through his mind, and asked him if he could suggest any mode of carrying it into effect. The coincidence of want and supply was never more

* The merit of producing these permanent photographs—no inconsiderable one when the doubtful stability of our best photographic pictures is taken into account—is divided between M. Fargier, Mr. Swan, and Mr. Pouncey: the last named, we believe, being the first to bring the process into notice in this country. They were first employed in the Ordnance Survey Office to guide the engraver in the execution of the Ordnance maps, instead of the ordinary tracings, at the suggestion of Captain Scott.

remarkably displayed. Two days before, Sir Henry must have confessed his inability to propose any such means. But the apparently casual request of the lady at Ryde had put into his hands the very method required, and he could at once reply in the affirmative. As a proof that he was not promising that which he could not perform, on his return to Southampton he had a small deed of the time of Edward I. copied and printed, and despatched to London. Whatever might be the practical difficulties of the work, which proved indeed neither few nor insignificant, there was no longer any doubt of its possibility. A process had been discovered by which any written or printed matter whatsoever, books or manuscripts, maps, plans, or engravings,* could be reproduced with the most undeviating exactitude, and after a period devoted by the chief of the office, aided by Captain Scott and the able body of subalterns Sir Henry has trained to work under him, among whom Mr. Appel, the printer, deserves special mention, to necessary experiments in combating with and overcoming difficulties as they arose, the great National Survey of the Conqueror was removed to Southampton under Mr. Sanders' watchful guardianship, and submitted to the process with perfect success.

It manifested considerable judgment, as well as an accurate estimate of the national character, to inaugurate the photozincographic art with the reproduction of "Domesday." To an Englishman, especially to an English landowner, no document can be more interesting than this, which, by the unimpeachable evidence of local names, often scarcely different from those in daily use by ourselves and our neighbours, links us on to those far off ages when "the liberties of England fell on the bloody field of Senlac, and the nation bowed beneath the iron yoke of the Norman conqueror." We are not surprised that the sale commanded by the facsimile has been very large, especially as most wisely the counties are issued separately, and any person can possess himself of the one or more in which he feels principally interested, without the necessity of purchasing the whole. Second and third editions of some counties have been asked for,—Cheshire, we are told, has been loudest in its call,—and it is found almost difficult to supply the unlooked-for demand that has arisen.

The present volume has been published in further pursuance of Mr. Gladstone's original suggestion, and we cannot commend too highly the practical skill shown in the reproduction of the documents, the judgment which directed the selection, and the care exercised by the officials of the Record and Ordnance departments in obtaining the facsimiles without injury to the manuscripts themselves.

* It was for some time doubted whether photographs in half-tints could be reproduced by this process: but recent experiments at Southampton have fully proved that they too are within the range of its powers. The results at present, however, are not quite so successful as in its other applications. The reproductions want the brilliancy of the originals.

Mediæval MSS. are not easy reading to any but the initiated: and even if deciphered, the language in which they are written, and the unfamiliar technical terms with which they abound, often make it a more difficult task to understand what has been read than to read it. This publication would therefore have been very incomplete without the addition of printed copies, translations, and illustrative notes. The execution of this part of the work has been entrusted to Mr. Basevi Sanders, who has fulfilled his responsible task with an ability which leaves little to be desired.

Before we proceed to speak of the documents in detail, we may briefly call attention to the two points the illustration of which is stated as the chief purpose in view in their publication—the successive changes in handwriting and language during the period from which the records are drawn.

As regards the first, a very casual inspection is sufficient to indicate the chief variations penmanship underwent in England between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries. Large and clear, and comparatively modern-looking in the earliest documents, the writing drops at once to a much smaller character in Richard I.'s reign. Under John the characters employed become smaller still—we may instance Magna Charta—and continue at about the same size during his son's protracted reign. Here writing reached its minimum point, from which it began gradually to ascend again, the characters used growing larger and larger, until in the reign of Edward IV. they had regained the size they possessed in the Conqueror's time. It will be seen also that the form and extent of the contractions varied inversely with the writing. The smaller the writing the larger the number and more comprehensive the character of the contractions, and the more difficult are they for the inexperienced to decipher. When the laity began to write for themselves, as they did at the commencement of the fifteenth century, they usually proved very sorry scribes, and their writing is far more perplexing than that of the professional penman. But for Mr. Sanders' welcome aid, the letters of Henry V. would baffle most readers. Those of Richard III. are far more easy to decipher. But even his firm, determined penmanship sometimes makes us thankful for the help of an interpreter, who becomes absolutely necessary when we come down to the slovenly scrawl of Henry VII. Writing indeed, we may remark in passing, became still more deteriorated after the dissolution of the monasteries, and we may look for even greater literary puzzles in the succeeding issues of the facsimiles. Perhaps the national handwriting was never worse than in the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth and that of James I.

The illustrations of the language in use in England are also copious and instructive. The documents here given show us that, in his

official transactions, the Conqueror employed the tongue he found spoken by his new subjects, the true *Englisc* of our forefathers, which we have so perversely chosen to treat almost as a separate language, under the convenient but misleading name of *Anglo-Saxon.* Too soon, however, "the foreign French and the artificial Latin" came to be preferred to the nervous tongue native to our land. All but the first two documents are in Latin until we reach John's reign, when the letters patent of Stephen Langton, "magnum et venerabile nomen," give us that which is said to be the earliest example of Norman-French to be found in our national records.* This, as a specimen of language probably identical with or differing but little from that used in the court of our Norman kings, is a precious philological relic, and demands careful attention. We do not find the vernacular employed again in these records till we descend to the forty-second year of Henry III., A.D. 1258. An extract from the Patent Roll of that year (No. xix. of this series) supplies us with a proclamation† issued by the king when under the control of "the mad Parliament," "Super reformatione statûs regni," enjoining his subjects to obey the laws, which possesses remarkable philological interest as the earliest specimen of *English* properly so called, as distinguished from what is conveniently described as *semi-Saxon*, the dialect of Layamon and the Ormulum.‡ This venerable record, though, like official documents in general, probably containing archaic words and phrases which were becoming obsolete in the spoken language, may be regarded as on the whole a trustworthy evidence of the language ordinarily in use among the commons of England. As an example of the English of the thirteenth century, we give the opening sentences. With the exception of an archaic word or two, if read aloud it would be found to differ very little from the dialect still spoken in our Eastern counties.

"Henry thrug Godes fultumē King on Engleneloande Lhoaverd on Yrloand, Duk on Norm' on Aquitain, & Eorl on Anjou, sénd igretinge to alle hise halde ilærde & ilæwede on Huntendon schir. . . . Thaet witten ye wel alle thaet we willen and unnen thaet thaet ure rædesmen, alle other the moare dæl of heom, thaet beoth ichosen thrug us & thrug thaet loandes folk

* In Dr. Hook's "Lives of the Archbishops," vol. ii. p. 678, the letter is given, with an English translation by Dr. Hook, who quotes Mr. Duffus Hardy as the authority for the above statement.

† This proclamation was first printed by Somner in his Dictionary in 1659, and again in 1816 in the Record Commission edition of "Rymer's Fœdera," vol. i. p. 378. It is given also in Mr. Craik's excellent little work, "Outlines of the History of the English Language," p. 125, and Dr. Latham's "English Language," vol. i. p. 314.

‡ Mr. Hallam ("Lit. of Europe," vol. i. p. 57) remarks on the difficulty as to "whether some compositions shall pass for the latest offspring of the mother, or the earlier parts of the daughter's fertility." "It is a proof of this difficulty," he adds, "that the best masters of our ancient language have introduced the word *semi-Saxon*, which is to cover everything from A.D. 1150 to A.D. 1250."

on ure kuneriche habbeth idon a schullen don in the worthnesse of Gode, & on ure treowthe for the freme of the loande thrug the besigte of than toforeniseide redesmen beo stedefaest & ilestinde in alle thinge abuten ænde." *

After the accession of Edward I., "a sudden change" † brought in the use of French as the regular official language. Latin appears less often, and English, as is natural, is used more and more frequently as the language of daily life. The letters of Henry V. when Prince of Wales, to his royal father, are good specimens of the vernacular as written in the highest circles at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Those of Richard III., Elizabeth Wydville, and Simon Stallworthe, may be consulted for examples of the epistolary style at its close.

But it is time that we began a more connected review of the documents contained in this volume. The series commences with the charter granted by the Conqueror to the City of London, and still religiously preserved among the archives at Guildhall. This, as we have said, is written in the vernacular; the so-called Anglo-Saxon: a fact which, united to its containing a confirmation of the laws of Edward the Confessor, may be regarded as indicating a conciliatory spirit on William's part towards his new subjects. This charter is one of the shortest extant. It is comprised in four lines and a half, and is not more than six inches long by one inch wide. How strongly does such an instance of compression contrast with the cumbrous phraseology of the modern spoilers of sheepskin! Its brevity tempts us to give it *in extenso*. We quote Mr. Sanders' translation:—

"William, King, greets William, Bishop, and Geoffrey, Portreeve, and all the Burghers within London, French and English, friendly. And I make known unto you that I will ye be worthy all those laws the which ye were in King Edward's day, and I will that each child be his father's heir after his father's day, and I will not suffer that any man do you any wrong. God give you health."

We have in this charter undeniable evidence that, in Sir F. Palgrave's words, under her new sovereign "London retained all her Anglo-Saxon integrity;" and it affords us one proof among many that, as the same historian has remarked, "acutely as England suffered by the Norman Conquest, never was so crushing a subjection accom-

* In modern English this would run as follows:—"Henry, through God's help, King in England, Lord in Ireland, Duke in Normandy, in Aquitain, and Earl in Anjou, sends greeting to all his subjects, learned and lewd (lay), in Huntingdonshire . . . This know ye well all, that we will and grant that that our counsellors, all or the more part of them, that be chosen through us and through the land's folk in our kingdom, have done and shall do in the honour of God, and in our troth (allegiance) for the good of the land, through the besight of the aforesaid counsellors, be steadfast and lasting in all things without end."

† Hallam, "Lit. of Europe," vol. i. p. 63.

panied by less oppression and wrong." A further illustration of this historical truth is supplied by the next document, a grant by the Conqueror to Deorman, "my man," of a hide of land in Essex, of which he had been deprived, closing with the words, "I will not suffer French or English to wrong him in anything."

Deorman by his name was plainly a Saxon. He appears as a tenant *in capite* both in London and Hertfordshire. Surely, then, we must infer that the popular notion that every Saxon was turned out of house and land by the Norman invaders is entirely erroneous. The son's share no doubt fell to the conquerors. No member of the subjugated race appears in "Domesday" as the possessor of large estates. But the number of Saxon tenants *in capite* is by no means small, and we may safely conclude that many a one, who, like Deorman, yielded peaceable submission to the Conqueror's will, was allowed to retain his property, and, as in this case, even found redress from his new sovereign for the wrongs he had suffered during the foreign occupation.

These two Anglo-Saxon records are followed by some extracts from "Domesday." These have been given rather because their omission would have rendered the volume incomplete as a collection of examples of English records, than from any special value in the extracts themselves. Not, however, that these are by any means without interest. The reason of their selection has been their relation to Windsor Castle. They show us that at that time, though the manor of Windsor was held in demesne by the king, as it had been by the Confessor, and valued at £15, the castle had not become a royal residence, but stood in half a hide of the manor of Clewer, which had belonged to "Earl Harold," and was then held by Ralf Fitz-Seifrid. The name "Albert" will hardly be read without a degree of melancholy interest as that of the first tenant of the manor of Windsor.

We must hasten over the charters of the Norman and first two Plantagenet kings (Nos. iv.—xiii.). They are valuable from the rarity of examples of this date, and from the gleams of sidelight thrown by them on the history of the period;* but they supply little to attract the general reader. There are, however, two of the series for which we would claim a moment's attention. The first is the charter (No. x.) granted by the Empress Maud to Christ Church, London, in which we may notice the style and title of the would-be queen, "M. Imperatrix, H. regis filia, et Anglorum Domina," and the name of the sole attesting witness, Robert of

* For example, we may instance the glimpse of the struggle between Rufus and his brother Robert, of which Rochester was the closing scene, afforded by the Red king's charter to the monks of that church. Several manors, including the vill and church of Lambeth, are granted to them in amends for the injury their monastery had received from the besieging army.

Gloucester, her half-brother and staunch supporter in her struggle for the crown. In the latter (No. xi.), that of Henry II. to the convent of Wykes, in Essex, to which Thomas à Becket is an attesting witness, the modern notions as to the amusements and occupations of the inmates of nunneries receive rather a rude shock. Among a vast number of other privileges and immunities, we find the permission to the nuns of Wykes to have "2 greyhounds and 4 braches, to take hares, and that the said nuns and their men have free ingress and egress throughout our forest for carrying and bearing whatever God shall award them."

No. xiv. contains copious extracts from the Pipe Roll. None of our public records, as historians and antiquaries are at last beginning to discover, are richer in materials illustrative not only of our civil history but of our national industry, domestic life, popular habits, and even of our architecture, than these great rolls of the king's exchequer, generally known, from being the channel through which all receipts and payments found their way to the royal accounts, as the "Pipe Rolls," or "Magni Rotuli Pipæ." None will better repay a careful examination, though it must be confessed that the enormous mass of matter, and the cumbrous form in which it is preserved, are somewhat repelling to any but the zealous searcher for historical truth. Ten pages of this volume give us the entries of the sums due from or to the king in three counties alone, Hampshire, Buckinghamshire, and Bedfordshire, for one year. The selection has been made with much judgment. The year chosen* was that in which Cœur de Lion was making his preparations for the Crusade, and it gives a wonderful degree of reality to this expedition, bringing it down from the cloudland of romance to the solid ground of plain matter-of-fact, to read of "800 hogs (bacones), 20 seams of beans, and 100 weys of cheese," being purchased by the king's writ to be carried to Jerusalem, while the "10,000 horseshoes with double nails" vividly set before us the large cavalry force accompanying the king. The details of the voyage itself come before us in the expenses of the Royal yacht, "Esnecca," when the Queen and the French king's sister (Alais, Richard's betrothed, and his father's concubine), the Countess of Albemarle (a rich widow, to be married by-and-bye), Philip de Columbers, and others of the king's lieges, crossed over with the treasure; those of three other ships to carry their baggage and retinue; and three more for William of St. Mary Church, and the Abbot of Reading, in charge of the treasure and the King's Chancery. Also the pay of

* **The accounts in the roll of the second year of Richard are those made up to September 29, 1190, and therefore principally belong to the first year of his reign. He was crowned in September 1189. These preparations were made then before he started for the Crusade, which was in December 1189, or else after his departure.**

Alan Cleave-the-sea for piloting the "Esnecca" from Southampton to Shoreham. The nurse of William, the duke's son (William of Winchester, the son of Henry the Lion, and progenitor of the Dukes of Brunswick, Kings of England and Hanover), has two marks given her by the king, and there is a charge for transporting seventeen hostages to Porchester and (South) Hampton. Entries of moneys owed by Jews occur in several places; *e. g.*, "Bennet the Jew owes 3 marks for detention of his lord's rent;" "Cresselini the Jew 1 marc of gold for seisin of land at Bossington and Mapledurwell," with the pithy addition, "but he is dead and had no right." Other entries illustrate the responsibility of townships and tithings for their members, as well as their individual amercement. "Odiham owes 20s. for murder;" Roger Palmer "½ a mark for false-speaking;" and "Ralf of Mursley"—to such minutiæ did the king's officers then descend—"6s. 5d. for unjustly filling up a ditch." In Buckinghamshire there is frequent mention of rents being paid in hawks, as many as twenty-nine of which were due at one time from one man.

The Pipe Roll extracts are followed by Magna Charta, of which no less than three facsimiles are given; one on a greatly reduced scale to accommodate it to the size of the page; two others on nearly the same scale as the original. No more telling proof of the superiority of the new method over the old in the accuracy of its results, no less than in economy of time and money, could be given than by comparing these two; the one, an accurate but spiritless copy, painfully executed by eye and hand, the other a photozincograph, with all the freedom and vigour of an original.

The number of copies of Magna Charta supplied to the cathedrals and principal monasteries was very large, but of these all but four seem to have perished. Two of these our readers have probably seen in the British Museum; one in a sadly mutilated state, having only escaped the scissors of Sir Robert Cotton's tailor—if indeed we may credit that somewhat apocryphal story—to be scorched and shrivelled by the fire which almost destroyed the Cottonian library, Oct. 23, 1731. A third, missing for many years, and supposed to have been spirited away by Bishop Burnet, is carefully preserved in the muniment room of Salisbury Cathedral. The fourth, the one selected for this work, as being the finest copy known, belongs to Lincoln Cathedral; and the facsimile here given has been made by the kind permission of the dean and chapter, its careful custodians. The charter itself is far too well known to require any comment. But, familiar as the historical student is with the text: intimately acquainted as every Englishman ought to be with its chief provisions: we must rejoice that an opportunity is now afforded of becoming possessed, if not of the document itself, yet of an exact reproduction of it.

Even Mâgna Charta itself acquires a more substantial reality for us, when we cease to read of it merely, but can read *it*,—

"Oculis subjecta fidelibus."

The extract from the Close Rolls, No. xx., is not one to be passed over with a careless eye. It is the enrolment of the writs issued in the king's name by the great Earl Simon for the summons of the Parliament of 1265, the first, as is well known, to which towns, cities, and boroughs were ordered to send representatives; in other words, virtually, the first meeting of the English House of Commons. Important as this epoch is in the history of our country, it has been too fully discussed to need any further comment here. It will be sufficient to have directed attention to the document, the issues of which were destined to be so momentous in the establishment of the power and well-being of England.

From the internal constitution of our own country the facsimiles carry us in the next place to our external relations with Scotland in the reign of Edward I.

The extracts first present us with the grant made by the elder Bruce, John Baliol, and the other claimants of the Scottish crown, to the king of England, giving him, "as sovereign lord of the land of Scotland, seisin of all the land and castles thereof," until he had decided on their respective claims, of which they had appointed him arbitrator. This is dated at Norham, the Wednesday after the Ascension, the year of grace 1291. This is followed by a couple of extracts from the "Ragman Roll," perhaps the finest specimen of caligraphy in the volume, giving us the homage and oath of allegiance to Edward I. taken by the Scotch in 1296, two years after the victory of Dunbar; and the attesting clause of the notary public, "Andrew, formerly clerk of William de Tang," by whom the report was made, to the truth of the record. The history of the next few years affords a not uninstructive commentary on the value of oaths extorted from a subjugated people to secure allegiance to the conqueror. Few, we imagine, of those who had sworn to "bear themselves faithfully and loyally to King Edward and his heirs, with life, limb, and feudal service * against all men, and never to carry arms, or give aid or counsel, against him or his heirs in any case whatever," would find their oath any hindrance when the opportunity offered itself of freeing their country from the hated dominion of the southern conqueror.

The interest of the next facsimile selected from this reign is of a personal and domestic character. We refer to the extracts from the very curious roll of the letters of Edward II. when Prince of Wales,

* We have Mr. Earle's authority for this rendering of "terrien honeur;" the latter word being taken in its derived sense, of military force and military allegiance to the feudal superior under whom "the Honour," *i. e.* the Manor, was held. Comp. Ducange *sub. voc.*

which has lately come to light in the Record Office. The extent of the young prince's correspondence, and the variety of topics embraced, is not a little remarkable. Like many weak natures, he was fond of letter-writing; never so happy as when thus laboriously idle. The roll, selections from which are here given, is for one year only, 1304, when Edward had just attained the age of twenty; yet we find in it duplicate copies, made by his secretary, of above seven hundred letters. These, writes Mr. Sanders, "are on all sorts of subjects, political, financial, and domestic, from the one with which the roll commences, to Adam le Poleter of Reading, commanding him to lodge four tuns of good wine in the abbey of Reading against the arrival of the prince's servants at the tournament about to be held there, to that to Pope Clement V. relative to his projected marriage with the Princess Isabella of France." The evidence thus unexpectedly brought to light after 560 years, as to the tastes and pursuits of the first Prince of Wales, confirms the verdict history has passed on his character. We see continued proofs of that weakness, frivolity, and self-indulgence which marked his unhappy career, as well as of that disgraceful devotion to favourites which bore evil fruit in later years, and justly alienated the affections of his queen and subjects. The fatal name of Piers Gavaston appears in two of the letters; one to the queen, and the other to the Countess of Holland, his sister, soliciting his mother's influence with the king for the recall of his minion and his companion, Gilbert de Clare, who had been prohibited all intercourse with him by his father, with whom he was evidently greatly out of favour. "Car ma dame," he writes, "si nous eussoms ceux deux vallets a les autres que nous avoms nous serioms molt allegez del anguisse que nous avoms endure e suffroms uncore de jour en autre par l'ordinaunce notre dit seigneur le Roi." Our readers will remember how fatally successful these entreaties were. Edward I. was induced to recall his prohibition, and his son once more enjoyed the dangerous companionship of those who had secured this disgraceful ascendancy over him. Too soon, however, the king saw his mistake. The next year Edward put his son in prison, and expelled* Gavaston the realm: but only to make a speedy return, to his royal friend's moral ruin and his own destruction. The uncomfortable relations between the prince and his father above referred to are also evident from several other entries on this roll. He writes to his sister, the Countess of Gloucester, that he would gladly see her, "but our lord the king and father has commanded our remaining in the parts about Windsor between this and the meeting of Parliament, or until he shall otherwise ordain, and we wish to obey his

* Gavaston appears to have stolen back again to England, and got into the prince's society, for in an ordinance dated Lanercost, February 26, 1307, he is once more banished the realm. "Naturam expellas furcâ tamen usque recurret."

orders in all things." To Sir John of Brittany he sends word that his recommendation to the king of his protegé, Henriot de St. Ouen, had been met by the stern reply, that he is not to meddle with it, "que nous n'en melassons," so that he dares do nothing more for him. Supplies seem even to have run short. From letters to the Countess of Gloucester, and her husband, he appears to have been beholden to them for pecuniary aid; though, while thanking them for their generosity, he begs them to understand that the king is not so harsh to him as had been stated; "for he has willed and charged that we have whatever is necessary in sufficiency." These letters also supply some interesting glimpses of the prince's private life and habits. Queen Mary of France, and Monsieur Louis her son, are coming to England, and he gives order for the purchase of "two handsome palfreys, fit for our own proper riding, two of the best saddles and bridles, and some of the best and finest cloth in London, for two or three robes for our use, with furs, silks, and everything proper," that he may meet and accompany the royal visitors as soon as they have crossed the sea. He thanks Sir Hugh le Despenser (ill-omened name!) for the grapes sent by his varlet, "who arrived betimes this Sunday morning, very early, before we went to breakfast, and who could not have done so at a more fitting season" (he evidently writes with the taste of the grapes still in his mouth), and begs that he will not "take it amiss that we sent you so lean a deer, for we will send you a fatter as soon as we can take one." Edward was evidently fond of the chase. He begs his lady mother to make up for his ill success in taking only two hinds from her forest of Odiham the preceding year by granting him the venison again, and requests his sister's aid in stocking his kennel in the following curious letter:—"Tres chere soer pur ceo que nous avoms un beau liverer blaunk [white greyhound] vous prioms que vous nous voillez envoier la blaunche livere que vous avez. Car nous avoms graunt desir de avoir de eux chaeux [puppies]. Tres chere soer, nostre Seigneur vous garde."

Once seated on the throne, graver anxieties press upon our royal correspondent. The hunting-field must, however unwillingly, be given up for the field of battle. The only document given from his reign is a writ of privy seal, June 16, 1310, to Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, bidding him meet him at Berwick, as he has determined to take the field against the Scots, lest he should lose the country which his father ("qui Dieux assoile") had conquered, by any laches of his own. Bold, but unreal words. Once again the ruinous companionship of Gavaston, who joined him as soon as he was out of his barons' sight, dragged him down into the slough of riot and unmanly debauchery, and the opportunity of striking a decisive blow, and crushing the rising power of Bruce, was lost for ever.

It is a question which has often been raised, and which can never perhaps be satisfactorily settled, which of our monarchs was the first who knew how to sign his name. The title "Beauclerc" given to our first Henry might at first seem decisive. At any rate such a name would to our ideas be little deserved by a man who was a stranger to this rudimentary knowledge. Such titles, however, are comparative, and must be judged by the standard of the age when they were imposed. Certain it is that if "Beauclerc" was acquainted with the art of writing he never made use of it in any of the documents which have descended to us, but "made his mark" like the rude, loutish bridegrooms whose shortcomings are so faithfully chronicled by our Registrar-General, to the grievous distress of the friends of popular education. And if this was the case with a monarch whose learning was a marvel in the eyes of his contemporaries, we can feel little surprise that his successors should have found it easier to wield the sword than the pen, and that to meet with a royal autograph we should have to descend nearly three centuries. In fact, the earliest autograph of an English king which is known to exist is that of Richard II. It is proverbially hard to prove a negative, and it is possible that some of his immediate predecessors were able to sign their name, and used the power, as his father, the Black Prince, probably did. So much, however, is certain, that no such example has yet come to light, and it is unlikely that any will be found. The document to which Richard's signature is appended (No. xxx.) is a letter missive to Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, his chancellor, dated from Bristol castle, July 26, ordering a tun of red wine of Gascony to be sent annually to the prioress of St. Mary Magdalen, near that city. The year is not given, but internal evidence fixes it for 1386. The signature is that of a child who has just learned to hold his pen painfully tracing the unfamiliar characters.

We have referred above to the signature of the Black Prince. This is also given in the present volume (No. xxix.). The Prince does not sign his *name*, but employs the much-discussed and controverted mottoes which every visitor to Canterbury will remember as surmounting the escutcheons of arms which decorate his tomb in that cathedral. The style of the sign-manual is "De par Homout. Ich dene," the mottoes being written one under the other, and circumscribed by a curved line.* The date of the document bearing this signature

* A facsimile of this sign-manual was first published by the late Sir Harris Nicolas, to whom it had been communicated by Mr. Hardy, in his "Memoir on the Badges and Mottoes of the Prince of Wales," "Archæolog.," vol. xxxi. pp. 358-81. Another similar autograph of the Prince has been engraved and published by Mr. Nicolas in his "Bibliotheca Topograph.," vol. iii. p. 90. See also Stanley's "Memorials of Canterbury," p. 164.

—a grant of a pension of 50 marks to one John de Esquet—is Angoulême, April 25, 1371.

Of Henry IV. we have only the royal assent, "H. R., avons grantè pour ly," scrawled at the head of a couple of petitions. One of these is the prayer of Simon de Marcheford, Canon of Windsor, for the restitution of a right of way through a gate and garden, of which he had been deprived by the officers of the king's poultry, "a grand disaise de votre dit chapellain." Henry of Monmouth has left larger proofs of his ability as a scribe. The collection before us contains three letters from him while Prince of Wales: two in English addressed to the king himself; one in Norman-French to Sir R. de Clifford. The letters to his father are very curious, and are the more valuable as they are the only specimens of his writing known to exist. We have no example even of his signature as king. One of the letters we give *in extenso*, as an interesting example of royal composition and orthography. In tone and style it may be advantageously compared with the letters of the first Prince of Wales already given:—

"My soverain lord and fader, I Recomande me to yowr good and gracieux lordship, as humbly as I can, desiring to heere as good tydingges of yow and yowr hye estat, as ever did liege man of his soverain lord. And, Sir, I trust to God that ye shal have now a companie comyng with my brother of Bedford that ye shal like wel, in good feith, as hit is do me wit. Neverthelatter my brothers mainy (company) have I seyn, which is right a tal meyny. And so schal ye se of thayme that be of your other Captaines leding, of which I sende you al the names in a roll, be [by] the berer of this. Also so, Sir, blessid be God of the good and gracieux tydingges that ye have liked to send me word of be [by] Herford your messager, which weere the gladdist that ever I myzt here, next your wel fare, be my trouth: and, Sir, with Goddes grace I shal sende al thise ladies as ye have comandid me, in al hast, beseching you of your lordship that I myzt wite how that ye wolde that my cosine of York should reule her, whether she shuld be barbid of or not, as I have wreten to you, my soverain lord afore this tyme. And, Sir, as touching Tiptot, he shal be Delivered in al hast, for ther lakkith nothing but shipping, which with Goddes grace shal be so ordeined for that he shal not tarry. Also Sir, blessid be God, your great ship the *Grace Dieu* is even as redy, and is the fairest that ever man saugh, I trowe, in good feith; and this same day th' Erle of Devonshire my cosin maad his moustre [muster] in her, and al others have her [their] moustre the same tyme that shal go to the see. And Sir I trowe ye have on [one] comyng toward you as glad as any man can be, as far as he shewith, that is the King of Scotts:* for he thanketh God that he shal nowe shewe be [by] experience th' entente of his goodwill be the suffrance of your good lordship. My soverain lord more can I not write to your hynesse at this tyme; but y[t] ever I beseche yow of your good and gracieux lordship as, be my trouth, my witting willingly I shal

* Robert III. The words seem ironical, or intended to put the king on his guard. They perhaps refer to the pretended resuscitation of Richard II., whose *mammet* accompanied the Scotch invasion in 1402. There are entries in the Scottish Accounts of the maintenance of some person called "the late King of England," supposed to have escaped from Pomfret, and to be leading a quiet life, with shattered intellect and broken fortunes, in Stirling.

never deserve the contrary, that woot God, to whom I pray to send yow al your hert desireth to his plaisance. Written in your town of Hampton the xiiij[th] day of May.—Your trewe and humble liege man and sone, H. G."

The "good and gracieux tydyngs" mentioned were in all probability those of the king's marriage with Joan of Navarre, which is the chief subject of the second letter. This would account for the haste with which the "ladies" were to be despatched, as they would be required to wait on the royal bride at her approaching espousals. The second letter—dated from Waltham, June 6 [1402]—is full of most vehement congratulations on the "blissid sacrament of mariage," which, as the king has informed him, he purposes "as sone aftir the feste of the Trinite as covenable time comyhte; in the best tyme of the yer I beseche Godde," and the expressions of his regret at being unable to be present at "that blissid gladde mariage," . . . "but God, blissid mote He be, wille not y[t] I have in thys worlde y[t] I moste desirid, of the whyche to see y[t] joyfull day of your marriage haht ben on(e)." He goes on to state that when he was "on the grette see" he made a "wowe that aftir tyme I were onys in youre reaume of Englande I sholde no see passe, save on pilgrimage, unto I hadde be at Seint Jamys (of Compostella); and for that cause whanne I was at youre toune of Calays for the grete desir I hadde to see the prosperiti of youre most dredde and noble persone, I wentte streht fro thennys to youre moste gracious presence, for if I hadde goone into your reaume of Engeland I myhte not have come into Normandie to (till) my pilgrimage hadde be doo."

Our chronological survey has now brought us to a very curious group of documents. They belong to the returns known as "*Probationes Ætatis*," than which perhaps no department of our public records contains more matter of general interest. The substance of these returns are the depositions taken at the inquisitions held to determine whether an heir had attained his legal majority. The witnesses called are very frequently drawn from the lower orders; the domestics and retainers of the lord's family; just that class of which ordinary history takes no account, and of whom we would fain know the most. Their evidence abounds in curious glimpses of the domestic life and social habits of our forefathers; for they always state what particular circumstance impressed the fact of the birth and its date on their minds; and these are often very noteworthy. Sometimes one of the witnesses chanced to be in the house at the time of the birth, and the cries of the suffering mother and her agonizing invocations to the Virgin left an indelible impression on his memory. At other times, and that, we grieve to say, pretty frequently, it was some heavy fall, causing bruise, strain, or broken limb, on returning from the christening-feast, which is the reminder. The ale was strong in those days, the draughts to

the young heir's health many and deep, and the roads bad. What wonder if many a loyal servant or retainer came to grief on his homeward way! At other times, though it is by some grievous hurt that the witnesses recall the day, this has a more blameless cause. The witness is playing at foot-ball after the baptism, and breaks his left leg; or he climbs a ladder to see the grand procession move to church, and falls and maims himself, "which he shall never forget;" or a young companion, practising archery in the churchyard, shoots an arrow through his leg. Others were present as children at the ceremony of the heir's baptism, carrying lighted tapers or hearing mass for the first time. One man fetches the midwife, another brings the godfathers and godmothers, a third is godfather himself. Some remember the day because of the birth of their own son and daughter, or because that day they married their wife or lost her by death. The specimen of these inquisitions given in the present collection is not a little curious. It is that taken at Honiton on All-Hallows eve, A.D. 1413, to determine the age of William, grandson and heir of Sir William Bonevile, knight. The young heir had been born on the last day of August at Shute, and baptized, as was then the custom, as it still is in the Roman communion, on the same day in the parish church; and we have very amusing pictures in the depositions of the witnesses of the thankfulness of the old knight at his grandson's birth, the hasty baptism, the rich presents that accompanied it, and the disappointment of the infant's aunt, Lady Katherine Cobham, at arriving too late to stand godmother to her nephew. Two of the witnesses narrate how the news reached Sir William just while he was engaged in setting up certain boundary marks between his land and a neighbour's, at which they were present by his express desire, "and then and there came Andrew Ryden, a servant of the said Sir William, and told his master that his son John had a son born to him. Upon hearing which the said Sir William, rejoicing exceedingly, lifted up his hands and thanked God, and immediately mounting upon his horse, rode home." Others detail how, having gone to their parish church to hear vespers, they were eyewitnesses of the child's christening, "and saw there three long torches burning, and two silver basins, with two silver ewers full of water," and how the abbot of Newnham, who, with the grandfather, was the godfather, bestowed on Agnes Bygode, the godmother "a silver-gilt cup worth 100 shillings, with 40 shillings in money told, contained in the same, which, as it appeared to them, was the most beautiful they had ever beheld in a like case." Others, that as soon as the ceremony was over and the young heir had been formally admitted to the privileges of a Christian, "there came one Walter Walsche, Sir W. Bonevile's bailiff, to render his autumnal account of the manor of Stapyldon, and with him 400

lambs of that year's produce, of which the said Sir W. Bonevile immediately gave 200 to the said infant then and there baptized." The most curious feature in the case, however, is the disappointment of Lady Katherine, the expectant godmother, and the sore indignation in which she rides off, stung by the jibes of her brother-in-law's fool, Edward Dygher. This licensed jester having inquired of her as she rode up in hot haste, "whither she was going," received the short reply, "Fool, to Shute, to see my nephew made a Christian;" whereupon, as the witnesses depose, "the said Edward replied, with a grin, in his mother tongue,—

'Kate, Kate,
Thereto by myn pate
Comest thou too late;'

meaning thereby that the baptism of the child was already over. Whereupon she mounted her horse in a passion, and rode home in deep anger, vowing that she would not see her sister, to wit the said child's mother, for the next six months, albeit she should be in extremis and die." How long the good lady kept her vow, and whether she was not very soon to be found at her sister's bedside dandling her baby nephew, the witnesses do not tell us. The slight might be soon forgiven, but the loss of the parcel-gilt cup, full of silver coins, which had been the godmother's fee, in marked contrast to the practice of our days, when unlucky sponsors, so far from receiving silver cups, are expected to give them, was perhaps more difficult to stomach.

The documents illustrative of the reign of Henry VI. are of a miscellaneous character, and of no very high historical value. The royal initials in this and the following reign are simply superscribed to the State papers, and are in some danger of being overlooked among the crowd of prelates and nobles by whom the writings are subscribed and attested. Indeed the signatures are on the whole the most interesting features in the facsimiles of this period. That of Cardinal Beaufort—whose deathbed poets and painters have agreed to invest with an unfounded horror—"*H. Cardinal*," appears to the deed of assent to "the petition of the king's late soldiers in Calais" (when that town was besieged by the Duke of Burgundy in 1436), praying for the "restitucion of thaire wages, londes, rentes, with her other godes." The king's letter to James II. of Scotland, 1454, calling on him to put a stop to the outrages committed by the Scotch in defiance of the truce, is attested by the autographs (among others) of Bishop Waynflete of Winchester, Archbishop Bouchier (then Bishop of Ely), Bishop Lyhart of Norwich, the Earls of Salisbury, Oxford, and Worcester, and the Lords Bourchier and Stourton. A similar group of witnesses subscribe a petition to the Duke of York (then protector of the realm), December 30, 1454,

from a Norman captive knight, craving letters of protection to enable him to go home to procure his ransom.

In the next reign the autograph signatures increase in interest. No. xlv. presents us with that of Edward's queen, Elizabeth Wydville, in straggling, ill-formed characters, to a letter of remonstrance to a knightly poacher on her royal manors, couched in no gentle terms. The letter itself is curious, and will be read with interest:—

> "By the Quene,—Trusty and welbeloved we grete you wel. And whereas we understande by report made unto us at this tyme that ye have taken upon you now of late to make maistries withynne oure fforest and chase of Barnewode and Exsille, and in contempt of us, there uncourteisly to hunt and slee our deer withynne ye same to our grete mervaille and displeasir. We wol ye wite that we entend to sew suche remedy therynne as shalle accorde with my lordes lawes. And whereas we ferthermore understand that ye purpose under colour of my lord's commyssion in that behalfe graunted unto you as ye sey, hastly to take the vieu and reule of our game of dere withyn our said fforest and chase, we wol that ye show unto us or our counsell your said commission if any such ye have, and in the mean season that ye spare of hunting withynne oure said fforest and chase as ye wol answere at your perille. Yeven under our signet at our manor of Grenewiche the first day of August."

The autograph of Buckingham, a rude scrawl, is appended to two "remissions of court;" that of Gloucester, a fine bold signature, to a third document of the same nature. We have also a facsimile of a letter missive of Gloucester, from Middleham Castle, of which, however, only the signature is from his own pen, styling himself "great chamberleyn, constable, and admirall of England," to Sir William Stoner and Humphry Foster, to enforce payment of arrears of an annuity due to "our right well beloved servant Anne Idley, maistres of our nurcery," bidding them advise the defaulters "as they wolle avoide our grivouse displeasure to see her as well thereof yerely contented as of that she is behinde unpaid of the same." The document ends with the word which is the keynote of his vigorous, decided nature—"haste." The child under Mistress Idley's charge was Edward, Richard's only son, born at Middleham in 1474. His early death* at the age of ten years, March 31, 1484, saved him from any personal share in the miseries of those times of civil strife and bloodshed, but went far to break the heart of his idolizing father and his unhappy wife, Anne of Warwick.

But the most important document under this reign, and indeed one of the most notable in the volume, is one dated August 13, 1475, bearing the signatures of the three royal brothers, Edward

* The chronicler Rous characterizes his end as "an unhappy death." The June following his decease Richard added in his own hand to the audit of expenses for his son's clothing, "whom God pardon." There is much to make us question whether Richard III. was the unredeemed monster tradition has represented him.

IV., Clarence, and Gloucester, and nearly a score of knights and nobles, including the Dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk, the Marquis of Dorset, Lords Scrope, Stanley, and Hastings. The document itself is so remarkable, containing the terms of the proposed truce with Louis XI., and the withdrawal of the English from France, on the payment of 125,000 crowns out of hand, and 50,000 yearly during both the kings' lives, and the marriage of the Dauphin with one of Edward's daughters,* that we regret that our space will not permit us to do more than to refer to it. Few of the facsimiles present so singular an appearance, from its many and strongly contrasted signatures. Clarence's vain, ostentatious character is displayed in the use of huge capitals throughout. Gloucester's vigorous nature manifests itself in his bold, ready autograph. Among the others, the painfully-formed letters of Douglas and Scrope; the clerk-like hand of the Bishop of Lincoln; and the succession of perpendicular strokes, like the teeth of a comb, which does duty for the signature of Sir Thomas Montgomery, are perhaps the most curious. We cannot view without deep interest the autographs of so many men who have left their mark on the history of the country, gathered together in the space of a single record.

The brief reign of Edward V. supplies us with two letters of surpassing interest, which will, we think, be new to most of our readers. They are addressed to Sir William Stoner, by one Simon Stallworthe, a citizen of London, and describe the troubled state of affairs in London after the death of Edward IV. In the vivid picture they present to us we see Gloucester's powerful will at work moulding all events to his own purpose. The queen-mother still keeping sanctuary at Westminster; the young king at the Tower, which, poor boy, he was never to leave; the preparations for the coronation to be held "this day fortnight,† as we say;" the seizure of the goods of the Marquis of Dorset, the queen's son, "wheresoevyr any kanne be found;" a four hours' council at Westminster with the Lord Protector and Buckingham and the rest of the council in debate, and the royal widow sitting by unnoticed —"there wasse none that spake with the queen;" such are the topics of the worthy citizen's first communication, June 9, 1483. A fortnight later, June 21, he has worse news to tell. Hastings

* This was the Princess Elizabeth, afterwards married to Henry VII. It is needless to add that this part of the engagement was broken by Louis. Edward's mortification at the disappointment is said to have hastened his death.

† Hall records that the viands for the coronation banquet were actually bought, and were afterwards spoiled and thrown away. In the Harl. MSS. is a note of a composition made with a purveyor for the supply of wildfowl bought for the intended coronation of "Edward the bastard son of King Edward IV." He is called by the same opprobrious title in the charge of the court tailor who made the poor boy's coronation robes.

has been beheaded; the young Duke of York has joined his royal brother in the palace-prison, which was soon to be their grave; in the Tower are also the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Ely; twenty thousand men of Gloucester and Buckingham are expected in London that week; Mistress Jane Shore is also in prison: what shall happen to her he knows not. With such a tale of lamentation and mourning and woe to communicate, who can wonder that the poor man's trembling hand could scarce guide his pen. The straggling, uncertain characters of the concluding lines of his letter betray the agitation and terror of his mind. As a piece of contemporary history both these letters are of no ordinary value. We give the latter and more remarkable one:—

"Worschipfulle Sir,—I commend me to you, and for tydings I hold you happy that ye ar oute of the prese, for with huse is myche trobulle, and every manne dowtes other. As on Fryday last was the Lord Chamberleyn [Lord Hastings] hedded sone apone noone. On Monday last was at Westminster gret plenty of harnest mene; ther was the dylyveraunce of the Dewke of Yorke to my lorde Cardenale, my lorde Chaunceler, and other many lordes temporale; and with hym mett my lorde of Bukynghame in the myddes of the Halle of Westminster, my lorde Protectour recevynge hyme at the Starre Chamber dore, with many lovynge wordys, and so departed with my lorde Cardinale to the Towre, wher he is, blessid be Jhesu mercy. The Lorde Lisle is come to my lorde Protectour and awates apone hyme. Yt is thoughte ther schal be 20 thousand of my lorde Protectour and my lorde of Bukyngham menne in London this weike, to what intent I know not, but to kep the peas. My lorde haithe myche besynes, and more thanne he is content withalle, yf any other ways wold be tayne. The lorde Arsbyschoppe of Yorke, the Byshoppe of Ely ar yet in the Towre with Master Olyver Kyng [I suppose they schall come oute neveryelesse*]. There ar mene in ther placese for sure kepynge. And I suppose that there schall be sente menne of my Lorde Protectors to theis lordys placez in the countre: they are not lyke to come oute off ward zytt. As for Foster he is in holde and menne fer [fear] his lyffe. Mastres Chore is in prisone: what schall happyne hyr I know nott. I pray you pardone me of mor wrytyng, I ame so seke that I may nott wel hold my penne, and Jhesu preserve you. From London the 21 June by the handys of your servant, "SIMON STALLWORTHE.

"All the lord Chamberleyne mene be come.

"My lordys of Bokynghame mene."

After reading Stallworthe's curt matter-of-fact report of the Lord Chamberlain being "hedded sone apone noone," it is interesting to turn back to No. lii., where we have his autograph, "Hastyngs," in ungainly characters an inch long, appended to a warrant for letters of protection, May, 1483, to an Italian physician, "James de la Rosa," who appears under five aliases, then serving in Hastings' company at Calais. Another illustration of this troublous time is painfully suggestive. It is a warrant, under the sign-manual of Edward V., for the issue of writs for the calling of a parliament. The date fixed for

* These words are erased by the writer.

its assembling, June 25th, was the very day on which the crown was offered to Richard, who commenced his reign the day after.

> "Hinc apicem rapax
> Fortuna cum stridore acuto
> Sustulit, hic posuisse gaudet."

Stallworthe's letters have given us evidence of the fearless and decided nature of Richard III. This is further exemplified by two autograph letters (Nos. lviii., lx.). Few of the documents of this series are so illustrative of the man. The first, which is a letter missive by the king to the lord chancellor, dated from Lincoln, October 12, 1483, commanding him instantly to send him the great seal, in order that he may carry out his purposes with regard to his "rebelle and traytour" the Duke of Buckingham, commences in the ordinary courthand of the scribe. But, as Mr. Basevi Sanders remarks, the usual writ seems not to have satisfied the furious haste of the king to take vengeance on his former adherent, for he adds with his own hand a long postscript, running up into the side-margin, concluding with his determination "for to resyste the malysse of hyme that hadde best cawse to be trewe, the Duc of Bokyngame, the most untrewe creature lyvyng, whom with Goddes grace wee shalle not be long tylle that we wylle be in that partyes, and subdewe his malys. We assure you there was never falsse traytor better purvayde for, as this berrere Gloucester shall shewe you." Never was handwriting more indicative of character. Courage, determination, earnestness of purpose, are apparent in every letter. We can almost see Richard, after a hasty perusal of the writ, snatching up the pen which the clerk had laid down, and dashing off these lines in fiery haste, to insure the despatch of the seal "incontenent apone the syght heroffe," as though he thought every moment a year until he could take condign vengeance upon the renegade. Richard's other letter, though of the briefest, bears witness to the rapid, direct manner in which he did everything he took in hand. Here it is: "My Lord Chaunceller,—We pray you in alle haste to sende to us a pardone under our Grete Seale to Sir Henry Wode, preste, &c., and this shal be your warrant. Ricardus Rex. Master Skypton spede this forth wyth. . . ."* Short as these documents are, we think they are hardly surpassed in interest by any in the volume. They bring Richard before us with more vividness and reality than pages of description. The strength of will evidenced by them helps us to understand the rapidity of his success. He was evidently one with whom to will was to do,

* The last words are nearly obliterated. They are in the chancellor's handwriting, not the king's.

and who, unfettered by scruples of conscience, took the shortest and most direct way to the attainment of his end.

Our task is almost done, and our limits warn us that we must hasten over the ground which remains to be traversed. The remaining illustrations belong to the reign of Henry VII., into whose character they give us considerable insight. Although one popular accusation against him, that of withholding her pension from his wife's mother, the widow of Edward IV., is disproved by her signed receipt, dated May 21, 1491, his avaricious temper is fully confirmed by the copies of his privy purse accounts, with their curious and suggestive items. The first four pages are written entirely by the king's own hand, and every page, in many cases every item, is signed by him. No mode of making money appears to have been too trivial to have been neglected by him, and "certain evidence is here afforded of some of his most questionable proceedings, especially his employment of spies, of whom he appears to have had many in his pay." The public history of the epoch receives illustrations from some of the entries, *e. g.*, the notice of the payment to "the Kinge of Scotts" of the Princess Margaret's marriage portion—"delyvered to Lyon Heralt of Scotland fyfty playn krownes, parcelle of the 8,000 krownes before specified;" and the receipt of an instalment of that of Prince Arthur, "paied by an argentier of Spaigne in Spanych gold to the somme of £20,000." Another account gives us the particulars of the moneys paid in rewards for the capture of Perkyn Warbeck (or "Osbeck"), amounting to £482 16s. 8d., and necessaries for his unhappy wife, "Dame Kateryne Huntley."

The volume closes with a document of a very peculiar character. Henry's queen, Elizabeth of York, died in 1503. Two years later his thoughts turned to a fresh matrimonial alliance, and the young Queen of Naples, widow of Ferdinand II., was the first to whom his views were directed. Unluckily, he had never seen the lady, and with his habitual caution he determined to send three gentlemen into Spain to view and report on her qualifications, personal and otherwise. Their ostensible business was to present letters from his daughter-in-law, the Princess Catherine, to the young Queen, and to the old Queen of Naples, her mother. What their real mission was, the very curious code of instructions which will be found at the end of this collection will show. The envoys were "instructed to note particularly the style in which the queen lived, and whatever they could learn about her income and expenditure; to observe the young queen closely, and report on her age, stature, and personal appearance; to describe her general complexion, the colour of her hair, the form of her nose, and each individual feature." Their mission descended to such minutiæ as the height of her slippers, the fashion of her foot, the manner of her diet, and whether her favourite beverage was wine or water. We

had marked several very curious and amusing passages from the report of the envoys for extraction,* but our limits have already been transgressed, and we must refer the reader to the volume itself for particulars as to the appearance, health, and habits of Henry's bride elect. We may, however, remark that the report of the envoys was in the main favourable. The young queen was healthy, beautiful, and well formed. She neither ate nor drank too little nor too much. Her manners were modest and womanly. But she had one disqualification, and that no small one in the estimation of so avaricious a suitor. She was moneyless. This defect outweighed all her other attractions, and proved fatal to her claims to become Queen of England.

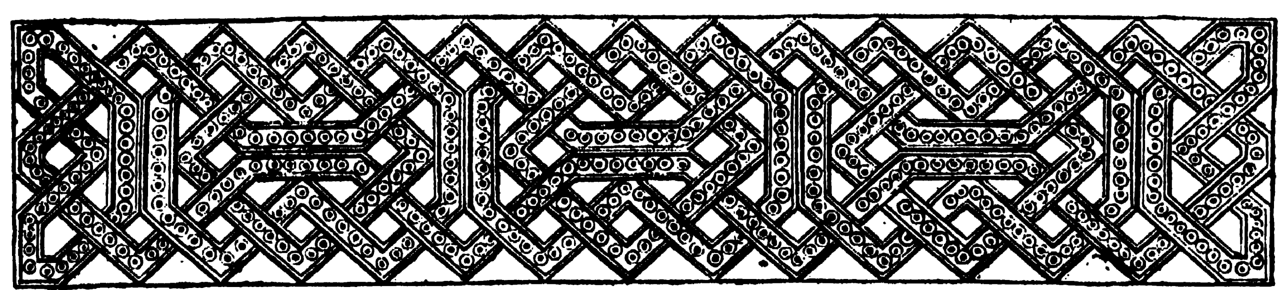
We now take our leave of the collection, with the renewed expression of our thanks to those to whom the original conception and the execution of the plan is due, and the assurance that we shall wait with anxiety for the appearance of the second issue, which we trust will not be long delayed.†

EDMUND VENABLES.

* This document has been printed in Mr. Gairdner's "Memorials of Henry VII." A full account of the whole transaction is also given in vol. i. of Bergenroth's "Calendar of the Simancas Archives."

† Since this article has been in type the second volume has been published, and is now lying before us. It is fully equal in value to the former series. The records it contains are from the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., and include holograph letters and autographs of both those monarchs; Henry's sisters Margaret and Mary; his wives Catherine of Arragon, Ann Boleyn, and Catherine Parr; Charles V. and his son Philip II.; Francis I. and Henry II. of France; Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Latimer, Lady Jane Grey, and many other characters of note. The MSS. themselves are full of historic interest. We hope hereafter to return to this volume.

NOTE.—By that curious coincidence of thought, of which we have had examples in some of our greatest discoveries, at the very time Sir H. James was engaged on his experiments in Photozincography in England, the same practical difficulties were leading Mr. J. W. Osborne, of the Survey Department at Melbourne, to the discovery of a very similar process. An account of his invention, dated May 15, 1860, was transmitted to the home authorities; and in ignorance of what was doing in England, Mr. Osborne suggested that a sapper should be instructed in the newly-discovered art, and sent to this country with the view of introducing it into the Ordnance Survey Office at home. But by reference to Sir H. James's Reports to Parliament on the Progress of the Ordnance Survey for 1859, it will be seen that he has not only described the process, but published a facsimile which is dated three months before the date of Mr. Osborne's letter. Thus the discovery and application of this beautiful art were made nearly simultaneously and in perfect independence at the opposite sides of the world. We are glad to know that Mr. Osborne was presented by the Colonial Government with £1,000 as an acknowledgment of the value of his invention. We could wish that the Home Government had testified its appreciation of the discovery, and of the skill with which it has been made practically useful by the officials of the Ordnance Survey Department, in an equally substantial manner. It is hardly credible, though we hear it on almost unquestionable authority, that Sir H. James has not received even the slightest official recognition of his services in the reproduction of Domesday. It is also discouraging to find that the name of Mr. B. Sanders, under whose personal superintendence the whole of the work was done, including the collation of each page with the original *no less than six times*, is almost unknown in connection with this gigantic undertaking. This is certainly not as it should be.



CONCERNING THE THEORY AND TRUTH OF RITUALISM.

THIS little essay is an attempt to realize the theory of that party in the Church of England which is represented by the ritualists, and to show the truth upon which it is based. Ridicule has been directed against them, whereas in fact those practices of theirs which have been turned into jest may, I think, be considered merely as an indication of much that can hardly be laughed at by professing Christians, since it is devoutly held by a large, probably the largest portion of Christendom, which includes not merely the superstitious or unthinking crowd, but some of the most logical minds of the day. Those who smile at the importance attached by leading ritualists to the details of ecclesiastical ornament and dress, forget that these things are but the blossom of doctrine, and that, however feeble they may seem to the uninitiated, they represent the stern belief of those who uphold them, as truly as a scrap of fluttering silk upon a stick represents the sentiment and devotion of an army. It is easy to say, with a sneer, that such and such a priest would go to the stake for a stole; but we do not laugh when we hear that an officer has died in defence of the colours of his regiment. Eucharistic vestments are now the colours of a division in the Church of England, and if we really care to get to or towards the bottom of the theological strife of the day, we shall not misdirect our inquiries by setting off with a jest at the symbols of the doctrine which is indicated by extreme ritual. It is to be believed

that many who hold the doctrine and have no natural antipathy to æsthetics, do not fly its colours; but I think we shall see that the only reason why they do not arises from the belief that the people under their spiritual charge are not sufficiently instructed in doctrine to accept them with respect, or that the spread of the doctrine is endangered by the ridicule pointed by the profane at its symbols. Many have the same radical desire; but while some think it most advisable to unfurl the flag and strike up the music at once, believing that this will bring recruits into the ranks, others devote themselves to silent but accurate drill, hoping thus to build up an army which may at some future time be furnished with uniform, banners, and band. They consider the adoption of these things to be a matter of mere expediency, and though some sharp disputes may arise between the advocates of the several courses, they are agreed in the main as to the doctrine which extreme ritualism symbolizes. Some again who use its terms and like its tendency may not fully realize the principles of their teaching and its ultimate logical results, but they class themselves generally with the party out of which the ritualists have arisen.

Before I proceed to examine the doctrine of that party, I must give my reason for attempting to do so in popular language. One obstacle to an understanding of the questions now disputed in the Church of England is the nature of the terms which are used by controversialists. They are often so professional that they fail to convey a meaning to those who are accustomed to common English.

I make no apology for this little tribute to current theology, for we must feel, in our most honest and earnest moods, that though any strife has its painful phase, none is worse than that which is carried on in the dark. The strife has arisen now. It cannot be smothered or dismissed. And if this essay helps but two or three to realize what is going on in the English Church, I shall feel that I have not written it altogether without some useful end.

The general view of the "Holy Catholic Church" taken by those of whom I speak, agrees with that held by many who profess a dislike of extreme ritualism. They believe it to be a body put into spiritual union with Christ by baptism, and that the new life thus created is supported by spiritual food, conveyed to the soul through the Holy Communion. Then, seeing that Baptism and the Lord's Supper are the two foci round which the Church, as a body witnessing to the unseen, revolves, they proceed to shape this fact into a system which shall present it logically to the people. In pursuing this object, they reject every view which interferes with its symmetry and compactness, until at last their chief regard is bestowed upon the Holy Communion. That is the central point towards which all the lines upon which the soul travels converge, and from which supplies diverge

to sustain the army of the faithful. While they lay vital stress upon the necessity of baptism, that is after all but the entrance into a community which is kept alive by the food supplied through the Holy Communion. Then, having put a lower value upon all other means of contact with God, or assigned them a position which shall assist a right reception of the Holy Communion, they bring their desires for a compact system into a focus upon this sacrament. Obviously they are drawn on to define the spiritual machinery by which it is rendered effective. Once committed to a belief in the necessity for a logical theory of communion with God, it is almost impossible for any one to stop short of defining the last position at which he arrives. One party, dwelling upon the promising thought of the "Word of God," and feeling that it reaches them through the Bible, are led on to attribute fearlessly an equal authority to every word contained in the sacred volume; or at least, if every portion is not now equally serviceable to the soul of man, claim as great a distinction between the least of its utterances and those in any other book, as exists between a living plant and one artificially constructed by man. Another party, feeling that the intelligent acceptance of a fact or statement is needed in order that it may be assimilated by man, are tempted to accept as their final position that his intelligence tests truth, and not rather measures his power to receive it. Another party, following the notion that majorities must needs be right, are drawn on to accept the infallibility of that body which they believe is alone in a position to debate upon the facts of Christianity. Once having defined the limits of that body, and appointed a moderator, whose decision in case of difficulty or dispute should be accepted as final, we see the Romish Church committed to the accumulation of dogmas which are the inevitable result of its organization.

The ritualistic party have now reached a point at which they are compelled to give an explanation of the machinery by which reciprocal relations are established between God and man in the Holy Communion. Committed to the construction of a compact theory of worship, this top-stone must be carefully shaped. It is said that in order that the recipient may communicate with intelligence, it is necessary for him to know precisely what he is about. He is going to receive spiritual food. He is not merely the subject of religious emotion excited by the thought that he is humbly straining himself to realize his near relation to God. He is not refreshing his historical belief in the atoning death of Christ by a ceremony which recalls the last meal which Jesus took with his disciples. He is "verily and indeed" to eat the flesh and drink the blood of Christ. Professing to reject the dogma of the Romanist, which gets over all difficulty by asserting that the bread and wine, when consecrated, becomes literally

and actually flesh and blood, which conveys spiritual strength, the ritualist adopts the alternative that, at the moment of consecration, Christ descends into the bread and wine; that, though intangible, He is really there; that, though invisible, He has come from a distance into the visible elements; that He restricts his presence to that portion of the bread and wine upon which the priest has laid his hand, and that the least crumb and drop of this contains Christ so literally, that in eating and drinking it the communicant eats His flesh and blood, which, without any more exercise of the recipient's faith than a belief that he is eating it, coupled with a fervent desire to receive the benefit conveyed, nourishes his soul as truly as bread and wine nourishes the body. It cannot be said that I have exaggerated or misrepresented the theory which he holds. The printed details in the "Directorium," which professes to instruct him in the right conduct of the ceremony, and which he has not repudiated, bear out all I have stated.

But two chief things flow from this theory of the ritualist. If Christ be there in person, within the elements of bread and wine, He may be adored as truly as if He were present, in human form, upon the altar. The congregation are as near Him as the multitude were who sat upon the shore while He taught them out of the boat. The attendant priests and deacons are as near Him as the apostles were at the Last Supper.

We must allow that there is an apparent distinctiveness in this theory, which utterly pales any other conception of the Holy Communion to those who can hold it. It gives a freshness and a force to the act of communication which makes the celebration of the Eucharist more than the crown and flower of the service. It is thrilling, awful. Up to the moment of consecration, Christ is not unmindful of his people's prayers, but He is far off. But then, directly the mystic words have passed the celebrant's lips, with an unseen flash from heaven the Son of God alights upon the altar and enters the bread and wine. Who can believe this without feeling a reality in the Holy Communion such as he never conceived before? No wonder the ritualist loves to express his sense of respect by accumulating around the altar every act of ceremonious reverence which shall distinguish the hour of communion from the other periods of divine service. No wonder that enthusiasts, who yearn for something definite, some objective act which shall transmute Christian sentiment into reality, hail this development of doctrine with delight. They had long fretted at the sense of incompleteness which marked the difference between the Church of England and that of Rome. This, they think, is now removed. They have found the keystone to their system, and, lo! strength and symmetry is spread throughout the fabric. They feel that other points of difference between them and Roman Catholics

are dwarfed in the common possession of the "real presence." They dream of a larger catholicism, a union between the Churches. They look out over the whole Anglican fold and think, "These thousands of priests and people, though they have not yet appreciated the pearl of great price which is found in the doctrine of the 'real presence,' have it yet. Christ comes to every altar, however sad the blindness of the recipient, however dull and slovenly the priest may be."

Meanwhile, the Romanist smiles and thinks, "Poor people! you have made a great mistake. Your acts would be valid if you had a true succession in your ministers. But as it is, this celebration, of which you make so much, is no more a celebration than a battle on the stage is a real battle. You act the thing aptly, but it is a drama, not real life. Your so-called primate, with all his bishops about him, cannot do what the poorest missionary monk does when he sets up his portable altar under a tree in a heathen village. He cannot call down God. Your grandest celebration is a magnificent sham. If you wish it to be effective, come to us for ordination."

This is bitterly felt, at times, by the ritualist. Though occasionally carried away by his consciousness of the respect he feels for much that is radically characteristic of Romanists, every now and then he has a glimpse of the enormous gulf between him and them, a gulf so serious that he would have to admit the invalidity of all his priestly acts before he could cross it.

Thence comes the second great claim involved in his theory of divine communion. He demands that the people should accept his ordination as precisely analogous to that of the Romanist. "You are," he says, "a true branch of the one Catholic and Apostolic Church. My priestly power is equal to that of the Romanist. We differ in the definition of the process by which the flesh and blood of Christ is conveyed to the communicant, but it is virtually the same, only we give you more than he, since he denies the cup to the laity."

And in his struggles to convince the people that his spiritual pedigree is as unbroken as that of the Romish priest, he forms his priestly character upon the Romish pattern. He protests against the connection between Church and State, straining every nerve to get the settlement and custody of doctrines into ecclesiastical hands. He pleads for a closer professional training. In some instances he urges the celibacy of the clergy, and dresses at the Romish priest. He creates as close an imitation as he can of the order of nuns. He has tried the revival of monasteries. Above all, he claims the office of individual directorship, and his ideal of a well-governed parish is that the people should resort to him for confession at stated times, especially in preparation for the reception of the Holy Communion.

And there is a charm in all this which gives delight and energy to large numbers of persons, especially among the young. This is heightened by the fact that the ritualist labours with extreme self-denial. No one is more constant and earnest in parochial visitation. He comforts the sick and teaches the young with tenderness and energy. He gives himself heartily to his work, and provides, so far, some of the most prominent examples of pastoral devotion to be found among the clergy of the English Church.

And his disciples catch his spirit. It would not, I think, be an over statement of the fact if I were to say that he influences and conducts a very considerable part of the missionary energy at present exhibited by the Church at home.

And all this comes, in great measure, from the fact that he has an apparently compact theory of Christian worship and service. A man who lays down the law, and gives distinct directions to those who desire to believe and do something definite, is sure to be obeyed by many. And however instinctive a dislike an Englishman has to theories, he honours practical results. He may not, *e. g.*, quite approve of the dress of the sisters of charity, but he sees ladies willing to devote themselves to the most wearisome and repulsive work without reward, and he says, "God bless them in their toil." He looks tenderly on what he suspects to be mistakes in their theology, and gives his tribute of admiration to their personal sincerity and self-denial.

Meanwhile, many a thoughtful man, who sees much of the enthusiasm of young England directed into the ritualistic channel, and feels that a fresh action has been set up in the Church, which promises to result in a far wider adoption of the extreme sacerdotal and sacramental theory than prevails at present, is profoundly moved, and, especially if himself a clergyman, he asks how far the movement is consistent with the principles of that Reformation which gave a distinct existence to the Anglican Church, and the obligations of his own office. He sees that the real question is not the choice of an outsider between the Church of England and that of Rome, nor indeed between parties in the Church. A chief point which the extreme party places before him is, whether a union can be effected between the Churches as they now are; or, if it could cause the separation of the Church and State, it could then represent the branch of the Holy Catholic Church in England, and so join Rome.

The difficulties in the way of a corporate union of any Anglican Church with Rome increase the more they are looked at. Rome will not yield an inch. She demands re-ordination and re-baptism from every one who would be a priest and layman in her communion. She sets down as a delusion the whole fabric of the ritualists. They must be content to make the bitter admission that they are and have

been radically in the wrong before she could approach an acceptance of their proposals to join her. Their whole past must be wiped out, and their spiritual life begun again, or rather begun for the first time. They are not even in the case of one who has lived in spiritual concubinage with another which could be set right by a marriage. The two parties have had no intercourse, illicit or admitted. They are strangers. The most the Romanist could admit to the Anglican is that he has affected a forbidden distasteful identity of interests which did not exist.

I question whether a large body of English Churchmen, with all their latent English instincts, which would be stirred when the terms of union had seriously to be considered, could be found ready to join the Romish Church as a body. It is different in the case of an individual, but the corporate going over of a large party, in the face of criticism, could not be contemplated without a full discussion of all the *pros* and *cons;* and then it would be seen that fusion, not union, is what Rome would require.

Thus the very strength and confidence of the ritualistic party is at present its greatest hindrance to this junction with Rome. It is learning to depend upon itself. It feels or fancies itself in a position from which it can open proposals for reconciliation: but the very basis upon which it stands is that which Rome would require to be surrendered before it could be admitted. As a party, the ritualists could not treat with Rome. If it goes, it must go after dissolution, or in driblets. Rome would receive ten thousand souls to-morrow, but though they go in a crowd they must go as individuals. There can be no connection between the two Churches. *The Pope has his hierarchy here already.* The whole land is divided into Popish dioceses and parishes. He would say, "If you join us, well; but you are only more flesh on my bones. The only body I can recognise is already in your country; I will eat you up and grow fatter thereby, but I will not make friends with you." The Pope is not in the position of a general addressed by a division of volunteers, which might be attached to his army and yet retain a distinctive existence. He would rather reply, "You call yourself a division, and presume to say that you are willing to act in concert with me; but let me tell you that you are all virtually bound to serve under me already, and there are depôts in the place you come from. If you want to join me, disband and enlist. I have skeleton regiments there which want filling up. Enter them. At present you are no better than a mob of deserters, and I would punish every one of you if I could. Talk of a parcel of renegades treating with me, their proper commander! Nonsense. The proposal is an insult. If you want to return to your colours, do so; but all you have to do is to return. I have nothing to

say to you. Go to the depôt nearest your own home; my officers there in command will take down your names, and know what to do with you. Union between the Churches!—Pooh!"

I believe that if the ritualists were ever to gain sufficient influence over the authorities of the Anglican Church as to induce them to send a mission to Rome in the name of the Church as now constituted, or if they were to separate themselves from the State and claim a distinct corporate existence in England as the true representatives of the Church Catholic in this country, and as such seek for union with Rome, that is the answer they would get.

Supposing, however, that the ritualistic party were largely developed and increased, and yet could bring about no union between the Churches, we must consider how it is possible for them to remain where and what they are. Large liberty is allowed to them in the Church of England, but we cannot read the articles and formularies of that Church without seeing that a definite theory of religion was studiously avoided. While the main facts of Christianity are taken as the basis of the Church's teaching, yet, when you get hold of one phrase which seems to support a particular theory, you have but to look a few lines or pages farther on to find another which seems to give an opposite view.

However gratifying this may be to those who like to be at liberty to see different sides of the same fact without transgressing the limits of the Church to which they belong, it must of course be vexatious to any one who believes that there is only one aspect in which the facts of Christianity can be truly seen. Thus the ritualist, who upholds the severe sacerdotal and sacramental theory, and pieces together every scrap of material he can find in the Prayer-book capable of being adapted to his fabric, studiously ignores everything which will not fit in. But while the Church of England has retained many forms used in the Church of Rome, there is no escaping the conclusion that she has relinquished a claim to that system of exclusive spiritual machinery which characterizes Rome. She has done much more than deny the supremacy of the Pope. Not only has she formed an alliance with the State, and so put it into the power of a lay legislature to determine upon changes in the laws of the Church and the formularies of her service, but by defining a sacrament as, among other things, a "means whereby we receive inward and spiritual grace," and then distinctly denying that "orders" are a sacrament, she has introduced an element of disturbance into the theory of apostolical succession as understood by Rome. To the Romanist, and from his point of view, her system for the conveyance of divine grace is out of joint. He can torture the unhappy claimant of his supposed invariably effective mystical power who rests upon some of the phrases used in

the services of the Church of England. Even in the matter of the two sacraments, for which the Anglican may wish to claim an operative virtue, similar to that which the Romanist attributes to them, he is silenced or exasperated by the reminder that the highest court of appeal in his Church has ruled that men who question their infallible operation are not to be excluded from her ministry or communion. There are many joints in his armour through which he can be reached. I will not make a list of them. One is enough to prove that the severe sacerdotal and sacramental theory, which characterizes the ritualist, does not accurately coincide with the system of the Church of England. As I have remarked, the Romanist may say to the ritualist, "By defining a sacrament, and denying that 'orders' are one, you, in my estimation, invalidate the whole ministry of your priests. You are compelled to admit, either that they declare and do not convey God's grace, or that an element of uncertainty is introduced into all their ministrations. The efficacy of the spiritual food which your priests offer depends upon its worth, whatever that may be, not upon the authority or act of the person who administers it."

This is fatal, not to a theory of symbolism, but to the claims of the ritualistic party to represent the radical spirit of the Church of England. They may use their theory as long as they are willing to work in the same field with those who adopt another, or those who deprecate the construction of any theory at all, provided that in no case any one exceeds the wide limits of the law.

And, short of a revision of the formularies of the Church to suit the views of any party within it, what can the ritualist or his opposite have easier than the conditions of membership which now exist? Take the case of the layman first. The sole test of orthodoxy applied to him is the Apostles' Creed. At his confirmation, or baptism as an adult, he is asked if he holds that. He is not required to give or to adopt any opinions about it. He may take it as it presents itself to him. He may be denied the Holy Communion only for crime and immorality. There is no machinery for the testing of his opinions as long as he is willing to profess the Apostles' Creed.

And if he be a clergyman, though it is impossible to say how wide a range or varied a choice he is granted by the terms of his subscription, recently relaxed, yet the liberty given to some is an assurance given to all, that if the spirit of the Church of England has no predilection for any one of the theories held by the parties within her communion, she does not hold that worst of all theories, viz., that people must agree in their opinions in order to be good Christians and Churchmen.

The Church of England has, happily, many mansions. Let us

hope the ritualists will be content with such rooms as they can get, and not try to break down the partition walls, so as to make the whole building into one large hall for their own exclusive use. "Live and let live," say the rest. The members of the Church of England, as at present established, are under one roof, which for Catholic capacity is the widest in the world. True catholicity is to be measured, not by the number of the multitude which it includes, but by the variety of opinions held by those who compose it.

It is to be feared, however, that some extreme ritualists have gone beyond the broad limits of the English Church, into a development of their theory of the Holy Communion which resolves it into spiritual mechanism. It seems to me that they have gone beyond symbolism in this matter. Bread and wine have ceased to be symbols when every crumb and drop of them is supposed to have a mystically medicinal property. Cannot Christ himself reach the heart of the devout communicant, and thrill him with fresh life in the very act of the reception of the bread and wine, without entering the elements (I shrink from the wording of my question, though I feel it to be a just one, and I do not know how to express it otherwise, and yet convey my meaning) as a sort of ghost, or portion of imponderable air, limited to the form of the fragment or the drops taken into the mouth of the recipient? Is God's way to the heart of the believer, in his most solemn act of worship, down the throat? That theory of the true presence which attaches such reverence to the consecrated element as to involve a direction that, if any of the wine be spilled upon the floor, the stain shall be burnt out and the ashes treated with respect, leaves us in the face of such a conclusion.

It is one, however, which excludes the idea of symbolism, for it makes the bread and wine not signs, but vehicles, in a way similar to that which is taught in the Church of Rome. The Romanist professes to believe that he eats flesh and blood, which are such materials as the body is composed of, and that his soul is consequently blessed with the grace residing in Christ's body. That Anglican notion of the Holy Communion which I refer to differs from the Romish only by supposing the bread and wine to be externally present as well as the body of Christ. First there is the bread and wine, then there is the body of Christ, both external, and both therefore necessarily received in the hand and mouth of the communicant, whether he be good or bad. But how does this agree with our definition of a sacrament, that it is an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace, and that the inward part or thing signified is such as the faithful alone partake of? It is manifestly the intention of the Church of England to say that what the communicant eats with his mouth is the outward and visible sign of what he feeds upon

in his soul, and that the body of Christ is the thing signified, not the thing literally eaten. The bread and wine are taken and received physically with the mouth; the body and blood of Christ, or the inward and spiritual grace, "verily and indeed," with the soul. This is true symbolism, a symbolism which is lost sight of, if Christ is supposed to be present in the elements, and not rather in the soul of the devout communicant.

Is it altogether vain to hope that the extreme ritualist may be led, by realizing the mechanical definiteness of the theory he holds of the real presence, to see that he is departing from the symbolism which characterizes the real sacramental teaching of the Church of England?

Again, to look at the other dogma, which the ritualists hold as essential to the notion of the real presence, viz., the authority of the priest, the same reasoning will hold. The acts of the priest are either symbolical of God's acts, or they are really God's. The act of consecration, *e. g.*, is symbolical of the sanctifying and sending into the world that Man who is the Saviour of sinners. The breaking of the bread is symbolical of the death of that Man. But if the act of the priest is supposed to make Christ present in person, the consecration of the bread and wine is virtually a repetition of the incarnation, and the breaking of the bread a repetition of his death. All symbolism is lost sight of if the body of Christ is presented, and his sacrifice repeated.

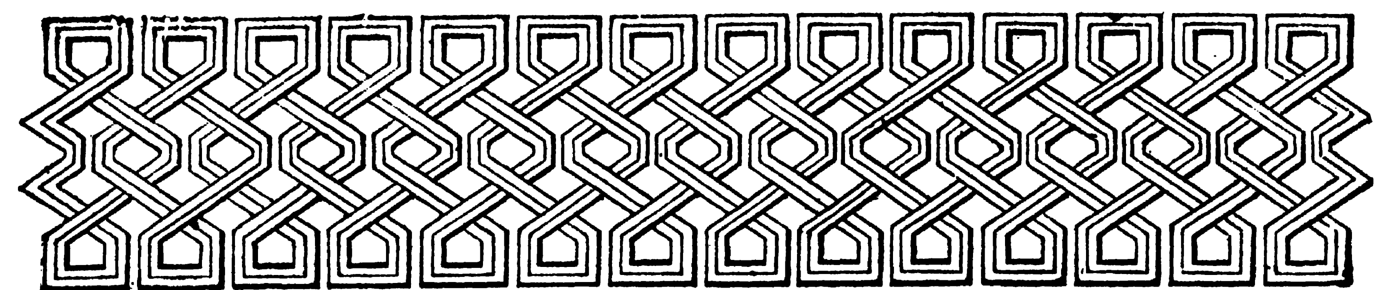
Will the ritualist be led on to say, "I reject symbolism," and face the fact that his ultimate theory of the priestly office is identical with that of the Romanist, *i. e.*, that every priestly act is an exercise of spiritual mechanism, and not the sign of God's will?

It would be easy to pursue the argument further,—to show its applicability to the whole range of the priest's offices; and I think that a man might be led to see that, according to the sacerdotal and sacramental teaching of the Church of England, the priest does not create, but reveal, and yet that the basis of truth is retained upon which the Romanist has built his attractive logical fabric.

What, then, remains to us? may the ritualist ask. What but symbolism; *i. e.*, the representation, not the physical realization of a fact; and that decent order of which the Romish system is a mechanical caricature? This leaves the priest with a very high office. He is not indeed the magically prepared conductor of grace which refuses to flow except through such a channel. He may not push the fact of his commission from God into a theory which clothes every one of his acts with a mystically operative power. While his idea of a priest is that of one in direct relationship to and communication with God, towards whom he is charged to draw men's minds, he must not abuse this commission by yielding to the desire of devout minds for finally definite

religious directions, charming the superstitious and spiritually romantic with the assertion of miraculous powers, offering to the logical a compressed and exclusive theory, which is minutely consistent with itself, and to those who love order and work, a system of exact regulations instead of a constant waiting upon God. While he will not try to crystallize and invest with an air of final authority those laws which concern the mere shape and arrangement of ecclesiastical machinery, and adaptation of the formularies of the visible Church to the necessities of the people, he has left to him the high calling of bringing men unto God, according to his knowledge of those truths, to which the decent order and offices of the Church are a significant witness, and in proportion to his faith in God, whose cleansing grace is symbolized in baptism, cheering strength in the wine and bread of the Holy Communion, and mercy in the declaration of the priest, that "He pardoneth and absolveth all them that truly repent, and unfeignedly believe his Holy Gospel."

H. J.



ETON REFORM.

IT seems to be a settled point that Eton is to be reformed, so that arguments on either side the question are waste of paper and time. The object now, both of those who would be advocates and of those who would be opponents of such a reform, must be to see how it may be most effectually and safely carried out; to take care that the changes which are made shall not be devised merely to harmonize with or satisfy any popular fancies or abstract theories on the subject of education, but shall be such as shall have a practical bearing on the weak points of the system, such as shall satisfy the reasonable requirements of those who look upon Eton as the natural school for their children; not such as shall be objectionable or unjust in themselves, or likely to alter the distinctive character of the school, nor yet such as, if they fail, will necessitate further movement in the same direction for the chance of success, in consequence of its being difficult to retrace the step which has turned out to be a false one. It has sometimes happened that a mending has made more holes than it stopped, and has necessitated a succession of tinkering alterations which have rendered matters worse than they were before. It seems to us that, if possible, the alterations should be experimental, at least so far as to leave the existing energies of the school untouched until it is seen how the alterations work.

When we say that the interests of those who look upon Eton as the natural school for their children should be taken into consideration, we do not mean to say that other interests are to be overlooked. As Eton will always be the nursing mother of a large proportion of those who are to guide the destinies of future generations, the system is in some sort a matter of public interest, in which the public has a right to interfere; but still, in caring for one we practically care for both. Whatever is the best education for the sons of the man of rank, or family, or wealth, will also be the best for the future statesman, or legislator, or lawyer, or divine; so that the question is a simple not a complex one.

We confess that we sympathize with those who urge the necessity for a reform at Eton which shall make the school in some respects very different from what it is, and turn out boys very different from what the majority of them are when turned out at present; but while we say this, we must at once claim for a first-rate Eton boy a position in scholarship and general mental development and activity, at least equal to that of a first-rate boy from any other school whatever. We believe, or rather we know, that there are boys for whom Eton does all that a school can be expected to do. If a boy of parts chooses to work at Eton, Eton will do him justice and he will do Eton justice. Unless we have been misinformed, the scholarship displayed at the Newcastle examinations will bear a comparison with that of Rugby or Winchester or Marlborough; and the very weak point of the system, that the work is a matter of free-will, gives a freshness and energy and elasticity to the intellect, and a freedom from that mental mannerism which is sometimes discernible in those who have been brought up under a more rigid system as the disciples of a master mind; and we confess that we think the country would be a loser if any changes were to make Eton no longer a seminarium for such men as these.

We fear, however, that we must own that these brilliant specimens are, when compared with the numbers of the school, *raræ aves.* The characteristic which popular opinion attributes to Eton is, alas! inveterate idleness, an utter want of any obligation to work, the utter fruitlessness of years of nominal education; and popular opinion scarcely goes beyond the truth of the matter. It is a melancholy fact that most boys leave Eton ignorant of the very elements of what they have been nominally learning for periods varying from three to six years. It is the cry of Oxford, echoed over and over again by disappointed parents, acknowledged by the boys themselves. There are probably few of our readers who have not heard from the mouth of a *ci-devant* Etonian, "I did positively nothing there." Practical evidence on this point is within the reach of most persons. Let any even moderate scholar take an Eton boy, say in the upper remove of the fifth

form, one remarkable neither for industry nor for idleness, as idleness is at Eton (it might have been a good plan if the Commissioners had "called up" an average boy from each of the divisions),—let him be put on in a fair passage of Homer or Virgil, or set to turn an easy piece of English into Latin. The mistakes he will make in the very rudiments of the languages—cases, genders, moods, tenses, meanings —will show that he has but the most indistinct impressions of what he has been taught for years. Let him be asked a few easy questions in grammar, he will betray the same ignorance of the forms as of the syntax. His Latin will be full of false concords of all shapes and sizes, of dog expressions and constructions. Let him be asked a few simple questions in ancient geography—nothing but the vaguest notions that all islands were in the Ægean, all mountains in Thessaly, all rivers in Thrace. Let him be tried in a few leading points of ancient history, —his mind will be found to be a *tabula rasa.* And yet all of these are more or less parts of the daily work, in which he was supposed to be prepared when he went into school. This is the point in which we want change; this is the point for which we had a right to expect some effective remedy from the Commission, and from any legislation founded on the report, and which is not found in either the one or the other. The evil is that the work *professedly* done at Eton is not *really* done; and we do not see that this will be met by any redistribution of college revenues, or any organic changes in the governing body, or by the admixture of literary lions in that body, or by the aiding (or hampering, as it may be) the counsels of the Head Master by a council of his subordinates,—no, nor yet by any change of subjects. If natural science or modern languages were substituted for classics in school work, however desirable such a measure might be in the abstract, the only difference would be that natural science or modern languages would be shuffled out of, or slurred over, or be left undone, as classics are now; the result would be the same —*nil.* The question is, Can any system be devised which shall secure a fair amount of work being actually done? It matters not at present what the work shall be. The previous question is, How can we secure any real work at all? and it is to the solution of this question that we shall devote the following pages.

It does not seem to us that it would be practicable, or even desirable, to increase the school work nominally done at Eton; certainly not to any great amount: the work is enough if it were but done. The remedy which probably suggests itself to many people is that the masters should make the boys work; but this is easier said than done. It is of course possible to subdivide the several divisions, so as to insure a boy being more frequently called up; but it must be remembered that while ten boys are as many as a good master could

effectually drive, so as to secure each lesson being got up by each boy,—thirty is not more than a good scholar would effectually teach, if they were even moderately willing to learn; and moreover, it would necessitate such an increase in the number of masters, as very materially to add to the expense of the school, which is already quite as much as it ought to be. We do not think all the blame ought to be thrown upon the masters. There are no men who, speaking of them as a body, work harder or are more hardly worked, than the Eton masters. It is useless to expect a man of talent and energy to devote himself to a perpetual struggle with the many who are determined not to learn if they can help it, and to neglect the few who are willing to be taught. We are inclined to think that the function of a master is to teach rather than to drive; and a boy should be called up in school not so much to see whether he has learnt his lesson as to exercise and air his knowledge; to draw out his powers and strengthen them; to strengthen his weak points and develop his strong ones; to have his mind stored with scholarship; to have the points of an author or of a passage, which he has already mastered as far as his age and powers admit, put before him in new lights. This is the theory of the Eton school-hours, and of the previous construing in the pupil-room. A boy is supposed to go into school with his lesson prepared, to get what he can from the scholarship of the master or of the other fellows. One of the peculiar, and we think not the least valuable characteristics of the Eton system is the spontaneous development of the character and the intellect by the exercise of free-will, restrained as little as is compatible with the position of a schoolboy, by any influences save those of duty and honour and the force of public opinion; the formation of self-formed, self-acting motives; and where the theory is carried into practice, and the lessons are honestly got up, and the opportunities of the instruction given in school honestly taken advantage of (as they are by some), an invaluable habit of voluntary self-directed work is formed and encouraged, inasmuch as free-will is called into play, as far as the choice of time and place and mode of work is concerned. We think it would be a mistake to replace this system by compulsory work in the strict sense of the word; that is, by every boy being under an absolute necessity of getting up his lesson without choice or alternative; such, for instance, as the lessons being prepared in school under the superintendence of a master. The system as it is ought to work properly; and its failure may be easily accounted for by the facilities for idleness which this absence of compulsion necessarily creates. Indeed where, as at Eton, general practice and public opinion are on the same side, idleness is simply mistress of the position. What is wanted is something which, preserving the freedom of the will, shall

stimulate the will to work, which shall create in a boy a kind of voluntary industry; some motive for work acting with regular pressure on the boy's will, independent of the pressure which may be exercised by the master in school, and co-operating with that pressure as far as it may be safely exercised. The question is, Can anything be devised to create such a motive? Of course it is all the more difficult, as it is more necessary, when the stream sets strongly the other way; and therefore we must first consider what influences such a motive would have to meet and counteract—what it is which is the root of Eton idleness.

We cannot help thinking that the great evil at Eton (and, though in a less degree, at other schools of the same type), the real cause of nothing being learnt by the majority of the boys, is the undue preponderance of amusement, without any of that counterpoise which exists in some schools in the *esprit de travailler*, created by the traditions of the place, or the personal exertions of the head master, or still oftener arising from the fact that most of the boys are working with a definite sense of work being necessary to their being bread-winners in after life. Dr. Arnold long ago recognised the disadvantage under which Eton laboured in this respect, and the far greater industry among the collegers as compared with the oppidans tends to the conclusion that this is one of the difficulties with which Eton has to contend. The collegers undoubtedly, as a rule, do work and are worked, but they are just those who are least affected by the *esprit de jouer*. Of course they play at cricket and boat, but it is in moderation, owing, we suspect, to their chiefly being boys who go into college with the notion of having their way to make in the world, and knowing that if they do not work hard, they had better not have put themselves in a position implying a certain degree of that self-sacrifice which is quite compatible with, even if it does not arise from, a high degree of self-respect. The character, however, of the evil, and its effect on the educational energies of the school, is the same whether it be considered to arise from the sort of boys who are sent there, or merely as a result of the prevailing tendency and fashion of the age, in which amusements and sports, in former generations confined mostly to school-days, have obtained an importance among men of maturer age, and in the world at large. When the muscular theory places the duty and perfection of man in athletic excellence, it perhaps is no wonder if the Eton boy follows suit, and embraces heartily the notion that amusement is as much his duty as work. And in one sense we are not prepared to dispute its being so; there is something unreal and unnatural in a boy in health and strength not finding pleasure in trying his wings, in the development and exercise of his bodily powers; but when this is carried to such an excess as to engross the

energies and ambition of a boy, to the utter neglect of his mental powers, then it is necessary to look the evil in the face if we wish to find the proper remedy. Nor, again, would the absence of physical sports and exercises, were it possible, be conducive to mental development; none can believe more emphatically than we do that "*all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy;*" but we believe no less firmly that there is one thing which makes a duller Jack still, and that is, "all play and no work;" and this is simply the case at Eton at present, at least with nine-tenths of the school. It is not merely that too much time is given to the actual games or amusements, it is not only the hours which are spent in the playing-fields or on the river,—though doubtless some of these ought to be hours of work,—but the whole energies, and interests, and thoughts are concentrated on amusement from morning to night, so that amusement is the essence, work the accident, of daily life; lessons are thrown aside or slurred over, even by boys who, under more favourable circumstances, would not have been averse to work. If the lessons are got up at all, it is with "cribs," and they are forgotten the moment school is over. We do not see how the masters can help this, nor how they are to meet it. In fact, we suspect that some of them have given up the idea of meeting it, and have thrown themselves with energy into the boys' amusements, in the hope of the boys doing a little work in return—whether wisely or successfully is another question. The divisions might, as we said before, be subdivided, but still it would be all but impossible for a master to teach effectually where the mind is sealed against learning by being wholly or mainly preoccupied by more attractive pursuits; it would be like pouring oil into a vessel filled with water; the oil simply runs over.

Amusement, too, and amusements, have gained an acknowledged status, a constitutional position, which gives them almost the semblance of a duty in the eyes of a boy just come to Eton; an impression which his further experience of school life does not diminish. It gives them an additional claim, and that a very willingly recognised one, on his time as against lessons. Nothing can illustrate this more completely than the evidence of one of the Eton masters on the subject as given in the Blue Book.* In this, idleness is spoken of as something opposed not only to diligence in lessons, but also to devotion to cricket and rowing. Cricket and rowing are one branch of work; school industry is another; and athletism is, confessedly and allowedly, one of the alternatives of work as against idleness, and a wish is expressed that the alternative of mental was as popular as the alternative of bodily exertion. "The only thing," says Mr. Warre, "is, that if we could put the same sort of energy into the work (*i. e.*,

* Answers 5308 and 5365.

school work), it would be a very desirable thing." We fear this end will not be accomplished as long as play is patronized by the masters as much or more than work: it is contrary to human nature to expect it. Amusements, too, present the widest sphere to the ambition for distinction which is one of the strongest characteristics of youth. They offer power, popularity, fame, as the reward of working at play. There is a captain of the boats, a captain of the eleven, and in these days, unless we are misinformed, a master of the hounds. To each of these their respective diversions have given a position of influence greater probably than he can ever hope to occupy in after life, and which may well whet the ambition of the younger fellows, and make them look to the oar or the bat as giving them the best chance of distinction. Each of these officials (for such they are) represents an amusement, which exercises in their persons a recognised and constitutional supremacy over the tastes, and tone, and pursuits of the school; and the obedience paid to them is all the more unfailing than that paid to the masters because more willing; and this is the more fatal to work (in the old and proper sense of the word), because it is impossible for any corresponding or counterbalancing position to be given to industry; first, because it would be difficult to select the individual, unless the Newcastle scholar stayed for some time after getting the scholarship, and next because the position and influence would be felt or even recognised by only a very few. We should not envy the boy who was ignorant of the names and persons of the captain of the boats or of the eleven, while we suspect that not one boy out of twenty below the upper division knows, or cares to know, who is the last Newcastle scholar, or to speculate as to who will be the next. The only personage who in literary matters ever holds a position at all analogous to that of the chiefs of the respective amusements is the President of "*Pop*," but his following, even in the best of times, is too small to allow of his exercising any general influence on the school; and moreover, we learn from the evidence, that Pop is not exactly what it was in old days, when recognised talent or industry were *sine quâ non* passports to the society of the "*Literati*," *

* It may perhaps be interesting to some of our readers to know the origin of the mysterious term "Pop." In the year 1828 the society still occupied its original room at "Hatton's," a shop famous for certain articles of "sock," which were very popular with the members. James Macdonald, whose ready wit Etonians of that day must well temember, for some reason or other took a dislike to the society, though he was on good terms with most of the members. He nicknamed it Lollypop shop, afterwards abbreviated to "*Pop*." The old popular designation was "literati," and there are probably many who can recall the recurring joke, when the upper division came in Horace to the "Ibam forte" satire. Keate invariably called up a member, and when the boy came to "*docti sumus*," he welcomed the translation, "*I belong to the literati*," with a stern grin,—"Oh, you do, do you! I am very glad to hear it—I wish more boys belonged to it," and then the well-known "Silence! be quiet!" with which he pretended to check the applause

as the members were either called or nicknamed. Further, all the encouragements, or at least those most felt by the boys to be such, are given to amusements. The prominence, too, which the public press gives to them, and their arrangements and details, is quite out of proportion to their real importance. It is the cricketer who gets leave to London to play public school matches; it is to the boats that immunities are given to enable them to obtain that proficiency which is looked upon as a point of vital interest to the school; it is the ambition of the cricketer or aquatic which is roused by popular *éclat* and excitement; it is the cricketer whom the shouts in the shooting-fields or at Lord's, the aquatic whom the cheers on the bank, reward for his strength, or pluck, or skill. It is the cricketer or aquatic whose name is carried into the homes of England, and awakens curiosity and interest most flattering to the young heart. This must be so, nor would we have it otherwise; but we think all this points to the necessity, if we wish to make Eton a place of work, of contriving something which will draw part of the stream at least into another channel, so that work may be recognised by public opinion as having a definite claim upon the interest and time of the schoolboy: for the way in which amusements tell is not only by engrossing the time and thoughts of individual boys, but by giving a tone to the whole place, so that work is decidedly and continually in the background.

We cannot divest ourselves of an impression that this tone has been increased and confirmed by the marked, we may say exaggerated, interest which has of late years been taken by some of the younger assistant masters, doubtless with the best intentions, in those amusements and athletics, which, as it seems to us, already command too large a share of the sympathies and interests of the place. We are aware of what can be said and is said on the other side; we are aware that there are instances in which such a line has given a master an influence for good, or more properly speaking for a certain sort of good, which he would not otherwise have had; but we think that the good which may possibly result to individuals is more than counterbalanced by the public evil which arises from the masters apparently giving as high a place in their regard to amusement as they do to industry, and honouring by their encouragement and sympathy the idle (in the old sense of the word) as much as they do the diligent. If work were the general rule in the school, it would be quite another thing; but now we are persuaded that by an active participation in the amusements of boys, the masters have placed both parties in a false position, and the boys know it and act upon it, and most, though

which his facetiousness had provoked. Alas for the days of old Keate!—it is the fashion to cry them down, but we suspect more work was done by the average boys then than now.

not all, take advantage of it. It is difficult to see how masters can effectually enforce work or discipline on those with whom they have just been on terms of schoolboy intercourse, or the strength of whose shoes their shins may experience as soon as school is over. There is no danger of the "eight" not giving enough time to training, or not being sufficiently instructed in their stroke, without the personal superintendence of a sympathizing master, whose time, too, one would think, would be sufficiently occupied with duties which had a stronger claim upon his time and thoughts and energies. It does not strike us that there is much danger of the game of foot-ball dying out, if the masters do not join in the "rouge" at the wall. Nor do the boys in any master's house need the definite and magnificent encouragement of a silver cup to induce them to spend as much time as is good for them in practising for two-oar races, especially when industry and scholarship at the best but "*laudatur et alget.*" As things are at present, it seems to be the sound policy, if not the bounden duty, of each master to throw the weight of his authority and sympathy on the side of work, and to mark decidedly the relative value which proficiency in scholarship and proficiency in athletics ought to have. It would be quite a different thing if a spirit of ascetic industry were to take possession of the school—if the boys in general were unwilling to touch an oar or a bat, if they were inclined to do nothing but pore over their books; then it would be the absolute duty of the masters to lead them by precept, by encouragement, by example, to take a proper interest in physical exercises and amusements; but as things are at present, we do not hesitate to express our opinion, that those of the masters who have taken the amusement line are but perpetuating and aggravating the evil which needs to be counteracted.

In many parts of the evidence given before the Commission there seems to be a wish to assert the theory that devotion to physical games is generally accompanied with industry in school work; or at least, that those who excel in games are not remarkable for idleness or stupidity. The second point may be true enough, for where every one, or nearly every one, is learning nothing and doing nothing in school work, it is not likely that those who excel in athletics should be more idle, or more know-nothings, than the majority. The former point, however, is, we think, very far from being true. There have been, of course, some—and in the course of years there have been probably many — cases where there has been such a combination; but are not these exceptional cases as compared with the mass on the other side? Can it be shown that the majority, or even a large proportion, of those who stand high in the estimation of the authorities as good and industrious scholars, likewise stand high in the estimation of their schoolfellows for

their athletic virtues; or that the majority, or a fair proportion, of those who take the lead in sports, likewise take the lead in, or are distinguished for, industry and scholarship? It is not the joining with zest and energy in games that needs to be diminished. We do not wish to see a boy chain himself to his books hour after hour, day after day—that is good neither for body nor mind; but what does need to be checked is the devotion to amusement which obtains with the mass, to the exclusion of a reasonable amount of industry. If amusement and industry go hand in hand, well and good; but we confess ourselves unable to believe that athletic pursuits, in the position which they now occupy, both in theory and practice, at Eton, do not interfere with work. Nor do we think that it is always the case —or anything like it—that the most distinguished for industry and acquirements are zealous votaries of sports. It was not so in the last generation. Those who have risen to eminence in public life—most of them, at least—took part in the amusements of the place, but were not remarkable for their skill in games, and certainly did not give, on an average, five hours a day to them. Lord Elgin, Lord Canning, the Duke of Newcastle, were unknown to fame in the shooting-fields or the Brocas; and, if our memory does not deceive us, the most distinguished and energetic statesman of the day passed through Eton with an unequalled reputation in literature and scholarship, but with very slight acquaintance with the oar or the bat. On the whole, we are inclined to think Agamemnon not far wrong when he says,—

> οὐ γὰρ οἱ πλατεῖς
> οὐδ' εὐρύνωτοι φῶτες ἀσφαλέστατοι,
> ἀλλ' οἱ φρονοῦντες εὖ κρατοῦσι πανταχῆ.

There is, we think, little doubt that over-devotion to amusement is Eton's weak point, which must be somehow or other met before we can hope to secure that the work which is *professedly* done shall be *really* done. In other words, what is wanted is less play—not no play—but less play, and more work. It is quite clear that any direct discouragement of or restriction upon amusement would be a failure, to say nothing of any such direct discouragement or restriction being, in itself, most undesirable. We have indeed a conviction that sports and games of all sorts should, as in days of old, depend for maintenance and arrangements and encouragements mainly—and perhaps, as long as the tendency is to excess, wholly—on the boys themselves. We have no fear about the boys being able to do all that is necessary, without the masters taking any definite part in the games, or in encouraging or arranging them, beyond keeping the same watchful eye upon them which must be kept on every part of school life. Our principle is this; that encouragement must be

given to work, and not discouragement to play; and to do this we must devise some counterbalancing motive, and the question is, how to do it; and the nature of the evil goes to prove that the remedy must be a permanent and a powerful one.

We do not find anything in the suggestions of the Commissioners on this point, beyond the somewhat vague generality of an efficient system of reward and punishment, with the extreme penalty of removal in incurable cases. The former is naturally a matter of course, but for some reason or other does not seem at Eton to do what is wanted; with respect to the latter, we would observe that the remedy should aim at preventing cases becoming incurable, rather than depend on the removal of those who have become incurable. The taking of places in school has been suggested by a writer in the *Quarterly** as the only remedy which occurred to him; but somehow or other, this seems to be out of keeping with the character of a public school, or at least with Eton notions. There would be, too, difficulties of detail, though these might be got over in practice. But we can see other objections to it, which cannot so easily be got over. It would be uncertain in operation, for it would act only on those boys whose ambition was sufficiently awakened to counterbalance the love of and temptations to play, rewarded as it is by *éclat* and distinction of quite as tempting a sort. A motive which depends for its action on the boy's regard for public opinion must, to act as an effectual lever, have its fulcrum beyond the school, until at least the tone of the school in this respect is altered; for we fear that to be distinguished for "sapping" would in all parts of the school—except perhaps the very highest—be more discouraged by public feeling among the boys, than to be remarkable for not doing the school work. To lose places, or to stand at the bottom of the class, would not be felt as a personal disgrace worth mentioning; it would not take away an iota from the boy's personal popularity or estimation in the school; or, if he was in the eleven or the eight, would not alter the position he would have in dealing with the authorities; or, if it was to be felt as a personal disgrace, it would very soon be stopped. We should be very sorry for the "Saps" who persisted in taking the places of the popular aquatics or cricketers. It would expose the working boy to daily persecutions from the dunces. The boy who took a big fellow's place would be pretty sure, not only of a licking after school, but of all those petty persecutions which no one knows how to inflict so well as a mortified dunce. It would work unequally; for a clever, industrious boy, chancing to have in his division a cleverer boy than himself, would be discouraged by not obtaining the same place of honour which another boy, less clever and industrious than himself,

* July, 1864, p. 190.

obtained in another division, in consequence of being matched with a stupid or an idle lot. It seems to us that what we want must be general, and not personal—must act as a stimulus, not only on the ambitious and clever, but also on the apathetic and stupid; and if it is to depend for its efficacy on a boy's dislike of disgrace, the sphere of that disgrace must be wider than the limits of the school.

In the same article, the reviewer shows that prizes would not act on the mass, but only on the ambitious and clever, while what is wanted is rather to stir up the stupid and idle. There is, of course, no reason against the establishment of any number of prizes, provided that they are not depended on for changing the spirit and the practice of the place as regards work.

Some persons think that work would be secured by there being a certain number of assistant assistant-masters in each house, whose duty it should be to see that each boy actually did prepare his lesson before he went into school; and it is urged, with some truth, that such a system would prevent the use of "cribs," which are in themselves one of the main causes of the study of the classics not producing its proper results in the development and in the formation of the mind. Such a system, however, is open to the objection that it would do away with that freedom of will which is, as we have before said, an essential and invaluable characteristic of Eton; it would change it from a public to a private school, and possibly the remedy might be worse than the disease. It might, however, be, we think, usefully applied in cases where other methods had failed to overcome a boy's indolence or his obstinate idleness; but it should be the exception, and not the rule.

Another plan is to make the study of the classics so fascinating to the boys, that they would come to them as readily as flies to sugar. If Homer and Virgil were made as attractive as Scott and Thackeray, there would no longer be any difficulty in getting boys to work. True enough; but the difficulty would be in getting boys to look at them in this fascinating light. We suspect it would be much easier to make Scott and Thackeray as unattractive as Homer or Virgil, simply by making them into school lessons, than to make Homer and Virgil as attractive as Scott and Thackeray. The notion is founded on the most profound ignorance of schoolboy nature.

The suggestion we have to make is that the object might be attained by a system of official examinations. Whatever doubt may be felt on the question, whether it falls within the legitimate function of the Government in a country like England so far to limit the free choice of the higher classes as to prescribe, even indirectly, the course of study to be pursued at a school such as Eton, there can be no doubt whatever that the Government would in no respect overstep

its functions in seeing that whatever is professedly taught is really learnt. We cannot think that it would be any infringement of constitutional liberty, even in the eyes of the most jealous constitutionalist, to take care that the engagement which the school by implication enters into with the parents should be performed.

For the practical working of this plan we would suggest, that at the commencement of every school-time the authorities shall forward to a Board—constituted in any way that may seem advisable, but analogous to the Civil Service Commission—the particulars of the work which the several divisions are to do in the school-time, and that at the end of every week a similar return should be furnished of the work actually done; then examiners appointed by the Board, wholly unconnected with the staff of the school, should at uncertain and unexpected times examine the several divisions, not "*de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*," but exclusively in the work which had professedly been done in and for school. No notice should be given of any examination, beyond what might be necessary for the bringing into school writing-materials instead of books; so that a boy would have to depend on his being continually and progressively prepared in his school work, and not on rushing at it by cram, which is the evil inseparable from fixed and periodical examinations, and whereby a sharp boy may escape the deserved results of weeks of idleness. The same division might be examined twice or more in the same week, if it seemed good to the examiners, so as to prevent the falling away into idleness after examination, each division and each boy being thus kept up to its work by the possibility of being examined at any time. The only preparation possible under such a system would be to keep up day by day in each day's work. The results of each examination should be made as public as possible. We are very much mistaken if this would not supply a regular and universal motive for work; the *éclat* and the disgrace would reach circles where industry and idleness would be weighed in a true balance—at least, in a truer one than at school. The clever boy would not like his friends to know that he was behindhand in his school work, and the most unambitious would not like to see his name perpetually on the list of dunces and do-nothings. They would find that a reputation for industry, however lightly thought of at school, would earn for them in general circles a regard which they would be sorry to be without, and that idleness and ignorance would place them at a disadvantage in quarters where they most wished to find favour. Everybody knows the effect which the prospect of an approaching examination has on boys of all sorts. They curtail their amusements, lay aside their idle habits, open their books, and try to get them up by such means as they have left themselves. The same effect would,

up to a certain point, be produced permanently on the regular work by the possibility of an examination coming any day. It is needless to point out the hold this would give the masters in working their divisions: boys would be willing to learn what they have to teach, instead of being totally indifferent to it; but, further,—and this is a matter of the greatest importance,—it would put the masters themselves on the *qui vive*, and give them a personal interest in keeping their divisions up to their work, so as to be ready for examination when called upon. At present it is hardly to be expected that a tutor, whose reputation depends almost entirely on the success of his pupil room, should take a very lively interest in a set of boys who are under him merely for a school-time or two: but he would not like that the boys who, from time to time, are up to him should be repeatedly brought before the public eye as not up to their work; or, at least, if this did occur repeatedly, it would be a pretty clear proof that he was not the man for his place.

The results of these examinations might also be used as the basis for any rearrangement of the boys from time to time, if it were thought desirable. They might be sorted according to their abilities and industry: we should not, however, be inclined to arrange them in the published lists in the order of merit, but divide them into two classes, those who did know their work and those who did not.

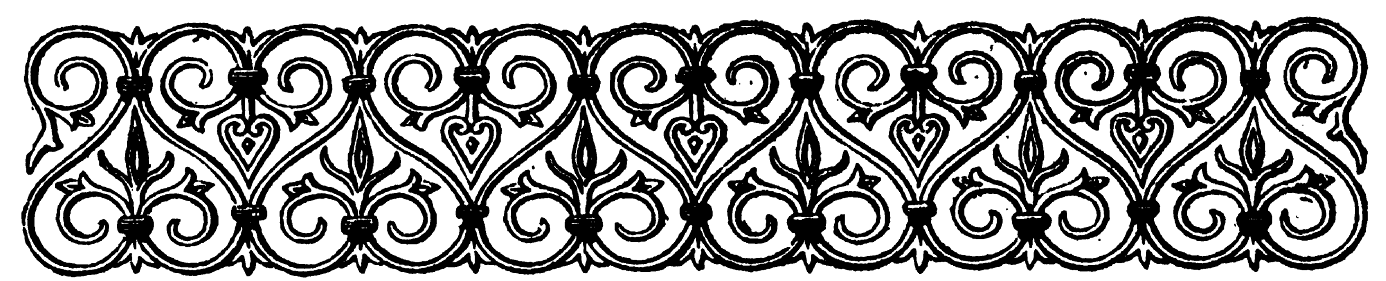
To the boys who were in the first of these classes, every encouragement should be given; they should go home for the holidays two or three days earlier, and come back two or three days later; leave for the day and from absence should be granted more readily; in short, everything should be done to give the boys an impression that it was their interest to work: and the authorities would be able, if it were thought desirable, to impress upon the idle the disadvantages of idleness, by giving them the sort of instruction necessary for them, without involving the industrious in what would be to them neither useful nor just. If a boy persisted in not getting up his work so as to pass muster when called upon, he might have extra school-hours, or be obliged to get up his lessons out of school under the eye of a master. He would soon think better of it.

There would, of course, be at first some difficulties and hitches in the working the details, but nothing but what a moderate amount of administrative talent would easily smooth over and get rid of. The head of the system should be a man who would take a thorough interest in his work, and thoroughly understand it; the examiners must be well paid, and the expense might easily be met, partly from the corporate funds, and partly by a terminal sum from each boy, which it would be well worth the parents' while to pay.

We are persuaded that this would have an electrical effect on the

Eton system, by creating, immediately and permanently, a wholesome counterpoise to the mania for amusement, and this without any interference with athletic sports or tastes, except so far as these interfere with a reasonable amount of work, which, after all, ought to be the essence of school life. The theory that reasonable work and excessive play are not incompatible would be tested, and the problem in what degrees they are not incompatible would be solved. It is no part of our scheme to increase the amount of work required, but only that whatever amount is required should be honestly done. If the present amount of amusement and athletics is not incompatible with a reasonable amount of work, then they will remain unaltered and unimpaired; if the school work cannot be honestly done without less time being given to amusement, then amusements will spontaneously find their level; a tone and spirit of work will spread itself more and more through the school, and it would soon become impossible for a boy to leave Eton without being able to show some result of the work he has been supposed to be doing for years. Work once secured, it will then be possible to introduce any changes in the subjects of education which may be thought desirable: whether any such changes are desirable, is a question which we have purposely avoided touching on in the foregoing pages.

W. E. JELF.



LUTHER'S THEOLOGY.

IT is well known that Luther clearly recognised and fruitfully presented the two great principles of *justification by faith only*, and of the *sole divine authority of Scripture*, or what we may call the *material* and *formal* sides of the evangelic principle, each in its independent worth and right, and yet each as indissolubly connected with the other. We shall endeavour, first, to present his views in relation to each of these points separately, and then to ascertain how, taught by his own life of faith, he succeeded in harmonizing them.

For this purpose, before proceeding to the separate discussion of each of these points, we shall set before the reader the development of Luther's own convictions, and of his experience of the divine life.

And here it is necessary to recollect that faith, with its experience of salvation, was already present in him before he had a developed doctrine on the subject of Holy Writ, before he knew how he was to ascertain the canon, or how to interpret the canon when ascertained. His whole subsequent life was decided by the well-known saying of the monk, which referred him to the article in the Apostles' Creed, "I believe in the forgiveness of sins," a saying scriptural in its import but ecclesiastical in its form. Accordingly it was not, in the first instance, by reading Holy Scripture, nor, on the other hand, by a method alien from history and purely internal, but rather by the living word of the Church, that he had arrived at clear convictions and

peace of mind. The writings of the apostles and prophets became to him the decisive standard and judge of doctrine only after the message of salvation which the Church possessed, in common with Scripture, had proved itself efficacious by its own inward power. Before this decisive crisis of his life, Scripture had only operated upon him as a means of grace, like preaching, not as a recognised, independent, divine standard of truth.

In order to understand the development of the complete principle of the Reformation in its double reference to faith and Scripture, we must briefly notice the period immediately preceding Luther's public appearance as a reformer. In working out and shaping his experience, he was chiefly attracted by the noblest representatives of the mystic school, Tauler and the "German theology," and employed their language and ideas, though pervaded by his own individuality, and by a more powerful moral tendency than they display. During this period (before 1517) it was that he acquired those anthropological and theological conceptions which are of chief moment to determine the evangelical principle of faith.

According to that living consciousness of the Deity which he shares with the mystics, the world is constantly upborne by God; its dependence on Him, and its vital connection with Him, are continuous. Hence, in opposition alike to Pelagianism and Deism, humility is to Luther the foundation of all piety; hence also all false substitutes for God, including all magic operations, are excluded. It is God himself we require; nothing created, no means of revelation of his will, which is not at the same time Himself, can satisfy the receptivity and the necessities of our nature. So much do we need God, that we have our true existence only in God; we are not in the truth if we have an existence for ourselves outside of God,—if, turned or "bent back" upon ourselves, we endeavour to make for ourselves a self-centred, self-sufficing existence of our own. Man must become nothing, God must accomplish everything in him.

By these expressions Luther does not mean to imply a pantheistic confusion of deity and humanity; but the union of Man with God belongs, in his view, to the true essence of humanity, and hence he requires the giving up, the dying off, of that false egoism which conceives itself independent of God, because that egoism excludes us from the true good which belongs to our essence, and shuts us up in our own poverty—in that nothing which to the natural man seems everything.* And as we are not to seek for the highest good *within* ourselves, so neither are we to seek it *through* ourselves, through our own powers. In opposition also to that Pelagianizing mysticism which sets up a scale or ladder of spiritual attainments, Luther lays

* Compare Rev. iii. 17.—*Tr.*

down that it is *through* God that we must come *to* God; God must not only be the final end and aim, but also the way, the mediator, and the guide to this aim. He must, therefore, as the Good Being κατ' ἐξόχην, offer us His love, otherwise there is no salvation for us. By his vigorous consciousness of sin and guilt it is that Luther goes beyond the bounds of mediæval mysticism, with its resignation to God and its passive expectation; and in place of that resignation, as also of the feeling of being abandoned by God—feelings with which the spiritual joy of the mystic alternates—he puts the fear of God connected with the feeling of sin and guilt; a not merely æsthetical, but ethical dissatisfaction, which requires a cure quite different from that offered by the transports of mysticism. That despair which is naturally implanted in us by the consciousness of our own unworthiness and of God's righteousness cannot be cured, nor can we be released from the slavery to which those feelings reduce us by love to God being suddenly implanted in us instead of fear; for to suppose this would be to deny the necessity and the propriety of fear, and these are involved in the fact that we are guilty before God. On the contrary, fear must remain in us, because it is based on truth, but it must become childlike fear. Fear and love must be no longer sundered but united, so that love, taking the form of trust, is incorporated with fear, which itself is transfigured into reverence. To attain this state may indeed be difficult, but it is nevertheless necessary to combine hope with trembling, faith with despondency, just as divine grace is combined with human sin.

Thus grace is not in the first place the effect or meritorious produce of holiness, nor even of infused love; but the union of these disparate quantities, viz., of fearing God on account of sin, and of resigning oneself up to fellowship with God, is effected by *faith*, which Luther, during this period, often terms also *hope*. But grace must offer itself free and uninvited in order that faith may apprehend it and sin be overpowered in its gradual growth, until, through fully ripened love, all slavish fear is banished. There is no other victory than our faith, which lays hold on the present Christ, who can subdue all things to Himself. Bodily exercise may be useful, or even necessary at the beginning; but later on in the Christian course, it impedes the progress from slavish to childlike fear. The most important of all exercises is to converse day and night with the Gospel.

2. But as the power of combining fear and love resides only in faith, while faith presupposes as the object which it must lay hold of, that revelation of the love of God which *anticipates* all our efforts, we are hereby led to the second premiss or postulate of his doctrine on the subject of faith, the theological one, in respect of which Luther again connects himself with the mystics. And here the first and most

important point is Luther's theory of revelation, the tendency of which is to present God as a living Being, capable of being apprehended by us. In Luther's view God is not merely unlimited infinite existence, which is everywhere, but is capable of being apprehended nowhere. To His eternal living essence it rather pertains to define Himself in an (internal) movement, by which He determines Himself within Himself. By means of this movement is produced in the Deity the eternal Word of God: by means of this self-determination which God's infinity assumes, and whereby it becomes apprehensible, the Deity has also, *ipso facto,* a relation to the world, especially to the spiritual world and its community of life with Himself. For by means of that everlasting inward movement and self-determination, the Deity is capable of being apprehended and of imparting Himself; and, on the other hand, our own nature possesses an original receptivity of God which sin has not deprived it of, or rather it is such a receptive power. Human nature is, as it were, the material which longs to be shaped by the Deity; it wishes through God to receive God into itself, and can do this when He presents Himself to it. But this eternal inward self-determination of the Deity cannot satisfy us; God is invisible, incapable of being apprehended by man in his present state, tied down, as it is, to the visible and sensible. God must therefore make Himself visible, apprehensible, *cosmical,* so to speak, that we may be capable of possessing Him. And this He has done in the Incarnation. God has in Christ not merely taken flesh on Him as a dress: Christ is not merely a medium of communication, a token of an absent Deity; but in Christ we actually lay hold on God. For His humanity belongs to the Word as God belongs to humanity; the Word is not *changed* into flesh, neither does it only possess and bear up the flesh; the Word was made flesh in order that the flesh might become the Word, the revelation of God: and thus in the Son we have the Father. The power and essence which belong to the inner Word in the Trinity, in the eternal self-determination of the Deity, dwell also is the temporal or cosmical self-determination of the Deity, viz., in the Word made flesh: the Incarnation is only a second act of the self-determination of the Deity, by means of which God approaches still nearer to the creature. Finally, Holy Scripture too, which is the word of the Word incarnate, possesses in itself the power and essence of that incarnate Word, and can enter into those who desire it, can impart to them the substance of all divine blessings, yea, change them into children of God, into brothers of the Firstborn, and thus make them partakers of the divine nature (2 Pet. i. 4). And if the faith which lays hold on the Word does not as yet possess all the power of the divine life, it does possess the whole treasure of a wealth which, in hope, extends to infinity.

By means of the doctrine of the Word of God making Himself apprehensible and historical, Luther is able, in spite of his complete antagonism to Pelagian error, to go beyond the mystic sinking of ourselves in God's infinity, and to attain a faith which is neither mere passive and indolent quietism, nor mere action, but which is both passive and active; on the one hand consisting actively in taking what God imparts, and on the other hand passively in willingness to be determined and ruled by God. And as his longing after communion with God is instinct with a deep consciousness of sin and guilt, and therefore with the fear of God, and the consciousness of our separation from Him, so, on the other hand, the complete revelation by which God draws near to faith possesses a moral character which unites justice and love. Christ's appearance in our world, his life, sufferings, and death, have the most direct reference to sin and guilt, and remove man's fear by the very confirmation of its propriety and of our deservingness of punishment which they afford: so that henceforth faith, in order to attain the certainty of being reconciled and united with God in filial fear, needs not to deprive of their due the justice of God and that just fear which the contemplation of his justice must excite.

Still Luther had not yet arrived at a clear and precise definition of saving faith. With Augustine and the mystics he had originally (in the "Resolutiones" of his ninety-five Theses) not distinctly separated justification and sanctification, conceiving the consciousness of reconciliation to flow partly from the good already implanted in us as well as from faith in the promises of Christ. The very wish for forgiveness was, as he conceived, an operation of grace, and an introduction of it into the soul. This introduction of grace he terms the commencement of justification. Even according to this conception everything depends on grace; indeed, forgiveness on the part of God is conceived as preceding the introduction of grace into the soul, and not as conditioned in the first instance by the better motions of the soul. Still, the consciousness of justification is made dependent on the infusion of grace: and because man is not as yet certain of his justification through that infusion, priestly absolution is also requisite, and faith not so much in the person or the office of the priest, as in the promise of Christ, which promise, in the proffer of the Gospel, is objectively valid and true even when it is not subjectively apprehended. Faith, and repentance, without which faith is impossible, are not meritorious, do not *produce* the proffer of mercy. But erroneous as Luther deems all Pelagian teaching, just as erroneous does he consider the magic doctrine that salvation may be received objectively even without faith, provided that no bar be put against its reception. The Sacrament is the objective proffer of salvation,

valid on God's part before faith exists: but faith, not the sacrament, justifies in the first place, because only by faith do we appropriate the benefits of the sacrament. This *possession* of proffered grace he terms *actual* justification: and in this justification he includes also the inner change and the new birth, which began with the infusion of divine grace into the soul already before faith was entertained, in order to produce conviction of sin and that desire for assurance which is then satisfied by faith in the absolution of the priest.

Even if this conception sufficiently distinguishes the *essence* of justification from that of sanctification, it does not discriminate between their *consciousness:* and hence, as well as because it makes the infusion of grace precede the faith which lays hold on justification, it is defective, inasmuch as it does not allow the full and perfect assurance of salvation to be developed. For as Sanctification is never perfect in this life, Justification too, if it be not more definitely distinguished from it, must be likewise only partial and incomplete.

Let us then proceed to the stage of Luther's more matured knowledge, and present a picture of the evangelical principle in the contrast and combination of its two aspects, the *material* and the *formal.*

I. The material aspect of the evangelical principle.

Grace, as productive of regeneration, of love, of sanctification, can only impart itself by degrees, agreeably to the laws of spiritual genesis: it is a *gift* which necessarily effects a *change* in the recipient. The prevenient character of free grace, accordingly, cannot show itself in the first instance in the gift of sanctification, but only in that of justification, at least if this latter includes more than a merely partial forgiveness of sins, dependent on present or future love. Already, in the "Resolutiones," Luther had laid down God's *internal* reconciliation with the sinner, as the foundation in the divine character of the work of grace in the human soul. But later on he conceived this internal forgiveness more definitely as the first thing implied in justification: and he insists above all on the proffer of free and full forgiveness as an *objective* gift, as the disclosure of the generous and loving will of God, who has in his own counsels forgiven man for the sake of Christ, not *because* man *has,* but *in order that* he *may have,* repentance and faith. For that which is to be laid hold of must precede the act of laying hold of it. The revelation of this gracious will of God, by virtue of which He offers to enemies and sinners his reconciliation with them and his love, takes place in the general through the preaching of the Gospel, individually through Baptism and the absolution which renews baptismal grace, and through the Eucharist. This reconciliation of God with mankind at large and with individuals through Christ, by means of whose imputed righteousness God can

treat sinners as his children, forms the permanent basis of all his relations with mankind, of the whole course of salvation, and of all the fulness of those graces which God intends for men, and which He gradually imparts in the process of sanctification. The internal reconciliation of God with sinners in the depths of the Divine Mind must ever remain the first step. But in order that it may take effect it must be made known: and this is the second step in the process of salvation.

The actual course of salvation in the history of each soul must copy and represent the internal relation of these parts in the mind of God. Hence it is not commenced by moral improvement, or by the work of regeneration and sanctification. In order that man may be open to the reception of sanctifying grace, he must be relieved of that fear and dread of God which result from the consciousness of sin and guilt, and which separate him from God. Hence the work of salvation begins with the announcement of prevenient grace and of free forgiveness, by means of which God, on his part, presents Himself as a Father to his children, in order that they, believing in this reconciliation, may live in faith, and attain eternal happiness.

But God's loving will does not exhaust itself in the mere act of forgiving. After restoring proper relations between Himself and man, He designs for man the fulness of those graces whose effects extend over eternity. Hence the faith which lays hold on this complete reconciliation on the part of God also receives the fulness of these graces, not at once, but gradually and increasingly, and appropriates them as a personal possession. That the firstfruits of the Spirit are at once imparted as soon as faith has appropriated the proffer of forgiveness, becomes peculiarly clear when we reflect that belief in the forgiveness of sin is not merely belief in an *impersonal* merit of Christ, but a resigning of ourselves to Christ as a living Reconciler. In Him faith lays hold of personified reconciliation. It is His high-priestly love, full of the will and power to take our place, which faith has to answer by trustful resignation to his will. But faith, thus in communion with the living Saviour, is united with Christ in his whole nature, so that by virtue of this union not merely reconciliation and forgiveness, but all Christ's gifts, are gradually and progressively imparted to man. Hence Luther maintains that justifying faith virtually includes love, and implies good works at least in germ. The believer, therefore, does not continue what he was before: not merely is his position changed by the merit of Christ being imputed to him, but with faith a new life is imparted to him. Faith is a new tree of life, which necessarily bears the fruits of love and wisdom.

But as the life of love is always incomplete and struggling, as faith

and childlike confidence are, after all, small and weak, though they must increase, the peace and joy in believing of the sinner throughout life can never depend on his own perfection in any one respect, nor on the excellence of any objective quality, but must always fall back upon the free prevenient forgiveness which dwells and has ever dwelt in the Divine Mind. The blessing which we possess entire and complete during our growth in grace is only forgiveness or reconciliation for Christ's sake, or the fact that God, on his part, maintains unchanged his fatherly relation to us, so long as we have not by unbelief and impenitence cut off ourselves from Christ. And this forgiveness remains assured, be our faith never so weak: the hand of faith is still a hand, although it tremble. And as by the forgiveness of sin we stand in a new covenant with God, and this covenant is the unchanging basis of the otherwise changeful life of the Christian, it follows, in respect to the relation between the righteousness of faith and the righteousness of life, that the consciousness of peace, yea, joy in God, exists along with the consciousness of sin, although that consciousness, so far from vanishing, is actually on the increase; inasmuch as communion with Christ through faith, and the faithfulness of Christ, covers our sins and supplements our imperfections in the sight of God, as well as guarantees our being actually perfected ourselves.

By faith man becomes actually and personally a partaker of the grace of God, especially of the forgiveness of sins. Faith is indeed an act of man, but an act produced in him by the love of God revealed in Christ, and the Spirit that proceeds from God. So soon as man has completed the act of trustfully resigning himself to Christ and accepting Him, that which he thus accepts becomes to him a secure and ascertained possession. There is a difference between accepting faith and faith already confirmed in grace, between confiding reception (*fiducia*) and assurance of salvation (*certitudo salutis*). Faith, when once created, receives the blessing of divine assurance, which consists not merely in the assurance of the individual being reconciled through his resigning himself to Christ, but also in the assurance of the dignity of Christ as the Redeemer of the world, and of the objective truth of the Gospel message. This message is perceived to be in itself divine truth, because it has proved itself to be a divine power, and has become a presence in the human spirit; and faith becomes aware of this from the testimony of the Holy Ghost. It is no mere theoretic truth, no dogma, *e. g.*, like the inspiration of Scripture, which is made known to faith; nor even personal feelings and circumstances, such as the renovation of the character, though doubtless that is an effect of faith—nay, not even the recognition of a new relation to God on our part. Accepting faith, once produced, is rather the recognition of a new relation to us on God's part; a recognition of one's personal

salvation, of the personal application of the love of God to the sinner. But God's intentions and declarations have creative power: his testimony produces the testimony of our own hearts that we are God's children, and that in such a way as to assure us that that testimony is the operation and testimony of the Spirit, and not a mere carnal imagination.

On this certainty of salvation and of the divine truth of Christianity Luther always laid the greatest stress. To him the fact of primal certainty, on which all other certainty depends, is the justification of the sinner for the sake of Christ, appropriated by faith; or, objectively expressed, Christ as the Redeemer is the fact of primal certainty, in resignation to whom faith enjoys full satisfaction, and a knowledge of its standing in the truth. Thus that fact of primal certainty which accredits all other truths, in Luther's estimation, is neither the authority of the Church, nor the authority of the canon of Scripture transmitted by the Church. It is rather the purport of the word of God, which, under whatever various forms, accredits itself to the human heart by its divine power as being the word of God. As Luther did not himself attain faith and assurance by reading Holy Scripture, or by relying on its authority, he could not assign to the primal authority of the canon the position of being the first object of belief. It is the *purport* of the Gospel message which laid hold on him so soon as the living need of it was awakened in him, and whose divine, self-evidencing power he experienced so soon as he gave himself up to it in simple trust.

Of course Scripture co-operated as one means of grace in thus producing faith, whether Luther was aware of it or not. Without the presumption that the historic truth of the testimony of the Church concerning Christ is, on the whole, guaranteed (and it can be guaranteed only through the documents of the New Testament), he could not have accomplished the act of believing on the historic Christ. But though historic faith presumes the credibility of this historic testimony, it is not true saving faith, nor is this historic belief true certainty. Considered as mere historic truth the Gospel would be past and dead, just as, considered in the light of a mere system of doctrine, it would be without life and without reference to the living Person. The Gospel is only then truly recognised and laid hold of, when the historic Christ is viewed at the same time as the Christ now existing, and who will for ever exist—passed away, indeed, from the domain of history, yet acting yesterday, to-day, and for ever onward into the depths of an eternity whose powers of life all dwell in Him. When the purport of the historic Gospel is thus laid hold of in its internal essence, as real in the past, and at the same time eternal and underlying all history, then it is that the abode of eternal

life and peace has been found; and faith, once made partaker of the internal presence of the truth and of its power, no more needs any further assurance of its being true than the sun requires testimony from any other light that itself is light and that it diffuses warmth.

Let us now consider more precisely how this new internal creation, faith in justification before God through Christ, asserts its independence even in relation to Holy Writ. Whilst faith and Scripture are not materially different in reference to the purport of that which the one believes and the other states, faith is distinct from and independent of Scripture by means of its indwelling *assurance of salvation and of Christian truth*, an assurance obtained, not in the path of subjective mysticism or of natural reason (*vernunft*), but by trustful resignation (*fiducia*) to that objective message of salvation which is to be received into us.

How high this assurance is ranked by Luther may be seen from numerous passages of his writings. Christ's warning against false prophets is, in Luther's judgment, a distinct recognition of the right of all Christians, and not merely of Popes and Councils, to judge of doctrine.* To the Pope he says, "Thou, with thy councils, hast decided: I, too, have a right to judge whether or no I am to accept thy decision. And why? Thou wilt not stand and answer for me when I die: I must see that I be myself certain of my safety." Then, turning to the Christian, he says, "Thou must be as certain of the matter, that it is the word of God, as thou art of thy own life—nay, more certain. . . . And if all mankind were to come—yea, the angels and the whole universe to boot—and determine something, if *thou* canst not judge and determine it for thyself, thou art lost. For thou must not make thy judgment rest on the Pope or anybody else; thou must thyself be prepared to say, 'God says this and not that:' 'This is right, that is wrong:' otherwise it is impossible to stand. If thou dependest on Pope and Councils, the devil can at once find out some weak point, and whisper, 'But suppose this be false? Suppose they have made a mistake?' and then thou art at once overthrown. Therefore thou must be certain for thyself, so that thou canst say, boldly and defiantly, '*That* is God's truth: on it I will venture life and soul and a hundred thousand lives, if I had them.'" He requires that the spirit shall not rest till Christ has accredited Himself to it, to the man's own innermost experience; and though he does not conceive the Holy Ghost as operating without the medium of the word, he not the less perceives that Scripture does not wish to keep men for ever dwelling on itself alone, but directs them onwards to the living Lord, of whom it testifies, and that it requires men's being individually assured of the truth, and that not on its

* Walch's edition of Luther's Works, xi. 1887.

own sole authority, nor on that of the Church; so that faith, wrought in us by the Holy Ghost and the Gospel, is an independent creation, which maintains its independence even in the presence of Scripture. This is incontrovertibly shown by Luther's declarations on the subject of historic faith, and by the difference between his position and that occupied by the Waldenses, who assign to Scripture exactly the same place which Catholicism gives to the Church, *i.e.*, that of a merely legal authority. Luther allows historic faith its full value as the first form in which the Gospel is accepted; he denies not that Christian education claims from the learner that dutiful submission which accepts as true that which is not yet recognised in its truth by the individual, because it is taught by competent authority. But the Romish Church would fain detain us at this stage of formal obedience to the Church. It is on *her* authority that *Christ* is to be believed in, not on *Christ's* authority that the *Church* is to be believed in. Hence she denies to man immediate communion with Christ in the first place, and in the second she puts herself, in point of fact, above Christ—yea, designates as impiety every effort to go beyond the standpoint of obedience to herself, and to attain individual recognition of the truth itself. The position of the Waldenses is more nearly connected with Catholicism than appears at first sight, since they conceived faith in Christ as totally dependent upon Scripture, so that faith, cut off from immediate communion with Christ by the interposition of Scripture, is handed over to the jurisdiction of an external law. Luther had tasted the personal assurance of salvation through Christ; and to this assurance we must come by the operation of the Holy Ghost; and Scripture, so far from dispensing with this operation, only gives occasion for it.

"Romanists say, 'Yes, but how are we to know what is God's word, what is true and what is false? We must learn this from Pope and Councils.' Very well; let them determine and define what they will, I say, thou canst not confide in them, nor satisfy thy conscience by them: thou must determine for thyself: it is thy own neck, thy own life that is at stake. Therefore God must whisper into thy heart, 'This is God's word,' otherwise all is at sea. God has preached the same word by the apostles, and causes it still to be preached. But even though the angel Gabriel proclaimed it from heaven it would do me no good; I must have God's own word for it. It is easy enough to preach the word to me, but none but God can put it into my heart: He must speak to my heart: if He be silent, the word is not really spoken at all. Therefore no one shall make me give up the word which God teaches me: and I must know this as surely as that two and three make five." *

Luther thus places the attainable certainty of Christian truth quite on a level with that of necessary or eternal truth; † and hence it is

* Works, xi, 1888.

† See Works, xix. 128, 129, where he uses the same arithmetical illustration.

characteristic that he calls Christian certainty "consciousness" (*gewissen*).* Faith, as he conceives it, is nothing but consciousness in Christian potentiality.†

"To be assured is above all things necessary in Christian doctrine; for I must be sure of what I am to think concerning God, or rather of what God thinks concerning me. The denial of this assurance has been a horrible error in the papistical teaching, whereby they have come to doubt of the forgiveness of sins and the grace of God. ‡ You must, say they, recognise yourself as a sinner, and such a sinner as cannot be sure of his salvation. Had the Papacy had no other sin and error, this in itself would have been a horrible blindness and error, that they taught one must be always going to and fro in doubt, and must be uncertain of one's state and doubtful of one's salvation; for such uncertainty takes from me my baptism and God's grace (Psa. li. 12; 1 Cor. ix. 26; Heb. xii. 12; 2 Pet. i. 10; Rom. xiv. 23). Therefore one must learn that God is not an uncertain, doubtful, or changeful God, not a God who has many meanings, and is like an uncertain reed; but a God who has only one meaning, and is quite certain when He says, 'I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;' 'I absolve thee and pronounce thee free from sin.'"§ "God sends to Christians the very spirit which Christ has, who is also his Son; so that they, together with Christ, cry Abba, Father (Rom. viii. 15; Gal. iv. 1-8). But this filial crying to God is only experienced when the conscience (or consciousness) is quite sure that not merely one's sins are forgiven, but that he is a son of God, and sure of happiness. Of this he must be surer than of his very life, and be ready to suffer all deaths, yea, hell itself, rather than allow this assurance to be taken from him, and to begin to doubt. There may be a struggle: the man may feel as if he were not a son; as if God were a severe and angry Judge: but in this struggle childlike confidence must at length get the upper hand, even though in fear and trembling, otherwise all is lost. When Cain hears this, he will bless himself with hands and feet,‖ and in his extreme humility will say, 'God shield me from such horrible heresy and presumption! What! I, a miserable sinner, can I be so proud as to say that I am a child of God? No! I will humble myself, and recognise myself to be a poor sinner,' &c. Let such folk go their ways, and do thou be ware of them as of the greatest enemies of Christian faith, and of thy own happiness! We know right well that we are poor sinners, but here it does not depend on what we are and do, but on what Christ is, and has done, and still does for us. If you think it a great thing to be a son of God, my friend, don't think it a small thing that God's Son came into the world, made of a woman, made under the law, that you too might be a son of God. What God does is always great. That we are permitted to deem ourselves children of God, we have not from ourselves nor from the law; it is the witness of the Spirit, that witnesses against the law and against the consciousness of our own unworthiness, and makes us certain of the fact." ¶

* This word means both consciousness and conscience.—*Tr.* There is a verbal play here between *gewissheit* and *gewissen*.

† Works, xi. 1887; ii. 2343; ix. 805; xviii. 2060.

‡ *Ibid.*, ii. 1985-7.

§ To understand this passage it is necessary to know that in the Lutheran Church the minister, in administering the sacraments, is supposed to represent the person of Christ: *hence the celebrant at the Eucharist never communicates.—Tr.*

‖ *i. e.*, Cross himself with both hands and feet: a ludicrous expression to denote extreme earnestness.—*Tr.*

¶ Works, xii. 1046.

Luther does not, however, at all mean, as might be fancied from isolated expressions, that we are to determine and decide in our own minds that we are God's children, and that the assurance of salvation rests solely on the strength of our determination to regard ourselves as God's children. The assurance of salvation is, in his mind, neither on the one hand a merely subjective human work, nor, on the other hand, is it to be sought merely in the objective word, or the sacramental signs of grace, however certain both these may be. Rather is the *subjective* assurance a product of the *objective* spirit, brought about by the *objective* Gospel, and yet a different effect from that testimony which exists in the Gospel itself, though coincident therewith; for the filial spirit recognises itself again in the Gospel.* Were not a witness of the Spirit produced in our spirit, so that our very self-consciousness becomes a witness of our adoption, our own personality and the testimony of Scripture would not meet; Scripture would be a mere external law, and we should be without the true Christian consciousness. But, on the other side, he censures *false confidence*, the caricature of genuine divine assurance, *securitas* in place of *certitudo*, in those proud spirits who dispute Scripture. The *royal* way to attain the consciousness of adoption is therefore this:—When a man becomes anxious by reason of sin, and doubtful of salvation, his faith is, in the first place, *accepting* faith. That which is accepted is the Gospel, which presents to faith its object, especially the forgiveness of sin; with which the Holy Spirit combines, in order to bring about acceptance of the truth by drawing men to their heavenly Father. *Accepting* faith is therefore not as yet *assured* faith, but only *trusting* faith, even though it be still accompanied by despondency. Now comes in the work of the Spirit, which is to make the accepted message powerful and vitally operative to bestow on accepting faith the full assurance of personal salvation, and to implant the new and self-conscious creature. And thus salvation has reached its goal in the creation of the new man, an independent creature which knows the fact of its own redemption, and knows Christ as its Redeemer; not merely from the hearing of the ear or from any external authority, even that of Scripture, nor through its own resolve, but from its own actual experience. This experience, which is the operation of the Holy Ghost, and the power to salvation of the word which brings Christ to us, transmutes our former trusting and hoping acceptance of the Gospel into a blessed assurance, an independent knowledge of Christ in his greatness and his merit. And now for the first time Holy Scripture, in its real message and purport, receives its full credentials to the heart, God, by the illumination of his Spirit, kindling

* Works, xii. 435, 95.

in us a divine assurance of the truth of this message—an assurance infinitely superior to any mere reliance on the canon of the Church, and on the correctness of the Church's judgment with regard to Scripture. It must be carefully remarked that Luther does not esteem the strength of accepting faith as the ground of justification; the weakest faith is capable of justifying, provided it believes the message of salvation. Similarly, he does not make justification and regeneration consist in the feeling and sense of happiness; for there may be a certainty of salvation in reliance upon Christ even when we have no such happy feelings.

But the assurance or certainty which faith receives through the Holy Spirit and the word of God, is not restricted by Luther to the mere assurance of the forgiveness of our sins; the whole spiritual life is conditioned and upborne by it. Our talk and work, our meditations and our teaching, are all to be instinct with this divine assurance. No one must say anything in his ministerial capacity unless he is certain that he is speaking the word of God. "We must be so sure that God is speaking and acting in us, that our faith can say, 'What I have now spoken or done has been spoken or done by God.'" "True faith has a very sharp sight, and because it alone has true knowledge of God, and alone sees into the secrets of his kingdom, it eclipses the light of reason.* It is a clear mirror and a constant view of Christ.† Faith ends our minority, and sets us free from guardians and governors in point of doctrine; faith is master, judge, standard of all teaching and prophecy."‡

Nay, so determinately does he require individual divine assurance through the Holy Ghost, that, according to him, we must not even be satisfied with the mere dictum of an apostle (comp. Gal. i. 8); the import of the message guarantees itself, and cannot depend on the dignity of any creature. *Hence the position which Luther assigns to faith in relation to Scripture.*

1. Faith, and faith alone, can *expound* Scripture. Not that Luther wished for a spiritual as opposed to a grammatical exposition; on the contrary, his scientific accuracy and simplicity distinguishes itself especially in his teaching, as did Calvin, in opposition to the system of manifold interpretation held by the schoolmen, that the thorough divine is only produced by the literal sense. Hence he esteemed the cultivation of philology a matter of prime and absolute necessity. Here, again, it is the principle of faith which combines with grammar and philology to secure itself against any falsification of the message which faith is to accept. Still, what is expressed by the letter is something spiritual, and hence Scripture can only be understood by a kindred mind and spirit. That which is necessary to

* Works, viii. 2066, 2853. † *Ibid.*, xii. 579; viii. 2353. ‡ *Ibid.*, xxii. 268.

salvation is intelligible to all who are spiritually disposed, and inequalities in mental culture and philological skill are in everything material compensated by this *perspicuity* of Scripture. But more is seen by faith when once firmly rooted: that which is spiritual is received by those who are spiritual.* Faith is, as it were, the eye in which Scripture seeks to mirror itself, the mouth by which to express itself. The believer is the instrument which Scripture creates for itself, by means of which to interpret itself. To faith is possible a reproduction of the word which shall be not merely a lifeless echo, but self-conscious and free, as well as true. But as the expounder is not to be merely an echo of the words of Scripture, so neither is he to expound it after the standard of any human conception of its doctrine, be that standard the Apostles' Creed, the *regula* or *analogia fidei*, or the teaching of the Church. He who asserts such standard to be necessary, denies the perspicuity of Scripture. The only analogy for exposition is the principle that one Scripture cannot contradict another; a unity, a homogeneous whole, is formed by the believing investigator out of the really canonical parts of the sacred volume, and by this *analogia fidei* even the teaching of the Church must be judged. To reverse this process would be to subject Scripture to the Church, whereas it is God's word that makes the Church.†

2. Still more clearly does the independence of faith in relation to the written word appear in this, that when once faith has been kindled by the Spirit through the word, this faith has, in the second place, the right and duty of developing and applying the knowledge it has acquired; a process which certainly depends on the correct derivation of that which is developed from the true faith, not on the possibility of showing the truths thus developed to be verbally laid down in Scripture. Christian preaching, hymnody, and art also, all operate as God's word, though they must ever allow themselves to be measured by the standard of the canonical word of Scripture.

3. But most clearly does the relative independence of faith, even in the presence of Scripture, appear in that criticism or judgment which Luther ascribes to faith in regard of the canon, and which he himself exercised unstintingly. Thus, without denying the authenticity of the Epistle of James, he always denied its canonicity. Similarly he treated the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Apocalypse, though on the latter he subsequently (1545), passed a more favourable judgment. Nay, even of an argument of Paul in Galatians he says that it is too weak to prove his point. He makes no difficulty in allowing, that in externals not only Stephen but the sacred writers

* Works, iii. 21; ix. 857, 1391; x. 451; xi. 256; xii. 1109.
† *Ibid.*, xix. 128, 1319; xx. 1257, 2096.

themselves have fallen into inaccuracies. The worth of the Old Testament is not diminished in his eyes by the concession that several of its pieces have been worked up by various hands. What matters it, he asks, with reference to the Pentateuch, if Moses did not write it? And of the prophets he says, that they studied Moses and each other's works, and that this study conditioned the form in which they wrote down the thoughts inspired by the Holy Ghost. And if these good and true teachers and searchers of Scripture sometimes built up much "hay, wood, and stubble," as well as "gold, silver, and precious stones," still the foundation is there, and everything else will be consumed by the fire of that day; for so, he urges, we deal with the writings of Augustine, &c. In the Old Testament he particularly prizes Genesis: it is the source from which all subsequent prophets flowed; Kings are much more trustworthy than Chronicles; Ecclesiastes is adulterated, and is not the work of Solomon, &c.; Esther, too, he deems uncanonical; he would be glad if it and the Maccabees were not extant, "for they Judaize too much, and have much heathenish naughtiness."*

This testing of Scripture by faith may also result in one portion of Scripture having higher worth and higher inspiration than another. For we see that Luther recognises in Scripture not merely something divine but something human, sometimes even something purely human. The German Reformer unquestionably draws a distinction between the word of God and Holy Scripture, not merely in the *form* but also in the *purport* of the message. In the New Testament he calls the fourth Gospel the unique, tender, chief Gospel, far preferable to the other three; as also the Epistles of Paul and Peter stand far above these last. On the whole, the Gospel and First Epistle of John, the Epistles of Paul, especially those to the Romans, Galatians, and Ephesians, and I Peter, are to his mind the books which show Christ, and teach all that is needful and useful.

Hence he can consistently say,† "So, if any one urge thee with sayings which talk of works, and which thou canst not rhyme with the others, thou must answer, 'Because Christ himself is the treasure which has bought me, I don't want any sayings of Scripture wherewith to set up the righteousness of works, and so place the righteousness of faith beneath it. For I have on my side the Master and Lord of Scripture, with whom I hold, and know that he will not lie, nor lead me astray; and you may bawl as hotly as you please that I make Scripture contradict itself. Though, indeed, it is impossible that Scripture should contradict itself: only foolish, clumsy, obstinate hypocrites fancy that it does so.'"

But, side by side with such bold positions, he asserts with equal clearness,—

* Unart. † Works, viii. 2138.

II. The essential independence of Scripture, in relation to faith and the Church.

It was history that especially showed to Luther the necessity of this. The Romish Church had shown how easily oral tradition becomes impure, and how, under such circumstances, continuous belief in the activity of the Holy Spirit in the Church necessarily serves only to cloak and justify error, inasmuch as it results in doing violence to Scripture, as if Scripture had to borrow light from the church, instead of sufficing to explain itself.

These dangers of arbitrary subjectivity, which are rather increased than diminished by the fact that a collective Person, the Church, substitutes itself for true objectivity and for God, Luther recognised, even when fanatic subjectivity disguised itself in a Protestant dress. Clearly perceiving the essential identity of fanaticism and Romanism, he said, "Papatus simpliciter est merus enthusiasmus." To secure true Christian objectivity, on which the whole Church, as well as each individual, must depend, if they are to be Christian, he deems Scripture necessary; and for the very purpose of excluding arbitrary interpretation, he requires the exposition of the faith to be founded on grammar, and conducted according to general linguistic laws. It is in the very essence of faith, which is not yet sight, but holds to historic revelation, that Luther sees the necessity of Holy Writ. All true regeneration is, in his judgment, conditioned and produced by the Word, the sacraments, and Christian fellowship; but all these are the work of the historic Christ, and through them only is regeneration connected with the historic appearance of Jesus on earth. The union of the divine and human in Christ's person is an historic and permanent power, exerting itself through the message concerning Christ; not that this message takes the place of Christ, but that He acts through it. Hence Luther calls Scripture the *σὰρξ Χριστοῦ*; hence he fears, as the result of a teaching concerning the written word which is indifferent to the external word, the dissolution of all true doctrine concerning Christ, after the manner either of the Docetæ or of the Ebionites; *i. e.*, by denying the reality either of Christ's human or of his divine nature. Only by means of these historic documents can we, separated from Him by so many centuries, lay hold on the historic Christ; he, therefore, who despises the testimony of Scripture to Christ, and undervalues the sacrament, is really sapping the foundation of the Church, and evaporating Christianity into a mere idea. Hence Luther calls the word of Scripture the true star that guides to Christ; the swaddling-clothes or manger in which He was laid:* hence he says, "in the words of the apostles dwell Christ's passion and resurrection, heaven, and eternal life. Our Lord Jesus Christ says He hath

* Works, xiii. 313; xxii. 87.

set the forgiveness of sins in the word like a jewel in its frame."* Fanatics destroy the connection between the eternal Word and the written word, and thus imperil the permanent revelation of the eternal Word. Hence Luther is indignant when he hears the preaching of the Gospel called an empty sound and voice, or when the inner word is opposed to the external word, as though the two had a different import from each other, or as though the one were effective without the other. The external word is the expression of approaching or present grace; it is, as it were, the historic body which grace has assumed agreeably to its historic character; and thus Scripture possesses an inherent efficacy. God speaks to man through the external word, and does not speak except through it. Unquestionably he maintains the difference between the living and creative Word of God and the written word, and excludes any magic operation of the latter by the forcible remark that the written word is not universally efficacious. Yet the efficacious Word will not work without it. He does not, however, conceive that God's word exists *only* in Scripture, any more than he conceives all to be God's word which is contained in Scripture. The first thing is the essential Word (λόγος), in which dwells the whole fulness of the Godhead; the utterer of this Word is God. But the essential Word is also a self-uttering word: all creatures are so many living signs of the Word of God.† Yet the divine utterance in the world is various. It is always a revealing utterance: but it is one thing when God reveals Himself only in his power or holiness, another when He discloses Himself also in his grace and truth. The last alone is a revelation of God in the fullest sense, for *God* is the *Good* Being. Hence it is in the essential Word made Flesh that the revelation of God after his own heart, the word out of the depths of his heart, is given. Scripture is the testimony of this revelation, and hence it brings to us the word of God. Yet the word of God did not commence with Scripture. Christ is the essential Word, operating through the Spirit, and to him the word of Scripture leads. But Luther sees the word of God in the thoughts and spiritual acts of faith as well as in Scripture. What the believer speaks and does under the influence of Christ's Spirit is a word of God, even more than that which the creature *ipso facto* is and does; for "what is born of Spirit is spirit." Hence he often speaks of preaching, and that not limited to the express words of Scripture, and of the hymns and prayers of the Church, as being words of God. Hence he could assign so free and lofty a position to Christian science, art, and teaching; and it is instructive to observe, that as a later period forgot this eternal self-renewal and rejuvenescence, this fructifying of the word in the spirits of the faithful, so did it likewise degrade

* Works, xiii. 1188, 1198.

† *Ibid.*, xi. 217; xxii. 871.

Scripture itself into a mere dead external law. And this brings us to—

III. The internal connection of Scripture and faith, notwithstanding their mutual independence.

If we now ask, How can faith depend on Scripture, and yet have to determine the canonicity of each part of Scripture, this determination requiring to be made, in each case, on grounds of historic and critical research, which are independent of faith? the solution of this difficulty, which seems to involve reasoning in a circle, may be found in the idea that Scripture, by its import and message, has a meaning for the faith which is to be called into existence *before* it becomes an authoritative rule, as it becomes for faith when already existing. Scripture of itself points to faith, to the rise of which it is auxiliary, as a means of grace, and requires faith for its preservation, critical ascertainment, and exposition. On the other hand, faith, by its very notion, refers us to Scripture and its authority. Let us examine each of these points separately.

1. Scripture requires, according to Luther, not merely reception into the memory or intellect (*fides historica*, or *assensus*); it requires a personal assent to its value by means of personal experience, and this can only be given when faith resigns itself to Scripture with perfect confidence. This trustful acceptance is by no means blind submission: nor is it that kind of certainty which is produced by the Scripture message when it has been once for all appropriated to himself by the believer. Full and divine certainty works only in the faith which has already laid hold of Christ. Yet, through the power of grace, and the attraction of the Scripture message, a certainty of the duty of believing may be engendered, which shall be equal to any other religious or moral certainty of this grade of the divine life—nay, in so far superior to any other, as all healthy progress depends on the fulfilment of the duty of believing.

But with the new consciousness introduced by that experience of salvation which belongs to faith, comes the power of vision to which Scripture opens itself, after man, on his part, has thrown himself open to Scripture. Now he begins to understand and appreciate Scripture properly, and now faith can do that for Scripture which Scripture needs. As faith has insight for what is Christian, as it can distinguish what is for Christ and what is against Christ, it must have a right to judge the canon. Any canonical writing not containing Christ, or having no reference to Christ, would not be Holy Writ. Thus Luther awards to faith a right of judging the canon on grounds not arbitrary, but objective and dogmatic, and quite distinct from any investigations of the genuineness and antiquity of its parts. Not as though Scripture must contain nothing but what is already com-

prised in the consciousness of faith; in that case faith would be quite independent of Scripture, and the latter would have no authority whatever. But though Scripture may contribute to the enriching and purifying of the consciousness of faith, it must not contradict faith in those points which constitute faith, and of which faith possesses an historical divine assurance. In a word, the right of faith to judge and criticise Scripture is an altogether negative right, reducing itself to the denial of canonical authority to all that would contradict faith. And as faith must agree with Scripture, *this judgment of Scripture by faith* reduces itself ultimately to a *judgment of Scripture by itself.* Thus Luther lays down a canon within the canon, by the principle that Christ, as the centre of Holy Writ, is the measure of its canonicity. To the power of interpreting itself which he ascribes to Scripture corresponds, in his system, the power of Scripture to decide what is really Scripture.

2. But as Scripture promotes faith, forming with it a "Bible in the heart" (to use an expression of Harms, a writer who more than any other reproduces Luther's spirit), so does faith require Scripture as well for its continuance as for its origination. For although the word of God, even in the form of mere oral teaching, may awaken faith, yet all evangelic teaching must be referable to the standard of apostolic testimony, and this exists only in Scripture. And the proof that the word preached agrees with Scripture must be capable of being given at any moment, in order that each individual may compare with Scripture his belief and the teaching to which he listens. Hence Luther would give the Bible into the hands of the laity. Of course, to the man who has not yet arrived at faith in Christ, the authority of Scripture can only be assured *externally.* But when once faith, the purport and drift of the Gospel message, is created, Scripture itself acquires a new position and far higher value; it becomes an authority recognised not merely on external, but on internal grounds, and independent of anything but itself. Faith is simply the eye which discovers its divine purport; it traces that which has been spoken by the Spirit, and ascribes inspiration to the sacred writers. But Luther does not conceive the Holy Ghost as dictating the very words to those writers, as to so many amanuenses: the illumination of the Spirit produced that knowledge of the economy of salvation which the apostles and other sacred writers possessed, and this knowledge involved the clothing of divine truth in human expression. This combination of the divine and human, which on the side of the *intellect* is not exclusively attached to the moral and religious attainments of the sacred writers, continues indeed during the process of writing; but in that purely human act the sacred writers derive their historic material not from the illumination of the

Spirit, but from the usual sources of historic truth, though they do sift, arrange, and place in due light their historic materials by the power and according to the measure of the indwelling Spirit. Further, the superiority of Scripture is not to be sought in its alone having a divine spirit; for its superiority consists in this very thing, that by its witness it continues for ever to beget such spirit. As there is but one Faith, one Baptism, so is there but one Spirit, which enlightened the apostles, and still enlightens the Church; but this unity of spirit, so far from dispensing with the standard authority of Scripture, only makes that standard recognisable.

Hence, further, the importance of Scripture, not merely to *ascertain* the faith, but also to *nourish* and *increase* it. What is born must grow: growth depends on sustenance, and the sustenance of faith, again, is drawn from the same source which produced faith, viz., Scripture. Again, faith is indeed rich, for it possesses Christ, and in Him all wisdom implicitly; nothing from without can therefore be wanting to it. But that which faith possesses in principle or germ, is not on that account necessarily developed into definite and conscious possession; for there still remains, yea, even for the believer, the possibility of error, nay, of a concatenation of error. Hence faith recognises Scripture not merely as the food by which it is maintained, but as the sure guide and rule according to which it is developed, and by which it must judge of its own purity and soundness. Not in spite of, but by virtue of, that which it already has, does faith yield itself to be instructed by Christ and his apostles. The process of combining faith with the word of God must therefore be continuous; we must be always reconciling Scripture and the Christian consciousness, in order to obtain that full and undoubting certainty which consists in the union of the personal and subjective with the objective word of God in Scripture.

Thus the certainty and joy of faith is not suspended for Luther by allowing criticism all its rights; nor, on the other hand, does Scripture lose in value and authority by the emphasis he lays on faith, but rather gains in these respects, inasmuch as Scripture becomes an internal authority with which faith cannot dispense.

Certainly this question, more especially, remained unsettled, whether the importance of Scripture for the rise and progress of faith is not imperilled by the unlimited power granted to criticism of calling all Scripture into question? And such points could only be determined when, in the development of a scientific criticism, it had been perceived that there are laws and limits of historical criticism inherent in its nature.

In conclusion, let us cast a glance at the practical breadth and fulness of the principles of the Reformation as they are embodied in

Luther's teaching. From the principle that, in the true Christian, faith must be at one with Scripture, flowed Luther's doctrine of the universal priesthood of all believers, a principle implying the rejection of the Romish theory of the priesthood, and of the sacrament of orders, the Catholic * basis of all the sacraments. The immediate connection of each Christian with God through faith excluded all dominion over the faith on the part of man or any other creature, and consequently all reliance on and adoration of the saints: the mediation of a heavenly as well as that of an earthly *hierarchy* was banished. On the other hand, any mediation through certain *actions*, such, *e. g.*, as the Romish sacraments or other sacred actions, was of itself condemned by the principle of faith, because an effect produced *ex opere operato* would dispense with faith. Specially the sacrament of penance, the most practically and extensively efficacious of all in the Romish system, was completely transformed, or rather abolished, in consequence of the doctrine of faith; its first part, auricular confession, was paralyzed, partly because true humility and penitence, which belong to faith, must recognise the sheer impossibility of recollecting and confessing each single sin, partly because, even were such recollection and confession possible, it would be far too shallow a procedure to dwell on single acts, instead of examining one's state as to belief and unbelief, from which flow the isolated acts; and finally, with the mediatorial position of the priest falls away the necessity of confessing to a priest. *Satisfactions*, or works to satisfy or atone for sin, were disclaimed by the principle of faith, because grace was seen to be free, and to impart itself irrespective of works, either past or future. Finally, the *judicial* power of the priest, in the retaining or remitting of sins, gave way before the recognition of the fact that God proffers and promises grace to man through the Gospel, without requiring any human mediation, which might interefere with the validity of the proffer, or with the immediacy of the relation between God and us. The *administration* of the Gospel, its due and unadulterated proclamation, &c., is the only thing with which the Church is entrusted in this respect. Similarly, all individual or particular *vows, e. g.*, those of poverty, chastity, &c., are merged in the one vow which extends itself over the Christian's whole life, the vow of perfectly resigning himself to God in Christ.

Turning now to the relation between the principles of the Reformation, and the various domains of mind and morals, we shall perceive that a quite new view of the world and of society resulted from it.

For *science* the Reformation made a new and broad pathway, not merely negatively, by breaking the yoke of alien and external

* Romish.—*Tr.*

authority, but also positively; inasmuch as faith, with its internal assurance in religion, is the prototype of that certainty which science should aim at in the territory of the intellect. To *mental philosophy* it gave a most potent impulse: nor is it accidental that only after the Reformation did mental philosophy attain an independent and vigorous development; for while the Greek and Roman Churches lay no stress on personal assurance, and hence continue in the domain of mere external authority, the endeavour to attain full certainty in matters of philosophic as well as of religious speculation is a peculiarly Protestant trait. For *historic* science, the Reformation was of the highest moment; the wish for certainty here also impelling men to investigate the sources. Not merely sacred, but classical *philology* was assiduously promoted both by Luther and Melancthon; the former devoting his efforts peculiarly to the erection of primary schools, the latter to the foundation of gymnasia: and it may be truly said, that the cultivation of classical and oriental philology in Germany is chiefly due to the Reformation.

Still more important is the *form* given to science by the Reformation. The Christian Church had set up a number of dogmas, but with little sense of their connection or relative importance;—and naturally; for so long as the external authority of the Church was the sole ground of belief, everything taught by the Church came with like recommendation and on equal footing. But now all dogmas were subjected to a scrutiny, which accepted them only in so far as they were to be found in Scripture, and which grouped them, according to their respective importance, round the great central message of salvation. Hence living faith in Christ resulted in the scientific principle of the evaluation and arrangement of the various parts of the Scripture message, according to their place and importance with respect to Christ. And thus Luther's doctrine of justification, by creating scientific theology, contributed to scientific arrangement in all other subjects.

In *morals*, also, the Reformation created the possibility of a renovated system.

Starting from the necessary connection between saving faith and holiness, which is well expressed in Luther's dictum, "*Fides sola justificat, sed fides non est solitaria,*" Luther recognised the immense importance of the moral bonds which constitute marriage, the family, and the State; and clearly, though not scientifically, developed (in his "Volkstafel," or Primer) the duties therefrom resulting.

The three real holy orders are, in his opinion,—(1) the Church, in which he distinguishes between teachers and hearers; (2) the State, with its corresponding unity of rulers and subjects; (3) the family, including parents and children, masters and servants.

The idea of marriage was purified by Luther from that depreciation of its physical basis which had crept into Catholicism, partly from the notion of celibacy being morally superior, partly from the doctrine that marriage only becomes a moral union by virtue of a special sacramental act.

Being in itself independent of the moral worth of the pair, nay, valid when one of the parties is even an infidel, in its essence marriage is a merely civil contract. Yet this contract should be sanctified, in the case of Christians, by the word of God and faith. And, Christianity apart, Luther esteemed marriage not merely a physical but a moral relation; a holy order without sacrament; a bond indissoluble except by death. Yet, "for the hardness of men's hearts" he allowed divorce, not merely in cases of πορνεία, but of *desertio malitiosa* and of *denegatio debiti.*

The *family* is transfigured by faith into a domestic church, in which the father is priest. The greatest stress was laid by Luther on the education of girls as well as boys: by his influence schools were introduced into the Articles of Visitation in Electoral Saxony; and he gave as much attention to schools of primary instruction as Melancthon did to more advanced seminaries of learning.

The *arts* were valued by Luther, not merely as they might promote the immediate interests of the Church, but for their general plastic influence on the mind. Never did he allow his cheerful sense of the beautiful to be vitiated by mere utilitarianism, or by that gloomy view which sees in the world nothing but vanity and the taint of sin. By composing hymns and music, more especially chorales, he not merely patronized but cultivated art, and gave congregational psalmody that leading part in evangelic worship which it has ever since retained in Germany.

But it was especially the State which rose to dignity and independence by the Reformation. Though Luther strongly asserted the difference between Church and State, withdrawing from the latter all control over spiritual things and conscience, he did not consider the State a mere profane thing, but a divine and holy institution. The Church is as little to overrule the State as the State to overrule the Church. Government cannot give laws to the soul, but it may require obedience in what concerns the body. So far from being revolutionary, the Reformation asserted, with a hitherto unknown power, the *jus divinum* of the civil magistrate.

Yet Luther was no supporter of despotism. "The Gospel," he said, "does not abolish, but confirm natural laws." Hence the magistrate is to demand obedience only within the limits of those laws on which his office rests. "Government is not a wild beast; it does not exist for the purpose of destroying its subjects by mad tyranny: a wild

beast must be deprived of the power of doing mischief." "There is no difference between the emperor and a murderer if the emperor exceeds his office and attempts openly and notoriously to do violence: for open violence does away with all reciprocal duties between subjects and sovereign" (1539).

Yet, though the State may not dictate to the Church, it is bound to act for the Church's benefit. Presuming that both rulers and subjects are Christians, Luther requires that Government shall proceed, though not by capital punishment, against the denial of generally recognised articles of faith or morals: shall tolerate no abominations, such, *e.g.*, as the mass or image worship; or at any rate, only allow such false worship to be practised secrectly, when it can do no harm to others. And as the bishops declined reform, and there was no attainable Church organization whereby reform might be effected, he allowed the State to institute measures for the common benefit, and to express the common will in matters ecclesiastical. Yet the State must not perform ecclesiastical functions: must not act as bishop or preacher. But it is one thing to preach, another thing to appoint and maintain preachers.

It is obvious that these views would authorize Government to put down the Gospel if Government did not believe it to be the Gospel, and would thus create in each country a struggle which could only result in the entire suppression of one or the other party. The admissibility of different confessions on equal terms in the same country was a truth beyond the age. Perfect toleration was first introduced by the "Great Elector," who in this respect went beyond the views of the Great Reformer.

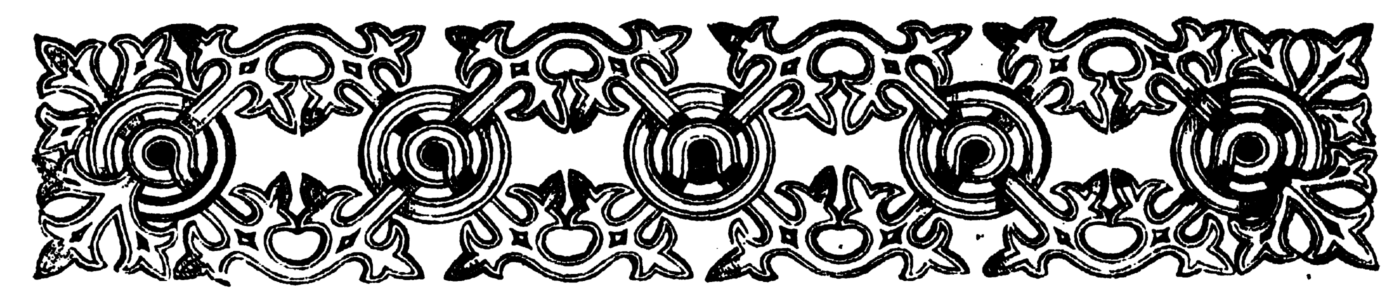
With regard to the Church, Luther never withdrew the principle that she must not use force: "Faith is free; compulsion cannot benefit it: heresy is spiritual, and cannot be cut with the sword, nor burnt with fire." At first he did not wish even the civil magistrate to interfere with false teachers: "Let them preach away as they list: there must be sects; the word of God must fight and struggle. If some are seduced, it is the fortune of war. We who wield the sword of the Spirit have nothing to do with the temporal sword." But subsequently he ascribed a wider right of interference to the State, not merely for the preservation of order, but for the honour of God, whereby a very indefinite and easily abused conception of its duty was set up: besides which, the administration of the Church accidentally devolved to the civil government in consequence of the refusal of the bishops to concur with the Reformation; and thus these fine principles of the merely spiritual nature of the struggle between truth and error became illusory.

But why, it may be asked, did Luther not endeavour to secure a

proper Church government? Why did he leave the arrangement of these matters to chance or fate? Several reasons for his negligence may be assigned. First, he held the principle that the Church properly consists only of real believers, *vere credentes*, and as these can never be picked out from the mass, they cannot have a polity. This view would imply that the polity of the external Church is no real ecclesiastical polity at all. Yet this external Church polity has a connection with the faith, and is necessary for its propagation; it administers the external means of grace, preaching and the sacraments, which are never without fruit. Luther ought, therefore, to have recognised the utility, or rather the necessity, of arranging the administration, as well as the worship of the Church, after the standard of God's word. But he shrank from doing this, partly from the idea above expressed, and lest he should thereby cause the idea of the Church to retrograde into the domain of the merely legal; partly because he knew that he himself possessed no special gift for organizing and arranging.*

J. A. DORNER.

* The translator of the foregoing paper has been obliged to condense and abridge it considerably, especially in its latter part, to suit the limits of the *Contemporary Review*: but he believes that he has in no instance materially altered the sense. He has added some explanatory notes, for which he is responsible.



NOTES FROM ROME.

THE summer at Rome has been remarkably fine, tempered with many refreshing showers, by which the heat was greatly mitigated, fevers kept at bay, and the crops increased. The harvest has been abundant, the vines have yielded largely, and the wines are beyond the average in quantity and in quality. The Ottobrali, or October festivals, which are a kind of autumn carnival of the common people, have been unusually gay. Every Thursday, carriages, laden with men and women in bright costumes, might be seen passing through the streets on their way to the villas adjacent to the city; and under the ilexes and stone pines the air rang with glad voices, and laughter, and songs, and the tingling throb of tamborines; while many a merry company picniced together, and danced the salterello, and came back in the deepening twilight, shouting and saluting the crowds in the streets as they returned home. All this is now over. Lodging-house keepers and shopkeepers are waiting in anxious suspense for the arrival of strangers; but few have as yet arrived, and there are many ominous shakings of the head for fear lest the cholera, the fumigations, the departure of the French, and the general unsettled condition of things here may keep them away. This would be a serious evil to the tradespeople and *padroni di case* at Rome, who, for the most part, live upon the patronage of travellers, and severely feel their absence. But besides this, there are many other causes of anxiety among the people, and a general sense of depression hangs over the place. Everywhere the question is discussed whether the French are really going away, or whether the apparent preparations are only a trick and a pretence. Already we hear of a French Commission. Whether it is to have any existence nobody knows, and nobody knows what it means. Yet there seems to be no real reason to doubt that the French really intend to leave Rome to the Romans. Every week sees the departure of a certain number of the soldiers. The material of war is being removed; the cannon is gone; and the fort of St. Angelo is already disarmed. Thus far none of those "feelers" which the Emperor is wont to put forth when he wishes to avoid his pledges have been seen. He has taken no expressed advantage of embarrassing incidents, made no stand upon mooted questions, and seems, as far as one can judge, to intend to maintain his promise to Italy, and to evacuate Rome at last.

The great question then is, What will happen? Will there be a revolution? Will blood be shed in the streets? Will a collision occur between the troops and the people? Will the Italians come in? Will the Pope leave Rome? The priests and the *neri* shake in their shoes, and anticipate all sorts of evils; and even the moderate liberals are not without their fears. All depends on the course taken by the Government. The liberal party are

anxious to preserve quiet, knowing that their true policy is to "stand and wait." The fear on their side is lest the priestly party may try to provoke a collision, in the hope of obliging France to remain or to return, for the preservation of order. The people will not rise unless under very great provocation. But there are elements which create distrust and doubt. The Zouaves, composed of foreign troops, and representing the retrogressive party, are violent in their feelings and opposed to the people. Besides them are the troops raised by the Pope, and composed of the worst dregs of the Italians, and strangers, whose appearance and expression excite anything but confidence. They look like the sweepings of the prisons and galleys. It is from these that disturbances may arise, and from these alone. The priestly party cannot count upon the Antibes Legion. This legion has already, at Viterbo, refused to take ground against the people, when they openly rejoiced in the *plebiscite* at Venice, and hung out their tapestries and banners in honour of the occasion:—and, when urged by the Papal representatives to suppress such demonstrations, declared that it was in Italy not to oppress the people, but solely to defend the person of the Pope. Besides this, it is rapidly suffering depletion by desertions, and, in case of a collision, would probably take part with the people, or at least remain neutral. The better opinion seems, on the whole, to be, that there will be no violent revolution, but that at last, when it comes to the worst, the Pope will make terms with Italy.

Among the cardinals are two parties—the one urging his departure, the others counselling him not to leave the city. The Romans are anxious that he should remain in Rome. He himself is by no means disposed to flight; and if he were, it is not easy to determine on a place of refuge where the evils would not be greater than he would find here. He could be nowhere so independent as at Rome, though he should accept the protectorate of Italy. Austria would not receive him willingly, even if she would receive him at all. His flight to Spain would be the signal for revolution there. His position at Malta would be ridiculous. To flee is easy, but to return is difficult. The experiment at Gaeta was not satisfactory. Though at times, goaded on all sides, he gives way to passionate excitement, and denounces Italy, it is by no means sure that he is heartily opposed to conciliation. He remembers the old days, when his name was the watch-cry of liberty. The old sound of "Viva Pio Nono!" rings in his memory. As Pope he cannot surrender; as man he is, perhaps, differently disposed. Even in the midst of the denunciations of the last Papal allocution is the refrain of regret, and the end of it all is a blessing for Italy. It is plain that nothing is to be gained by flight. This would only be an invitation to the Italians to enter Rome, and the temporal power would be lost for ever. I cannot doubt that he will remain. But in the meantime, how can his Government support itself? Its finances are in a state of inextricable confusion. There is no money; and the foolish alteration of the currency, which has taken place this summer, has only rendered matters worse. We had in Rome the most admirable system of coinage in the known world. It was a simple and real decimal; one hundred baiocchi, or ten pauls, making a scudo, and the coin practically to be paid answering to its name. In place of this the French sham decimal has been substituted, the unit of which is the centime, which is only an ideal coin, not used, and scarcely in existence, five of which make a sous, and five francs the silver dollar, and twenty francs the gold napoleon; in all of which numbers there is no decimal. The centimes must always be reduced to sous to be practically paid, and must always be paid in groups of five. The franc itself is absurdly small as a representative of large sums, and the whole system is in itself false. The result of the introduction of this new coinage into Rome has been nearly to double the prices, one franc being now asked for what was previously one paul.

The Bank of Rome, which is a private bank, has been far from satisfactory in its administration: of late it has been given largely to speculation, and has made many bad debts, by which it is very much crippled. A number of persons, to whom it had advanced considerable loans, to enable them to buy up the products of the country, and thus forestall the market and force up the prices, have failed, and the consequences are that it has been obliged to fall back upon a paper currency. Coin has nearly disappeared from circulation, and can only be obtained by the payment of a high premium. The lowest note issued i for five francs, and even this is at a premium; while the higher notes are absolutely refused by every tradesman, or accepted only at a large discount. At the same time, therefore, that the prices of corn and grain, and all the materials of living, have considerably increased, in consequence of the forestalling of the market, the notes of the bank, by whose assistance these speculations were carried out, have fallen in value, and the people are suffering both ways. Things generally came to such a pass, that a deputation waited on the Pope to beg his interference, stating, as a ground for this petition, that the labourers and day workmen were unable to obtain, with the paper money with which they were paid, the absolute necessities for their families, as no one would take their paper without a

discount which they could ill afford to bear. The Pope lent a willing ear, and promised to move in the matter. A commission was appointed, and a plan drawn up by Prince Torlonia was submitted for consideration; but it not being favourable to the administration of the bank, of which the brother of the Eminentissimo Cardinale Antonelli is the governor, it was whispered into the ear of the Holy Father that the scheme was "revolutionary," and the Prince Torlonia, backed though he was by some of the cardinals, was compelled to withdraw it.

Things, therefore, go on in the old way; and this is not only disastrous to the poor but confusing to all classes. There is no confidence in the bank, the paper issue of which is vastly beyond its present power to redeem, and the Government has, at last, been obliged to guarantee its notes. But this does not much improve matters, for who is there to guarantee the Government? In order, however, to obviate, to some extent, these difficulties, the Government has ordered the establishment of three bureaus of exchange, where, every day, bank notes to the limit of 6,000 scudi are cashed in coin at a certain hour, no one person having a right to exchange a note higher than ten scudi. The streets in which these bureaus are situated are accordingly besieged by crowds of the lower classes, anxious to get silver for their notes: and sad scenes of violence, struggle, and fighting daily take place there, at which, despite the gendarmes stationed to keep order, serious injuries are inflicted, and men are frequently carried away wounded to the hospitals. To prevent these disorders, a prohibition was issued by the Government to the people to collect before the doors in advance of the hours at which they were opened; but this only makes the after rush worse. One case has come to my knowledge which is curiously illustrative of the mode in which law is here administered. A poor man having in his possession a bank note of ten scudi, or fifty francs, not aware of the prohibition to all persons to present themselves before the appointed hour, was met in the street going towards the bureau a few minutes before the time, when he was at once apprehended, his ten scudi were taken from him, and he was threatened with imprisonment if he returned. Some of his friends made interest for him, and represented, in his behalf, that he had no intention of violating the law, and that, in fact, as he was only in the street and not near the door, he was not liable to any punishment; but the remonstrance was vain. The answer was, that all the money thus taken went to some public institution, and could not be returned.

Singular stories are here current regarding the Empress of Mexico and her conduct during her sojourn in Rome. This unfortunate lady was haunted by constant fear of being poisoned, and refused all food which was presented to her, unless it was previously tasted by those who gave it; and it was only with great difficulty that she could be prevailed upon to take what was absolutely necessary for her health. Suffering from hunger, she went into the streets and bought roasted chestnuts; and, going to the hospital, asked to see the kitchen, and then requested to be allowed to have some of the soup which was cooking over the fire, for that she knew could not be poisoned. Piteous too were her complaints to the Pope, that now, since her father was dead, who alone had ever cared for her, all persons wished her evil, and were in league to poison her; and she prayed his Holiness to assume the place of a father to her, and protect her and save her. One evening, in alarm for her life, she fled to the Pope and absolutely refused to go back; and there, on the couches of one of the ante-chambers, spent the whole night—bolting the doors against the entrance of everybody. When she met the Queen of Naples, she looked steadily at her and said, "Ah! how you are changed! I see they are also slowly poisoning you. What a change! what a change!" Could anything be more sad than such a meeting of these two unfortunate queens?

There have been several cases of cholera in the city, but they were apparently sporadic, and every pains was taken to conceal their existence. After all the prayers of the faithful, it would have an ugly look if this fatal epidemic should invade the stronghold of the Church itself. At Naples, indeed, though the medals of St. Joachim were freely distributed, and declared by the clergy to be efficient amulets to ward it off, the remedy was not found quite successful. The main barriers which have been erected here in Rome against the entrance of the disease, are the quarantine and fumigation. Not a letter is permitted, up to this day, to arrive without being pierced and fumigated. All the results of experience and careful investigation as to the contagiousness of cholera are here ignored, and it is treated just as if it were the plague of past days. The Government relies chiefly upon the efficacy of prayers and masses, and folds its arms and waits. The streets are no cleaner than they were, the odours of the back lanes and passages are equally unpurified, the scavengers are no more numerous, the habits of the people no better, and no special orders have been issued or enforced to cleanse the city. The only thing which has been done, as far as I am aware, has been to despoil some of the walls of their picturesque draperies of weeds and flowers, under the superstition that vegetation is

unwholesome. It may rot in the streets, but it must not live on the walls. The magnificent drainage of Rome is the secret of its health; and while the municipality have stood still, the rain and wind have done efficient duty as scavengers.

The cession of Venice has been a terrible blow to the priestly party. The news of it came upon them like a thunderbolt, destroying in an instant their most sanguine hopes that Italy would be overwhelmed by Austria, and the rule of the Church reasserted. They still stand confounded by the result, not knowing what to hope or to fear. The Bishop of Nîmes offers consolation in this wise—"We do not despair," he says, in his pastoral letter, "precisely because there is no more hope. When there is nothing to expect from man, then it is that God shows Himself. And do we not already feel that He is abandoning that immobility to which his patience restrained Him? Do you not recognise his coming by the formidable train that precedes Him? . . . The dark and stormy days through which we have just passed, were they not a veil behind which He concealed Himself? . . . The rains that have inundated so many provinces; . . . these voices of war, these presentiments of battle of which the world is full; these nations which precipitate themselves upon each other; these epidemics which decimate the people; these harvests which threaten to be insufficient,—all these things of which we are witnesses, do they not announce that He is about to come with his Christ to exert his solemn vengeance? 'Consurget gens in gentem, et regnum in regnum, et erunt pestilentiæ et fames . . . per loca. Et tunc parebit signum Filii hominis.'" And this is the mode in which the Church consoles itself.

The *Comitato Romano* maintains its influence over the people as firmly as ever, and exercises it with judgment and prudence. Its edicts are obeyed as if they were law. An instance of this occurred the other day, on the occasion of the entry of the King to take possession of Venice, which shows their perfect knowledge of all the secret movements of the Government here, and their determination to preserve the people from all collision with the armed police, of which advantage might be taken to their injury. It seems that in anticipation of possible demonstrations of joy at the entry of the King, it had been determined by the authorities to repeat the same game which has before been played with success. Accordingly the gendarmes had orders to take positions in the Corso, not in a body, but separately, and without showing themselves openly, and, seizing upon any pretext which might offer itself to create confusion, to issue forth, assault, and strike panic into the people. The *Comitato*, aware of this, printed a bulletin desiring the shopkeepers in the Corso to close their shops at nightfall, and the people to retire from the streets. This was strictly obeyed. The Corso was deserted, the shops, with the exception of those of the chemists and tobacconists and one or two others, were shut, and the plot accordingly failed.

We have just passed the festival of the dead, which occurs on the 2nd of November. At this season a curious custom obtains in Italy, which is a remnant of Pagan usage—recalling the myth of Proserpine, the funeral banquets of the Parentalia, and the allegorical meaning formerly attached to the bean, and the Pythagorean doctrine that it contained the soul. As the *frittcrelli* are consecrated to the festival of St. Joseph, and everywhere eaten on that occasion, so in honour of this festival of the dead two kinds of cake are made, one in the shape of a bean, called the "Fava dei Morti," and one in the shape of the thigh bone, called the "Ossa dei Morti." The former is a species of maccaroni made of pounded almonds and sweet paste, to which sometimes red pepper is added, to give it a stinging flavour. The latter has a marrow of sweetmeat, covered with a white frothy sugar, to give it resemblance to the bone from which it takes its name. At all the confectioners' shops these little cakes are now sold in quantities, and it is the custom at this season for friends and relations to present them to each other. So the ancient Pagan usage underlies the common Catholic life and thought of today, just as the foundations of the antique temples uphold the modern churches of Rome; or as underneath the soil of the Campagna and the pavement of the streets are the statues, the ornaments, and the implements of former generations. The new temple is built with the old bricks; the ancient superstition survives in the modern custom.

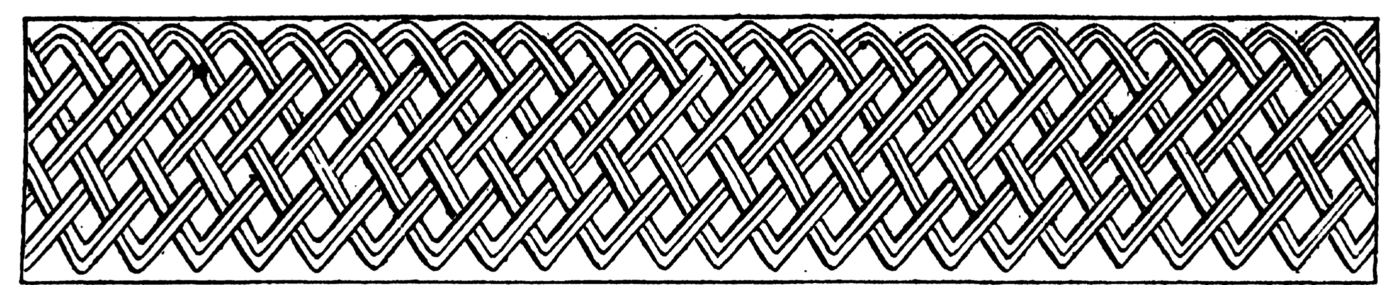
Though the foreign postage has been reduced in Rome, the management of the post office is as bad as ever. The charges upon letters, newspapers, and pamphlets are without uniformity in practice, and it is difficult to obtain any redress. It is a common custom to retax upon prepaid letters and pamphlets, not only the full postage, but oftentimes at the old rates. For instance, on the numbers of the *Contemporary Review* for June and August, though fully prepaid by a shilling stamp, a charge is made of thirty-two baiocchi (about eighteenpence), despite the stamp of "P.P.," while on the number of August thirty-six baiocchi is charged. On the numbers for September, October, and November, though eighteenpence is prepaid in stamps, the additional sum of eighteen

baiocchi is extorted. It is useless to complain against this here. The only satisfaction one gets is a shrug of the shoulders. The true remedy is a remonstrance from the English Government, which alone can put an end to this extortion.

A pamphlet has just made its appearance here, and is privately circulated, under the title of "The Senate and the Pope," in which it is argued, with great force, that the people of Rome have never, during all their history, abandoned their right to self-government; and that though it was wrested from them on the return of the Pope from Gaeta, and has remained in abeyance under the foreign domination of the French, yet upon their withdrawal all the rights of the people revive. It is declared that the Senate of Rome has always retained its powers and privileges, from the earliest periods; that the popes themselves were formerly elected by the people; that the constitution granted by Pius IX. has never been abrogated; and that it is the duty of the people, when the French are withdrawn, to claim their rights. The pamphlet is circulating from hand to hand everywhere, and is producing a strong effect among all classes. This is the foreshadowing of the end.

As yet there are few strangers in Rome, but England is represented here by some of her most distinguished men. Lord Clarendon, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Cardwell are here, and excite in the minds of the Romans all sorts of speculations. It is vain to tell them that these gentlemen have no diplomatic and political mission. What is not known is invented, and many curious and entirely unfounded stories are freely circulated at their expense. "*Si dice*" runs about at all the *conversazioni*, and in all the streets, whispering its little gossip with a mysterious air. Now he tells you the Pope has been "bearded in his den" by Mr. Gladstone; now that he is his heartiest ally, and ready to take the place of Cardinal Antonelli; now that he has earnestly advised the Pope to go to Malta; and now that he has urged him to remain in Rome. As "*Si dice*" whispers these rumours as of his own knowledge, "*Chi sa*" wonderingly shakes his head.

The Dean of Westminster has just left Rome on his return to England, and on the last Sunday previous to his departure he preached an admirable sermon at the English church, large and liberal in spirit, and philosophic in tone, and full of excellent thought and feeling.



NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Wann wurden unsere Evangelien verfasst? Von CONSTANTIN TISCHENDORF. Zweite Auflage. Leipzig. 1865. [Pp. 70.]

Wann wurden unsere Evangelien verfasst? Im allgemeinfasslicher Weise beantwortet. Von CONSTANTIN TISCHENDORF. Leipzig. 1865. [Pp. 64.] Volksausgabe.

[*When were our Gospels written?* By CONSTANTINE TISCHENDORF. Second Edition. Leipzig. 1865.

When were our Gospels written? A Popular Answer to the Question. By CONSTANTINE TISCHENDORF. Leipzig. 1865. People's Edition.]

IT was with no small interest that we learnt that Dr. Tischendorf had applied himself to give an open and explicit answer to the all-important question which is now agitating the mind of the German Church, and which, it is to be expected, will also come to be a matter of earnest debate in England as well. Our readers, however, must not imagine that the discussion concerns the relative dates of the four Gospels as compared with each other, or seeks to determine in which decennium of the first century the Gospels were respectively composed. This last is no doubt an interesting inquiry, and one which gives scope for the exercise of much ingenious criticism. But it is one of comparatively small moment. The Christian may feel perfectly secure in the enjoyment of the rich gifts and promises of Christ's kingdom, whatever order of succession shall be assigned to the synoptic Gospels as compared among themselves. But the question which Dr. Tischendorf discusses, and which is so fiercely agitated in Germany, touches the very heart of Christian faith. Were the Gospels written within a lifetime after the events which they relate, or did they make their first appearance in the second century, being merely four among many others of uncertain authorship, and of dubious or more than dubious authenticity? It is plain that if the answer to the question removes the date of their composition out of the lifetime of the first believers in Christ, then we cease to

have any certainty that the details of the evangelic narrative are true, or even that its leading features are anything better than a cunningly-devised fable. So understood, the inquiry, *When were our Gospels written?* is a question of life or death.

The German Church has its "Congresses" as well as we: indeed, Germany is a soil extremely prolific of this very useful modern product. One was held in September, 1864, at Altenburg. At this "Evangelischer Kirchentag" the principal subject of discussion turned upon the forms into which the life of Jesus had been most recently moulded, with particular reference to M. Renan's romance. Dr. Tischendorf delivered an address which excited a good deal of interest. One of its principal objects was to show that the most ancient Church history, and a history of the sacred text, offer the surest implements of warfare in defence of our four Gospels. It was for the most part a province in which Dr. Tischendorf was generally acknowledged to be a master; for although he has not applied himself so particularly to the investigation of Church history as to invest his determinations on that ground with any especial authority, yet his lifelong researches into the text of the Greek Testament and into the Christian Apocrypha entitled him in that department to be listened to with particular deference, and authorized the expectation that he might be better able to furnish data for the determination of the question discussed, so far as they could be gathered in that field of investigation, than any man living. What the doctor then delivered he was solicited to put into a somewhat completer form. This he accordingly did, and published the first edition, consisting of two thousand copies, in March, 1865, and a second two months later. An English translation is also mentioned, which we do not happen to have seen.

It appears that there is a society in Saxony having its centre of operations at Zwickau, which aims at publishing and disseminating books of sound religious character adapted for popular reading. Its board of directors induced Dr. Tischendorf to cast his little work into a shape better fitted for their purposes, and published it. A "people's edition" which we have before us is priced 7½ gr., equal to ninepence of our money.

It is a remarkable indication of the degree in which sceptical inquiry pervades the popular mind of Germany, that the popular dissemination of a publication such as this should be considered as desirable.

Dr. Tischendorf has prefaced the popular edition by a narrative of his own literary history, particularly of his discovery of the Sinaitic MS. of the New Testament. We most readily condone a slight *soupçon* of self-satisfaction which the reader occasionally detects, or fancies he detects, exhaling from the story. If the reader has any appreciation of the importance of our having better means of improving the condition of the Greek text of the New Testament, he will be more disposed to sympathize with the doctor's perhaps somewhat egotistical joy at what he has been enabled to achieve, than to be coldly and unlovingly criticising it.

The aim of this composition is to show, by an induction of particulars, that the evidence leads the inquirer, beginning with the latter part of the second century, to go for the origination of our present Gospels ever backward till he is landed somewhere in the first century. As the Gospel of St. John has been singled out by sceptics as the most especial object of their attack, Dr. Tischendorf is especially careful to show the bearing of the evidence upon that particular Gospel. He considers (p. 5)* that sufficient attention has not been given to this branch of investigation. The complaint

* Our references are to the first form into which the work was cast, unless we especially indicate the second by the words "Popular Edition."

we believe to be more just in respect to German schools of theology than to English. For ourselves we feel thankful, both on our own account personally and for the general interests of our Church, that at least in one of our two Universities, and by our bishops generally at their examinations for ordination, the study of this particular branch of Christian evidences forms an important department of mental discipline. The most important of the results arrived at by that most able and learned Dissenter of the last century, the Rev. Dr. Nathaniel Lardner, in his voluminous work on "The Credibility of the Gospel History," have been brought home to every man's door in England by the brief epitome of them given in Paley's "Evidences of Christianity;" so that in reading Dr. Tischendorf's book the English theologian will be reminded continually of items of evidence with which Paley had long ago made us familiar.

And here we cannot refrain from expressing our wonder that the writings of Paley are so generally ignored in Germany. We cannot imagine but that it would be a great help to the cause of Christian faith in that land if his "Evidences" and his "Horæ Paulinæ," with such modifications as modern learning should supply, were presented in a German translation. His masculine good sense, his sagacity, and his exact and measured statement, would be found, *e.g.*, by our brethren at Zwickau, to make those two works of his most especially telling in the present day.

But to return to our digest of Dr. Tischendorf's argument.

At the end of the second century, Irenæus, Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria, together with the Canon of Maratori, which may be assigned to about A.D. 170, all testify to the general use and recognised canonicity of all our four Gospels. The Peshito Syriac version probably belongs to the same era. The "Itala" Latin version demonstrably was even earlier;—

"The Latin version had, before the end of the second century, acquired a certain public authorization; for already the Latin translator of Irenæus's great work against heresies, which translation must be assigned to about the close of the second century (for it is followed even by Tertullian, where he cites Irenæus), and Tertullian, from the end of the same century, follow the text of the Itala."—(Pop. Ed., p. 25.)*

Irenæus, in an interesting passage cited by Eusebius ("Eccl. Hist.," v. 20), makes affectionate reference to the discourses of Polycarp, "how he used to tell of his familiar intercourse with John and with others who had seen the Lord, and to repeat their discourses; how he would rehearse what he had heard from them, who, with their own eyes, had beheld the Light of Life, in full accordance with the Scripture." As this intercourse with Polycarp, who died 167, is referred by Irenæus to the time of his own youth, it may be fairly assigned to about 150:—

"Who can, who would dare, nevertheless, suspect that Irenæus never heard a word from Polycarp about the gospel of John? Certainly a testimony of Polycarp for John's gospel leads us straight back to John himself. For if Polycarp spoke to Irenæus of John's gospel as a work of his teacher, Polycarp must have heard it from John's own lips that he had written that gospel. . . . The case becomes the more decided the more carefully we test it on the opposite side. The impugners of John's gospel, to wit, will have it that it first made its appearance about 150, and that Polycarp said not a word to Irenæus about it. But is it conceivable that in this case Irenæus would have believed the work genuine?—a work which assumed to be John's noblest bequest to the Christian world, of being the account of a confidential eye-witness of the life of the world's Redeemer, of being a gospel which came forward to take its stand by the side of the other three gospels with a bold independence which compromised their own exalted position? Would it not have been, for Irenæus, convicted of the foulest imposture by the single circumstance that Polycarp had said nothing about it? And Irenæus shall, however, have wielded it as a sacred and sure weapon to confront the

* The several statements in this citation the reader will find likewise in Mr. Westcott's article on the Vulgate, Smith's "Biblical Dictionary," vol. iii., pp. 1691-2.

heretics of his time, the men who falsified Scripture, the men of apocryphal writings! And he shall have also made no scruple in bringing it into that indissolubly close connection with the other three, which he does by comparing the four to the four quarters of the world, to the four winds of heaven, to the four faces of the cherubim, by making them the four pillars on which the Church throughout the world rests, and by recognising in their quaternion an especial ordinance of the world's Creator!"—(Pop. Ed., pp. 27, 28, and 26.)

Tertullian, no mere investigating scholar, but one who, with great keenness of intellect, "was in earnest about his faith, about the salvation of his soul," had made the investigation of the canon a matter of particular concern. He shows this by ascribing to St. Mark and St. Luke, as "apostolic men," *i.e.*, as companions and assistants of apostles, a subordinate place as compared with St. John and St. Matthew, to whom, as real apostles who had been personally chosen by the Lord, the full apostolic authority attached ("Adv. Marcion.," iv. 2). He lays it down as an infallible principle by which the truth of Christian doctrines, and, which he especially deals with, the genuineness of apostolic writings, are to be tested, that the weight of a testimony depends upon its age; and requires that what is now reckoned as true should be estimated by the consideration whether it was reckoned so before; that from its reckoning so before, we must go back to the apostles themselves; whilst apostolic genuineness must be measured by the testimony of the apostolic churches, that is, those which had been founded by the apostles themselves ("Adv. Marc.," iv. 5). In opposition to Marcion, who held by only a mutilated Luke, he appeals expressly to the testimony of the apostolic churches for the four collective Gospels.

About 170 we know that harmonies of the four Gospels were compiled by Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch in Syria, and by Tatian, a disciple of Justin Martyr, a fact which proves that all four had already been for some time generally accepted. These harmonies have perished; but there is extant a treatise of Theophilus ("ad Autolycum"), in which are quotations from Matthew, Luke, and John. Ignatius's letters, and that of Polycarp to the Philippians, belong to the second decade of this century; Ignatius referring plainly to John vi. and Matthew iii. 15 and xvi. 26; Polycarp to Matthew xxvi. 41, and to the First Epistle of John (iv. 3), the intimate connection of which with the Gospel is undeniable. Justin Martyr, in his first Apology (138), makes numerous citations from the first three Gospels, and plainly alludes to John i. 20-3, and iii. 3, 4. He also tells us, in this same Apology of 138, that "the memorials (ἀπομνημονεύματα) of the apostles" "called Gospels," were read every Sunday in their public assemblies along with the writings of the prophets, showing the canonical place assigned to the Gospels.

"But who in the world could imagine that at Justin's time other gospels were employed in the sacred use of the Church than our own, of which we know with absolute certainty, that a few decenniums after Justin they resounded throughout the whole Church? And so it also contradicts all that we know of the development of the canon of Scripture, that at first, and consequently also still in Justin's era, Matthew, Mark, Luke only reckoned as Holy Scripture, and that not till later was John added."—(Pop. Ed., p. 35.)

Dr. Tischendorf then considers the bearing of heretical sects upon the question. Our readers will remember the evidence which is collected in Paley's work, ch. ix., sect. 7, that "these writings were received by heretics as well as Catholics, and were usually appealed to on both sides in the controversies which arose in those days."

Some important accessions to this argument are gleaned by Dr. Tischendorf from the recently discovered "Philosophumena" of Hippolytus. For

example, we learn from Hippolytus that Valentinus, who flourished about 140, made use of certain utterances of Christ which are only found in St. John. "Because the prophets and the law, according to Valentinus's doctrine, were only filled with a subordinate and foolish spirit, Valentinus says, 'On that account the Saviour says, All who came before Me are thieves and robbers'" ("Philos.," vi. 35). Other items of evidence respecting Valentinus's relation to the other gospels also, quoted by Dr. Tischendorf, are given by Paley.

"Now how important this is for our inquiry! Even then, before the middle of the second century, the position held by our evangelists—and John here stands in the foreground,—was so high that even so fantastic a philosopher as Valentinus strives to make it appear that his imaginary conceptions of the original powers of the heavenly world proceeded out of the simple letter of the Gospels and were justified thereby."—(Pop. Ed., p. 37.)

Other heretics are made use of for the same purpose: Basilides, for instance, who flourished under Trajan (117-38). Hippolytus tells us (vii. 22, 26, 27) that he cited John i. 9 and ii. 4, as well as Luke vii. 26.

In this portion of our author's treatise one or two marks of haste may be detected. In its first form he speaks of Marcion as, according to Tertullian, led to undertake the office of reforming "the Gospels," having originally accepted all the four: "Anfänglich unsere sämmtlichen Evangelien anerkannt hatte und später erst den Beruf eines Evangelien-Reformators in sich fühlte" (p. 25). Tertullian, however, in his phrases *depravatio evangelii* and *emendator evangelii*, used in this connection, does not seem to mean the concrete gospel (so to speak) of any one of our evangelists, but the general evangelical teaching. And so Dr. Tischendorf seems to understand it in his later edition: "Erst später zum Behufe seiner vermeintlichen Verbesserung der Kirchenlehre sich auf den verstümmelten Lucas beschränkte." It is also with some feeling of surprise, not to say alarm, that we see the place assigned to the Montanists in the first form of the treatise. After speaking of the Ophite Gnostics, whose systems are shown by Hippolytus's statements to have been woven in part out of perverted passages both of St. John and the synoptic gospels, he next specifies the Montanists, of whom he makes the same use as Paley does, and then goes on to Basilides and Marcion. A strange juxtaposition! We are not, however, inclined to credit Dr. Tischendorf with such ignorance of the first rudiments of ecclesiastical history as would at first sight seem to be involved in the grouping of Montanists with Ophites and Basilidians. We might just as properly group Irvingites between (let us say) Mormons and Princeites. Probably the circumstance that Montanus flourished near about the same time, though somewhat later, accounts for an arrangement of personalities, which, however, was not well considered. In the second form of the treatise the reference to the Montanists is dropped altogether; possibly upon the further ground that it is subject to doubt whether Irenæus's words, which are referred to as implying that the Montanists identified their inspiration with the promise of the "Paraclete" in St. John, do after all bear out the supposition.*

After constraining Celsus, in the middle of the second century, to render service to the Christian Apology, as we see done also in Paley, Dr. Tischendorf takes up the New Testament Apocrypha. He specifies in particular

* Dr. Ritschl, in a somewhat ill-natured notice of Dr. Tischendorf's treatise in the "Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie, 1866" (vol. xi., p. 355), appeals to the words themselves as not warranting the inference.

two,—the Πρωτευαγγέλιον Ἰακώβου, and the Acta Pilati, both of which he assigns to the first decades of the second century. In reference to the former he writes:—

"The principal witness for this determination of time we have in Justin. In his 'Dialogue with Trypho,' and even in his first Apology (138), we have several statements respecting the Nativity, whose origin can only be shown in the 'Protevangelium.' They are not confined to matters of fact, as, *e.g.*, that the Nativity took place in a cave near Bethlehem. We have also particulars of text which do not agree with Luke or Matthew, but do agree with James. Thus, in particular, in the narrative of the Annunciation we have, only in James and in Justin the words addressed to Mary, 'Thou shalt call his name Jesus,' accompanied by the addition, 'for He shall save his people from their sins,' an addition which is wanting altogether in Luke, while in Matthew the words form a part of the communication to Joseph. But is there no other way of accounting for these phenomena? Certainly;—lost writings. From some lost writing, we are told, both Justin drew these particulars and the 'Protevangelium' itself originated. We have here the same inventive tactics to deal with that we have made acquaintance with before. For the purpose of escaping from some writing which is definitely to be referred to, and is still before our eyes, together with all inferences therefrom, the same has the suspicion thrown upon it of being derived from writings which have perished, of which antiquity, beyond their titles, has handed down nothing but the most scanty notices, which, to be sure, just puts it out of our power to confront this conjectural fancy with ascertained facts."

After showing the baselessness of the supposition that Justin and the "Protevangelium" drew these things from a lost Gnostic treatise entitled Γέννα Μαρίας, or from the "Gospel of Peter," Dr. Tischendorf proceeds:—

"Now what man were mighty enough to set limits to unbridled passion for hypothesis? That we still possess about fifty Greek MSS. of James's 'Protevangelium,' and, together with these, a Syriac one of the sixth century, and that of the many testimonies thereto which antiquity bears, from Origen downwards, not one contradicts the text of these MSS., this gives us surely a good right to hold by the original character of this writing in the face of any flighty hypotheses about lost sources. But thereby we are also entitled to affirm that the undeniable accordance of Justin with several passages of this writing presupposes Justin's acquaintance with this very treatise.

"Now this book of James, in its whole bearing, stands in such a relation to our canonical Gospels that the latter must have been long given forth to the world, and long been accepted, before steps could have been taken for the fabrication of the former. What is told in St. Matthew and St. Luke of the Virgin Mother of our Lord was felt not to be of a character to bar such a supposition of a son naturally begotten of Joseph and Mary, as was after the taste of Jewish-Christian heresy. The mention of brothers of Jesus in the synoptic gospels seemed itself to testify against St. Matthew and St. Luke; learned Jews charged Christians with an unjustifiable wanton transformation of the youthful wife in Isaiah into the Virgin in the Evangelists; nay, Jewish opponency would fain make Jesus the illegitimate son of a Panthera, while heathen sceptics would turn Greek fables of sons of virgins to account against the tradition of the Gospels. At such a time as was presented in the first half of the second century nothing could possibly promise a better support for the evangelic tradition than such a writing as that named after James, furnished with an historical statement, which none could gainsay, of the high distinction of Mary from her birth, of her virgin motherhood, of a position held by her towards Joseph which was exalted far above the ordinary relations of marriage. If, then, this so-called book of James falls into the first decades of the second century, then the composition of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, which, alone among the Gospels, this forgery looks back upon, can certainly not be assigned later than to the last decades of the preceding century."—(Pp. 30-5.)

Dr. Tischendorf next takes up the "Acta Pilati," which is referred to by Justin in his first Apology (i. 38), and again more in detail by Tertullian in his Apology (ch. 21). There has no doubt been a considerable corruption of the text and tampering with its contents. In the Middle Ages it got changed into the "Evangelium Nicodemi." Yet Dr. Tischendorf feels convinced that our "Acta Pilati" still in the main contains the writing referred to by Justin and Tertullian. He has himself discovered two manuscripts of it of a very rare description, one a Coptic-Sahidic MS. on papyrus, and another a Latin palimpsest, both of them of the fifth century, which surprisingly

accredit the Greek text of the recension most generally given in manuscripts, and warrant our assigning to it an age at least a century earlier than the translations themselves. Early in the fourth century the Emperor Maximin, as we learn from Eusebius ("Hist. Eccl.," ix. 5, 7), evidently to discredit and displace this composition, published and zealously disseminated another "Acta Pilati" of a most blasphemous character. Dr. Tischendorf asks,—

"Is it likely that a composition so well known, and exciting so much attention, up to the beginning of the fourth century, should have been suddenly transformed, and that ever since the fifth century, to which wholly distinct translational documents reach back with such an extraordinary agreement, it has subsisted only in a new dress? We feel confidence, therefore, in laying great stress upon the fact that this 'Acta Pilati,' with all the freedom of representation which marks it, presupposes, however, with the synoptic accounts, most especially and certainly the Gospel of St. John. There is not one or another passage of St. John introduced into the composition: *that* would have excited the suspicion of a later work: no, the whole account of what took place in the trial of Jesus, in its essential import, rests on St. John's delineation, while in the Crucifixion and Resurrection synoptic references are the more prominent. This composition therefore, by the use which it makes of St. John's Gospel, and by its manifest dependence thereupon, testifies to the fact that the gospel reaches back beyond the beginning of the second century. There falls therewith no illuminating flash of lightning into an impenetrable obscurity: yet among the many beams of light, which out of the immediately post-apostolic age issue forth to give us light upon the most important question of Christianity, this is one of the brightest."—(Pp. 38-9.)

After deducing similar inferences from the "Gospel of Thomas" and from the Clementine Homilies, both of which works he refers to the middle of the second century, Dr. Tischendorf dwells with much satisfaction, which is not, however, out of season, upon a contribution to the apologetic cause yielded by his discovery of the entire Greek text of Barnabas's Epistle. This he found in conjunction with the Sinaitic manuscript of the Greek Bible. Up to that time our Greek text of Barnabas lacked the first four chapters, which we had only in a Latin translation. At the end of the fourth chapter were these words: "Attendamus ergo ne forte, *sicut scriptum est*, multi vocati, pauci electi inveniamur." The words *sicut scriptum est* have attracted much attention. It is certainly the set formula of introducing a citation from canonical Scripture, and in fact has no point except as so employed. Now the words cited are found only in Matt. xx. 16 and xxii. 14. The inference seemed cogent, namely, that the Epistle of Barnabas, which unquestionably belongs to the very earliest post-apostolic period, cites the Gospel of St. Matthew as canonical Scripture (comp. Paley, ch. ix., § i. 1). Unbiassed inquirers could find no satisfaction in the suggestion, which some have adopted, that the reference is to the fourth book of Esdras (viii. 3), where we have the words, "Multi creati, pauci autem salvati" or "salvabuntur." It was only a resolute clinging to a foregone conclusion which could dispose any one to recognize the citation in words so different when we have the identical expression in the Gospel. Honest investigators were rather disposed to express a more or less suspended judgment; for might not the words *sicut scriptum est* be an interpolation of the Latin translator? All suspense is, however, now terminated by the Sinaitic Greek text. This exhibits the words in question, and thus furnishes another thread of evidence, which, when conjoined with the numerous others already exhibited, both greatly strengthens *them* and is itself also sustained and strengthened. This Epistle of Barnabas also cites, in ch. v., words out of Matt. ix. 13, while, in the reference to the typical meaning of the brazen serpent in ch. xii., it is extremely probable that the writer shows his conversancy with the Gospel of St. John.

Thus then we have the fact made good by an irrefragable body of evidence, that from the end of the first century our four Gospels were

generally accepted throughout the Church as authentic, and even as canonical. But how was this result brought about?

"The holy men who had stood personally near to the Lord, together with St. Paul, were no longer present to afford to the youthful Church in their personal authority a centre-point of decision. On the other hand, the Church became ever more and more clearly conscious of her independent position in relation to the synagogue, and also, through the fall of the city and temple of Jerusalem, was more distinctly referred to her own resources. At the same time, far from her old home, amid manifold dispersions, she was spreading abroad wider and wider; within, the while, wrought upon by impulses foreign to her proper nature, without girt around by hostile opponencies. This was the time when the Church began to canonize her Gospels, and with them also the other apostolical memorials which had come from the hand of St. Paul, of St. John, of St. Peter. Are we to deem that learned sessions were held on the subject? None such were held, any more than we know of such. If men such as St. Matthew, and St. Mark, and St. Luke, if St. John had undertaken to furnish records of the life of the Lord, who, it may be asked, was there that would not forthwith have regarded them as a sacred bequest to the Church, and have heartily accepted them? The authority of these gospels attached immediately to the names of their authors, for which, in return, the apostolic churches gave their guarantee. With the departure hence of these authors their writings became still more precious and sacred; they offered themselves to the Church, after her emancipation from the synagogue, amid constraining circumstances, for the worthy integration and extension of the Old Testament canon. Justified as this supposition is on its own merits, yet we should not have been in a position for laying it down as certainly to be relied upon, if it had not been on so many sides ratified by the facts which present themselves upon the subject of the canon during the whole of the second century."—(Pp. 48-50.)

Dr. Tischendorf next takes into consideration the citations which Eusebius ("Eccl. Hist.," iii. 39) makes out of Papias, who suffered martyrdom about 165. We can only give the results, which will suffice those of our readers whose attention is likely to be drawn to this particular subject. The "elders" or "presbyters" were not the apostles. The writings which Papias felt not so satisfactory as the oral communications of "elders" respecting the "words" of the Lord, were not our written gospels, but apocryphal additions made to them, and which were current in his time. The statement which Papias repeats from his "elder" respecting St. Mark's Gospel does not warrant the inference which has been founded upon it, viz., that he had in view another book of St. Mark, from which our present St. Mark's Gospel has been drawn, but that what Papias says in excuse of St. Mark, as if his gospel did not report the Lord's "words" in order, is due to the uncritical character of his own mind, for, as Eusebius says, he was of small understanding. In his reference to St. Matthew: "Matthew recorded the words of the Lord in Hebrew, and every one interpreted (translated) them as he could," he is probably thinking of the "Gospel according to the Hebrews," which is a kindred book to our present gospel, as Greek translations of this existed alongside with our present gospel. Papias, uncritical as he was and ignorant of Syriac, possibly thought our gospel one of such translations; which is also Bleek's opinion in his "Einleitung in das N. T.," p. 109. Nearly, though not exactly, the same conclusion is the one to which the Archbishop of York leans in his article on Matthew, "Bib. Dict.," vol. ii., p. 276. The absence of all reference to St. John's Gospel in Eusebius's citations from Papias does not in any degree warrant the inference that Papias knew nothing of it: it is fully explained by the supposition that Eusebius did not find, in Papias's references to St. John's Gospel, anything deserving of particular note. Eusebius mentions citations made by Papias out of the First Epistle of St. John and the First Epistle of St. Peter, simply because of the controversy which in his own time was going on relative to the catholic epistles. So from Polycarp's epistle Eusebius (iv. 14) alleges only his references to 1 Peter, though that epistle

is full of citations from St. Paul. So also of Theophilus he only mentions (iv. 26) his making use of the Apocalypse, though Theophilus, in extant writings, quotes from St. John's Gospel by name. The silence in such cases is simply due to there being no question respecting the authenticity of these books. Papias's reference to 1 John is, moreover, an argument for his recognition of the Gospel, the two books being so closely connected.

With one more citation we must close our notice. Coming from Dr. Tischendorf, it will be recognised as of especial value:—

"But we have one more result of textual criticism to indicate of much greater value, such as, to our thinking, makes it transparently clear that our collective Gospels are to be referred back at least to the beginning of the second century, or the end of the first. As on one side the text of the Sinaitic MS., along with the oldest Itala text, belongs to the use of the second century; so, on the other side, there is no difficulty in critically making good the assertion that this same text, in spite of all superiority to other documents, is already in many respects estranged from original purity, that it already presupposes a whole history of text. We are not therewith referred exclusively to the "Codex Sinaiticus" and to one or another of the Itala MSS., along with Irenæus and Tertullian; but we can join therewith all those citations of text which we have, in part of necessity, in part with the greatest probability, to refer back to the second century: there results, as an undeniable fact, that a rich history of text lies already behind all these. We mean by this, that already, before the second half of the second century, through copy after copy being made of our Gospels, there have arisen not only many errors of transcribers, but also, at one time, the expression and the sense of particular passages have been altered; at another, smaller or larger additions have been made from apocryphal sources or from oral tradition; along with which also have not been excluded alterations which in quite a singular way attest the union of our Gospels into one canon at the very earliest time—those, I mean, which arose from the putting together of particular parallel passages. If this is really the case, if in very deed there subsists such an important stage of the history of the text of our four Gospels before the middle of the second century, before the time when canonical authority, together with a firmer Church organization, was raising an even stronger barrier against self-willed modifications of the sacred text (and we pledge ourselves at another place to give explicit proofs of this), then are we compelled to claim for this history at least the space of half a century. But according to this, must not —we may not say the origin of the Gospels; no, but—the beginning of the gospel canon be placed about the end of the first century? And is not this result all the more certain in proportion as we have found all the items which, belonging to the second century, go to make up the history, and which we have produced without reserve, to be in accordance therewith?"—(Pp. 66-7.)

We shall look to have the pledge here given redeemed.

Die Kirche nach ihrem Ursprung, ihrer Geschichte, ihrer Gegenwart. Vorträge im Winter 1865 *in Leipzig gehalten von* D. C. E. LUTHARDT, D. K. F. A. KAHNIS, und D. B. BRÜCKNER, Professoren der Theologie. Zweite Auflage. Leipzig. 1866.

[*The Church, viewed in its Origin, its History, its Present State. Lectures delivered in the Winter of* 1865, *at Leipzig.* By DR. C. E. LUTHARDT, DR. K. F. A. KAHNIS, and DR. B. BRÜCKNER, Professors of Theology. Second Edition. Leipzig. 1866.]

THE three branches into which the subject of the Church is here distributed are each of them handled by the learned Professor to whom it is assigned in three lectures. The nine lectures will well repay a very careful perusal. They are remarkably characterized by eloquence and earnestness, combined in a rare degree with the depth and precision of true scholarship.

Dr. Luthardt, at the Leipzig "Congress" of the preceding winter, delivered a course of lectures on the evidence for divine revelation furnished by its adaptation to the human spirit, meeting its requirements and solving its riddles. This he denominates the *psychological* evidence of revelation.

Another branch of evidence, which he styles the *historical*, consists in its internal process of development, and in the strict connection which obtains between its several stages, reaching through centuries and millenniums from its first commencement to its highest and fairest development in Christianity. It is to the consideration of this that he devotes the three lectures assigned to him in the present series.

The first takes up the history of Old Testament revelation. And as this appears to us the most original and striking of the whole series, we will present our readers with an analysis of its leading thoughts.

Faith in Revelation lies at the basis of the whole history. The people of Israel were the people of revelation, the home and bearers of revelation. This is the characteristic which distinguishes it from all other nations. It is conspicuous in its first progenitor Abraham; whom the three religions which unquestionably take the lead among all the religions which have ever appeared in the world, the Jewish, the Mahometan, and the Christian, alike revere as their common origin. But wherein consists Abraham's greatness? He takes no position in the development of civilization. Though a strongly marked character, he yet displays nothing that the world calls greatness. For the natural progress of mankind he is without significance. But for its religious development he is of the very highest; for he was the bearer of religious truth in the time of its decay. The old world was then flooded with heathenism. Out of this deluge Abraham towers forth like a rock through his monotheistic faith. Upon this solitary rock rises up a new world and a new era. And the faith in which his greatness consisted, was not faith in God as Creator merely, but as the God of the future, the God of promise. It was this faith which formed the soul of his life; a faith in God's word which no contradiction of present appearances shall shake, and which is as certain of the future as of the present.

If, from viewing Israel in its patriarchal origination, we look at the commencement of its separate national existence, the same feature presents itself. Its founder as a nation was Moses. Whatever quality, intellectual or moral, we may admire in him, the most characteristic of them all is his faith. We admire the moral energy with which a Columbus bends all his powers on the great idea of his life; the persevering patience and courageous faith with which he overcomes all hindrances, till at length he attains to behold the land of his hopes. But what is Columbus's faith compared with that with which Moses leads forth an entire people into an uncertain future, to bring it by long processes of travel to its distant goal? Amid all the stormy surgings of the rebellious nation he remains unmovable. And when that generation proved unfit to begin their new history, he endures, in unfailing perseverance of patience, to see the entire generation die out, in order then to lead a new generation forward to its future. But, extraordinary as was this power of waiting, it was not the power of his nature, but the strength of his faith, resting upon the revelation and calling of God.

And the characteristics of the nation itself are those which are connected with its religious relations. Its destination was this: to be the people of religion, the people of revelation, the people of God. Its whole national and civil life was founded upon religion and regulated by religion. Its law was the immediate gift of God; it perpetually reminded the people of its covenant relation to God, and educated them for the salvation of the future.

"In no other nation is there such a consciousness of sin as in Israel. The literature of the nations has nothing which can be put alongside with the moral earnestness of the confessions which we have in the Psalms, or of the rebukes which we read in the prophets. This moral spirit is the fruit of the law: but it was this that was leading onward towards

the salvation of the future. No other nation has ever had this calling, or any similar notion of its destination."—(P. 17.)

The character of Israel, as being a people of religion, is conspicuous in all the phases of its national life. Painting, sculpture, architecture, music, epic or dramatic poetry, owe nothing to Israel. If the lyrical muse is more at home, if in grandeur of inspiration the Psalms and Prophets occasionally vie with the highest flights of gentile poetry, it is all of it the expression of purely religious sensibility. There is no science, either natural, or metaphysical, or political, or even theological. "In the Bible we have religion, but no theology; theology is the development of the occidental intellect operating upon religion." History we have in Israel; but the history exclusively of its religious relations,—a history written not by historians, but by prophets; God in history is the One unchanging object which rivets their regards. In political life Israel's statesmen are its prophets.

Intellectually poor was this people; but she had one thing above all nations—religion. This was her wealth. Without calling or gifts for worldly relations, she was eminently gifted for her relations towards God. This inner world of converse with God—this was her world in which she was at home, or at least was meant to be.

"Israel is the people of faith, from Abraham, the father of the faithful, down to the faithful who meet us on the threshold of the New Testament. Her faith is a faith which nothing in the visible world will stagger; which soars aloft above this world to the Supremest Certainty, that is, God. God is to the Israelite more certain than anything else. To set about proving His existence appears to him absurd: the man that denies Him is a *fool*. With the most highly civilized nations of the West, on the contrary, it is just the wise, the philosophers, who either are demonstrating the being of God or are doubting or denying it."—(P. 20.)

In Israel, religion swallows up those individualities of character which are traceable in her great men, giving to them the greatest mutual affinity—we may almost say, monotony—of character; her heroes are simply religious heroes.

"If we realize to ourselves the band of prophets which Israel exhibits to us, we have before us a marvellous historical phenomenon, which has not its like among any other nations of the earth. Individual prophetically-gifted natures there have indeed been elsewhere; dim surmises of the future we have indeed elsewhere. But here is more than dim surmise; here is hope, certainty. And this is not the case with single more or less ambiguous seers or soothsayers; but in long succession, one after another, like the links of a chain hanging one upon another, even though separated in time and in space, yet in spirit closely bound together,—thus they move on before us. No enthusiastic spirits, no morbid natures are these; on the contrary, just the clearest spirits, the most lucid judges of even worldly and political relations, the most vigorous characters, the noblest representatives of the national spirit, encounter us in the prophets. And all are filled with the same thought and the same hope; and they all confess that it is God's Spirit itself that has put into their hearts and upon their lips the word which they announce to the world. And it is upon this fact, namely, that they are recipients of divine revelation, that the certainty of their hope reposes. However times might alter, however often hope might seem to disappoint, however long the fulfilment was deferred, however much the actual course of things seemed to gainsay the hope,—yet nothing of all this staggers their conviction: they stood firm as a rock upon the word of promise, and ever anew cast it forth upon the stormy surges of the time. False prophets rise up, worldliness and self-seeking abuse and traffic with the word of revelation,—only the more impressively do they confront all illusions with the word of truth. Before their gaze stands the picture of the future: their word is like the pencil of an artist producing the picture for the contemplation of spectators; they are ever introducing new traits into this same picture. It is a phenomenon which is without parallel in all history. It is explained only by the fact of revelation."—(Pp. 23-4.)

And what is the substance of the prediction? The one half of the Messianic picture is the image of Jehovah appearing to comfort his people,

to become their King and Sovereign. The other half is the prediction of the Servant of Jehovah, the Messiah; a King of David's line, Conqueror, Prince of peace, Shepherd of his people, Shepherd of the nations, Prophet filled to the full with the Spirit, announcing deliverance; suffering under the sin of his people, even unto death, sacrificial death; but out of this lowest humiliation his fortunes changing into glory; wearing the crown of the king and the mitre of the priest; his time the time of a new covenant of reconciliation, of an eternal peace. How these two representations of the manifestation of Jehovah on the one hand, and of the servant of Jehovah on the other, were to be reconciled, was a riddle which the Old Testament could not solve. It is solved in the God-Man Jesus Christ.

"Truly a phenomenon without parallel in history; a people whose life is such a hope of the future—the same one hope through thousands of years, till God rewarded its faith by its accomplishment. 'When the fulness of time was come, God sent forth His Son.'"—(P. 27.)

The other lectures of Dr. Luthardt, as well as those both of Dr. Kahnis and of Dr. Brückner, abound with passages very well deserving of transcription.* We had pencilled many to produce for the benefit of our readers; but we must not trespass too far upon the limits properly assigned to such a notice. We must content ourselves with a very few.

Sinlessness of Jesus.—"Jesus passed through a man's process of development, but not a development through sin. He pursued sin even into its innermost motions and lightest beginnings (*e.g.*, Matt. v. 22, 28, and the like); but He excepted Himself from the world of sinners. He forgave the sins of others, and taught them to pray to God for forgiveness; but He Himself never prayed for forgiveness, not even in Gethsemane, not even on the cross."—*Luthardt*, p. 37.

Miracles.—"What right had Jesus to utter such unheard-of things of Himself as He does, and to make faith therein the fundamental law of his kingdom? His right lies in his person, and the evidence (*beweis*) for it is his self-evidencing. We can evidence Christ to no man; He must evidence Himself to the heart. He Himself knew and used no other evidence. True, He wrought miracles authenticating his claims to belief (*sich zu beglaubigen*). His miracles are historical facts. No criticism can make away with them. It was just his miracles which called forth that great excitement which led his adversaries to their last decisive measures. But Jesus has no mind to evidence Himself simply through his miracles. They would not bring men to faith in the true sense of the term. The real decision is evermore a free act of faith on account of Christ himself. His highest, his real evidence is the impression made by his person, the working of his word, his self-evidence to the inner mind, to the conscience. For the highest truths there is no other evidence than their self-evidence."—*Luthardt*, p. 45.

Power of the Apostles' Preaching.—"If nothing which the most enlightened teachers of the Church for eighteen hundred years past can be compared with the apostolical writings, we may, from this estimate, see how the word of these apostles and apostolic men, who testified what they had seen and heard, and in miraculous gifts furnished the demonstration of spirit and of power, must needs have struck into the souls of men."—*Kahnis*, p. 78.

Lutheran Explanation of the Rise of Episcopacy.—"Every college tends strongly to a personal apex. It was, therefore, perfectly conformable to nature that in the college of elders [in the several churches] one individual should more and more step forward, who was the first among his equals, the *bishop*."—*Kahnis*, p. 81.

Eastern and Western Church compared.—"The Eastern Church, schooled in Greek wisdom, places the essence of Christianity in the incarnation of the Divine Word in Jesus. The Western Church, sprung up upon the old Roman soil, sees in Christianity a new moral life. This contrast meets us the most clearly in Justin Martyr and Augustin."—*Kahnis*, p. 93.

Science and Revelation.—"All true science has, since the time of Socrates, been conscious of her limits; but, on the other hand, revelation has drawn around herself her own limits as well. Holy Scripture is no code of natural science, or national economics, or meta-

* Dr. Kahnis' second lecture on the Mediæval Church struck us as very spirited and striking.

physics; it only teaches the ways in which human society may become the fellowship of salvation (*heilsgemeinschaft*) and exhibits itself as such; it displays and takes hold of man only on that side of his natural organization on which he is craving of salvation and susceptible of salvation. Revelation gives to humanity what humanity can by its own self not attain to. Science seeks what man by his own self is able to attain to. Any man who sets an irreconcilable opposition between the two is chargeable with a misapprehension of the essence and limits of both: either he misapprehends the limits which are assigned to the human spirit in science, or he misapprehends the limits which God's Spirit has assigned itself in revelation."—*Brückner*, p. 165.

The picture which Dr. Brückner draws of the present condition of Protestant Germany is a very painful one to contemplate. It is a time of crisis,—full of grounds for apprehension, though not destitute, again, of hope. The Roman Catholic Church is itself, he thinks, also on the eve of a crisis, threatening the apex of its monarchical constitution. But the dangers of the Protestant Church are those which spring out of a disbelief which has eaten into the very heart and core of the people. The very master ideas which Christianity has itself evoked—the sense of man's value as man, and liberty, for instance,—are lifting a matricidal arm against the very parent which brought them into being; becoming fatal to nations, just because they are dissevered from those other twin ideas which Christianity connects with them; which are, severally, man's sinfulness and the obedience of faith (pp. 157-61). An ever-widening chasm seems to yawn between the Church and modern thought. In face of the terrible dangers of the future, we are to comfort ourselves with the thought of the never-ending life which is promised to the Church, and of the incorruptible life-power which is inherent in her. But the reader cannot fail to remember, that the indefectibleness promised to the whole Church does not insure the indefectibleness of each separate church. Αἴλινον, αἴλινον εἰπέ· τὸ δ' εὖ νικάτω: such is the tone of the whole representation, breathing more, as we with deep sympathy feel, of sorrow and apprehension than of consciously well-grounded hope.

One thing strikes the English reader with a feeling, both of surprise and of disappointment, in perusing the account given both of the past history of the Church,—the general Church as it seems to be,—and of its present characteristics; and that is, the absence of all particularizing reference to the Church of England. We have, it is true, references to our Thomas Arnold, and Elizabeth Fry (p. 186); but nowhere is there the least attempt to mark out the features which characterize our Church, or to describe the position which she holds, not merely among Protestant communities, but alongside even of the ancient communions of Rome, and of Greek and Oriental Christendom. The English Churchman is naturally led to ask the cause of this. He would first consider whether, after all, he has not, perhaps, been worshipping an *idolon specus*, in supposing that his Church is an object of so much consideration as he is wont to account her. But on reflection, he is soon re-assured. He thinks of her reformation-development, her liturgy, her apostolical constitution; of the mighty hold with which, through these attributes, combined with her position in the national constitution, and especially through her parochial institutions, she grasps the English mind. He recalls her schools, her universities, her divines, her orators, her unswerving adherence to the *via media* in theological teaching. He remembers the great and ever-increasing vivacity with which she addresses herself to her work of leavening the English people with the truth and grace of Christ. He reviews the marvellous development with which, within a very few decenniums, she has extended, and is even now extending, her constitution and ritual in the most widespread regions of the earth; offshoots from her parent stem taking root and growing with unprecedented rapidity in every

quarter of the globe. With all this summoned up before his view, he feels sure of the fact that the English Church is at this moment a mighty power in the world-wide Christian community. He is certain of it. Then whence this silence respecting the English Church, on the part of men so accomplished, so catholic in their sympathies with all that is truly Christian? He feels reluctant to come to one conclusion; and yet he sees his way to no other. It is this,—that German Christians know too little of us; as we must also confess, that English Christians too little understand and appreciate them. We cannot take our leave of this very interesting and instructive volume without expressing our feeling that its highly gifted and learned authors have a good deal yet to learn, before they shall be competent to appreciate even Protestant Christianity as a whole.

Phemie Keller: a Novel. In Three Volumes. By the Author of "George Geith." London: Tinsley Brothers. 1866.

A FITFUL strain of music will often sound more sweetly than the whole piece. We may hear it in the night, or for a brief moment between the opening and shutting of some door or window, and it will often have a strange power to arrest attention and kindle curiosity. We would fain hear more; but when we draw near and see the singer, and sit down to enjoy the whole song, it is less beautiful than we had thought, and once more the old truth is brought home to us, suggestion is better than completion, and desire than attainment.

So our authoress's sketches are better than her cartoons—her scenes more lifelike and imaginative than her drama as a whole. This is just the fault that magazine writing has created in modern novels, and fostered to an extent which requires some protest. The magazine reader must have his plum in every number, and thus the whole cake is made unwholesome. No doubt, swallowed weekly or monthly it is less detrimental to the reader than when swallowed whole; but when the novel is republished it is swallowed whole. Serial novels are abominable inventions. If a really good serial novel is successful, it is so in spite of its being a serial. Fancy cutting any one of Walter Scott's narratives into monthly or weekly parts. With all their dear old-fashioned ways, and their men and women who deliver long harangues on stilts, these novels are great models of art, with a great and wondrous unity about every one of them, which our excitable moderns may yawn over but cannot afford to despise.

We must not be misunderstood. "Phemie Keller" is a very remarkable novel, and all we say of it must be taken with the tacit qualification that it is far above the average; but all through, in every number, there is the inevitable dab of sensational colour which the reader of the shilling magazines has been taught to consider part of his money's worth, and the dab of colour is not surrounded with those charming mezzo-tints which give us such a sense of thoroughness in Charlotte Brontë, but with inflammatory declamation and a kind of incendiary analysis of the authoress's feelings and the reader's feelings and the feelings of the people, down to the feelings of the dogs and cats, &c. In short, there is none of that repose—those neutral hours, or pauses, which in real life come so mercifully to break the shock of events and qualify all human miseries. Mr. Ruskin says somewhere that a true artist will paint the air, and those impalpable nothings which a common artist would not express at all. A good novelist must paint the voids in life, the silent spaces in which nothing happens, but which give the events of life time to fall into their natural places. The beauties of the book are

many and great: some of the scenes are quite idyllic. The beautiful and delicate village maiden of well-born parents, but brought up in humble circumstances, with her white complexion shot with roseate tints, and her marvellous pale gold hair shining like floss silk in the spring sunlight,—this Phemie, hardly seventeen, about whom our authoress sometimes raves like a collegian in love—led to the village church by the polished and elderly Captain Standon on the fatal and resplendent spring morning of her wedding-day—is painted with the hand of a most loving artist.

The problem which is worked out is the old one of a young girl married to one who might have been her father—married before she understood her own feelings, or knew what was meant by love, and then thrown into a giddy whirl of fashionable life, and surrounded by temptations such as perhaps few women have ever entirely resisted. The originality of the treatment comes out in the character of Captain Standon, the elderly husband. His character is not only finely conceived, but though slightly is finely drawn. He never inspires us with disgust or even *ennui*—he is always the same noble-hearted gentleman with the one unhappy life-error. The man's passionate love coming late to him in the autumn of life is pathetic without being absurd. The description of the young girl's happy and plastic submission, and readiness to take the fruit of the tree of life before she comes in sight of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, is the nearest approach to the air-painting and mezzo-tint whose absence we deplore elsewhere. Then, after years of love which never was love, the affectionate child-wife wakes up to the realities of passion with all its lights and shadows,—

"All the wealth and all the woe;"

and the girl nature vanishes for ever, to make way for the more definite aspirations and energies of ripe womanhood. As love came to the man so love comes also to the woman, but too late for happiness: the secret which all must read for weal or woe both are doomed to read for woe, and there are no finer chapters in the three volumes than those in which the husband understands that he never can be loved, and the wife discovers for the first time the nature of that subtle intoxication which has stolen over her. She becomes aware of her guilty love when she sees the man whom she has loved unconsciously walking with another. The burning serpent of jealousy is the Satan who opens her eyes to behold good and evil:—

"She was happy! oh, heavens, she was so happy! she was so innocent! she was still so young! Never from a child had Georgina looked at anything with the same guileless eyes as those with which Mrs. Standon (Phemie Keller) stood gazing through the calm twilight of a summer's evening at the woods and the fields, on the last night when she and perfect truth and unsullied purity walked through life together. For ever, for ever the Phemie we have travelled with so far in poverty and riches departed, and another Phemie came and stood in her place. It was as though the calm, self-possessed, unimpressionable nature set with the sun; as though the night, the cool, calm night, took her in its soothing embrace, took her away and hid her, and gave back with the dawning day—not the same, ah no! but another—a passionate, despairing, sorrowful woman, who knew why the hours had sped by—why time had seemed to fly instead of to travel at ordinary speed—why a glory had all at once come over her life—why she had appeared to be always living in the sunshine. She knew all this, I say, and knew at the same moment that the sun had set, that the glory was departed—the illusion dispelled—the happiness passed to return no more. Knowledge came to her thus—came in the twilight as she stood under the verandah, watching the night steal on."

The whole chapter "Knowledge" is a fine study, but there is too much of this kind of thing. Too much talk *about* things is tedious; we want the things themselves.

"I see," said a friend of ours with whom we happened to be discussing

some knotty point of theology the other day, "I see both sides of the question."

"Quite so," we replied; "but do you see the question?"

We notice invariably, when an author has not got a firm grasp of a subject that he will talk eloquently on both sides of it. This sort of round-the-corner writing is good when it is by-play, but not when it forms the staple of the entertainment.

Instead of dialogue and incident developing the character and illustrating how people would speak and act under circumstances, we have a page or so of analysis explaining their feelings. In pictures of life analysis should never take the place of action, however needful it may be as an interpreter of action.

Phemie's integrity is saved by the great atoning sorrow of her life. She never weds the man she loves. Her husband discovers her passion and removes the cause. He learns too late that she can never love him, although his devoted and noble tenderness and delicacy almost wins the unhappy Phemie in spite of herself. The death of the old man is beautifully drawn in the third volume; and his wife, from the time that her lover is removed, is everything to her unhappy husband that a faithful and broken-hearted wife can be.

The other characters are slightly but well drawn. Basil, the wife's lover, is the spoilt child, and selfish, passionate, but really narrow-hearted man with whom we are all familiar. Miss Derno is the strong-minded but amiable middle-aged young lady whose love is hopeless, and who remains cheerfully single, everybody's friend and counsellor, and dies finally of consumption in the arms of the man whom time and fate has taken from her in life. Mr. Aggland is a rather weak attempt to reproduce one of Walter Scott's quaint old gentlemen who talk in proverbs, and who get their quotations heaven only knows where. He is Phemie's uncle and life-counsellor, and a certain pathetic unity is imparted to their connection by the old man, who had been the little girl's guardian, returning after years to dwell with the widowed and sorrowful Phemie of the latter days. The book ends like one of Mendelssohn's songs without words, with a refrain of the opening subject, a shadowy reminiscence of the early fresh days when the happy Phemie with the golden hair dwelt in the little mountain valley of Tordale, and dreamed of the lover prince who would come to woo her, "beside Strammer Tarn, amid the purple heather, within sound of the plashing waterfall."

On Force, its Mental and Moral Correlates; and on that which is supposed to underlie all Phenomena: with Speculations on Spiritualism and other Abnormal Conditions of Mind. By CHARLES BRAY. London. 1866.

MR. BRAY is the author of a work on the "Philosophy of Necessity," to which the present little volume is a supplement. The examination of the latter work does not impress us with a very high idea of the author's philosophical ability, nor incline us to believe that very much is to be gained from a further acquaintance with his writings; but he at least deserves to be commended as one of the few writers who venture to push necessitarian principles to their ultimate and only legitimate conclusion. What that conclusion is, must be stated in Mr. Bray's own words; no other exposition would do it justice:—

"But if no action of our lives, in the then state of our minds, and the circumstances in which we were placed, could have been different, what becomes of our accountability or responsibility? It consists in the consequences of our actions, which are pleasurable or

painful as they are right or wrong, that is, as they tend to benefit or injure ourselves or society. It is for the moralist then to guard, and if necessary to increase, those pains and pleasures; and as man necessarily seeks that which is pleasurable, and avoids that which is painful, the interests of morality are sufficiently assured. But if all actions are the same *per se*, and could not possibly have been otherwise under the circumstances, what have we to preach about? What becomes of sin and iniquity, &c.? All that may be safely buried, and all we have to do in morals as in physics, is to show the consequences of our actions. The laws of morality are as fixed, and determinate, and unvarying, as are those that keep the planets in their sphere."—(P. 43.)

So, then, there is no more sin. The philosophy of necessity has killed and buried it; and all that remains henceforth is to study the Ethics of the Comfortable, and look to the consequences of our actions as pleasant or unpleasant, all actions being "the same *per se*." A better authority than Mr. Bray has said, "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us;" and, apart from any consideration of the inspiration of the writer, the consciousness of every generation of men, the voice of the whole moral and religious history of the human race, bears witness to the truth of the statement. But what is Scripture, and what is consciousness, against the theory of a *doctrinaire*? For consciousness, indeed, Mr. Bray openly professes the most supreme contempt; he assails it by the weapons both of philosophy and of wit, and we are bound to say that his wit is equal to his philosophy. "The Irishman's direction," he says, "for making a cannon—'take a long hole, and pour metal round it'—has been followed by metaphysicians in making their *canons*, and the 'method' has produced results such as might be expected. Consciousness, their round hole, has no substantial existence out of the individual mind reflecting upon it, and it is difficult to pour metal round it, and the canons so founded result only in the *ipse dixit* of the founder, which every succeeding philosopher thinks it necessary to burst before he proceeds to cast any of his own" (Preface, p. iii.) Unfortunately for Mr. Bray's new method, disciples, as well as philosophers, are individuals, and no amount of reasoning will convince men of the universal truth of a paradox which each man's individual consciousness knows to be false in his own case. There are but two alternatives for each individual in this matter. Either I am conscious of moral responsibility, or I am not; and before Mr. Bray can prove that in this respect each philosopher has to burst the cannons (or canons, as he wittily expresses it) of his predecessor, he must prove, in defiance of logic, that between two contradictory propositions there are as many *media* as there are philosophers.

"Gentle dulness ever loves a joke;" and we think we can improve on Mr. Bray's. Aristotle speaks of a μολίβδινος κανών, and the casting of our author's popguns seems to betray an occasional infusion of the same metal. If his conclusion is startling and paradoxical, the premises on which it is based are utterly untenable. They consist simply in ignoring the characteristic differences between matter and mind, and merging both in the common idea of force. "Force," he says, "passes into or changes into mind, as heat into light, and we thus include both sides of creation—matter and spirit" (p. 3). And again, "It would appear, then, that that which underlies phenomena, and the phenomena—the noumenon and the phenomenon—the non-ego and the ego—in their inmost nature are the same; that is, 'mind and matter are only phenomenal modifications of the same common substance,' viz., of force" (p. 48). If this hypothesis be true, mind and matter have no real existence; they are but names for two groups of forces or modes of force, each of which may pass into the other. But in that case, mind and matter, as terms, should be banished from the philosopher's vocabulary; they are only hindrances to the clear statement of his theory. The true statement

should be, not that mind and matter are modifications of force, but that the various mental phenomena—sensation, thought, volition, desire, &c.—are so many separate forces on the one side, and the material phenomena—light, heat, electricity, &c.—so many separate forces on the other. If so, there arises a difficult question—How does the one group of forces become conscious of a personal identity binding them together as acts or passions of one and the same conscious being? Each separate force may possibly be conscious of its own action, but how can there be a community of consciousness between two or more? how can I be conscious of *myself*, as the one subject of my thoughts, volitions, desires, &c., if mind, as a subject of mental attributes, has no existence? If Mr. Bray replies that all these mental attributes are but modes of one and the same force, we answer that, on this assumption, we ought equally to be conscious of all material phenomena as modes of self; for these two are referred to one and the same primitive force. Either consciousness resides in each mode of force separately, in which case there can be no community of consciousness between them, or it resides in the one primitive force, in which case I ought to be conscious of myself as the universe. Or to state the dilemma in another way: Either I am a sensation, and again a volition, and again a thought, and each one of these as often as it recurs, in which case I am not one *ego*, but thousands; or I am something distinguishable from my several sensations, volitions, thoughts, &c., in which case mental attributes have a subject or *ego* distinct from them, and recognised in consciousness along with them.

Mr. Bray's theology is not much better than his psychology. Starting from empirical assumptions, derived in the first instance from material phenomena, he lands himself at last in the wildest extravagances of transcendental Pantheism. "The warp and woof of the mind of God," he tells us, "may be made up of the totality of the individual threads of consciousness, extending through the countless worlds, of which this is a mere speck—a grain of sand" (p. 58). And again,—

> "The world was without form and void—that is, nebulous,—and as the force or heat concentrated, it gradually took first the inorganic and then the special living forms that now lie deep buried in the earth's crust, and with each stratum or layer was a fresh correlation of mind or sentiency—an evolution which, covering the whole earth with a network of nerves, and passing again and again through different forms, was refined and spiritualized till after countless ages it culminated in man, and 'God became conscious in humanity.'"—(P. 75.)

All this is not very original nor very profound. Its principle is expressed more tersely in one line of Aristophanes,—Δῖνος βασιλεύει, τὸν Δί' ἐξεληλακώς—"Vortex or Force is king, having expelled Jove;" its superstructure is a *réchauffé* of the jargon of the German metaphysics of the last generation, served up anew for English consumption after its native country has become ashamed of it. It is necessary, with this theology, to maintain that "all actions are the same *per se*;" for the divine consciousness is made a compound of the rascally consciousnesses of all the murderers and adulterers and thieves that have ever existed. As for worshipping such a deity, it would be as reasonable to worship the law of gravitation.

A notice of one or two minor points of Mr. Bray's philosophy may conclude our remarks. "The whole surface of the earth," he says, "is one network of nerves, so that, as in the human body, so in the body of the world, you can scarcely insert the point of a needle where there is no sentience" (p. 56). After this, we must bring the ploughman and the well-sinker under the notice of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. Mr. Bray considers his philosophy to have been in some degree

anticipated in Plato's representation of the world as a great animal; he might with equal ingenuity improve a hint of Kepler's, and maintain that men are parasites of the animal's body. Such were a fitting place in nature for creatures who, deprived of freedom,—the only gift which raises the person above the thing—may henceforth justly be content to crawl and feed on the surface of that which is more noble than themselves, because more bulky.

Another statement of Mr. Bray's has suggested a very perplexing arithmetical problem. In illustration of his theory that the difference between right and wrong is all matter of habit and association, he tells us that "the bull is still made furious by the sight of a red colour, although the feeling may have been derived ages ago in the bull-fights of Spain" (p. 41). The fury in question is not peculiar to Spanish bulls; we must therefore assume a remote Spanish ancestor in all other cases in which it is found. Hence arises the problem: Considering the number of bulls that are killed in the arena, and have no chance of transmitting their feelings on the occasion to their posterity, are the survivors sufficiently numerous to account for the propagation of this wide-spread antipathy? We recommend this matter to Bishop Colenso as the subject of his next arithmetical lucubration. After all, to unphilosophical minds a homely doubt will suggest itself: Was the red flag employed in the bull-fights because it provokes the bull, or does it provoke the bull because it may have been used in bull-fights hundreds of miles away and centuries ago? The question is at least as important as another intricate inquiry with which Mr. Bray is acquainted, namely, Whether the first hen came from an egg, or the first egg from a hen?

Poems. By Jean Ingelow. With Illustrations by Pinwell, Poynter, North, the Dalziels, Wolf, Houghton, and Small; engraved by the Brothers Dalziel. London: Longmans.

Every one knows, or ought to know, Miss Ingelow's beautiful poems; so it is not of these we mean to speak, except, perhaps, to regret that there are so few of them: but of the illustrations which here adorn them. These are, for the most part, quite worthy of the poems themselves. Our favourites are those to the first poem,—"Divided," the work of Mr. T. Dalziel; and generally, Mr. Wolf's charming groups of birds, full of life and nature. We fear that some part of our artistic education must have been neglected, for we cannot make "rhyme nor reason" of some of Mr. Pinwell's illustrations. For instance, what on earth can be meant by the terraces of sharp spikes on which cows and sheep are reposing in page 121, and the very tall park-palings on which Boston "stump" is balanced in page 163? We cannot help thinking it a pity that the exquisite poem, "The High Tide in the Wash of Lincolnshire," has been treated in a style which to us, at least, is wholly incongruous. Some of the more pathetic scenes are made perfectly ludicrous.

On the whole, however, we may safely say that this is among the most beautiful of illustrated books, as the poems which are illustrated are among the choicest productions of our time.

Rainbows in Springtide. Tales. By Sadie. London: George Routledge and Sons.

This is but a book for children, but it is a very charming one, and reviewers know well how refreshing it is to come across such a book, good in its kind, in the midst of all the tolerable-intolerable rubbish, and "dreary

chaff well meant for grain," with which their work brings them into contact. Here and there the tales are relieved by verses, and in these we find a tenderness of feeling and of thought, as well as a grace of language, which we do not often meet with in the literature of the nursery. We augur well of the harvest of which these are the firstfruits, and trust that we shall have to welcome the writer again, as taking a place among those who, as writers of verse or prose, have a *raison d'être*.

We give a few verses as examples, and have no fear that our readers will differ from us in our judgment :—

THE SONG OF THE CITY SPARROWS.

"When the summer-time is ended,
And the winter days are near;
When the bloom hath all departed
With the childhood of the year;

"When the martins and the swallows
Flutter, cowardly, away,
Then the people can remember
That the sparrows always stay;

"That, although we're plain and songless,
And poor city birds are we,
Yet before their days of darkness,
We, the sparrows, never flee ;

"But we hover round the window,
And we peck against the pane,
While we twitteringly tell them
That the spring will come again.

. . . .

"When the streets all fade to dreamland,
And the people follow fast,
And it seems as though the sunshine
Were for evermore gone past,—

"Then we glide among the housetops,
And we track the murky waste,
And we go about our business
With a cheerful earnest haste.

"Not as though our food were plenty,
Or no dangers we might meet,
But as though the work of living
Were a healthy work and sweet."

Two poems on "Baby Born at Sea," and "Baby Died at Sea," are singularly graceful and tender. We quote the two last verses of each, with something like a painful sense that we are doing them injustice by thus tearing them from their context :—

[illegible] soft and warm, oh, loving little fingers
[illegible] like a shell I used to see ;
[illegible] rosy cloud there, where the daylight lingers,—
Lingers o'er the calm yet shifting sea.

"Baby must to bed now, tucked in warm and cosy,
Laid upon the pillow like a flower,
Sweeter than the flowers culled for any posy;
Mother will watch by him for an hour."

. . . .

"Father is so sad, his eyes look dark and sunken—
Johnnie never grieved him so before;
Wearily he staggered like a man grief-drunken,
As he went just now to look for shore.

"In the English harbour we are landing Johnnie—
Such a quiet baby, calm and cold;
Oh, we never thought the first of land for Johnnie
Would be underneath the churchyard mould."

Reminiscences of a Bengal Civilian. By W. Edwards, Esq., Judge of Her Majesty's High Court of Agra. London. 1866.

Books on India generally come in with the blackberries, in what "the Row" calls the dead season, when ordinary readers have scarcely begun to think of getting home from their autumn trip, or are still working out the treasures of some seaside circulating library. Indian writers, however, are tolerably independent of times and seasons, either appealing solely to the limited class which buys their books as a matter of course, or else supremely indifferent whether that hardened public whom they think it their duty to warn will hear or will persist in forbearing. This autumn, Indian books, unlike the blackberries, have been more plentiful than usual. There is the second part of Capt. Trotter's continuation of "Thornton;" there is Honourable C. Hovell Thurlow's elegantly bound and really interesting volume, "The Company and the Crown;" and, not to mention smaller works, there is Mr. Edwards's book, far above the average in interest as well as in importance. Most Indian books are of small account, for most of them are written of malice prepense, not because the author had a call, but because he had nothing else to do. The fact is, there is so much quill-driving in cutcherry work that when a man comes home he finds time hang heavily, and so he falls back on bookmaking as a resource. Really good books on India would no doubt be read and valued. We are awakening to the consciousness that we have a great deal to do out there, and we shall be grateful for any practical hints how best to do it. Does Mr. Edwards give us any? Certainly not so many as we might expect from a high-class civilian of thirty years' standing—the first civilian who ever went the Overland route. He is very much better than most of his fellows, but he is disappointing when he comes to make recommendations for the future. Perhaps, knowing the way in which the English public has been used to look at—or rather to look away from—India, he is chary of throwing his pearls too lavishly before the swine. Of course the story of a long and eventful Indian life must contain much to interest everybody. Mr. Edwards remembers a good many personal anecdotes of his different chiefs. We say "remembers," because his notes and journals were all destroyed in the mutiny. He was at Loodianah when old Dost Mahomed was sent back to Cabul by Lord Ellenborough. He has plenty to tell us about that successful traitor, the Rajah of Puttialah, and about that unsuccessful traitor, Lal Singh, who (with Gholab) ruined the Sikh cause. He is the very last man who carried to the Emperor of Delhi the Governor-General's nuzzur or "customary tribute." But he belongs to the present quite as much as to the past. He formed plans for opening up an overland trade with China; plans (which he partly carried out) for schools through the ceded parts of Nepaul; and he set going a really excellent method of road and tank making by convict labour. Then comes the mutiny, and his own narrow escape—the reprint this of a lively magazine article,—proving (what has been so often proved before) the fatuity which made the mutiny possible, the heroism of English men and women,

and the tenacious loyalty of faithful natives like Hurdeo Buskh. Then follow the "reflections." To the causes usually assigned for the outbreak Mr. Edwards adds some fresh ones. Like every other well-informed writer, he recognises the *national spirit*, which had been growing up till it was stronger than even the differences between Hindoo and Mussulman. The rebellion would have broken out the moment Oude was annexed, but that the natives felt sure that Leadenhall Street would annul the act of annexation as soon as the news reached home. Just then, moreover, we were hated worse than ever, for our system in the North-West Provinces had ruined the gentry and was crushing the people; and we were despised into the bargain, for nearly all our Indian army was in the Punjaub, and our "forced levy" for the Patriotic Fund—"Russian cess" the people called it, and said that it was raised that the Queen, having exhausted her own "insignificant little island," might hire foreigners to fight the Roosky—made the Hindoos think we had been completely crippled in the Crimea. Everything was bad, says Mr. Edwards,—our police, who took bribes as a matter of course; our law, which had become a heap of the direst confusion, abominated by the poor creatures who were ruined by its delays and its chicanery; our land system, under which the gentry were everywhere disappearing, and Lord Dalhousie's "dead level" was being rapidly attained:—

"Long before the rebellion the increasing depression had attracted my notice, and so deeply impressed me that I always regarded some great convulsion as extremely probable. But I never fully realised the poverty and wretchedness, till, when traversing the country as a fugitive, and having to pass through thousands of villagers bearing off their plunder, I saw what that plunder consisted of, and for what the people thought it worth while to risk their lives."

This is bad enough, but still more severe is the remark *that during the rebellion society righted itself.* The wonder is (and it is only explained by remembering what a longsuffering creature the native is) that people who had so many good reasons for rebelling already should have waited for that crowning grievance, the greased cartridges. One sample of triumphant bureaucracy is so good that we must quote it. The most important revenue officer all through the North West was the hereditary "putwarree," sworn registrar and accountant of the village community, whose evidence and records were final in all cases of disputed possession, &c. Well, in came the new revenue system, based on a complete survey, with allowances for all secondary rights and interests, a system so perfect in theory that an English landlord could scarcely keep it up over his estate. Of course the revenue records soon became a mass of falsehood, inaccuracy, and confusion, "the source of the litigation which has made the civil courts the opprobium of of our rule." The poor "putwarrees" could no more work all the new intricate details than a child could keep books by double entry. So orders were given that they should be taught accounts and land surveying according to our system, and should then pass an examination within a given time. The idea would be supremely amusing but for the misery which this and similar vagaries caused. No one ever came to be examined; so Government got rid of the whole class, and, dividing the collectorates into circles, invited each circle to elect its own putwarree out of a new set, holding examiners' certificates, and laid on a tax to pay the improved functionaries at a rate which was to insure integrity. As any one who knew one jot about the natives could have predicted, no "circle" would elect, and the end was that the new men were simply nominees of the native officials in the collectors' offices. Here was a pretty opening for the most grinding of all tyrannies,—a tyranny under which, but for the mutiny, the village system would have been entirely broken up.

So much for the past. On the future Mr. Edwards does not profess to throw much light. His advice resolves itself into that of Oliver Cromwell—we must put our trust in God and keep our powder dry. "We gain nothing by failing to uphold Christianity;" and "it was the presence of white troops, and not the genius of those in charge, which saved the Punjaub." At Budaon and elsewhere precisely the same measures were adopted which were so successful under the Lawrences. The fords, &c., were seized and put in the hands of the police. The difference was that in the Punjaub the police, overawed by the soldiers, remained faithful; lower down, where there were few or no troops, they at once joined the rebels. One good practical suggestion our author makes. He would "mobilize" the native army. It bore the climate of Afghanistan remarkably well, and would do admirably for garrison duty in the Cape, the West Indies, Australia, and even in Great Britain. Fancy Fenian-hunting with Hodson's Horse! Sir Hugh Rose would probably see reason why not. It was the Roman plan ages ago, and to adopt it would make a considerable number of our own men available for Indian service. We are, however, very sorry to see among Mr. Edwards's somewhat meagre suggestions the sweeping assertion that it is impossible for the natives heartily to co-operate with us in measures for the general civilization and improvement of the people and country. Of course, as he says, Indian Governments, surrounded in Calcutta by all the most advanced natives, have often erred through going too far ahead of the people at large; but still, to talk in the despairing style which our author uses, is to ignore the growth of societies like the Bramoo Somaj, which are rapidly leavening the whole lump, and the heads of which (men like Baboo Kissub Chunder Sen) are undoubtedly in earnest, and, moreover, know the needs and wishes of their countrymen. In fact, Mr. Edwards seems rather to contradict himself. He says our best safeguard is in the spread of Christianity, not broadcast over the land, but in communities which shall be towers of strength for many years to come, seeing that they could not desire any other than a Christian dynasty in India. On the other hand, his soldiers returned from foreign service would "weaken the strongholds of error among the masses of their countrymen," who, he had said elsewhere, will be the more determined to get rid of us the more enlightened and civilized they become. Need this be so? If, after thirty years' service, Mr. Edwards has come to the conclusion that we can only hold India by keeping the people in the dark, things must be really as bad as the recurrence of famines, the want of irrigation, the breach of faith in Mysore and elsewhere, make us at home fear that they are. They need not be so bad, though. If we are to go as soon as the Hindoo is fit for self-government, let us at least first show the natives that we can govern for other ends than that of filling the pockets of our civil and military servants. Their pockets are certainly not so well filled as they used to be: and the native must be profiting by the change. But routine is slow—slowest of all (unhappily) in India.

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