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THE  
CHURCHMAN

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FEBRUARY, 1883.

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ART. I.—THE NEW DEPARTURE.

IT is one of the difficulties of perfect fairness in controversy that we are often unable to ascertain with accuracy the real opinions of any considerable bodies of men. This is especially the case when people are not united as a corporate body, and therefore there is no dogmatic or authoritative statement of their opinions. If, for example, we are brought into discussion with those who term themselves "The Brethren," we may be perfectly satisfied that we are giving a fair and faithful representation of what we believe to be their teaching; but still we cannot prove our statements by authority; for there are no authoritative documents, and what one "brother" admits, another may deny. It was, doubtless, this difficulty that led to the peculiar language of the 31st Article. The Council of Trent did not define the doctrine of propitiatory sacrifice in the mass until the year A.D. 1562, and consequently in A.D. 1552, when the Article was drawn up, the framers of it could not refer to any authoritative document, but could only condemn what they knew to be the current teaching of the Church of Rome. They therefore used the expression, "*in which it was commonly said.*"

There has been just the same difficulty with reference to that remarkable movement which originated at Oxford about fifty years ago, beginning with Tractarianism, and now developed into Ritualism. It has all along professed to be an effort for the revival of Church Principles, and as such has been heartily supported by a considerable number of loyal and true-hearted Churchmen. By "Church Principles" they have understood the real principles of the Church of England; and, as loyal Churchmen, they have welcomed the movement, believing it to be an effort to recommend and develop those principles.

In this they have been encouraged by the use of the epithet "High." The Ritualistic party call themselves "High Church," and so do many of that large class of Churchmen to whom I have just referred. The result is that, although they have not altogether approved of some things which they have read or seen, still, on the great, broad basis of High Churchism they have considered that they have more affinity with that movement than they have with those whom they designate "Low." They sincerely disapprove of many things said and done by Ritualists, but they cannot quite get over the fact that if Churchmen are to be classed as either High or Low, they and the Ritualists, at all events, class themselves together as High.

But many amongst us have for a long time been profoundly convinced that the Church principles of the loyal, conscientious, traditional High Churchman are totally different from the Church principles of the Ritualist; and that the epithet "High" means in the language of the two classes two totally different things. In the one it means a faithful adherence to the Prayer Book and its principles; but in the other a dissatisfaction with the Prayer Book, and a craving after something beyond: in the one a rising to it, and in the other a departure from it. To many amongst us this has been perfectly plain for years. But still it has been impossible to prove it, for there have been no authoritative documents; and, even if there had been any, they would not have been likely to contain any such avowal. It has been seen perfectly clearly in sermons, in pamphlets, in books, and in the ceremonial imitation of Rome. But still, individual words and actions could only be regarded as proofs of individual opinions, and therefore, although they left no doubt on the minds of observers, they could not be accepted as absolute proofs of disloyalty against any of those who were not themselves guilty of disloyal acts.

But a great change has now taken place, and we are brought into altogether a new position. After the Church Congress at Derby there can no longer be any doubt on the subject, for we had there what was as nearly an authoritative statement as under the circumstances it is possible to expect. It is needless to speak of that well-known body, the English Church Union. The E.C.U. was formed as a centre for the Ritualistic movement, and it has ever since maintained its position as the most widely extended and influential organization in existence for the maintenance of Ritualistic principles.

I believe, also, that it has been considered the most moderate of the various kindred associations, so that it embraces several who, as they express themselves, are not prepared to go to extremes. Now, at the Derby Church Congress we had the

advantage of hearing a most important avowal from the President of this influential organization. Of course, we who do not belong to the Union have no means of knowing how far he spoke as the mouthpiece of the Council, or simply gave expression to his own personal opinion ; but all must admit that when the President of the Union, on such a great occasion, delivered a carefully prepared written paper at the request of the Bishop of the Diocese, we may regard that paper as approaching as nearly as possible to an authoritative declaration of the principles and purposes of the Union.

What, then, did the President of the English Church Union say? What line did he pursue? The subject of discussion was "Proposals for Liturgical Improvement," and Canon Venables accordingly made several important practical suggestions which he thought might tend without the slightest alteration of principle to increase the interest of our Liturgical worship. But the President of the English Church Union did nothing of the kind. He made one proposal, and one only, namely, that those who wished to do so should be at liberty to abandon our present Prayer Book altogether, and adopt in its place the First Book of Edward VI. His words were: "In discussing the question of Liturgical Improvement, the proposal I have to make aims not so much at any change in our existing Prayer Book, as at the alternative use along with it of the First Prayer Book of Edward VI." Nor was this all, for almost immediately afterwards he avowed his preference for the unreformed liturgies, and the Use of Sarum, above our English Prayer Book. He said, "Those who are at all acquainted with the unreformed Service books of the English Church must often have wondered how it came to pass that from a revision of originals so rich and varied as the Sarum Breviary, and the great English rite of S. Osmund, there should have resulted anything so meagre in comparison with them as our existing daily Offices and Liturgy." There is no mistaking these plain and outspoken words. There is the distinct avowal of a preference for the unreformed Service books, while our own Prayer Book is described as being so meagre in comparison with them that it is a wonder how it could have been derived from such rich and varied sources. Nor is this an isolated sentence. In another passage, he says, "In this respect it is impossible to deny that our existing Communion Office is open to grave exception." The one object of the whole paper, indeed, is to give such evidence of the inferiority of our existing Liturgy as may induce the Bishops to give permission (which, of course, they have no power to do) for the substitution under certain circumstances of another book.

It is of no use, therefore, any longer to maintain the delusion that the movements of the English Church Union are prompted by any love for the English Prayer Book. That book is condemned as "meagre," and "open to grave exceptions." The preference is given to the unreformed services, and especially to the Use of Sarum; and it must be plainly understood that if anything is suggested as a *via media* or a *modus vivendi*, the two parties between whom it must be a *via media* are on the one hand those who avow their preference for the Use of Sarum, and on the other those who with their whole heart delight in the reformed worship of our dear old Church of England.

But I have heard it said that the Use of Sarum was itself a reformed service, and free from many of the abuses of Rome. Thus Mr. Wood calls it "The great English rite of S. Osmund." But surely he was mistaken in that expression, for, though used in England, it was not an English rite. Osmund was a Norman Count, and having fought in the army of William the Conqueror, was, as a reward for his services, first created Earl of Dorset, and then appointed Bishop of Salisbury. At the time of his appointment there was great religious dissension in the country occasioned by the introduction of the Gallican liturgy by William the Conqueror, which was resisted by the English; and Osmund compiled the Use of Sarum in order, if possible, to harmonize all parties. His chief work, therefore, was to introduce, as far as possible, the Gallican element; and in no sense whatever can that use be called "The great English rite of S. Osmund."

But its origin is of little importance as compared with its contents. The great question is, "What is the real character of the book which is thus preferred to our 'meagre' English Prayer Book?" And it would be an important contribution to the present controversy if any of those who exalt its excellence would inform us of any one particular in which it differs in principle from the Romish Missal and Breviary. There is not space in such a paper as this for the investigation of its identity in all important points with the liturgies of Rome; but it would be extremely interesting to know in what that richness consists of which we heard so high an encomium at the Derby Church Congress.

Three things may be briefly mentioned:

(1.) The Use of Sarum was certainly rich in Legends, and that to the exclusion of Scripture. On such a subject we surely cannot have a better authority than the preface to that First Book of Edward VI., which is now so strongly recommended. In that Preface it is said:

"These many years past this godly and decent order of the ancient

fathers hath been so altered, broken, and neglected by planting in uncertain stories, legends, responds, verses, vain repetitions, commemorations, and synodals, that commonly, when any book of the Bible was begun, before three or four chapters are read out, all the rest were unread."

And of these Legends, etc., the same preface adds, "Some be untrue, some uncertain, some vain and superstitious." If it is the omission of such Legends as these that makes our Prayer Book "meagre," all I can say is, Let us thank God for its meagreness.

(2.) Then, again, the Use of Sarum was rich in complicated and senseless ceremonial. The Preface already quoted says of these ceremonies :

"Some at the first were of godly intent and purpose devised, and yet, at length, turned to vanity and superstition; some . . . because they were winked at in the beginning, they grew daily to more and more abuses, which, not only for their unprofitableness, but also because they have much blinded the people and obscured the glory of God, are worthy to be cut away and clean rejected."

It may be well, perhaps, to give one illustration from the Sarum Missal: "Here let the priest uncover the cup, and make the sign of the cross with the host five times—first beyond the cup on every side, secondly even with the cup, thirdly within the cup, fourthly as the first, fifthly before the cup." This is given simply as a specimen, and some may say that there is no harm in it. But I can scarcely believe it possible that anyone will hesitate to apply to it the language of the Preface. "This excessive multitude of ceremonies was so great, and many of them so dark, that they did more confound and darken, than declare and set forth Christ's benefits unto us."

(3.) The Use of Sarum was rich in saint worship. For example, in the Missal the priest did not confess to God alone (I suppose that would have been meagre), but was directed to say, "I confess to God, to blessed Mary, to all the saints, and to you; because I have sinned too much by thought, word, and deed by my fault: I pray holy Mary, all the saints of God, and you to pray for me." Again, in the Litany, the Use of Sarum was far in excess of the modern Church of Rome. In the modern Romish Litany I count only forty-seven persons to whom prayer is addressed, including the Virgin, two arch-angels, and the twelve apostles; but in the Use of Sarum according to Bishop Short,<sup>1</sup> there were no less than 116 persons addressed. Possibly some Gallican saints may have been added by S. Osmund. On that point I am not pre-

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<sup>1</sup> "History of the Church of England," § 744.

pared to speak; but of this I am certain, that in regard to the worship of saints, all true English Churchmen will rejoice in the meagreness of the Church of England Prayer Book, and have no desire for the richness of the Use of Sarum.

Now this is the book which, before the assembled Church Congress at Derby, was avowedly preferred to our English Prayer Book. When, therefore, it is said that there is a clear preference for the worship of Rome, no one can any longer regard it as a calumnious or unfounded accusation. We have the open, plain, and undisguised avowal of the President of the English Church Union, that the English Prayer Book is "meagre," and the Use of Sarum rich; the English Communion Office open to grave objections, and the unreformed liturgies so superior, that it is a wonder how anything so inferior as the English Prayer Book could have been compiled from such rich materials. Let no one, therefore, from this day forward, suppose that it is the object of the Union to uphold the Reformed Church of England, or to maintain its worship; but let it be clearly and distinctly understood, that the preference has been publicly given to the Use of Sarum and the unreformed liturgies.

But the avowal of a preference, it may be said, is not a distinct proposal; and if we had nothing more than such an avowal, it might possibly be supposed that there was no intention of any practical action. Such a supposition, however, is rendered impossible by the proposal which followed, viz., that there should be the alternative use of the First Prayer Book of Edward VI.

Now let anyone look for a moment at the line of argument, and the meaning of this proposal is self-evident.

The argument is, that because the unreformed liturgies and the Use of Sarum are superior to our English Prayer Book, therefore we are to give the liberty to make use of the First Book instead of our own. Is it not obvious that the whole force of the argument depends on the fact that the First Book of Edward approximates to these unreformed liturgies more nearly than does our present book? It is preferred because it is more in accordance with that which is considered the best, viz., the Use of Sarum. This proposal, when regarded in connection with the avowed preference, carries with it its own condemnation, and ought at once to put all true Churchmen on their guard.

We are brought to exactly the same conclusion by the historical position of the book. The Reformation was not a sudden act, and our English Prayer Book was not born in a day. The work began with the King's Primer in A.D. 1545,

which was followed in A.D. 1548 by the first Communion Service—the chief object of which was the restoration of the cup to the laity; but the first reformed Liturgy for morning and evening worship was the First Book of Edward VI., in A.D. 1549. Now let no one undervalue, for one moment, the greatness, or importance, of the work which was accomplished in the publication of this book. The compilers cleared away such a vast amount of Romish superstition and error that it is impossible not to admire the courage and wisdom with which they acted. They were perfectly justified, therefore, in describing it as a godly book, and in ascribing their success to the gracious help of the Holy Spirit Himself; nevertheless, when the book was published it was found that there were some parts in it which still required alteration, and a revision became necessary. There were certain things still left which required removal, so that when any further change was objected to by the Papists it was answered: “That it was no wonder that the corruptions which they had been introducing for above a thousand years were not all discovered and thrown out at once” (Bishop Burnet). Besides which, there were certain expressions which it was just possible to understand in the Romish sense.<sup>1</sup> It was clearly of the utmost importance to avoid the possibility of any such doubt or misapprehension; and as the Reformers had no desire that their trumpet should give an uncertain sound, the book was carefully revised. In the Act of Parliament which sanctioned the revision the reason was given as follows:—

“That there had been divers doubts raised about the manner of the ministration of the Service, rather by the curiosity of the ministers and mistakers than of any other worthy cause; and that for the better explanation of that, and for the greater perfection of the Service in some places where it was fit to make the Prayer and fashion of Service more earnest, and fit to stir Christian people to the true honouring of Almighty God, therefore it had been by the command of the King and Parliament perused, explained, and made more perfect.”

The Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. was the result of that revision; and, although it was subsequently both slightly

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<sup>1</sup> There was a passage, for example, quoted in the *Guardian* of December 6th, 1882, in which Gardiner is reported to have said: “Willeth children to be taught that they receive with their bodily mouth the body and blood of Christ, which I allege, because it will appear it is a teaching set forth among us of late, as hath been also and is by the Book of Common Prayer, being the most true Catholic doctrine of the substance of the sacrament in that is there so Catholically spoken of.” I do not say that Gardiner was right in this statement, but I do say that if there was anything to justify his assertion, it was most desirable that as soon as possible it should be removed.

altered and added to in 1560 and 1604 till it reached its present form in 1662, we must regard that Second Book as the completion of the great work of the Reformation so ably, but still imperfectly, commenced in the First. The history, therefore, places the First Book in exactly the same position as that in which it was placed in the argument of Mr. Wood, viz., an intermediate position between the Use of Sarum and the present English Prayer Book. It was a great and noble effort, but yet not complete. It was a great movement in the right direction, but there were still in it certain most serious defects; and, what was more important, it contained certain passages which those who were so disposed might misinterpret in the Romish sense.

Yet this is the book to which we are now invited to return; and it is only reasonable that we should ask the reason why. We are content with our beloved old English Prayer Book, in which, ever since we began to worship at all, we have poured out our hearts in holy communion with God. Why should we either forsake it, or throw the whole Church into confusion by the admission of an alternative service?

Certainly not because the First Book is less "meagre" than the second; for, beyond all controversy, it was the more meagre of the two. Morning and evening prayer began in it with the Lord's Prayer, and therefore contained neither texts, address, confession, nor absolution. They also ended with the third Collect, and therefore contained none of the prayers for the Queen, Royal Family, &c. The "Prayers and Thanksgivings on several occasions" were not included, so that the familiar words of the "Prayer for all Conditions of Men," as well as the "General Thanksgiving," were not in it. The Commandments were not there; and the Catechism contained nothing about the Sacraments. And what has become of some importance since the subject has been mooted, there was no Ordination Service. It is well to bear this in mind, because it is the fashion with some persons to quote the 36th Article as giving a sanction to the First Book. And Mr. Wood said, in his address at Derby, that "at this very moment it<sup>1</sup> has the direct sanction and approval of the 36th Article." But he must have either forgotten or ignored the fact that the ordinal to which the 36th Article refers was published quite independently of the book, and was never made a part of it. In 1552 the ordinal, with certain changes, was introduced into the Second Book; but it was never made a part of the First. The Article, therefore, has no reference of any kind whatever

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<sup>1</sup> *Guardian*, Oct. 11. I observe that the words "As regards the Communion Office" have been added in the authorized report.

to the First Book, and in that book there was no Ordination Service.

It must be clear, therefore, to the most superficial observer, that the attraction of the First Book does not consist in its richness. If our own Prayer Book is "meagre," the First Book is much more so. The changes subsequently made have been chiefly in the direction of addition, and there must be some other reason which renders it so attractive. And what is that reason? There is an expression in § 743 of Bishop Short's "History of the Church of England," which answers the question. The Bishop there says: "On the whole, this book forms a connecting link between the Missal and the Prayer Book." Now, if this be the case, it is no wonder if those who prefer the Missal desire the substitution of this book for our present Prayer Book. The time may not be come for the introduction of the Missal itself; but that may follow in time, if they can now secure the connecting link. If this be the case, the reasons which lead men now to desire it are precisely those which led the Reformers to reform it. It is nearer Rome than our English Prayer Book. Therefore it was that the Reformers reformed it, and therefore it is that they who prefer "the unreformed liturgies" desire to return to it. This may be seen very clearly in Mr. Wood's address. He enumerates several of the advantages that he considers would be gained by a return to it, such as a closer conformity to the order of "the canon" of the Mass; the omission of the Ten Commandments, and the "Dearly Beloved;" "the reservation for the sick;" "the unction of the sick;" and prayer for the dead.

To these he might have added the restoration of an altar in place of "the table" with its "fair white linen cloth;" and of the name "The Mass" in addition to the "Holy Communion;" the sanction for auricular confession in the Communion Service, combined with the omission of the General Confession in the Morning and Evening Prayer; the omission from the words of administration of the clause, "Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on Him in thine heart by faith with thanksgiving;" and the presence of certain other expressions which it was just possible for "mistakers" to understand as teaching the localization in the consecrated elements of the actual human person of our blessed Redeemer now seated at the right hand of God.

But there is one other result of a return to the First Book which is of supreme importance, though I have not yet seen any notice of it in the recent discussion, viz., that by returning to the First Book we should get behind the date of the Articles. The Articles were not drawn up till the year A.D.

1552, so that by adopting the First Book we should go back to a date at which the Articles did not exist, at which, in fact, the Church of England had drawn up no formal dogmatic protest against the errors of Rome. The Reformation began with the reform of the Liturgy, before there was any authoritative statement of distinctive truth, and when the minds of men were passing through a rapid transition. To this transition period the First Book belongs; and if we were to decide on adopting the Liturgy of the transition there would be a manifest inconsistency in combining with it those definite statements of truth which were carefully drawn up afterwards when the great gulf was past, and the work of the Reformation in essential points complete.

With all these facts before us, it is impossible to mistake the character of the proposal made. Whether we look at the history or the contents of the book, we are brought to the same conclusion. It is not a proposal to improve our Prayer Book or to adapt it to the special demands of the day. It is a proposal to depart from the Prayer Book altogether, and to return to the transition state through which the Church of England passed in the transition days of the Reformation. The First Book of Edward bore just the same relationship to the Use of Sarum that Basingstoke does to the city of Salisbury. The Reformers halted awhile there on the up line, but they could not rest, so they soon left it to complete their journey. We are now invited to return there; but is there any thinking man who can suppose for one moment that we are intended to remain there, when we have the public avowal of the undenied preference for "the unreformed liturgies" and the Use of Sarum? Is it not perfectly clear that the attraction to the First Book is simply this, that it is a station for the express train on the direct down line to Sarum?

And now, how will this proposal be received? or rather, how will it be received by that large body of men who wish to be considered "High Churchmen," and who mean by that expression that they entertain a loyal, loving, and faithful allegiance to the grand old Church of England, into which they were received at their baptism, and of which those who are clergymen have been its appointed officers ever since their ordination? Will they, or will they not, be prepared for this new departure? Are they prepared to abandon all the historical loyalty of their party; to give up their beloved Prayer Book as "meagre" and "open to grave objections;" to throw overboard their Articles and the latter part of their Catechism; and to go boldly back to the period of transition, when much, we fully admit, was improved, but nothing defined; when great things were done, but when much still remained to be done; and

when nothing was matured or consolidated as we now have it in our Articles and Liturgy? If they are prepared for such a movement, it will certainly be a new phase in the character of the historical, loyal, and influential High Churchmanship of England.

E. HOARE.

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ART. II.—PRESERVATION OF PAROCHIAL REGISTERS.

**W**HAT a dry subject! Well, it is true that there is a certain dryness in any tabulated collection of bare facts. We readily admit that to few are the materials of history readable. Yet Parochial Chronicles have the charm which belongs to individuality and locality; and when they are so complete that there is scarcely a parish without its register, then in their entirety the personal and local are merged in the national, and what at first sight seemed only to appertain to individuals is found in reality to be of value to the whole nation and to be part and parcel of its history.

The written record of the baptisms, the marriages, and the burials of parishioners from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, is the only substitute we have in the past for the modern invention of the Decennial Census. In their continuous registration of particular facts these parish books describe, with a minuteness graphic to those who can understand them, the rise and fall of towns; the distribution of population; the relative importance of the South as compared with the North of England, of the East as compared with the West. With unerring accuracy they point to the recurrence of plagues; to the fat years and the lean years, and to their effect upon the lives and the marriages of the people. They throw light upon our nomenclature, and on all the curious inquiries respecting surnames and Christian names. They describe exactly the social and commercial condition of those whose names are entered. They are our only index to the average duration of life; it was by an appeal to parish registers that Sir Cornewall Lewis supported his theory that centenarians were not to be found. No pedigree can be proved in a court of law without recourse to them. They are in a very large sense the title-deeds to the landed property of this kingdom; and not the million owners of land, but the thirty millions who are their heirs at law, are deeply and personally interested in the preservation of the proofs of their title. To this dry subject we desire to call the attention of Churchmen.

In September, 1538, the first order for the systematic keeping

of Parochial Registers was promulgated by King Henry VIII., through his Ecclesiastical Viceregent and Lord Privy Seal, Thomas Cromwell. From time to time the practice has been confirmed by Act of Parliament, by Canon, by Episcopal injunction. At length in the year 1813 an Act called "Rose's Act" was passed. This statute is characterized as "extraordinary" by the Select Committee of the House of Commons which considered the subject in 1831. Yet, in truth, it is not more extraordinary in its adaptation of means to ends than the ordinary ecclesiastical legislation of Parliament. Among its absurdities may be mentioned its title, which includes the registration of births, but provides no means for ascertaining their date; a clause which directs transcripts of the registers to be sent to the Bishops, but fails to provide any compensation for the work of the transcriber, the sender, or the receiver; another which directs such transcripts to be arranged and indexed, but obliges no person to perform the duty and provides no compensation for the work, and no penalty for its neglect; another which appropriates to certain charities fines which it omits to impose; another which authorizes the punishment of transportation on any person falsifying a register, half of which is to be shared by the informer! This statute remains unrepealed and unamended. But in 1838 the Civil Registration Act was passed, and the Parochial Registers since that date have lost some of their unique and national, though not their ecclesiastical value. The importance of registers previous to that date remains undiminished.

Mr. Borlase, member for East Cornwall, introduced last session into the House of Commons a Bill for preserving Parish Registers. The method of preservation which he proposes is the removal of every register from its own parish to London, there to be indexed and deposited in a strong room. The transfer of the Scotch Church Books to Edinburgh in 1854, and the Irish Church Books to Dublin in 1870, are cited as precedents. The opportunity for discussing the Bill did not arrive, but in some shape or other it will probably reappear next session.

The arguments in favour of not only the better preservation of, but also of easier reference to, Parochial Registers are unanswerable. They are perishing year by year, and little by little—a name here, a page there; a volume here, a set of volumes there. In their entirety they are, for practical purposes, inaccessible, because they are dispersed in ten thousand different places. The replies of the incumbents to the Parliamentary inquiry in 1831 unfold a dismal tale. Processes of destruction which seem to have no limit are going on everywhere and always, varying in degree but not in kind. Destruc-

tion by damp, by storm, by fire ; loss by carelessness, by fraud ; mutilations and interpolations ; the replies may be summed up in the words that these records are "imperfect," "indistinct," "illegible," and "torn." As time rolls on, the ink grows faint and ever fainter. The care of a succession of faithful incumbents is marred by the carelessness of a single individual. But all authorities agree that the three greatest enemies of the Parochial Registers are fire, fraud, and the gradual fading of the ink. How shall we place them beyond the reach of such mischances ? Is no fraud practised in London ? Are there no fires in London ? Is the metropolitan atmosphere a specific against fading ink ? Let us not forget that half the records of Parliament were destroyed in the fire which consumed the old Houses of Parliament. The axiom of the Fire Insurance Offices is that in a town the risk is increased, because your security depends not only upon your own but upon your neighbour's carefulness. An *undistributed* risk is the very risk which no insurance office will accept. A parochial fire may indeed once in fifty years take away from us a single register, but a single fire in the Record House will take away from us for ever every register. Tested by the simple canons of insurances, the risk to the registers, if collected in London, would be a hundredfold greater than if scattered over the country. These are the main reasons why, for the sake of preservation, we deprecate their removal.

But to an antiquary there is another argument against the spoliation of the country for the enrichment of the capital. "*Genius loci vetat.*" Those parochial records belong to their several parishes. They are often the oldest manuscripts in the place. The parishioners are the persons who mostly desire to refer to them. They or their predecessors paid for them ; for their use they were primarily and chiefly designed ; they have a primary claim to their custody. A journey to London and the expense of a search in a London office would amount to a practical exclusion of parishioners from their own parish books.

We have now stated the objections to the method, not to the principle of Mr. Borlase's Bill. We have also indicated some reasons why Churchmen cannot be satisfied with things as they are.

There is a method of saving our Parochial Records, plain, sufficient, and easy of application. An unreadiness to apply it, is evidence of an indifference which is a national scandal. The plan is to multiply our copies of our registers by printing them, and to facilitate reference to them by indexing them. Sir Thomas Phillips, the antiquary, in his evidence before the Select Committee of 1831, said, "The only way of securing them is by transcript." Since his day we have improved in

the art of printing. Once transcribed, the expense of printing would be trifling; once printed, the mechanical operation of indexing would be small. In Mr. Borlase's Bill, the 7th section provides that "alphabetical indexes shall be made of the names of all persons mentioned in the registers." The simple addition of "and printed," and the simple omission of the section which requires the removal of the originals, would convert the hostility of clergy, Churchmen, and antiquaries into hearty support. Once printed, the registers will be safe for ever. Once indexed, they will be accessible to all. A complete set of the volumes would, of course, be deposited in the Record Office, in Somerset House, in the British Museum, in the University Libraries, in the Registry Office of every diocese. The volume appertaining to each parish would be deposited side by side with the original in the parish chest. Whoever desired to purchase a volume or set of volumes would be able to buy them as easily as if they were sheets of the Ordnance Survey or the Statutes of the Realm.

The only plausible objection which can be urged is the expense. The validity of such an objection must depend upon the value which we as a nation put upon our parochial records. If they are not worth preserving let them perish, as they are perishing every day. When we contemplate the mass of printed rubbish which is daily delivered at the door of every member of Parliament during the session; when we consider the subsidy which is annually paid to Mr. Hansard for reporting verbatim the utterances of the hon. members; when we know that every Bill in Chancery is printed with the evidence for the sake of saving the judges and counsel the trouble of reading manuscripts; when we remember that many thousands a year are devoted to the Historical Manuscript Commission which deals with muniments in the possession of private persons; when we call to mind that the Record Office and its valuable publications are paid for out of the taxes—we think we have produced ample precedents for the annual expenditure of a small sum, say £4,000, towards the publication of the national records contained in the Parochial Registers.

The work may be completed by degrees. First of all, let us print the 5,000 registers which begin before the year 1600; but even this need not be done off-hand. Let them be printed diocese by diocese, or district by district, in the same way as the Ordnance Survey is being gradually completed; but let a beginning be made at once. Those who are nervous about the expense will soon find that more rapid progress will be made than they expected, and that the whole cost will be insignificant. Private societies, like the Harleian, have already solved a practical difficulty by publishing, at their own expense,

several Parochial Registers. Colonel Chester's "Register of Westminster Abbey" is a model for such work. That such an undertaking should have been perfected by a citizen of the United States is in itself a reflection upon ourselves. It might open our eyes to the fact that our Church Records are something more than national, that they are the heirlooms of the English-speaking race in every continent. We owe something to others as well as to ourselves in this matter.

To Churchmen, however, and to the clergy in particular, this subject commends itself in an especial manner, because these records are ecclesiastical records; they are interwoven with the religious life. "The weddings, the christenings, and the burials" of the English people are something more than the civil record of their "births, deaths, and marriages." There is, besides, a human interest, which to philosophers may seem a folly, but which is, nevertheless, a very ancient and a very common weakness, the desire to know and to visit the family birthplace. The Church of England need not be ashamed of gratifying such curiosity. England is the cradle of many nations, and Englishmen have many kinsmen who are not ashamed of their English ancestry. In such sentiment is grounded the tie of family relationship which binds together the Anglo-Norman races of the world. In our Church books, unprinted, unindexed, and scattered over ten thousand places, the proofs of our kinsmanship lie hid.

STANLEY LEIGHTON.



#### ART. III.—ST. AUGUSTINE ON PREACHING.

THE experience of a great orator is probably of little value to the man endowed with few gifts of eloquence. The speaker on whose utterance the senate, the bar, the popular assembly, or the congregation has waited, hardly knowing the lapse of time, has few secrets which can be conveyed to other men. There are incommunicable gifts of voice, of intonation, of manner, of sympathy, which no analysis can define, and no insight entirely discover. Yet something can be done by which culture can make the man of inferior gifts more clear, more incisive, more sympathetic, and so both more interesting and more useful.

In the fourth book of his "Christian Learning," St. Augustine proposed to himself some helpful instruction of this sort. He connects the subject with the former books already discussed

in these pages,<sup>1</sup> by the obvious remark that preaching makes known to others the meaning of Holy Scripture which methodical study has ascertained. It will hardly be expected that anything new remains to be gathered from a teacher who has been before the world for nearly a millennium and a half. The interest, whatever it may amount to, will mainly lie in comparing the ideas of that far-off time with those of our own age.

The previous training of the Christian preacher has been of late a matter of much solicitude. Great orators, both in Church and State, have been produced from the busier haunts of men as well as from the Universities. Nevertheless, all sections of the Church, and the laity perhaps especially, have prayed to be delivered from an unlearned clergy. St. Augustine takes up this subject, and while warning us that the preliminary secular teaching is to be acquired elsewhere, and not to be looked for in this book, he adds:—

By the art of rhetoric, both truth and falsehood may be enforced. Who then would dare to say that truth should stand unarmed against falsehood? Shall the teacher of that which is false know how to attract his hearer, while the defender of the truth fails through ignorance? Shall the one set forth his fallacies with brevity, clearness, and plausibility, while the other is tedious to hear, difficult to understand, nay hard to believe? Shall argument assail the truth and advocate error, and shall it fail us in defending the truth and refuting falsity? Shall that power which awes, which melts, which excites and arouses the hearer, be found on the side of error, while a frigid sluggishness drones forth sleepy truisms for the verity of the faith? Who is such a fool as to confess such an opinion? Why, then, do not good men engage in such studies as may fit them to fight for the truth, since bad men use them for their own evil ends? All that belongs to the art of persuasion has been handled by masters in that science from times of old, and may be acquired at the proper age.—c. ii., p. 3.

What is that proper age, according to Augustine? The time of youth, he replies, for it must be acquired speedily or not at all. For the chiefs of Roman eloquence declared that he who cannot learn it quickly will never learn it.

But Augustine pronounces a very clear opinion, that example is far before precept in making an effective speaker. Where there is genius and fervency, to hear or to read true eloquence is the best mode of instruction. A great speaker may, indeed, fashion his speech according to rule, but the process is instinctive, not conscious or intentional. "He fulfils the rhetorical precept because he is eloquent. He does not employ it in order to be eloquent."

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<sup>1</sup> THE CHURCHMAN, November and December, 1882.

As a matter of fact and experience, Augustine tells us he had known very many persons who, without knowledge of rhetorical rules, were more eloquent than others who had learned them. But that he had not known one who could be so accounted without hearing or reading the debates and speeches of eloquent men.

In listening to this ancient Doctor on this subject, we must remember that he combined both these functions in his own person. In his unconverted days he was a teacher of the art of rhetoric. As Bishop he was one of the most persuasive of preachers. If the conclusion just drawn from his experience be true, we may learn something of the cause of our confessed deficiency in this respect. Surely, if eloquence thus breeds eloquence, dulness and insipidity must in like manner propagate their own brood. What is there to suggest even the idea of pulpit eloquence to persons trained up from boyhood as most of our clergy are? The power of the Spirit of God waking up all the sensibilities of the renewed heart can break through what seemed inveterate stupor. But, taking Augustine's dictum of experience, would it be found largely reflected in modern times? It would probably require many qualifications, like most other broad statements; but would it not be admitted that the preaching of Charles Simeon on the one side of the Church, and of Canon Liddon on the other, had been fruitful not only in certain schools of doctrine, but in the production of many effective and powerful advocates of their teaching?

But we must return to our author. Having thus dismissed the question of preliminary training for the Christian preacher, he proceeds to consider his duty.

In his definition of that duty the subject of controversy at once presents itself. The Christian teacher is defined as "one who, being the defender of the true faith and the vanquisher of error, teaches what is good, and unteaches what is bad" ("Defensor rectæ fidei ac debellator erroris, et bona docere, et mala dedocere").

It is difficult to understand the position of our own age in respect to religious controversy. Sometimes it seems as if the one portion only of Augustine's definition of the preacher's office were accepted. It is said to be his duty, "*bona docere.*" If you ask further, "What about '*mala dedocere*'?" the answer is very dubious. Some "bad things," bad morals, for example, want of charitable judgment and so forth, no doubt ought to be "untaught." But if we proceed to ask, "Is he not, then, to be '*defensor rectæ fidei*'?" the answer again becomes vague. "What is the '*recta fides*'? Surely you do not require him to maintain all the dogmas of the Thirty-Nine Articles? Nay,

the Athanasian Creed is rather narrow and severe. That also should be somewhat slurred, and scarcely 'defended,' at least with any vigour." Then, "*debellator erroris*"? There our modern critic of the preacher parts company altogether. "No war in the pulpit, no contention, no strife of opposing systems! Is not Christianity a religion of peace? And are we any of us sufficiently sure of anything to justify controversy? Good men will soon see that they must do good in their own way, and be equally glad to see others doing good in their way also." This seemed the practical meaning of a recent article in the *Times* on the late Archbishop of Canterbury; at least, if it had any practical meaning. Then, again, a large part of the public seems to understand, by "controversy," argumentative teaching against Roman doctrines wherever they may be found. Dr. Pusey's school may pour forth its volumes large and small, and may inculcate its dogmas from the pulpit, contravening, one by one, each doctrine of the Church of England in favour of mediæval teaching. But the Protestant speaker or writer who ventures to defend his faith is at once branded as a controversial party-writer. Why more so than others who have taken the opposite side? Why should Canon Gregory, at the last Church Congress, charge Canon Hoare with introducing "party spirit," when all that he did was to reply with vigour, energy, and unfailing good-temper to the opposite "party" manifesto of Mr. Wood? There is, at any rate, *something* that is "error." If the Christian preacher is not to be a nerveless, silken declaimer, he must be as Augustine describes him, "*debellator erroris*," whether that error lie in the field of morals or of doctrine. No man was ever yet the teacher of his age who had not a vigorous theory to defend, and clear principles of philosophy or theology upon which his teaching was based. Controversy there must be, as certainly as there are truth and error. The modes of controversy are another thing.

There are, then, according to Augustine, two duties before the Christian preacher, construction and destruction—"docere" and "*dedocere*," "*defendere*" and "*debellare*." He must, therefore, consider well the condition of his hearers. Three chief anxieties will accordingly press upon him. Opposition must be conciliated; inattention aroused; ignorance instructed. Hence to rouse the feelings and bring the hearer into sympathetic receptiveness, may require every resource of eloquence; while for the purpose of instruction, illustrative anecdote and close reasoning will be needed in their turn.

But what shall be said for the minister of Christ who is but too deeply conscious that he lacks that gift of genius? The venerable teacher tells him (c. v. 7), that however precious

that gift, yet to speak with wisdom is that which alone is truly profitable to man. This brings us back once more to the firm footing laid down in the previous books. For what is wisdom? We have this reply:—

A man speaks wisely, just so much more or less, as he has advanced in his knowledge of Holy Scripture. Not simply in frequent reading and committing its words to memory, but in the understanding and diligent search into its varied meanings. For there are those who read negligently. They read with verbal memory. They do not cultivate the understanding. Better than these is the mind less retentive of the words, provided the very heart of Scripture is discerned by the eye of the soul. Best of all is the accurate memory coupled with a true Scriptural understanding.

We have heard all this before, the reader may say. Doubtless! The very point of these papers is to show that what we hold to be true is just what the great teachers of the fifth century believed also. This is the Reformation doctrine, repeated through successive generations, echoed by the leaders of the Evangelical revival, and needing repetition in each succeeding age. If the pulpit becomes sterile, if God seems to forsake His own ordinance, it will be found, not that men are less eloquent, but that they have studied the Word of God more imperfectly. They know less of its harmonies and its hidden wisdom; less even of its very language. They consequently reverse the teaching of 2 Tim. iii. 15-17; they are made less "wise unto salvation;" they have profited less in doctrine, reproof, instruction in righteousness; they are less thoroughly furnished unto all good works. Who shall wonder, then, if this doctrine or that calls them aside; mediæval chimera, or modern unbelief?

But the humble-minded servant of Christ may draw much encouragement from the assurance of this eloquent Father, who may be heard thus to comfort him. You cannot speak eloquently, but you may speak wisely. You must learn the very words of Scripture: rich in them, the poverty of your own language will be of less importance. Your own words may be feeble, they will acquire power from the weight of Scripture testimony. Your own utterance may fail to give pleasure, the proof you allege will gratify the understanding.

But is nothing to be done to help us to speak not only with wisdom but with eloquence? Again, Augustine says, "Yes; read and listen to those who speak not only with eloquence but with wisdom also; eloquence is sweet to hear, wisdom is health." Therefore, saith Scripture, not the multitude of the eloquent, but "the multitude of the wise is the health of the world." Bitter medicines may be needful, unwholesome sweets must be shunned; but if the sweetness may be wholesome, and

the medicine sweet, how much better! Is it not so in the Church? Have not some expounded the Divine utterances not only with wisdom but with eloquence? May not their sweet teaching well occupy our leisure and our study?

The difficulty remains very much where Augustine left it. The revealed wisdom of Holy Scripture for our matter of teaching—the influence of the best models we can find to form the style; so much was known and recommended more than 1400 years ago, and the advice must be repeated still.

But this discussion about the wisdom of Holy Scripture, compared with the human eloquence which is to illustrate and enforce it, raised another inquiry. Is not Holy Scripture eloquent as well as wise? There were “judicious critics” in the last century who thought some apology needful for Shakespeare’s style, and looked with compassion on the barbaric art which found expression in the unclassical interior of Westminster Abbey. One of these worthies is said to have published an edition of the Bible in the most polite English of that age. He would hardly sympathize with Augustine’s opinion of the style of the sacred writers. “Where I understand them,” he says, “it seems to me, that while nothing can be more full of wisdom, nothing can be more eloquent. I venture to say, that those who understand their words rightly will perceive also that they are precisely those which ought to have been used; there is an eloquence which befits youth, and another which befits age. Indeed, nothing ought to be called eloquence which is not in harmony with the position of the speaker. In like manner, there is a peculiar eloquence which becomes those inspired men whose authority is supreme. With this they spake; no other befits them, and it can befit no others.”

Our author had said that he would not go back to the schools, and must refer those who needed instruction and criticism, such as they could give, to the teachers of rhetoric. Nevertheless, this inquiry into the eloquence of the sacred writers roused the old spirit within him; and he cannot refrain from some critical discussions akin to those which he had no doubt often carried on with his pupils in his earlier days. “It is not,” he says, “so much that every beauty of language found in other works may be paralleled or surpassed in Holy Writ, but that, while eloquence is never wanting, it is never unduly prominent. The words seem not to be the choice of the writer, but to grow, as it were, spontaneously out of the matter. You might imagine Wisdom to be coming forth from her home in the breast of the wise; and Eloquence, like some inseparable attendant, to follow without summons.”

Augustine dwells, then, admiringly on passages selected from

the learned St. Paul, and the herdsman Amos (Rom. v. 3-5; 2 Cor. xi. 16-30; Amos vi. 1-5). He points out the climax, the artistic grouping and succession of members of the sentences, the vigorous invective, the march of the majestic language, the beauty of the intonation. Such, he says (c. vii. 21), is a specimen of divine eloquence, not the product of human art, but wisdom blended with eloquence by the mind of God. It is not wisdom aiming at eloquence, but eloquence never departing from wisdom. It has been acutely observed that the rules of oratory existed in the genius of the orator before the grammarian reduced them to formal statement. Is it wonderful, then, that we should detect them exemplified in those whom He sent forth who created genius?

Scripture being thus the subject-matter with which the preacher must deal, what shall he do with its darker portions? Augustine tells us (c. ix. 23) that some passages which the most lucid eloquence can hardly make clear, ought not to be used for popular discourses, unless for some urgent occasion. Such passages are rather to be discussed in books, or in private conversation with sympathetic companions who may bring willingness and capacity to the investigation. Surely a wise admonition! How many preachers venture into depths they have never fathomed, flounder about helplessly for their twenty or thirty minutes, and retire serenely unconscious of the confusion and perhaps doubts they have sown in some listener's brain! A warning against such a result is our next admonition. "Eloquence, if you will, but clearness above all things! There is such a thing, says Cicero, as a purposed negligence, an apparent indifference to polish and to sound in order to use the word which shall be unmistakable." Yet Augustine would not advocate vulgarity, when compelled to abandon ornament, unless, indeed, the African ear should require a good broad provincialism to make it understand. The Salvation Army has carried this to excess, but anecdotes are not wanting of racy country pastors waking up slumbering rustics with some rousing word of their own vocabulary. May not all receive the lesson which follows (c. x. 24)—"To what avail is that fine language which is not understood by the hearer, since the only end of speaking is to be understood? The teacher, therefore, will shun all words which do not teach. If he can find a pure word which his hearers will understand, he will of course prefer it; but if not, he will use language less approved in society, if only he can thus thoroughly teach the very thing he has in view"? We are warned that this consideration is more important in preaching than in conversation, since in the latter case a question may receive the answer which shall clear up an obscurity. We may fear that an English congregation

would scarcely suggest the experience which Augustine (c. x. 25) records. He says that a crowd eager for instruction will show by its movement whether it understands. The speaker must mark that restlessness, and turn the subject from side to side with various illustration, until he perceive the signs of contentment. Then let him pass on, and be careful not to cause weariness by useless iteration. It will be long before our orderly pews give forth these nods of acquiescence or shrugs of doubt. But at any rate we are reminded that the discourse prepared beforehand or committed to memory cannot bend itself to these necessities. Clear, then, the teacher must be, even if he lack brilliancy. "The man of good sense loves not words, but truth in words. What is the use of a golden key if it will not open the door? Why object to a wooden one if it can give us admittance?"

If clearness be so important an element in preaching, has beauty of language no place and no value? Yes, says Augustine (c. xii. 27), quoting Cicero's dictum: "To teach is absolutely necessary; to give pleasure adds sweetness; to sway the hearer is the victory." So, then, the eloquent preacher must please and sway the hearer's mind with the sweetness of his language and the weight of his argument, if the practical end is to be gained. But there is something more powerful still than gifts of oratory. Before any attempt to speak (c. xv. 32), prayer should go up for himself and for those whom he is to address.

The hour is at hand when the preacher is to speak; let him lift up his thirsting soul that he may utter that with which God has filled him. Who can make us say what we ought, and in the way we ought, save Him in whose hand both we and our discourses are?

Shall we then fall back on the promise of the Lord (Matt. x. 19, 20)—"Take no thought how or what ye shall speak; for it shall be given you in that hour what ye shall speak"? Does that promise cut away the whole ground of all preparation, of all human gifts, and therefore of all such discussions as the one before us? It is a temptation, we fear not to say, directly addressed to the mental indolence of the facile speaker. It belongs to the same class of presumptuous sins which the Saviour repelled when He refused to cast Himself down from the temple-roof. It is not trusting, it is "tempting the Lord our God." What answer does Augustine make to this suggestion? It runs thus: "As well may we refuse to pray, since it is said, 'Your Father knoweth what things ye have need of before ye ask Him.'" Why should the Apostle Paul have written those Epistles to Timothy and Titus which ought to be before the eyes of all Church teachers, if without premedi-

tation or study we may throw ourselves on the unfailing aid of the Holy Spirit?

In the concluding portion of this book the master discusses the varied styles of language which the Christian speaker should have at his command. He takes as his motto the dictum of the great Roman orator. He is the eloquent man whose delivery is in proportion to the importance of his subject, subdued, even-tempered, or vehement. All things in religion are, indeed, of weighty importance, yet all are not equally solemn or equally soul-stirring, and the language of the preacher ought to reflect these gradations. How much reading and preaching are marred in our day from a want of perception of this obvious necessity! Monotony in one, tasteless emphasis thrown on insignificant words in another, vehement declamatory utterance of insignificant sentences in another, produce much the same effect on the hearer. The first may lull the attention, but the others disgust it through perpetual irritation and purposeless effort. It is doubtful whether much can be done in this respect to improve a speaker, beyond drawing his thoughtful attention to the importance of the subject. If we once feel the speaker to be playing upon his voice, and throwing in his piano and forte passages, his diminuendo and crescendo, as though it were some artificial musical composition, farewell at once to all salutary impression. But when the subject itself masters him, when sustained argument, deep feeling, righteous vehemence, each in its turn brings with it the evenly balanced utterance, the sadder, deeper intonation, the more rapid torrent of expostulation, then Augustine's threefold distinction is at once exemplified and justified. But this, in its higher manifestation, is genius. Yet surely a cultured taste should preserve many more than it does from flagrant departures from that which after all is but natural utterance.

Augustine gives many illustrations of these varied styles of oratory and their several uses. That which may be most interesting is a personal anecdote of his own experience.

It appears that, in a certain Mauritanian town, there were broils very much like the Irish "faction fights," recurring annually, and leading to much loss of life. It was an occasion for a Christian Bishop to interpose, and he seems to have made one of his greatest efforts. "I dealt with them," he says, "with all the power I could command, to pluck from heart and hand this cruel and inveterate evil. I thought I had done nothing when I heard their cheers. But, when I saw them weeping, I felt assured. Their cheers proved mental instruction and pleasure. Their tears showed that they were really influenced. When I saw these I believed that the

savage custom, inherited from distant forefathers, was vanquished at last. And we thanked God together when my sermon was ended. And now, through the aid of Christ, eight years have passed away, and there has been no attempt to renew those atrocities." A great preacher indeed!

But without dwelling longer on these distinctions of style, we are finally warned by an admonition, never out of place (c. xxvii. 59): "Whatever the power of the utterance, the life of the speaker carries yet greater weight." The man whose life echoes his words, desires in his discourse that his hearers should love his teaching rather than his language; he prizes the truth above the manner, and would have the words servants to the teacher, not the teacher to the words. So says the Apostle, "Not with wisdom of words, lest the cross of Christ should be made of none effect." To "strive about words" is not to be careful about truth overcoming error, but about your mode of expression being preferred to that of another. To speak eloquently as well as wisely is to speak the truth in words not rising above the need of plainer passages, more glowing and elegant as the elevation of tone requires, while they shall be vehement where the weight of the subject calls for power. But at least, if a man cannot be both wise and eloquent, let him rather speak wisely what he cannot utter eloquently, than speak eloquently what is but foolishness. If he cannot even do this, then let him so live that his very life may be an example, and his manner of living be itself a continual sermon."

One more subject remains. Human nature is the same in all ages. To phrase it in the vernacular, it is just this: "May a man *crib* his sermon?" It may amuse some to find the same question mooted all those years ago, which meets us so often now.

"Here is a man," says Augustine (c. xxix. 63), "who has a good delivery but no power of composition. May he take the wise and eloquent writings of others, commit them to memory, and preach them to the people?" He may, replies our Bishop, provided that he practise no deception. He must not profess it to be his own, and he must make that which he could not *compose*, become his own by *composing* his own life in accordance with it.

Finally, whether we deliver that which is our own, or that which comes from borrowed sources, prayer must go forth that it may be suitable to those who hear, that the preacher's utterance may be blessed, and the hearing ear given to the people. When the issue has been prosperous, let thanks be ascribed to Him Who gave the discourse. Let him who glories, glory in

Him "in Whose hands are both we and our words" (Wisdom, vii. 16).

In this simple, sensible, pious strain the venerable Bishop of Hippo gave his advice to those who would hear, all those centuries ago. If he has not much that is new to tell to this century on this well-worn subject, neither should we have many new discoveries to reveal to him. It is sufficient for us, and restful to our minds, to observe that there is not a discordant note between us. He has no thought or desire in preaching but to exalt the Word of God; so to handle it as to make it clear to the people; and so to impress it, that they may obey its precepts and accept its teaching. No false doctrine can obtain permanent lodgment in a Church which follows this rule in its pulpits. The saddest sign in our day is the frequent poverty of Scripture preaching, and, too often, its almost utter absence. The cessation from controversy which some crave may be only the stillness of death. If it be the desire of the soul to cease from human war-cries and vexatious bickerings, that it may listen in quietness to the voice of God, there is life in that silence. Some of us would do well to come apart and rest awhile from conflict in that spiritual audience-chamber. So replied Latimer to the scholastic teachers from whom, in middle life, he was escaping. "It is enough for me that Christ's sheep hear no man's voice but Christ's. As for you, ye have no voice of Christ against me, whereas, for my part, I have a heart that is ready to hearken to any voice of Christ that you can bring me. So, fare you well, and trouble me no more from the talking with the Lord my God."

He who has thus "talked with the Lord his God" is the preacher that Latimer was to his own people. He is the preacher Augustine has described. He is the preacher for whom our own age is waiting.

T. P. BOULTBEE.



#### ART. IV.—LIFE OF BISHOP WILBERFORCE. VOL. III.

*Life of the Right Rev. Samuel Wilberforce, D.D., Lord Bishop of Oxford, and afterwards of Winchester.* With Selections from his Diaries and Correspondence; by his Son, REGINALD G. WILBERFORCE. Vol. iii. pp. 480. John Murray.

**W**HATEVER else may be said about the concluding volume of Bishop Wilberforce's "Life," this, at least, will be admitted on all sides—it is interesting in the extreme. The period which its narratives cover—from 1861 to 1873—was

one of singular interest; and not a few of its events will probably prove of profound importance in political, as well as in ecclesiastical circles. During this period the Bishop was a conspicuous power: he went everywhere and knew everyone; a man of winning ways, of steadfast purpose and untiring energy, with many attractive qualities, who was always ready to speak upon any subject, and was able to adapt himself to any audience—the brilliant Bishop naturally showed himself a leader. According to his son, indeed, his place upon the Episcopal Bench, in regard to influence, was the highest.

The first volume of the "Life," says Mr. Reginald Wilberforce in his preface, described the preparation for the Bishop's work; the second, the period of struggle; and the concluding volume is "an attempt to portray him as he was during the last ten years of his life—the 'undisputed leader among the English Bishops.' The effort in Convocation to obtain a Synodical condemnation of 'Essays and Reviews'—a result obtained at first only by the casting-vote of the venerable Archbishop—shows how divided were the counsels of the Episcopate; and the man, therefore, who could and did reconcile these conflicting counsels into unanimity, stepped, by so doing, into the position of actual, though not of nominal, leader. Again, in the troubles concerning Dr. Colenso, it was Bishop Wilberforce who penned the address signed by forty-one Bishops. In the Pan-Anglican Synod the pastoral letter which was agreed upon was his work. The first report of the Ritual Commission was drawn up by him; and the skill with which he averted restrictive legislation in 1867, when nearly the whole Bench of Bishops were in favour of a measure of the kind, explains still more clearly the ascendancy which was conceded to him by his Episcopal brethren."

"When it is further remembered," adds Mr. Wilberforce, "that in the year after he was called away the Bishops did introduce the Public Worship Regulation Act—a measure the evils of which they did not foresee—it will be felt how much the Church had been indebted to his foresight and courage."

Now, of the Bishop's "courage" there is no question; but as to his "foresight," opinions are diverse. In the first place, the Ritual Commission, of which the Bishop was a leading member, recommended legislation; "aggrieved parishioners," said its Report, should be provided with an easy and effectual process for complaint and redress. But let this pass. Mistakes, no doubt, were made, both in and out of Parliament, during the year 1874. To turn to the main question. Although the Ritualistic revolt, from one cause or another, may seem successful, it ought to be "remembered" that, not alone against the Public Worship Regulation Act has resistance been obstinate. In

Diocesan Conferences, or at the Church Congress, and in the newspapers, stress is laid upon the uncanonical character of the Public Worship Regulation Act and of its Judge; but it ought to be "remembered," that disobedience to Bishops has been just as persistent under the Church Discipline Act as under the Public Worship Regulation Act, and that Ritualistic lawlessness has flouted not only Lord Penzance but Sir Robert Phillimore. Now Sir Robert Phillimore was Judge in the Court of Arches before the Act of 1874 was even thought of; and his Canonical, Convocational, full-orbed Churchiness as Judge was never dimmed. It is convenient, no doubt, in certain circles to ignore these facts; just as it is one day to protest against Law Courts, and the next day to forget the protest and invoke their aid. One thing is certain: during the period of this third volume Ritualist lawlessness was growing; and the question is, in what way was the Bishop's "foresight" related to it?

An objection to this volume should be stated at the outset. A reviewer in the leading journal says that the volume will be read with avidity because, for one reason, it reveals the Bishop as the most entertaining of gossips, and affords the most fascinating glimpses into the personal arcana of the public life of his day. The "Greville Memoirs" were freely censured as too outspoken; but their indiscretions are almost discreet by the side of some of the extracts given from Bishop Wilberforce's diaries and correspondence. The reviewer "can only marvel at the audacity of the revelations." Similar criticisms have appeared in other journals. The *Standard*, for example, remarks: "The same inability to appreciate at its real value the contents of Bishop Wilberforce's Diary, which has led his son into publishing so much that is injurious to the writer, has prevented him, we suppose, from considering its effect on others. Yet there are several persons mentioned in the third volume who cannot, we should think, be well pleased at the freedom which has been taken with their names, or the names of their nearest relatives. We have noticed this want of proper reticence in the earlier portions of the work; we are sorry to find that there is so little improvement in the latest." Again, the *Spectator*, in a similar vein, remarks, that a book of this kind ought to be written "on the principle of not inserting anything privately said or written by any living person of a nature to give pain to that person without his full consent." The "revelations" of this volume, in fact, are both injurious to the Bishop, and exceedingly indiscreet in regard to other persons. As a biographer Mr. Wilberforce has been to his father what Mr. Froude has been to Carlyle. He does not appear to bear the consequent criticisms, however, with the

meekness exhibited by Mr. Froude. In a letter to the *Times*, replying to caustic criticisms on his work, Mr. Wilberforce says, that whereas the reviewer had mentioned its amazing indiscretion, "if you could see the materials which I have not yet published you might marvel at its amazing moderation." A letter of "this alarming character," replies the leading journal, "will give a painful sense of insecurity to many now living, as they fondly believe, in the happy enjoyment of mutual confidence. The late Prelate was an Englishman of a not uncommon sort. He talked freely and unreservedly. Having objects and work in hand, he was disposed to like those who helped him; not so well those who would not, or did not. In the *mêlée* of dinner talk, whatever hit his taste or his purpose found a ready access to his mind, and a good place in his memory—in his note-book, too, it now appears. Thence it often found its way into letters written in the gush of confidence to dear and valued friends. The Bishop was a partisan, and lived among partisans. He heard plenty of gossip, listening to it, and imbibing it, no doubt, frequently in advance of the retailers, who told a good story without any wish that it should be told again." On the whole, it must be admitted that the Bishop's diaries, notes, and confidential letters contain many inaccuracies, harsh judgments, and strong expressions, which he would himself have corrected or toned down.

The opening pages of this volume contain some touching references to the Bishop's bereavement. In July, 1861, Mrs. Sargent entered into rest. The Bishop deeply felt the loss. In his diary he notes that one of the last words of the beloved one was, "There is a glad sound of victory in Heaven." Writing to Mr. Gladstone, he says:—

We lay her remains to-morrow by her husband's and her children's, moving once again that sacred ground, of which the stirring is as if men ploughed into my heart.

Mr. Gladstone replied: "We feel very deeply with you under the laceration of spirit which Mrs. Sargent's death must have brought upon you. However bright her lot may be, you, with your immense labours, and the cravings of your mind and heart, must sorely indeed feel the privation; only we trust that in this also your Master will be enough for you."

Of the Bishop's loyal love for his wife many beautiful tokens appear in these pages. On July 6th he lost "dearest Mrs. Sargent;" in the previous month, on the 11th, his wedding-day, he had talked with her of her daughter's "wedding—as a dream when one awaketh." In December, 1862, he wrote at Farnham:—

I am strangely overset; almost expecting to find *her* coming to this bedroom in which I write, and which we occupied together. O life! O death! O blessed Will of God, to Thee I bow!

On the narratives of the Bishop's Irish tour in the autumn of 1861, we make no comment; but a passage in Lord Carlisle's<sup>1</sup> diary is worth quoting:

The Bishop preached in the Castle chapel admirably. It was on the incompleteness of everything here. I never knew him put forward more power. He preached only from notes. It was a sermon that could not leave one quite what it found one . . . He talked of the tenderness of nature he had found in Lord Aberdeen and Sir Robert Peel under cold masks. When the Bishop was much attacked about the Hampden transactions, Peel made him explain it all, then told him not to mind it. "How I have been attacked!" with much emotion.

This reference to Peel may be compared with that on page 23. Wilberforce did not reckon him "morose and sullen."

Some extracts from the Bishop's diary, pp. 33-35, afford proof of his incessant toil; no other man, probably, either could or would so move about from place to place. October 16th he started from London for Wolverton; he preached at Wolverton on the 17th and 18th: opened school and went on to Rugby. Next day, at Derby, he preached to 2,000 workmen of the Midland Railway Company; "back to Tamworth, and out to Ingestre with Lord Shrewsbury." On the 20th, "prepared sermon for Lichfield" in the morning; drove to Colwich in the afternoon and preached. Next day, church consecrated at Kingcote, and he preached. On 22nd, at Lichfield, "up early and finished sermon; cathedral excellent, services striking; luncheon, Lord Lichfield presiding; preached at afternoon service." On 23rd, S. P. G. meeting in Derby. Next day, "early breakfast, and in with Lord Vernon, Duke of Devonshire, Lord Lichfield, &c., &c., to Derby;" preached. Next day, S. P. G. meeting. On 26th, "off for York; very much tired at night. Reading and thinking about Oxford sermon." Next day (Sunday), Bishopthorpe; "preached at Minster;" "sleepy, *ehou*, at afternoon service; *must* eat no luncheon on Sunday; walked with Archbishop five miles," and so on. After two "capital" meetings he left Bishopthorpe on the 31st, writing his Oxford sermon all day in train, *viâ* Manchester to Shrewsbury. On November 1, there was "a grand gathering at the service," a hundred clergy; "great luncheon; Lords Powis, Dungannon, &c." Next day, S. P. G. meeting; "off for Oxford. Finished sermon in train. Dined and slept at Principal's of Jesus." Next day

<sup>1</sup> According to Lord Carlisle's diary, the Bishop told a characteristic speech of the Bishop of Exeter. A lady to whom he was showing his place at Torquay, bored him with indiscriminate praise. At last she said, "And it is so Swiss!"—"Oh, very Swiss; only there are no mountains here, and there is no sea in Switzerland!" The same story, *mutatis mutandis*, is told in Lady Bloomfield's "Reminiscences" of Archbishop Whately and the Bay of Dublin.

(Sunday), "Merton service; Confirmation and Celebration early; thence to St. Mary's; great gathering, preached with interest." Next day, the 4th, business; party at Cuddesdon. Next day, meeting in Oxford; "same party at Cuddesdon." The 6th, "Merton service—meeting in Hall; then off to London; on to Shardeloes." The 7th, "up early and prepared sermon; then wrote letters; Colehill Church consecrated, all went well, D.G." On the 8th, the Bishop rode through Wycombe to Shirburn Castle, where he met a large party of neighbouring clergy at dinner. The diary records: "Tired—very—at night." No wonder! On the 9th we read: "Up early; prepared sermon and wrote letters, preached and celebrated. Rode after luncheon to Cuddesdon. Drove into Oxford—Warden of All Souls." The next day (Sunday), he preached twice; one sermon old, the other new. On Monday morning, at eight o'clock, off for Banbury; preached at Great Barford. On Tuesday, preached in Banbury. On Wednesday, the 13th, up to town and down to Aylesbury. As to the next two days, we quote the diary entries, thus:—

Nov. 14. Breakfast; church 10.30. Wrote with Cust. Meeting of societies. Disraeli spoke for an hour on Church; clever electioneering speech to Clergy and Church. On by rail; wrote, &c.; and by Derby to Chatsworth, Lords Carlisle, Belper, C. Cavendish; Gladstone, &c.

Nov. 15. Morning, walked with Gladstone, Lord Carlisle, Duke, &c., to conservatory and grounds. Conservatory in great beauty. Then over House with ladies; then rode with Gladstone, Duke, and Lord Carlisle. Oak tree on fire; and Gladstone's characteristic energy displayed in putting it out. All the sons here, and pleasant.

In the same year Dr. Wilberforce busied himself about the Missionary Bishops Bill. He wrote to Mr. Gladstone:—"There is a keen feeling on the subject throughout the Church, and it is one of those questions of liberty for which we look anxiously for some help from your presence in a Cabinet which needs some sets-off for all our high appointments being given to those who have, and because they have, rejected the principles of our Church." This is strong language; but Dickens's term "Pickwickian" may cover it. In a clever postscript, the Bishop remarks:—"You have always objected to the Jerusalem Bishops Bill, and on that we must be thrown if Shaftesbury triumphs." The Bill failed to pass into law, but a license was obtained for the consecration of Mr. Staley as Missionary Bishop in the Sandwich Islands.

Some passages in the Bishop's diary, relating to the death of the Prince Consort, have a touching interest; they supply evidence of the deep feeling with which he took part in the funeral. For instance:—

Dec. 23. Off with the Dean for Windsor. The funeral most moving ; many honest old politicians in tears as it proceeded. Those two princes at their father's feet. His power for good gone.

In July of the following year the Missionary Bishops Bill was again introduced. There was more than one sharp passage of arms between the Bishop and the Chancellor, and on the whole Lord Westbury got the worst of it. On the advice of Lords Derby and Granville, the Bishop withdrew the Bill.

In a letter to a bishop about lay-deacons, Wilberforce, with characteristic confidence, makes this statement :—"If you find laymen who will work under you, I would by all means use them—without their giving up their pursuits—in the service of the sanctuary. But I would not call them deacons, nor ordain them with laying on of hands. I am persuaded that having a double order under the same name, *i.e.* deacons who have renounced all for the ministry, and those who have not, is contrary to primitive use." This statement, we believe, is erroneous. The lately expressed opinion of the Bishop of Durham, regarding "primitive use," may here be quoted. In his Charge, Bishop Lightfoot says :—

Against this measure (the Permanent Diaconate) I have no objection to urge on principle. I do not see how I can find fault with the pursuit of secular avocations in the ministers of a Church whose chief Apostle was a tent-maker. Precedents, too, in later ages are sufficiently frequent to justify this combination of the spiritual office with the secular work.

There are some deeply interesting passages relating to Sisterhoods. One striking sentence in a letter to Mr. Carter, about Clewer, may well be quoted :

"Evasion seems to me the very clinging curse of everything Roman and Romanistic."

The volume contains several good anecdotes. Here is one :

A conversation arose after dinner as to the difficulty of putting some English words into Latin. "You cannot put *hearse* into Latin," said one. "Oh ! that is very easy," said the Bishop, "*Mors omnibus.*"

Here and there in this volume appears an edifying passage upon prayer. The tone of the Bishop's language is deeply spiritual.<sup>1</sup> For instance, in replying to one who had asked him about the apparent failure of his ministerial work, he writes :—

Show the people that you have a pastor's heart, and I do not think they will be long in giving you the natural return, the support of the parish. I cannot tell you how earnestly I long for such a change in your ministry in its fundamental character. I see not the love of Christ, I see not the

<sup>1</sup> As regards Prayer and Missions, the Bishop's language does no discredit to his Evangelical training. But in looking out those passages of the diary which relate to his spiritual life we somehow miss feelings of JOY.

love of souls, I see not faith in your Master's presence in it. Your ministry looks to me like the stunted unwilling service of that fearful character, the mere professional priest. God knows if this is so. I speak but of the aspect which outwardly your ministry wears. My *advice*, for which you ask, is: PRAY—pray for more thorough conversion of heart—pray for ministerial zeal—pray for love to Christ. Pray for the outpouring of the Spirit on your own soul and on your ministry, and then live in your parish, live for your parish, work in it as a man only can work who has come to his work from intercession for his people.

In a letter to a clergyman of whose rubrical deficiency some parishioner had privately complained to the Bishop, we observe a statement that on St. Bartholomew's Day, which fell on a Sunday, "the proper course would have been to read the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel for the Saint's day." Now, we do not defend disobedience. *When the law is clear, i.e.,* when among reasonable men there is no dispute upon a point, or when the Courts have given a decision about it, an incumbent ought to obey the direction of the Ordinary. As a rule, indeed, the proper course, in our judgment, is to submit to the formally expressed direction of the Ordinary. A clergyman may doubt whether he is legally bound to read the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel for the Saint's day on a Sunday; there is no rule on the point; but clearly this is one of the cases where the Bishop is empowered by the rubric to "take order."

In September, 1862, Archbishop Sumner died, at the age of eighty-two, after a long illness. At the end of August the Bishop had been staying with Mr. Gladstone, and the diary records: "Drove to Aber, and walked up the valley with Gladstone; a good deal of talk with him about Church promotions, &c. He takes more part than I thought. But spoke of the Bishop of Chester as bearable for Canterbury!!!" The notion of Graham for Canterbury called forth three notes of admiration, and it seems as though for several days Wilberforce could hardly speak of it. On the 5th, however, the day before the good Archbishop died, he wrote to Mr. Gladstone: "If such a conjuncture happened as we spoke of, Lichfield or Winchester would be a thousand times better for the Church than Chester to push into the vacant chair." As soon as he heard the chair was vacant he wrote "a few hasty lines" to Mr. Gladstone, "not knowing what haste there might be in resolving on the successor." He thought that the Archbishop of York would be the best; otherwise the Bishop of Winchester. He "very earnestly" desired, indeed, that his friend's influence should be used for getting Bishop Sumner to succeed his brother. This would leave "a good appointment for Lord Palmerston." Who, then, should succeed Bishop Sumner at Winchester? On this point Wilberforce was silent. Bishop

Sumner at this time, it may be noted, was seventy years old. On September 10 Mr. Gladstone replied, saying that he had written to Lord Palmerston, urging strongly the appointment of some one who combined in his own person moderation with learning and piety, and glancing favourably at age as a condition of fitness for the primacy, and finally referring, by way of example, to the Archbishop of York. Mr. Gladstone further said that he thought this appointment would not be made; yet, if it were, he said that in his mind there was not the smallest doubt that the Bishop was the person who ought to succeed to York. On September 25 the diary records:—

(Doncaster.) Called on Dr. Vaughan, who told me that the Archbishop of York had to-day received the offer of Canterbury, and accepted. God be praised! He can overrule all.

The next day the Bishop wrote to an intimate friend, as follows:—

I suppose to-morrow's papers will tell you that York goes to Canterbury; quite surely an answer to prayer, looking at what we might have had. We shall have peace and holiness, and a steady adherence to Church principles in him. God be thanked . . . I preached to marvellously still church, *full* here (Doncaster) to-day.

After the appointment had been made to Canterbury, Mr. Gladstone, we read, "wrote to Lord Palmerston strongly pressing the appointment of the Bishop of Oxford to York. That Mr. Gladstone failed in securing this appointment for the man whom all England looked upon as the most peculiarly fitted for the Archbishopric of the Northern Province, and that the Bishop's former curate was appointed instead, is now a matter of history." The following letter expresses the Bishop's thanks to Mr. Gladstone for the part he had taken:—

MY DEAR GLADSTONE,—I thank you from my heart for having let me see your letter. It humbled and it cheered me. Humbled me to see how far too kindly you judged of me; cheered me more than I can say to know that such a man as you so wrote about me.

To the Bishop, no doubt, the disappointment was severe. "There must be some history," he wrote to a friend, "if only we could get it, because only last week Sir C. Wood had told Admiral Meynell that I was to be appointed." To Bishop Tait, in the first instance, the Archbishopric was offered; and if he had gone to York, Lord Palmerston might have promoted Wilberforce. In the diary, at all events, appears this entry:—

Dec. 16.—(Windsor). Talk with the Dean; he told me that if London had taken York, I was to be offered London.

Three months before this bit of gossip was recorded, the  
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Bishop and Lord Palmerston had met on a platform at Winchester. In his diary Wilberforce writes:—"Lord Palmerston at meeting; very, very clever—twisted one sentence of mine sorely." This sentence was:—"The schoolmasters are to be religious teachers; not teachers of religion." As everybody knows, the Bishop's relations with the Premier were not very friendly. According to the *Times*, Samuel Wilberforce was "never out of collision with Lord Palmerston from March 30, 1837,<sup>1</sup> when the former as rector of Brightsome delivered an attack on the latter so tremendous that the Duke of Wellington, sitting in the chair, only abstained from interfering, he said, for fear of drawing the fire upon himself. This was reported at Oxford as a very grand achievement, but there is no doubt it cost Samuel an Archbishopric. He had his amusement, and he paid for it." This is flippant. Wilberforce would have been recommended for the Archbishopric, no doubt, if such an appointment had been thought expedient by Lord Palmerston and the noble Earl with whom on such questions the Premier took counsel; but he was not trusted. When Bishop Thomson was translated to York, it was said that his ability, backed by the high position, would make him a match for S. OXON, and he was.

It may be convenient, in this connection, to quote a few of the Bishop of Oxford's remarks on Lord Palmerston. In March, 1863, he had written to Mr. Gladstone about the Premier's "wicked appointments," insults "to every sound Churchman;" and in June he wrote to Mr. Gordon, in a very bitter vein, as follows:—

"That wretched Pam seems to me to get worse and worse. There is not a particle of veracity or noble feeling that I have ever been able to trace in him. He manages the House of Commons by debauching it, making all parties laugh at one another. . . . I think if his life lasts long it must cost us the slight remains of Constitutional government which exist amongst us."

In his triennial Charge (November, 1863) the Bishop "touched on the hindrances which had been alleged in the answers sent by the clergy, which fell under three heads: Dissent, bad cottages, and beershops." He "did not," says the biographer, "class Dissenters and beershops together as hindrances." This is true. Yet some pungent criticism of the Charge was spoken in the House of Commons, later on, by an able and respected Nonconformist whom Mr. Gladstone placed upon the Treasury Bench.

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<sup>1</sup> The meeting was at Winchester (vol. i. p. 107). In his speech, Lord Palmerston took a line which Mr. S. Wilberforce "considered inconsistent with true Churchmanship."

Chapter IV. (1861—1866) contains several passages of interest with regard to the Court of Appeal. The aim of Wilberforce was to remove the spiritual element from the Judicial Committee; questions of doctrine should be brought before Referee Prelates. In a marvellously clever letter to Lord Westbury (p. 109), he wonders that "one of so clear an intuition and so masterly an intellect" should not dislike presiding at "that most anomalous Court." He says:—

I propose, not that the ecclesiastics should be asked how the Church is to decide, but that whenever a question of the Divine law is involved in the decision, the ecclesiastics should be asked what is the doctrine of the Church of England.

In the same subtle letter the Bishop says, that if in the Gorham case had gone forth an "ecclesiastical answer that the Church of England taught that every rightly baptized infant was regenerate," this "would have saved us from the schism under which we have ever since languished." Now, if the reader will turn to the second volume of the "Life" (THE CHURCHMAN, vol. iv., p. 125), he will see how groundless is the assertion that the Gorham judgment drove Manning to Rome. He "went over" in the year 1850, but he had made up his mind about "unity" in the year 1841. Newman went over in 1845.

In February, 1865, at Lambeth, we read in the diary, there was a "long discussion on Court of Appeal;" we read also of the "Archbishop of York's great wrath." Some of the Bishops who were present, probably, may not remember his Grace's "wrath;" but in any case, if meetings at Lambeth in those days were miserable and quarrelsome, S. OXON, according to rumour, was sometimes the cause. The feeling on the part of the majority of the Prelates seems to have been that it was best to leave things alone and not to have any fancy Court. Further, it is possible that the scheming of one of their number to obtain a leadership in the Episcopal Jury was seen through and tacitly opposed.

In 1864 the synodical condemnation of "Essays and Reviews" was brought under the notice of the House of Lords, and the Lord Chancellor (Westbury) declared that Convocation had no legal right to pronounce such synodical condemnation, because as all appeals must lie to the Crown, and as there was no appeal to the Crown from such condemnation, therefore the condemnation was illegal. The opinions of Sir Hugh Cairns and Mr. Rolt differed *in toto* from the Lord Chancellor's. He had threatened, however, to give a "grave admonition to the contumacious Prelates," and he made a personal attack upon the Prelate who had been the leading spirit in obtaining the condemnation. He said the "judgment is simply a series of well-lubricated terms—a sentence so oily and saponaceous

that no one could grasp it." The Bishop's dignified and impressive reply was received with cheers; and no devout and thoughtful person could doubt that on this, as on previous occasions in the "Essays and Reviews" controversy, he was speaking with all his heart in defence of the truth of God. Lord Derby wrote to him:—"I am glad to have been spared the pain of witnessing the Chancellor's disgraceful exhibition in the House of Lords, though I own I should have liked to have heard your crushing reply."

In November, 1866, the Bishop wrote to a friend:—"We have begun again on the Ritual Commission, and there is a great wish to condemn lights, incense, &c. I *hate* them as novelties; but I see so plainly that the party who hate all real Church progress are the people who object to them, that it makes me very doubtful how far we can go in repression without repressing that development of real Church life in which is our hope." This sentence will repay study; and it may be compared with other similar sayings; he would not act as though his action were the result of attacks.<sup>1</sup> But there is in it something more than a dislike of "Puritanism." There is a dread of Parliamentary interference, of "Erastianism." Yet further, it is evident, we think, that Wilberforce was desirous of "saving" all that ritual which persons inclined to go over to Rome might (in ignorance) call Catholic. In a remarkable letter to the Primate, December, 1865, he argues that an Episcopal attempt to reduce ritual, to define, repress, &c., would "drive many over to Rome;" and on December 29th he uses these words:—"I did not mean to imply that I approved of the use of the vestments and incense; so far from it, I have prevented it in my diocese." But that he desired to prevent it *in the Church*—that he was content vestments and incense should be declared illegal—he did not say. Before the meeting at Lambeth, in February, he had taken counsel with Mr. Gladstone; and the result was that no Episcopal address was issued. The Bishop received memorials from two Rural Deans, and these Mr. Wilberforce prints side by side. To Mr. Fremantle, now Dean of Ripon, the Bishop writes just as one would expect; he "deplores" and "trusts." To Mr. Butler, now Canon of Worcester, he says, "The Church's rule ought not to be altered." On every side the question was asked, "What *is* the Church's rule?" Wilberforce gave no reply. "The Bishop sounded no uncertain note," says his

<sup>1</sup> In his pamphlet, *Letter to the Dean of Ripon* (Simpkin, Marshall & Co.), Mr. Golightly showed, clearly enough, the Bishop's inconsistency as to Cuddesdon: "The Bishop having declared that the report of the archdeacons negatived every charge which I had brought against the College, proceeded to confirm those charges by making greater changes in the system of the College than I could have ventured to urge upon him."

son. We cannot agree with him. In his own diocese, no doubt, he prevented scandalous excesses; but in regard to "the Church's rule" in general, his sound, we think, was designedly uncertain. We shall explain ourselves later on.

In his Charge he described the Ritual development as being "like some brilliant fantastic coruscation, which has cast itself forth from the surface of the weltering mass of molten metal which, unaffected by such exhalations, flows on with its full stream into its appointed mould. Those burning sparks witness of the heat of the mass from which they sprang; they are not, in their peculiar action, of its essence or its end." This is pretty. But when we turn to matter of fact, what do we find? If legislation simply repealed the Rubric which was quoted as legalizing the restored ornaments, no rule as to ritual would remain; yet legislative measures, like legal proceedings, would, Wilberforce trusted, be avoided; peace would be obtained if only Ritualistic clergy would place the matter in their Bishop's hands. This is all; was it enough? We think not. Again, in February, 1867, the Bishops (of Canterbury) sat with closed doors, and a reply to the Lower House, moved by Bishop Wilberforce, and seconded by the Bishop of London, was carried unanimously. Its concluding words are:—"Our judgment is that no alterations from long-sanctioned and usual ritual ought to be made in our churches, until the sanction of the Bishop of the diocese has been obtained thereto." Has this resolution, good as it is, brought us nearer to peace? It has not. Again, when Lord Shaftesbury proposed to introduce a Bill on the basis of the 53rd Canon, Bishop Wilberforce wrote to Mr. Gladstone:—"It was *exactly* the idea for his cramped, puritanical, persecuting mind." Against this "gagging Bill" the Bishop planned and plotted with success. He spoke to the Bishops of "ignominy," "shameless party spirit," "terrible evil," and so forth. The end of it was, Archbishop Longley, over whom, unhappily, Wilberforce had great influence, gave way. The noble Earl was to be "hounded off" by being told that the Archbishop was preparing a Bill. But what was in the mind of Wilberforce? The Bill which the Archbishop proposed to introduce, drawn up by Bishop Ellicott, rested, if we remember right, on the Canons and usage; and this measure would have been favourably regarded by many High Churchmen; it was not so "narrow" as Lord Shaftesbury's, and it was approved by the great majority of the Bench, Bishop Wilberforce included. But Mr. Gladstone wrote to the Archbishop "very strongly;" and after an interview with the Primate and the Bishop of London, he had reason to believe that a Commission would be proposed. Lord Derby informed the Archbishop that the Cabinet were unanimously of opinion

that any proceedings in regard to Ritualistic practices had better be taken by a Commission "than through *immediate legislation*." Bishop Wilberforce thereupon wrote to his Grace :— "I reserve my own opinion, that *no legislation* is best of all." So far, then, he is consistent ; he steadily opposes legislation. He shows himself still, as we shall see, on the side of the Ritualists. He delights in generalities about "the liberty of congregations and the restraining and directing power of the Bishops ;" in the House of Lords he declares that he is a Richard Hooker man, holds a middle position, and so forth ; but in private, what does he say ? and on the Commission, how does he act ? We take our answer from the volume before us. His son writes thus :—

Some of the members agreed to form a private committee, and to move *pari passu* with the meetings of the Commissioners. This committee consisted of Lord Beauchamp, the Bishop of Oxford, the Dean of Ely, Canon Gregory, the Right Hon. Sir R. Phillimore, the Right Hon. J. G. Hubbard, the Right Hon. A. J. Beresford Hope, and the Rev. T. W. Perry. The Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol joined, but after one or two meetings, deserted and went over to the other side. This committee, although less than a third of the whole body, was enabled, by showing a united front, to really guide the Commission, and to virtually settle the Report.

The Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, probably, had no liking for a caucus ; he saw very well what was going on. But what of the Report, nominally Mr. Hubbard's ? Again we quote from the "Life":—

This draft Report, as the diary shows, was in reality drawn by the Bishop, and the secret of its success was the moderation of tone, and the judicious use of the word "restrain" with regard to vestments, instead of the word "abolish" or "prohibit." The main body of the Commissioners failed to perceive the elasticity of this word, which, in fact, did leave a loophole for the regulated use of vestments.

The Wilberforce caucus prevailed ; a loophole was left for the Mass Vestments. What of Wilberforce himself ? Again we quote the "Life." In a private letter to his son Ernest, he says :—"I was most anxious, for the sake of the Ritualists, there should be no making of the vestments in themselves illegal." Exactly. This is what we have said all along. He wished that "the rule of the Church" should remain undefined ; his own words as to the Church's rule are convicted of being purposely obscure. We quote the portion of this private letter which reveals what was in his mind. He says :—

I was most anxious, for the sake of the Ritualists, that there should be no making of the vestments in themselves illegal ; because :

i. This would, to a certain degree, have altered the standing of the English Church.

2. It would have prevented any use of them where the people do not object.

3. It would have stood in the way of any such gradual return to a higher class as alone can, I think, be useful.

In addition to this letter, so significant, it is hardly necessary to quote evidence against the Prelate who a little while before had solemnly declared, in the House of Lords, that he was not an extreme man. Yet it may be well to quote one other entry upon this matter:—

*Aug. 5.*—Commission; all day strong against a vote of no allowance of vestments in parish churches—beat 13 to 9. Bishop of Gloucester, as usual, all the heat of a deserter against me. Very much down. May God avert the evil I dread!

Here we may answer a question to which we have already referred. Granted that Wilberforce, although a High Churchman, fond of what Kingsley called “the pomp and circumstance of worship,” was no Romanizer, and had personally no sympathy with the extravagances of Ritualists, why did he not *speak out* as Hook did,<sup>1</sup> and why did he throw himself on the side of those who wished to “save”<sup>2</sup> all the erroneously termed Catholic Ritual? The answer, we believe, is this:—One “evil” which he dreaded was the secession of his daughter. He kept on yielding, and trimming, and leaving “loopholes,” because he so hoped to keep his daughter and son-in-law in the Church of England. But it was all in vain. In August, 1868, he wrote in his diary these most touching words:—

*Aug. 29.*—At luncheon a terrible letter from H. Pye, which almost stunned me. He is going over, after all, to Rome, and of course my poor E——. For years I have prayed incessantly against this last act of his, and now it seems denied me. It seems as if my heart would break at this insult out of my own bosom to God’s truth in England’s Church, and preference for the vile harlotry of the Papacy. God forgive them! I have struggled on my knees against feelings of wrath against him in a long, long weeping cry to God. May He judge between this wrong-doer and me!

Later he heard that they had really gone over (October 23rd), and then he writes in his diary:—“Lord, have mercy upon them, and forgive them, and let it not be the loss of their souls too! I hardly yet see it in all its bearings, only that bonds and afflictions abide me.” Again he writes, to a dear friend, how he has “striven, guarded, and prayed against this in all its most distant approaches.”

“Painful, indeed, it is,” we quote his biographer, “to with-

<sup>1</sup> *Quarterly Review*, October; CHURCHMAN, December, 1882.

<sup>2</sup> The diary (Feb. 13): “Hot fights in the Jerusalem Chamber, and I know not how much I shall save.”

draw the veil which overshadows this mournful episode; yet, unless it is done, the Bishop's life would be incomplete." We simply repeat our opinion, which we know is strongly held by others, who admired and liked Wilberforce, and knew him intimately for many years, that one "evil" which he "dreaded" when he threw his weight on the side of the sacrificial vestments, lights, and so forth, was the secession of his dearly loved daughter.<sup>1</sup> Many a High Churchman, we may add, has "laboured" as he did, and equally in vain. When a man or a woman receives Rome's notions of the "Catholic" Church, no loop hole in the rubrics of the Reformed Church of England is likely to prevent reception of Rome's notions of the "Catholic" ritual.

In September Archbishop Longley was taken seriously ill, and in October he died. It was a singular coincidence that the announcement of Mr. and Mrs. Pye's perversion appeared in juxtaposition with the death of the Archbishop. Wilberforce had no expectation of succeeding: he had received from the Premier, September 28th, a letter which he could interpret very well. He wrote to a friend that the fear of injuring his election-cry would "prevent Disraeli, in this, doing what, from his convictions, would be his own course." This was an utter mistake; Disraeli always distrusted him.

The Premier's letter was characteristic; and we quote the chief portions of it:—

I think the Chief Minister of this country, if he be ignorant of the bent of the national feeling at a crisis, must be an idiot. His means of arriving at the truth are so multifarious. Now, certainly, I hold that the long pent-up feeling of this nation against ultra-Ritualism will pronounce itself at the impending election. The feeling has been long accumulating; its repression might have been retarded; circumstances have brought an unexpected opportunity, and what I presumed to foretell at one of our Church meetings, some years ago in Bucks, has come to pass. The questions of labour and liberty are settled; the rise of religious questions may be anticipated in an eminently religious people, undisturbed in their industry and secure in their freedom.

It will be a Protestant Parliament, though it may not be a Church Parliament.

But there can be no doubt that every wise man on our side should attract the Protestant feeling, as much as practicable, to the Church of England.

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<sup>1</sup> October 24 he writes to his son Ernest: "I do not see how I am ever to have them in my house, except when I am dying. The reason against Henry's coming equally excludes them." To which Mr. Reginald Wilberforce adds, in a note: "By his house the Bishop meant his Episcopal residence at Cuddesdon, not his private residence at Lavington, in which latter house his brother Henry was frequently a guest after he had joined the Roman Communion."

The point of this letter Wilberforce was far too clever to miss. He saw clearly that Canterbury was out of the question. He had written, September 11th, to the Premier; grieved "at the attitude of the Church party;" astonished that Dean Hook should oppose Lord Henry Lennox (at Chichester); expected that Deans and Prelates should be selected from High Church circles, &c.

Bishop Tait<sup>1</sup> went to Canterbury, Bishop Jackson to London, and Dr. Wordsworth was appointed to Lincoln. It may be that, but for electioneering considerations, Disraeli would have offered Wilberforce the See of London; and certainly his great administrative powers would have been of signal service in the metropolis. His translation, however, would not have been acceptable to "the snuffing Puritan clique" (p. 271), which was opposed no less to Bishop Wilberforce than to Mr. Gladstone. The diary, on December 11th, says: "Gladstone as ever; great, earnest, and honest; as unlike the tricky Disraeli as possible."<sup>2</sup> Mr. Gladstone was by this time in office again.

Mr. Reginald Wilberforce, we should judge, is a strong Liberal in politics, and Gladstonian in Church matters—like his father. It looks as if he had taken some pains to place Mr. Gladstone in the most favourable light. He makes no comment, for instance, on the appointment to Exeter of Dr. Temple—a writer in "Essays and Reviews," a book which "had been synodically condemned by Convocation"—he simply states that the Bishop refused to be on the Commission for Dr. Temple's consecration.<sup>3</sup> His narrative of the Irish Church

<sup>1</sup> "The Duke told me," writes Wilberforce at Blenheim, "of Disraeli's excitement when he came out of the Royal Closet. Some struggle about the Primacy. Lord Malmesbury said also that when he spoke to Disraeli he said, 'Don't bring any more bothers before me; I have enough already to drive a man mad.' My belief is that the Queen pressed Tait, and against possibly Ely, or some such appointment."

<sup>2</sup> In writing to an old friend he says, "Yes, Lothair is all you say. But my wrath against D. has burnt before this so fiercely that it seems to have burnt up all the materials for burning, and to be like an exhausted prairie fire—full of black stumps, burnt grass, and all abominations." He records with glee the *mot* of Lord Chelmsford, who was Lord Derby's Chancellor, but not Mr. Disraeli's, uttered at Knowsley in the year of his dismissal, "The old Government the Derby, this the Hoax." He picks up Court gossip: "Erskine said, 'When Lord Chelmsford surrendered the seals to the Queen, he held them back a minute and said, "I have been used worse than a menial servant; I have not had even a month's warning."'"

<sup>3</sup> In the diary, January 16, 1870, the Bishop writes: "Gladstone has produced a very unwholesome and threatening excitement by the appointment of Temple. With a very high opinion of Temple personally, I deeply regret the appointment, because he has so obstinately refused to part himself from the 'Essays and Reviews' in their censured parts."

agitation is clear and full of interest. Some injustice was done to the Bishop,<sup>1</sup> we think, in regard to his votes and speeches on Mr. Gladstone's Bill after the election; and harsh words were written by "party" pens, Evangelical perhaps as well as Tory. "Misrepresentations" were "widespread." The present writer was waiting for a friend in the lobby one evening when the Bishop was expected to speak on the Government side: in came the Bishop, and it seemed, somehow, as though he was being led by a Cabinet Minister. A politician, standing near, said: "They've got him, sure enough!" For something of this we think Wilberforce was to blame. It was known that he had been busying himself, *more suo*, on the Government side. One thing he did may be mentioned. As soon as the election returns were complete he wrote to Archbishop Trench to suggest a "compromise." Again he wrote (December 30th), forcibly stating that the decision of the constituencies was irrevocable; resistance, as to Disestablishment, was useless, even if, by some strange chance, Disraeli came in again. Who is he?—"a mere mystery-man," ready "to sacrifice any man, purpose, principle, or Church," "wholly unprincipled," &c. What then?—come to Gladstone: "a tolerably satisfactory result" would "follow *immediate* action on your part." This letter was widely read. The Irish Episcopate, however, would not plead with Mr. Gladstone. Yet the Bishop was prepared to publish his appeal "to the Irish Church to settle the whole question in a generous and friendly manner with Mr. Gladstone." He wrote a pamphlet; but Mr. Gladstone advised against its publication—it was too much to put on the Bishop individually. Archbishop Trench, moreover, cagerly deprecated the publication; and so the question of Disendowment was decided, as was most fitting, in Parliament. In his speech in the House of Lords, in committee, the Bishop frankly stated, that he believed the Disestablishment of the Irish Church would not tend to appease Irish discontent.

On December 23rd, 1868, Lord Cairns delivered the judgment of the Judicial Committee in the case of *Martin v. Mackonochie*. The Bishop wrote to a friend:—

I fear the effect of the judgment in many quarters. It is so palpably one-sided, and meant by Cairns to please the *Times*. I hear the lawyers were two and two, and the Archbishop of York gave the casting-vote for

<sup>1</sup> The diary:—"I am very sorry Gladstone has moved the attack on the Irish Church. . . . It is altogether a bad business, and I am afraid Gladstone has been drawn into it from the unconscious influence of his restlessness at being out of office. I have no doubt that his hatred to the *low* tone of the Irish branch has had a great deal to do with it." A later entry: "To Windsor. The Queen very affable. 'So sorry Mr. Gladstone started this about Irish Church, and he is a great friend of yours,' &c."

it. The Ritualists have brought it on us ; but it is a very serious thing to have the Supreme Court decide to satisfy the public, and not as the law really is.

It is "a very serious thing," surely, that a Lord Bishop should make such a charge without warrant against the highest Court of the Realm. As to the gossip thus carelessly repeated, and, we must add, indiscreetly printed and rashly defended,<sup>1</sup> it has no foundation. There were five lawyers on the Court.

In September, 1869, Mr. Gladstone wrote to the Bishop concerning the See of Winchester ; the "time was come for him to seal the general verdict, and ask if he might name me for Winchester."

Of the Bishop's work in his new diocese but little information is given. There is a silence, too, about his relations with Evangelicals. His diary records :—"Very low ; kindness everywhere." That he laboured with success, is in great measure, we believe, due to the fact that he was careful to consider the feelings of the "Low Church" clergy and laity with whom he had to deal. We heard, indeed, at the time, that he took counsel with the "puritanical" Earl, who, of all men, could advise him in regard to the masses ; we heard, moreover, that the Bishop was strongly advised not to meddle with such matters as Evening Communion, and that he took the advice.<sup>2</sup> Any-

<sup>1</sup> The Archbishop of York writes in the *Times*, January 6 :

"Mr. Reginald Wilberforce, on the Mackonochie judgment, asks, in answer to my saying there were six Privy Counsellors 'present and able to vote,' 'Does the Archbishop mean to imply that Bishop Jackson, only just appointed to London, and who had not heard the argument, voted? Such an insinuation is not worth answering.' The best answer it could get would be what I now give—that Bishop Jackson was neither present nor voted ; that, as the cause originated in the diocese of London, he could not have been engaged in it ; and that, as he was not Bishop of London till 1869, he could not have taken part in a judgment delivered in 1868. More will not be required for this 'insinuation.'

"The judges present at the hearing were Lord Chancellor Cairns, the Archbishop of York, Lord Chelmsford, Lord Westbury, Sir William Erie, and Sir J. W. Colvile.

"I repeat that in no judgment in which I took part was the decision given by my casting-vote."

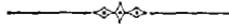
<sup>2</sup> Only four days before his death he delivered an address to the Rural Deans of his Diocese, on which the biographer observes :—"This last was published after the Bishop's death by the Rev. Canon Hoare, from notes which were made by him and some others at the time. . . ." The reply—as against the Diary—is unanswerable. If there be this want of authority even in copious notes, made by several listeners, and immediately revised with a view to immediate publication, what must be said of a few short notes jotted down in a private diary as they present themselves out of the fast-fleeing memories of a busy day's work? For ourselves, we hold that the Bishop was decidedly stronger against Confession than he was some years before. From one who was present we heard that he was exceedingly emphatic.

how, there is no doubt that after the year 1869 he was less inclined to fight for what is reckoned "Catholic" Ritual, while he was more pronounced in his condemnation of Romanizing Ritualism, and also more inclined to cultivate cordial relations with the Evangelical School.

We close the volume before us with mingled feelings. On the whole, it is a relief to quote, about the "Bishop of Society," the opinion of a relation and of a Prelate, who were both well qualified to judge :—

"Cuddesdon, then occupied by her (Mrs. Tait's) first cousin, Samuel Wilberforce, was soon a centre of attraction to us. Her intimacy with this relation was very close. She had a true admiration of his many marvellous gifts, and especially of that fund of *true religious feeling* which he had inherited from his father, and which formed after all the *deepest and strongest element in his most versatile character.*"

These are the words of the late Archbishop (*Catharine and Craufurd Tait*, p. 62), written a year or two ago.



#### ART. V.—FIRE FOUNTAINS.

*Fire Fountains.* By C. F. GORDON CUMMING. London : William Blackwood and Sons, 1883.

THE title of the work before us, *Fire Fountains*, is judiciously chosen, as also is the season at which it makes its first public appearance ; though, indeed, the unusual mildness of the weather, at the time we are now writing, throws a certain degree of doubt on the latter assertion. This however is, of course, an accident which could not have been foreseen ; and if the present winter should yet exhibit itself in its natural character, it will be pleasant for the reader to warm himself in imagination at those huge fountains of fire, the evolutions of which Miss Cumming has so graphically described. Viewing the matter in this light, however, we are not sure whether we should not ourselves prefer "*At Home in Fiji*" as a book for winter perusal to the present work. When all nature around us is bare and bleak, and we are enveloped in winter fogs, it is doubly delightful to be transported to those

"Summer isles of Eden lying, in dark purple spheres of sea,"

where we can revel in the luxurious vegetation of the tropics, and enjoy, by an effort of fancy, the balmy breezes, warmed by the Southern sun, and yet gently tempered in their warmth by the cool waves of the Pacific. Now the descriptions of

volcanoes in the Hawaii Islands, though they are more imposing than any which are to be found in the other work, do not represent these islands as desirable places of residence (unless, indeed, it were for missionary purposes). The scenery appears to be less uniformly beautiful than in Fiji, owing to the vast rivers of lava which from time to time lay waste the country. But besides this evil there are others of a more serious nature. The inhabitants of Hawaii live in continual insecurity, as they may at any time be visited by tidal waves, earthquakes, or volcanic eruptions. Of the first of these scourges there have been many in past years, the most remarkable of which took place in November, 1837. It was felt throughout the whole group of islands, but most violently in Maui and Hawaii, where it proved very destructive both of life and property. The description of it in vol. i. pp. 88-90, is most grand and awful. It came without any warning either from barometer or thermometer. The first indication of its approach was one which the natives did not understand. The sea suddenly retired from the harbour, and as suddenly returned. This was repeated several times, then at last it rose in a vast wall of water, carrying with it destruction on all sides, till it reached the villages far inland. Here, says the writer:—

The scene was even more terrible, because it happened at a time when about ten thousand persons had assembled here for religious instruction. A long day had been spent in Church services, and the people had either gone home to rest, or were gathered in groups on the shore, when suddenly, about 6.30 p.m., just at sunset, the sea commenced retreating at the rate of five miles an hour. The natives rushed eagerly in crowds to see this strange sight, when suddenly a gigantic wave formed and rushed towards them at the rate of seven or eight miles an hour, with an appalling roar. It dashed right into the village, rising twenty-feet above high water-mark, and broke with stunning noise, like a heavy thunder-crash. Mr. Coan says that from his house on the hill, the sound was "as if a heavy mountain had fallen on the beach." Then arose wailing cries of unspeakable anguish and horror. Men, women, and children, the old and the helpless, were struggling in the flood, amid their wrecked homes. Property of all sorts—clothing, food, domestic animals, floating timber, were swept out to sea; not a canoe escaped.—Vol. i. p. 89.

Equally terrible is the other element of destruction—fire—which continually bursts from its vast reservoirs, spreading desolation around it. A great part of Miss Cumming's first volume, and some parts of the second, is devoted to descriptions of the volcanoes and their irruptions; but we hardly like to make extracts from these parts of her book, because it would be impossible to do so without breaking off in the middle of a description, which would be unjust both to the writer and the subject. But we strongly recommend their perusal to all

lovers of the sublime and terrible, feeling assured that the scenes here described surpass in point of awful grandeur anything which they have ever witnessed, or are likely to witness, till the great day of judgment. Miss Cumming has delineated every phase in which the terrible fire-fountains exhibit themselves, and every form and shape which the rivers of lava can assume—sometimes that of various antediluvian animals, sometimes of grapes, &c., and occasionally glittering like crystals. We can hardly wonder that the Hawaiians, before they were enlightened by Christianity, should have deified these agents of destruction, or at least have supposed them to be animated by deities whom they called fire-gods, and whose anger they endeavoured to propitiate by sacrifices—such, *e.g.*, as hogs, which were thrown alive into the fire. This, we say, is not to be wondered at, considering what human nature is when left to itself. The natural man generally makes to himself a religion of fear rather than of love, and is prone to worship power rather than goodness, and thus the service of most idolatrous nations is a strange mixture of asceticism and sensuality. The religious history of Hawaii is a fearful example of the heavy yoke which superstition will impose on man; a yoke which afflicts him, but which does not tend to control his evil passions. Now, however, things are changed, and the Hawaiians have found an easier and more efficacious way of averting the dangers by which they are surrounded than by endeavouring to appease malignant deities—*i.e.* by the force of earnest worship offered to the one true God. Miss Cumming gives us a remarkable instance of this, which we will relate partly in her own words, or rather those of Mr. Coan, the missionary from whom she received the account. It seems that in 1881 there was a tremendous irruption near Hilo, a town in Hawaii, which threatened its total destruction. “Slowly and steadily,” Mr. Coan says, “the awful river of molten rock flowed nearer and more near, a terrible wall ever gliding onwards.” As might have been expected, the former superstitions, which had been supposed to have been eradicated, were awakened in the minds of the older folk by these continued anxieties and terrors. One old man named Keoni, thinking the goddess Pele, though she would not hear the prayers of foreigners, might be touched by the offerings of a true son of the soil, offered his choicest pig to the goddess, crying out, “Hail to thee, Pele!” Another, an old chiefess, presented offerings of silk handkerchiefs and bottles of brandy to Pele. And now the same sort of test which Elijah proposed to the Israelites on Mount Carmel was about to be applied. For though it could not be said, “Let the God who answereth by fire,” but rather, “the God who averts the effects of fire, be God,” yet the moral is the same in

both cases. At first, however, the offerings of the chiefs appeared to the people to have been accepted, for in a few days the fire began to subside. But before long the danger reappeared, and the destruction of the beautiful town of Hilo, with all its lovely gardens, seemed inevitable; nevertheless, it *was* saved—through the instrumentality of prayer. And here we will give the account of the final result, in Mr. Coan's own words:—

That man's extremity is God's opportunity, is an *old* saying, yet ever *new*, and here it was once more proven. For when the people of Hilo had almost given up hope, they appointed a solemn day of humiliation, on which they assembled together, that all might with one voice praise the prayer which had for months been ascending from many a heart and many a household, though its answer had been so long delayed. But now all agreed to meet and plead that if it so pleased the Lord their homes might be spared. All places of business were closed, and crowded services were held at morning, noon, and evening, in all the churches, Catholic and Protestant, native and foreign, throughout the district. Even the stranger within their gates joined in that solemn act of worship. For the Chinamen, who had burnt their joss-sticks and made offerings to the fire-demons, all in vain, came in a body to attend the evening service at the Hawaiian Church, that they might test the power of the Christian's God. We may leave it to those materialists who deny the overruling hand of the Creator, in the wonderful working of the great forces of nature, to search out purely natural causes for the strange coincidence that *from that very hour the fire-flood was stayed*. The great fountain on the mountain-top ceased to flow, and the stream, which for nine *long* months had been steadily moving seaward, suddenly stood still, and henceforth did not advance one foot. There it now remains, an abiding monument of the appalling danger, and of the miraculous deliverance. Vol. ii. pp. 268, 269.

We must now pass to a subject even more interesting than the fire-fountains—*i.e.*, the history of the Hawaiians. Of this Miss Cumming has given us a sketch, beginning from the time when captains visited their islands. This, of course, includes a history of the missionary work which has been going on there. There is an air of strict veracity in all that she says on that subject, which leads us to believe that her statements are accurately correct, fair, and impartial; that she states things as they *are*, not merely as she *wishes* them to be, though her wishes are all on the *right* side, which, unfortunately, cannot be affirmed of everybody who writes or speaks of missionary work. The prejudices of many nominal Christians on this subject lie on the *wrong* side, and when they talk of the failures of missionaries (apparently believing what they say), it is to be feared that the *wish* is father to the *thought*.

Sixty years ago the religious belief, or at least the mythology, of the Hawaiians was nearly identical with that of the Tahitians.

Like them, they worshipped all sorts of living creatures—birds, beasts, and fishes. The distinctive feature in their roll of gods was the *fire-loving gods* of the volcano, the chief of whom was the goddess Pele. Human sacrifices, as well as sacrifices of swine and dogs, were common among them. But amid a mass of revolting absurdity, we may find (as, indeed, we may in most heathen mythologies) at least one tradition, or article of belief, which bears some faint resemblance to the real truth. It shines dimly through a mass of error, like

“A sunbeam which has lost its way.”

The belief we are now alluding to, or perhaps it was only a vague *hope*, is founded on a tradition that a certain deified king, named Crono, who was a great favourite with the people of Hawaii, would one day return, and, at his coming, would supersede all the lesser deities. A hope something similar to this has been prevalent at different times among several nations, including our own nation, among whom a tradition once floated about that King Arthur was not *dead*, but would one day come again, “and with him all good things.” Though how far this was really believed it is difficult to say. But there is something very touching in these legends, for they point obscurely to the coming of Him Whose advent is the true hope of the Church, even Jesus Christ, the desire of all nations. With the Hawaiians, however, this belief produced one result which was truly revolting. Supposing Captain Cook to be their expected god, they paid him divine honours, which he apparently felt himself obliged to accept without protest. For we never heard that he said, like Paul and Barnabas, “Sirs, why do ye these things?” But the conduct of his crew in a great measure undeceived the natives, for they soon made them see that his coming was anything but a blessing. There were some, however, who to the last believed in his divinity.

Vancouver, who afterwards visited these islands, succeeded by his kindness and efforts to do good in obliterating the evil impressions left by Captain Cook’s followers. There were points, however, on which his efforts were unsuccessful. He could not persuade the hostile chiefs to forego their animosities, and he could not induce them to throw aside their idols and renounce the oppressive service which their superstition caused them to impose on the people, or to embrace the Christian faith. Kamehameha, the great warrior chief, the greatest hero and the most remarkable man that Hawaii has ever produced, flourished at this time. He is described by Captain King as

A savage of the most sternly ferocious appearance ; but in later years he proved himself to be in every respect a great and noble character, of wonderful ability, brave, resolute, ambitious, yet humane, hospitable and generous ; in stature herculean, in carriage majestic, with dark piercing eyes, which seemed to penetrate the innermost thoughts of all around him, and before whose glance the most courageous quailed.—Vol. ii., pp. 39, 40.

It is, indeed, much to be wished that such a man could have been won over to Christianity ; but, unfortunately, all his mighty influence flowed in the opposite direction. His belief in the fire-gods, and his power of impressing that belief on his countrymen, was greatly strengthened by a catastrophe which he, not unnaturally, attributed to the special intervention in his favour of the goddess Pele, as it occurred during two wars, which he was carrying on simultaneously, in Manii and in Hawaii.

The circumstances of the case are thus described :—

As the enemy, commanded by Keona, were marching across the isle, from Hilo to Kauai, to attack the forces of Kamehameha, they had to encamp in the neighbourhood of the volcano, when a terrific storm of thunder and lightning commenced. Supernatural darkness overspread heaven and earth, weird red and blue lights flashed in awful glare from the crater, and the earth rocked so appallingly that the stoutest hearts quailed, and none dared to move from his place lest the next step should precipitate him into the yawning chasm. For two days and nights Keona and his tribe halted terror-stricken. Then, having to choose between starvation and movement, they determined to advance. In order to divide the danger, they separated into three companies and started at intervals. The first company had gone but a little way, when a violent earthquake shook the ground, so that they reeled to and fro like drunken men, unable to stand still or proceed. Then great Pele unmasked her batteries, and with a roar, exceeding the loudest thunder-crash, pursued them with such a volley of artillery that the miracle seems that any should have escaped. The sky, which but a moment before had been unclouded, was filled with a shower of cinders and ashes, extending for many miles round, while the air was poisoned with sulphureous gases. The ashes were thrown to so great a height that they were partly cooled in their descent, and so the majority of the first company were uninjured, only a few of their number being overwhelmed and suffocated. At the appointed interval the second party started, and then in due time the third. The latter experienced much the same dangers as the first detachment, but hurried onwards and escaped with little loss. But what was their consternation, on discovering their comrades of the central division lying stark and dead ! Four hundred human beings, with their wives and their little ones, lay as if in sleep, stifled by the sulphureous vapours. Some were sitting upright, with their families grouped around them in close embrace ; others lying down,

apparently in natural sleep. It was like the destruction of the Assyrians when

“The Angel of Death spread his wing on the blast,  
And breathed on the face of the foe as he passed.”

We cannot wonder that such an apparent interposition of their goddess should have strengthened Kamehameha's belief in the power of the fire-gods. But in many other respects he exerted his influence beneficially, at least during the closing years of his reign, when his wars were ended, which did not happen till all his foes were subdued. Then he ruled with wisdom and beneficence, and put a stop to the ruthless oppression which had formerly prevailed. He so changed the whole condition of the country that the most helpless of his subjects could live in peace and security. One set of rigorous and oppressive laws, however, he maintained to the last. These were called the laws of Tabu, by which men were put to death for the most insignificant and arbitrary offences, such as putting on a waistcoat belonging to a chief, eating forbidden food, and many other transgressions equally trivial. They weighed on all classes, but most heavily on the common people. The most trying Tabus, however, were those relating to the gods, and dependent in a great measure on the caprice of the priests. Particular seasons were called “Tabu,” and during these the people were subjected to restrictions far heavier than those which the Church of Rome imposes upon her children (see vol. ii. pp. 63-65). But at last the example of the whites, and perhaps also the very weight of the burdens under which the whole nation groaned, effected a cure.

When Kamehameha died, he was succeeded by his son, Liho Liho Tolani, who was imbued with infidelity by the whites. But he would not probably have had strength of mind sufficient to break the iron chain, had he not been supported by the stronger will of his mother. The most decisive blow was struck at a certain feast where several of the high chiefs were present, and where, according to custom, the women sat in a place apart. The King sent down to his wives certain tabooed dishes, such as pigs, fowls, and turtles, and sat down to eat among them. This, of course, was denounced by the priests. A war ensued between the followers of the King and the Conservative ecclesiastical party, in which the former proved victorious, and idolatry was abolished. But as *no* religious belief had been substituted for it, the people fell under the influence of the low-minded whites who infested the islands, and their position became (if possible) more degraded than before.

The vices of civilized life were grafted on those in-

digenous to the soil. Drunkenness and the most abominable licentiousness prevailed; all laws of morality, of humanity, of natural affection, were disregarded, and Hawaii became a hell upon earth. But it is said that when things are at the worst, they often mend, and so it was in this case. Perhaps the very lawlessness of the condition in which they were then living may have paved the way towards their reception of Christianity. They must have felt its evil, and must, moreover, have experienced that craving which exists even in the mind of the unrenewed man, for some sort of faith; and having renounced their *old* belief, there was less to hinder their reception of a *new* one. At all events, whatever the cause may have been, the mission at Hawaii was attended with fewer difficulties than that of most other groups in the Pacific. It was established in the year 1820. The incident which suggested the idea was a remarkable one, and we will give it as related by Miss Cumming:—

One morning, the students at Yale College (America) found a dark-skinned lad sitting on the doorstep, crying bitterly. He told them how his father and mother had been slain before his eyes; and when he fled, carrying his infant brother on his back, the child was killed with a spear, and he was taken prisoner. After a while he managed to get on board an American ship, and so landed at New Haven. Craving to be taught all the wisdom of the white men, he found his way to the College, hoping by some means to gain access to it; but at the last his heart failed him, and so, sad and lonely, he could choose but weep.—Vol. ii., p. 88.

The result was, that this lad—whose name was Opukahaia—was taken as a pupil, and he confided to others his wish to tell the good news, which he had himself savingly received, to his countrymen. This started the idea of a mission, which was afterwards carried out. For two years the missionaries laboured, but were so opposed by the white men that the mission was not fairly established till 1823; then, indeed, the Gospel was proclaimed to all who would listen to it, and it was received with a joy which might put to shame the thousands of professing Christians in our country, on whose ears it falls every Sunday as words that have no life in them. Some of those who were present on these occasions declared that “the news was indeed good news;” and they added:—

“Let us all attend to it: who is there who does not desire eternal life in the other world?” Others said, “Our forefathers from time immemorial, and we, ever since we can remember anything, have been seeking the *ora roa* (never-ending life), or a state in which we should not die, but we have never found it yet. Perhaps this is it of which you are telling us.”—Vol. ii., p. 96.

The King Liho Liho and his Queen, as well as the Queen’s mother, were favourable to the mission; but, unfortunately,

the King was of a weak nature and very prone to the sin of drunkenness, and was encouraged to break off his resolutions of amendment by the wickedness of his white friends. In fact, the conduct of the English and American sailors, and of their captains, and also of the British Consul, was truly diabolical. They set themselves to oppose all the good and just laws, all the schemes for improvement, which the chiefs were now willing to enact. The Consul based his opposition on the pretext that it was illegal to pass laws without the sanction of the British Government, though England had recognised the Hawaiians as a free and independent people, and had no intention of interfering in their domestic affairs. Happily, however, the influence of whites—even of those who were not missionaries—was not always for evil. Yet, in spite of these exceptions, we cannot ignore the fact, humiliating though it be, that though the work of the missions was steadily progressing throughout the islands, the hindrances should, for the most part, have come from nominal Christians, and from our own countrymen. But God is stronger than man and Satan; and therefore His work, though subjected to the fires of persecution—for its enemies, not content with leading the natives into evil ways, sometimes resorted to open violence—was, like the burning bush, never consumed. One thing which greatly contributed to its success was the implicit obedience which the people were wont to pay to their chiefs; so that when the latter desired them to give ear to the teaching of the Christian ministers, they never thought of disobeying.

Another element of success was the influence of certain remarkable converts, distinguished, some by their rank, some by their character, and some by both.

We cannot, of course, mention all these; but one woman, whose name was Kapiolani, deserves especial notice. This heroic female was resolved to break the remnant of superstition which still lingered in Hawaii, riveted by a chain of terror to the awful volcano, the eruptions of which were so destructive to that island. It was always considered unsafe to visit its crater, and to eat the berries of a plant called ohilo, which grew around it in abundance, without first casting a cluster over the precipice as an offering to the goddess; and though some of the whites had dispensed with this ceremony with impunity, yet the natives supposed that this was no guarantee for their own safety should they follow their example. Therefore Kapiolani resolved that she would herself make a pilgrimage to this awful mountain, and defy the anger of the great goddess Pele. The account of her ascent (vol. ii., pp. 128-138) is well worth reading, though too long for us to transcribe. She resolved first to visit Hilo, where a mission station had been

erected, in order that she might strengthen the hands of the missionaries, by shaking the faith of the people in the most deep-rooted of all their superstitions. She was obliged to travel on foot for upwards of one hundred miles through rugged lava-beds; and though she was continually implored by the people not to brave the anger of the goddess, she still continued her journey. As she drew near the crater a prophetess of Pele met her, and warned her that she was marching to utter destruction; but she answered her from passages in Scripture, which silenced, if they did not convince, the prophetess. On reaching the edge of the crater the party saw the Pele berries growing thick around them, but no Hawaiian dared to touch them till, having gathered a branch, he had thrown it into the fiery lake, uttering the accustomed formula: "Pele, here are your obelos." "I offer some to you, I also eat." But Kapiolani ate her berries without this acknowledgment, walked to the brink of the fiery lake, and threw broken fragments of lava into the furnace; she then turned to her followers, and said: "My God is Jehovah; He it is who kindled these fires! I do not fear Pele! Should I perish by her anger, then you may fear her power; but if Jehovah save me while breaking her Tabus, then you must fear and love Him. The gods of Hawaii are vain!" Then she made her followers kneel, and join with her in a solemn act of adoration (see p. 128). Thus did this, the most inveterate of all Hawaiian superstitions, receive its death-blow, though, as might be expected, remnants of it still occasionally crop up.

And now the work of the missions advanced rapidly. Schools were set up, large congregations filled the churches, and by 1828 the four Gospels were translated into Hawaiian, and from 1,500 to 2,000 of them were in circulation. In 1831 a temperance society was formed in Honolulu. Polygamy was declared illegal, and, altogether, society began to be organized on a better model; but soon a terrible reaction, in favour of sin and idolatry, took place. The two chief causes of this were the sin of drunkenness and the evil influence of the British Consul, who, not content with exerting all his power in opposition to the Native Government, used, in common with other foreigners, to take a pleasure in seducing the natives into drunkenness, and sometimes would endeavour to induce a reformed drunkard to relapse by disguising spirits in strong coffee, in order to reawaken his former thirst for alcohol. Unfortunately the young King, though he had begun his reign well, yielded afterwards, like Liho Liho, to the influence of foreigners, who plied him with liquor, and sank lower and lower, till at last he allowed himself to be persuaded into removing all legal penalties for crime, and centring all

authority in himself. Then came the reaction. Churches were deserted, and some of them were burned; idolatry was in some places resumed, and drunkenness and licentiousness prevailed. This state of things lasted for some months, till at length the people grew disgusted with their own excesses; the King himself showed some repentance, and, after much vacillating, at last gave his sanction again to the laws in the year 1834. From that time things began to mend.

We must now give some slight notice of a remarkable awakening which took place between the years 1837 and 1843. It is described by Miss Cumming as a wave which swept through the whole group. Those who remember the revival in the North of Ireland, which took place about twenty-five years ago, will see some features in which the two resembled each other. They were neither of them the result, humanly speaking, of the preaching of any evangelist, or set of evangelists; in both instances the ministers, so far from heading the movement, were dragged on in its wake. Miss Cumming thus describes it:—

It was like an electric thrill affecting all the isles, especially Oahu, Mani, and especially Hawaii. On the latter, the resident clergy had been absent visiting the distant schools. Their canoe was wrecked, and they had just managed to swim ashore, when a message was brought to them from the Mission House at Kaawaloa, bidding them return at once, for strange things were happening—the natives were coming in companies asking what they should do to be saved. In 1838 news was received simultaneously from all parts of the isle, that the interest awakened was such that the people seemed to think of nothing else. Those who had hitherto been the most dull and stupid, and those who had not a thought beyond the lowest pleasures, were now roused to self-examination and prayer, &c.—Vol. ii., pp. 142, 143.

It is necessary to read the whole of the nineteenth chapter in order to appreciate fully the power of this great awakening. Mr. Coan, whose exertions at this period were almost superhuman, being accused of having endeavoured to get up a false excitement, replied: "How could I help it? I did not believe the devil would set men praying, confessing, and *breaking* their sins, by righteousness." Probably there were some extravagant demonstrations, for such generally accompany a religious revival in the case of the uneducated. And they cannot always be prevented. However, ministers should always be careful not to pander to anything sensational; for exhibitions of this sort rather hinder than promote the real work. In Ireland it was observed that the permanent conversions were generally those which were accompanied by the least outward display.

After this time, the history of the Hawaiian Missions becomes somewhat painful to read, for it tells of the springing up of

conflicting sects, and consequently, of bitter religious dissensions. A Roman Catholic Mission began a struggling existence in 1827; and after much opposition, was finally established. In 1862 an Episcopal Mission was commenced, which at first produced results which were anything but beneficial. It stirred up strife and painful religious discussions. Now, however, it seems that early feelings of bitterness and sectarian strife have become mellowed. The present King and Queen are zealous Episcopalians; but though they throw the weight of their influence in favour of our Church, it remains antipathetic to the bulk of the community.

There is much in these interesting volumes which we have been obliged to leave unnoticed, and the short imperfect sketch we have given of their contents does not do full justice to their excellences. Perhaps, however, it is better that such should be the case, for we have no desire that the reading of this paper should be made a substitute for the perusal of the original; our aim has rather been to lay it before the public notice, for, if we can succeed in that, we may safely leave it to stand upon its own merits.

EDWARD WHATELY.

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## Reviews.

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*The Merv Oasis.* Travels and Adventures East of the Caspian, during the years 1879-81, including Five Months' Residence among the Tekkes of Merv. By E. O'DONOVAN, Special Correspondent of the *Daily News*. Two vols. Smith, Elder & Co.

THESE volumes contain a record of Mr. O'Donovan's wanderings around and beyond the Caspian, including a five months' residence at Merv, during the three years 1879-81. In the first volume he relates his experiences of the Russian settlements on the eastern shores of the Caspian, and touches slightly on the military operations against the Akhal Tekké tribes. He also enters into the border relations existing between Russians, Turcomans, and Persians. These chapters pleasingly lead the reader on, and make him easily understand what follows concerning the attitude of the Merv Turcomans. Mr. O'Donovan's description of the Merv Oasis is clearly drawn, and full of information; it will interest many who are outside the general-reader class. View it how one may, indeed, this ably written work merits praise; it cannot fail to take a good place among high-class books about Central Asia. As a representative of the *Daily News*, Mr. O'Donovan has supplied another proof of the courage, skill, resource, and indomitable temper of our enterprising Special Correspondents.

Mr. O'Donovan left Trebizond on February 5th, 1879, steaming to Batoum and to Poti. From Poti to Tiflis there is a railroad, and the journey takes about twelve hours. The first thing that strikes the eye in

the capital of the Trans-Caucasus, is the semi-Asiatic, semi-European aspect of the place; the old town with its narrow streets of old-fashioned booths and Tartar costumes, contrasting with palatial houses, modern gardens, and Parisian attire. In the upper class of Russian "society," says our author, the rate of living is remarkably "fast." After two days in Tiflis, he prepared for his journey across the steppes which separated him from the Western Caspian border. The hotel charges were excessively high, and he was not sorry to leave Tiflis behind. Yet the journey prospect was not inviting. Up to the end of the seventeenth century, it is said, a traveller setting out from Lyons to Paris, in view of the state of the road, considered it his duty to draw up his last will and testament. The roads in France at that time, probably, bore some resemblance to the roads traversed by the *Daily News* "Special" on his way from Tiflis across the Trans-Caucasian plain. He had heard and read a good deal about the perils of travel in that part of the world, but his anticipations fell short of the reality. After obtaining his posting-passport, an all-important document, he was promised by the people of the hotel an orthodox postal vehicle, with an official conductor. The vehicle in which one ordinarily travels by post in this part of the world, says Mr. O'Donovan, is termed a *troika* :—

There is a more luxurious kind of conveyance—which, to tell the truth, is not saying much for it—named a *tarentasse*; but though one may pay the increased rate demanded for such a carriage, he is not always sure of finding others at the changing-places on the route, should, as is generally the case, his own come to grief. The experienced traveller generally chooses the *troika*, for at each station at least half a dozen are always in readiness to supply the almost inevitable breakdowns which occur from post-house to post-house. At the moment of which I speak I had never seen either *tarentasse* or *troika*; I had a kind of preconceived idea about four fiery steeds and a fur-lined carriage, in which the traveller is whirled in luxury to his destination. Judge of my surprise when, on a raw winter's morning, just as the grey dawn was stealing over the turrets of the old Persian fortress, I saw a nameless kind of thing drawn up before the door of the hotel. Though I had just been summoned from bed to take my place, I had not the slightest suspicion that the four-wheeled horror before me was even intended for my luggage; so I waited patiently for the arrival of my ideal conveyance. The hall porter and some chilly-looking waiters were standing around impatiently awaiting a "gratification," and evidently believing that I was all the time buried in deep political or scientific thought. I was beginning to get stiff with cold, and at length I asked, "Where is this coach?" "Your Excellence," said the porter, "it is there before you." When I shall have described a *troika*, no one will wonder at the exclamation of amazement and terror which burst from my lips at the bare idea that I had to travel four hundred miles in such a thing. Imagine a pig-trough of the roughest possible construction, four feet and a half long, two and a half wide at the top, and one at the bottom, filled with coarse hay, more than half thistles, and set upon four poles, which in turn rest upon the axles of two pairs of wheels. Besides these poles, springs, even of the most rudimentary kind, there are none.

The *troika*-driver, clad in a rough sheepskin tunic, fitting closely at the waist, with the woolly side turned inwards, and wearing a great conical cap of the same material, sits upon the forward edge of the vehicle. With a combination of patched leather straps and knotted ropes by way of reins, he conducts the three horses. The centre horse is between two shafts; the side horses are very loosely harnessed. As the stations at which relays are usually found are but twenty-seven or twenty-eight miles apart, they are gone over, almost the whole time, at full gallop. A "posting station" on these plains, as a rule, is a very dull and lonely place; there may be three small buildings of a single story, some barns, and an enclosure for chickens and cattle. At each station-house is a

"guest-chamber," a small room containing two wooden camp-beds, a table, a fireplace, and a chair or two. The traveller is supposed to bring his bedding with him, as well as his food, tea, sugar, &c. Usually it is difficult to procure food, unless some of the women of the establishment can supply a few eggs and some sheets of the peculiarly leathery bread which seems to pervade the entire East. The only thing the traveller can be certain of finding is the *samovar*. On the arrival of a *troika* with traveller, the *samovar* is immediately brought into the guest-room, and tea is made while the horses are being changed. Weak tea (without milk) being swallowed, the traveller again mounts his chariot, which dashes away in the most reckless fashion, utterly regardless of the nature or state of the road. Over bad portions the jolting of the springless vehicle is terrific. At the third station from Tiflis the traveller may be said to bid farewell for the time being to civilization. After a time, indeed, the road seems to have disappeared.

Elizabetopol is a kind of "halfway-house" between the last traces of Europe and the Caspian shores. This town, like Tiflis, is half Asiatic and half European. In its "Grand Hotel," by dint of bribery, Mr. O'Donovan secured a kind of feather-bed; but no such thing as a basin-stand could be had, and it seemed as though only one basin was allowed for the service of the guests. At what was an attempt at a *table-d'hôte*, only ham and caviare could be got.

According to Russian courtesy, it appears when a traveller of any distinction passes through a district, he is supposed to call upon and pay his respects to the local Governor. Accordingly, says Mr. O'Donovan:—

I donned the best suit which the slender wardrobe carried in my saddle-bags afforded me, and presented myself at the palace of the Government, where Prince Chavchavaza resided. I was graciously received, but the Prince, a Georgian of the old school, unfortunately did not understand French. The Secretary, more than polite, as secretaries usually are in Russia, interpreted our discourse. I was received in a chamber hung with ancient tapestry, the walls of which were garnished with arms of different periods, captured during the protracted struggles in which Schamyl led the Caucasians. Our conversation at first took a general turn, and after a while we began to speak of the future of the Russian Empire over these vast plains. I observed that nothing but means of communication and transport were wanting to make Russia the Rome of to-day. He bowed his head in assent, and gave me many examples, which space does not allow me to recapitulate here, especially as the present is only a chapter introductory to my adventures beyond the Caspian. And then, suddenly turning to me, he fixed his dark eyes upon my face with a piercing glance, and said, "Do you know that we expect an army corps shortly, bound for the shores of the Caspian?" "My prince," I replied, "I was unaware of the fact. Where are they going to?" "There is an expedition against the Turcomans," he said, "commanded by General Lazareff." This was news for me, and I resolved, instead of proceeding on my original mission, to follow the operations of the Russian columns. Having thus determined, nothing was left but to await the arrival of the Commander-in-Chief, General Lazareff, and to ask his permission to accompany his expedition.

In Baku, our author obtained permission from General Lazareff to go with him and his staff; and on April 2nd they set forth for the camp of Tchikislar, the base of operations of the expeditionary columns against the Akhal Tekké Turcomans. Life in the Russian camp, and the first of the series of combats with the independent Turcomans which culminated in the capture of their strongholds at Geok Tepé, is well described. It is remarkable that the tribes who fought so fiercely against the Russians but three years ago, have become as much their obedient servants as the Yamuds of the Caspian littoral, who seven years previously were foremost in fighting against the Muscovite invaders. Certainly the Russian Government knows well how to conciliate this newly conquered Asiatic

people. To the illness and death of General Lazareff, and the subsequent changes in the Russian expeditionary force, and to Mr. O'Donovan's inevitable change of plans, we can only allude.

Of his journey to Asterabad, our author gives several interesting sketches. Thus, on drawing near a village, he says :

After eight hours' march the ordinarily stunted and withered grass of the plains began to assume a more verdant appearance, and vast herds of sheep, goats, and cows were to be met with, attended by wild-looking men and boys, all of them wearing the preposterous black sheepskin hat of the country, and each armed with musket and sabre. Another hour's ride brought us to the village of Giurgen, close to the river-bank. Here, as is usual when approaching a Turcoman village, we were furiously assailed by scores of gigantic wolf-like dogs, whose invariable custom it is to surround the stranger, who, if on foot, is often in serious peril. Riding into the centre of the village I invited the Turcomans, who stood at the doors of the *kibitkas* highly amused by the predicament in which I was placed, to call off their dogs, who were leaping savagely at my boots and my horse's nose, causing the poor beast to rear and kick furiously. One had seized by his teeth the extremity of the rather extensive tail of my charger, and, managing to keep out of range of his heels, held on like grim death. I drew my revolver and exhibited it to the Turcomans, assuring them that if they did not immediately call off their dogs I would make use of the weapon. To this threat they paid no attention, and I was obliged to turn in my saddle and fire fully into my assailant's mouth. As he rolled over on the sward his companions, with the most admirable promptitude, withdrew to a safe distance, and the Turcomans, rushing out with sticks in their hands, proceeded to beat them still farther off, though at first I supposed that the sticks were intended for my own person.

On April 26, 1880, with Mr. Churchill, the British Consul, he sallied forth from the western gate of Asterabad, *en route* for Kenar Gez, the so-called port of Asterabad, one of the three ports possessed by Persia on the Caspian littoral. In due course he arrived, *via* Rasht, at Teheran. On his journey he had painful experience of the *garrib-gez*, literally "bite the stranger." This is an exceedingly venomous insect : about the third of an inch in length, it resembles in form the English sheep-tick. Its sting is productive of the worst results ; a small red point is followed by a large black spot, which suppurates, accompanied by a high fever. Oddly enough, the people of a *habitat* of this pestilential insect (the *arga Persica*) experience no inconvenience from its sting. At Masrah, in 1879, some Austrian officers going to Teheran were stung by the *garrib-gez*, and all of them fell ill, one narrowly escaping with his life. A Persian medical man informed our author that when any important personage was travelling through a district infested by "bite-the-stranger," his attendants usually administered to him one of these bugs during the early morning concealed in a piece of bread.

At Teheran, Mr. O'Donovan was privately informed that the Russian General had doubts and suspicions ; they thought his going among the Merv Turcomans as a newspaper correspondent was only a pretence, and that in reality he was an agent to the British Government. The fact was, however, as he tells his readers, he was simply the correspondent of the *Daily News* ; he was obliged to "change sides," because the Czar's generals, so to speak, shut the door in his face. He took his own line : and opening friendly communication with the Tekkés, he journeyed first to Geok Tepé, (in spite of General Scobeloff), and then to Merv.

On January 16, we read, the traveller started for Durangar. News had come in of two sorties of the garrison of Geok Tepé, on the 9th and 10th. The plan of the Tekkés had been betrayed to the Russians ; they gained, however, a partial success. Before the lines of investment were completed, a body of Tekké cavalry left the town and engaged some Kuchan marauders. The dangers of the English "Special's" journey

were obviously by no means small. He pushed on, nevertheless, to the last village acknowledging Persian authority. It was not safe to travel in the plain where he was equally liable to fall in with Russian scouting parties or Turcoman stragglers. He kept therefore along the slopes of the mountain, though travelling there was very fatiguing for their horses (the party was seven in number), but the utmost caution was necessary. "Early on the 24th," he writes, "we ascended the top of the Markov mountain, which towers some six thousand feet over the Tekké plain, and is not over twelve miles from Geok Tepé. With my double field-glass I could easily make out the lines of the Turcoman fortress, and the general position of its besiegers; but I was too far off to be able to make notes of details. I could plainly see by the smoke of the guns and the movements of the combatants that the attack had begun in earnest, and I watched its results with intense anxiety. The Russian assault was directed against the southerly wall of the fortifications, and, after what was apparently a desperate conflict there, it was evident that they had forced their way. A crowd of horsemen began to ride in confusion from the other side of the town and spread in flight over the plain. Immediately afterwards a mass of fugitives of every class showed that the town was being abandoned by its inhabitants. The Turcoman fortress had fallen, and all was over with the Akhal Tekkés."

For the account of his ride to Merv, and his reception among the people, we must refer our reader to the work. Lack of space prevents from quoting more than a portion of the description of his life in Merv.

With the exception of some of the well-to-do classes, we read, the Turcomans live but poorly.

The morning meal generally consists of fresh-baked griddled bread, hot from the oven, and weak green tea, though the latter is not always forthcoming. The women, who are astir long before sunrise, grind the corn in their horizontal stone mills, and immediately afterwards bake it in the circular mud ovens placed a few yards in front of the entrance of each *ev*. In the early dawn, looking across the plains, the site of each village is marked by the red glow hanging over it as the rude ovens are being heated with the brambles and grass fuel in common use. This is the invariable practice of rich and poor alike.

At midday there is another meal, usually of bread and *galtuk*, supplemented, perhaps, with fresh or indurated salty cheese. During the great heats, many dine on bread, with melons, grapes, or other fruits. It is not usual, except when entertaining a guest, or on some festive occasion, to eat flesh meat at this midday meal.

The principal meal of the day occurs after sundown. It is at this time that one sees Turcoman provisions in all their variety. In a Khan's house, during at least four days in the week, the *pièce de résistance* consists of mutton-broth and bread. Every day a number of sheep are killed in each village, chiefly by speculators, who realize a small sum by so doing; or, should anyone have a guest whom it is absolutely necessary to furnish with meat, he kills a sheep, takes what is necessary for his own purposes, and sends the crier round the village to announce that he has slaughtered the animal, and is prepared to dispose of the remaining portions at the ordinary prices.

At Merv a sheep usually costs from seven to twelve shillings. The animals are of the big-tailed variety, and all the fat of their bodies seems to concentrate itself in the tail, which cannot, on the average, weigh less than twelve pounds, and is the dearest portion of the carcase. When a sheep is killed, the tail is first made use of. It is skinned, and cut into pieces, which are placed in a large hemispherical iron caldron of about two feet in diameter. In this the fat is melted down to the consistency of oil, and, when it is at a high temperature, pieces of lean, chopped small, are thrown into it, and the fat is removed from the fire. The contents are then poured into a wooden dish, somewhat larger than the pot, which is placed upon the carpet in the midst of the guests. Each person dips his bread into the melted grease, now and again fishing out a morsel of meat. Owing to the high

temperature of the fat, these morsels are quite calcined, and taste precisely like greasy cinders. It is a peculiarity of the Turcomans that they like their meat exceedingly well done. When all the meat has been picked out from the dish, and the liquid within has attained a moderate temperature, the master of the feast takes the vessel in both hands, places it to his lips, and swallows a pint or so of the fat. He then hands it to the guest nearest to him, who does likewise, and so it makes the circuit of the party. When nearly all the grease has been thus consumed, and if there be present any person whom the host especially designs to honour, he offers him the wooden dish, and the recipient gathers up what remains by passing his curved finger round the interior and conveying it to his mouth.

Mr. O'Donovan met with several prisoners at Merv. He was successful in attempting to procure the release of one of them, a Russian gunner, who had been at Merv for years. The account of his interview with this unfortunate man begins thus :

I was engaged in taking some notes of the day's occurrences when the door opened and some Turcomans entered. They wore their swords, and were booted as for a journey. In their midst was a man who had neither sword nor boots, although he wore the regular Turcoman costume. This was the Russian prisoner Kidaieff. Had I not been so informed I should never have known that he was not a Turcoman. Though only about twenty-five years old, he looked considerably over forty. He seemed worn to little more than skin and bone; and his pale, leaden-coloured face was wasted and ghastly to look upon. He resembled a walking corpse rather than aught else; and his dull, glassy eyes had a fixed and mindless expression. I motioned to him to be seated. He addressed me in Russian, of which unfortunately I understand but little. I then spoke to him in Jagatai Tartar, which he spoke with some fluency. He thanked me for the money which I had sent to him, and stated that he was very grateful for the improved treatment which he had experienced since my arrival at Merv, the irons upon his ankles having been removed at my request. I asked him about the treatment which he had met with at the hands of the Turcomans since his capture, but could get but little information on this score, for his gaolers were sitting beside him, and he did not dare to answer. I could see, however, from his emaciated frame and the expression of his countenance, that his sufferings must have been great indeed. . . . He had been subjected to all kinds of torture. . . . He had not changed his religion.

*Light.* A Course of Experimental Optics, chiefly with the Lantern, by LEWIS WRIGHT, with illustrations. Pp. 340. Macmillan & Co. 1882.

THE aim of this excellent little book, as we are told in the preface, is "to place clearly before the mind of the reader, through something like a complete course of actual experiments, the physical realities which underlie the phenomena of Light and Colour." Accordingly, the greater part of the book is occupied by a full and clear description of the experiments here alluded to, the conditions of their success, the mode of performing them, and the actual results obtained. The work is not, therefore, a text-book so much as a companion and supplement to existing text-books, and it will be found to have its chief value for those who are disposed to experiment for themselves in the fascinating branch of physics to which it relates. Were the book nothing more than this, however, it would scarcely fall within the category of those which may properly be noticed in *THE CHURCHMAN*. But it is far more than this. Mr. Wright writes throughout in a spirit less common, we fear, among physical investigators than formerly—a spirit which recognises that the phenomena described are not phenomena merely, but manifestations of the working of the one Infinite Power which directs the universe, and thus connected with all the rest of His works. In the light of this recognition the phenomena are examined with none the less accuracy and impartiality;

but they are at the same time invested with a glory and an interest which is not their own. To the author, light presents itself not only as a peculiar group of physical phenomena, but also as a revealer of things kept secret, both in its own proper sphere and in many others besides; and he delights to follow out the analogies with other and higher works of revelation, which seem to show that all alike proceed from the one Father of lights, whether lights external or lights internal.

Actuated by this spirit, Mr. Wright tries to show throughout his work not only what light *does*, but what light *is*. The beautiful experiments which he describes are mainly classified according as they illustrate, step by step, the great theory of the vibratory nature of light. Of this theory he, in common, we believe, with all practical physicists, is a firm and even an enthusiastic supporter. But it is to be remembered that this theory is still subjected to attacks from various metaphysical quarters, and it is therefore well worth while to review once again the evidence in its favour. This evidence, so far as it can be presented by experiment and general reasoning, apart from mathematical analysis, Mr. Wright puts before us with singular cogency and clearness. In the first place he insists (p. 47) on the *invisibility* of light, which, though apparently a contradiction, is perfectly true. "It is itself, and by itself, absolutely invisible. It *makes* visible to us luminous objects or sources, rays from which actually reach our eyes; but if we look sideways at rays from the most dazzling light, we cannot see them. Space is black." Next, in chapter v., we have the clear and incontrovertible proof that light has a definite velocity, as obtained by astronomical observations, and afterwards by actual measurement. Hence the conclusion is drawn that light must be motion, or, as we should prefer to put it, that light must be due to motion. For, if a ray from one of Jupiter's moons becomes visible at a particular instant at one end of a diameter of the earth's orbit, and a quarter of an hour later becomes visible at the other end, something must have been moving in the interval along that diameter. Now there are only two possible explanations of that motion. Either it is the motion of a *thing*, as when a bullet, shot from a gun, flies to its mark; or it is the motion of a *state of things*, as when the sound of the same shot is propagated in all directions, as a wave of alternate condensation and rarefaction in the surrounding atmosphere. The only other supposition that it seems possible to make is that light is an ultimate and entirely inexplicable phenomenon, which *acts as if* it were due to motion. Such suppositions are constantly made in metaphysics, but never in science, the students of which do not waste their time in spinning unsupported hypotheses. Practically, therefore, when once we have proved that light has a velocity, we are shut up to one or other of the two theories of emission or undulation. Now, in the remainder of the volume, it is abundantly shown that the emission theory is absolutely in contradiction with various known facts regarding light; that it fails to account for others; and others, again, it only accounts for by the aid of subsidiary and uncertain hypotheses. The undulatory theory, on the contrary, not only accounts for almost every particular of the phenomena, but enables us to foretell phenomena whose existence is afterwards established; it is not in contradiction with any of them, and the few cases where difficulties still remain, show signs of yielding to improved knowledge and methods of research. It cannot be questioned to which of the two theories our adherence is due.

We have no space to follow out the various methods by which Mr. Wright tests and illustrates this theory; but we must call attention to a concluding chapter, in which he sums up his results, and asks what is their outcome. Heat, Light, Colour, Electricity, all are due, it appears,

to propagation of disturbance through the Ether. This ether we cannot do without; "no eye has seen it; no instruments can weigh it; no vessel can contain it; nothing can measure it; yet it must be there. Absolutely invisible, it is yet the sole key to all physical phenomena." Light is a disturbance caused in this ether by energy, a power which is the constant working agent throughout the universe: but this disturbance, so long as it is confined to the ether, is "invisible, inconceivable, unknown to us, unless matter, to make it visible, be in its path." Thus in Ether, Matter, Energy, we have three existences, all alike necessary for the condition of the world as we know it. Take away either, and what becomes of the universe as we know it or can conceive it! And yet this universe at least is monistic—is one harmonious whole. On this view of things, derived from the study of Light, Mr. Wright finds a striking analogy to the Christian doctrine of an infinitely higher "Trinity in Unity." We do not say that the conditions of the analogy are complete—Mr. Wright himself would not say so—but certainly it forms an excellent example how, in purely physical studies, we meet continually with conceptions and difficulties and mysteries scarcely less profound than those which occur in religion, and which to many minds form a stumbling-block to its acceptance. In short every study, even the most concrete and practical, runs up at last to some primary fact, which we cannot explain, but must accept: of which we can never say how it is so, or why it is so, but must be content to repeat that it is so.

*The Early Days of Christianity.* By F. W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S. Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co.

THE attractive title assigned by Canon Farrar to his new work hardly serves to give the reader an adequate idea of its general scope and character. That work is not in any sense a history of the Apostolic or sub-Apostolic times, as one might be tempted to suppose from its name, and even from a perusal of the very graphic and brilliant "first book" it would prove to be, but rather, as indeed the writer states in his preface, "an attempt to set forth in their distinctive characteristics the work and the writings of St. Peter, St. James, St. Jude, St. John, and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews." The bulky volumes, in fact, are altogether critical and literary rather than historical. They deal with the vexed questions of authorship, genuineness, date, interpretation, and the like, of the several New Testament Scriptures, which questions they "vex" yet further. It is needless to say that Canon Farrar exhibits all his accustomed exuberant and over-ornate eloquence in discussing these questions; and it is possible he may think he writes as a dispassionate critic: but he is too strong an advocate of certain familiar principles, and too strenuous an opponent of what he regards as merely "popular" views, for the partisan to be even effectually disguised. What is really wanted in a writer, possessed of all the splendid endowments and advantages of Canon Farrar, who would set himself to inform, instruct, and educate the public mind, is not merely to hold up the supposed popular view to contempt or to illustrate it by a strong and exaggerated contrast, but to grapple with it patiently and honestly, and to endeavour to do it full justice by hitting the precise point that it just contrives to miss, or at the most that it slants away from in merely touching; and there is a certain feeling of disappointment that comes over us when we cannot help seeing that not seldom the proposed censure of the popular view is a little too strong to be quite dispassionate, and that sometimes in being a little more than just it is also a little less than true.

It is clear that the brunt of the Canon's strictures is directed against the notion of verbal inspiration. Now, in regard to inspiration, our own

views are decidedly conservative. But, to consider the question broadly, is it not self-evident that if we are to receive any inspiration at all on which we can depend, it must be an inspiration that affects the words, and at times, at all events, is inseparably connected with them or they with it? How much, for example, of the so-called inspiration of Homer or Shakespeare is so bound up with the very words that if the words are altered the boasted inspiration evaporates altogether! We have heard, for instance, of a proposed emendation of the familiar words "books in the running brooks, sermons in stones, and good in everything," of "stones in the running brooks, sermons in books, and good in everything." But surely, if there is any "inspiration" in the one case there can be none at all in the other; and thus whatever inspiration there is, it must to that extent be a verbal inspiration, or an inspiration dependent on the words. Yet, if this is so, shall we venture to say that in a multitude of the Scripture "texts," for which as "texts" Canon Farrar expresses so much contempt, there is any more essential independence of the inspiration on the actual words used than there would be in this fragment of "As You Like It?" The notion of verbal inspiration is one which it is obviously very easy to hold up to ridicule; but the question rather is whether there is not or may not be latent in it a particular and a very precious truth which the great powers of Dr. Farrar would be more profitably employed in developing, limiting, and enforcing, than they would be in exposing it to ridicule, which, indeed, it requires no power at all to do. For example, one may thoroughly go along with the Canon's remarks (vol. i., p. 286) as to Teachers "who had kindled their torches at the Sun of Righteousness, and drawn some sparks of light from the unemptiable fountain of Divine wisdom;" but, admitting all this, is there no truth on the other side too? Is it or is it not a fact that Scripture as Scripture, estimate it how we will, does differ from Philo, Plato, Sakya-Muni, and all the rest. If it is a fact that it does differ, how is it that it differs, and in what respects does it differ? And are the points in which it differs sufficiently distinct to be defined and argued? and if so, must not their definition and enforcement be a matter in itself of supreme importance, and is it not a more worthy object to endeavour to bring out, illustrate, and adjust the principles and elements of truth herein latent than it is to estimate and virtually to depreciate and disparage them by dwelling over-prominently on the misconceptions and exaggerations with which in the "popular mind" they have been connected?

It is quite beyond our scope and limits to attempt anything like a detailed examination or even account of Dr. Farrar's elaborate work. There is much in it which all may admire and from which all may learn; oftentimes quaint information and nuggets of out-of-the-way learning which we would gladly cherish and treasure up. But we demur to some of his conclusions, and we regret the impatience and intolerance of tone in many passages. At all times we would plead for a somewhat higher and more specific and exclusive position for Scripture as Scripture, whatever the limits we assign to it, than Canon Farrar seems disposed to grant. It is all very well to discuss the canonicity of the Second Epistle of St. Peter, and the like; but there may be a far more important question than this, namely, what do we mean by canonicity? Is it an accident or an attribute? Supposing such and such a book is canonical, what does that imply? does the fact of canonicity impart anything to the book, or is canonicity itself the result of something which characterizes the book before it is found to be canonical? and if so, what is this something? This question is not duly weighed in Canon Farrar's book; and yet this is really the question of the greatest moment, and the consequences of it are of vital interest to every Christian. It matters comparatively little

who wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews ; but if the book is canonical why is it canonical, and what does its being canonical mean ? It is unquestionably a very difficult matter to define the limits suggested by the term, but in the present day it is more essential to hold fast by positive results than to be over-zealous in detecting a misconception or exaggeration of something which is after all true, though perhaps a distorted truth, and upon the actual and essential truth of which so much depends. From the tone in which Canon Farrar writes one would suppose he thought it worse than heresy to connect the Epistle to the Hebrews in any way with St. Paul, and that some moral fault belonged to those who did ; whereas whether he wrote it or not cannot affect the amount of deference due to its authority if it is indeed canonical, and if canonicity is anything more than a mere qualification that ecclesiastical critics are pleased to assign to it.

The main positions that Canon Farrar sets himself to establish are that the Second Epistle of Peter is not genuine ;<sup>1</sup> that the Epistle to the Hebrews is not St. Paul's ; that the Apocalypse was an early production of St. John's, written before he had thrown off the husk of Judaism, and that in its interpretation is entirely a thing of the past, with Nero for the man of sin, and the like. Such positions, of course, anyone is fairly at liberty to hold and to maintain with such eloquence and cogency of argument as he may be able to command. They only become a little tedious when one is not allowed to have any other opinion about them, or even to hold one's judgment in suspense, except under pain of being regarded as a slavish adherent of exploded doctrines and the votary of extreme theories about the letter of Scripture.

The sketch of declining Paganism with which the book opens is one of great power, and its ghastly and lurid glare tends to set off as a foil the bright pure light of that heaven-born system which superseded it. The strong and impressive contrast which makes itself felt by everyone forces the question on the conscience. What is the meaning and explanation of the tremendous divergence in the course of the world's history and life which is traceable to the point at which the stream of Christianity is detected as commingling with the foul and turbid waters of Paganism ? And this to all time will be the problem for the historian and philosopher, whence in the midst of so much that was corrupt and putrid was the mind and spirit which breathed and expressed itself in the sweetly simple and fragrant writings of the New Testament ?

S. T. P.

*The Remote Antiquity of Man not Proven.—Primeval Man not a Savage.*  
By B. C. Y. Pp. 191. Elliot Stock.

IT appears marvellous that the assumption of the high antiquity of man and that of his descent from a bestial ancestor, opposed as these opinions are to the common beliefs of mankind, and to the highest instincts of human nature, should have been adopted by some of our leading men of science as conclusions proved by modern research, and that within the short period of the last twenty-five years. It seems more marvellous still, that the following and holding of these opinions should be considered as indications of superior mental powers rising above the common prejudices of the vulgar herd, and conferring an intellectual pre-eminence

<sup>1</sup> At the close of his argument he gives three reasons why he "cannot regard it as *certainly* spurious." There is much to support the conclusion, he believes, "that we have not here the words and style of the great Apostle, but that he lent to this Epistle the sanction of his name and the assistance of his advice. If this be so, it is still in its main essence genuine as well as canonical."

on those who advocate them. But of such violent revolutions of opinion Time is usually the avenger; and in this case the rebound of opinion in an opposite direction has not only commenced, but has been pressed on to the front, and sustained by well-directed efforts both in the field and in the study.

This reaction arises from two causes. The foundation facts of the theory, drawn from the cavern deposits and the gravel beds, have been carefully examined by other observers; and much of the supposed evidence has broken down and been withdrawn, while additional established facts have shown that much of the former deductions cannot be maintained. Again, adopting the general correctness of the facts put forward by the advocates of man's antiquity as a basis for an examination of the theory, the conclusions drawn from them have been shown to be one-sided and defective. Cross-examination of the witnesses, indeed, shows that the statements are not only contradictory, but that, as a whole, they lead to an opposite conclusion. And this mode of attack stands on the vantage-ground of undisputed facts; it is a flank movement which not only destroys the enemy's position, but wins the very site of the battle-field.

The author of this book before us has adopted this last mode of attack; and by extensive literary research, and acute logical deductions, has come to the conclusion that even on the partial and selected facts of his opponents, the high antiquity of man is "NOT PROVEN."

Taking Kent's Cavern, near Torquay, as a typical example of the value of the evidence derived from cavern deposits, he combats the conclusion of Mr. Pengelly, that, judging from the bosses of stalagmite, the upper bed, of five feet in thickness, must have been formed after the rate of an inch in 5,000 years, equal to a period of 300,000 years for the whole. Mr. Alfred Wallace gives, "as a fair estimate" of the time required for the formation of the same bed, a period of 100,000 years. On the contrary, Professor Dawkins is of opinion that the same bed of stalagmite "may possibly have been formed at the rate of a quarter of an inch per annum; at which rate twenty feet of stalagmite might be formed in a thousand years."

In the cave-earth, the next bed under the stalagmite, which should therefore have been at least 100,000 years old, a polished bone pin was found; but such pins are known to have been in use at and after the occupation of the country by the Romans. Barbed bone harpoons were also found in the cave-earth, but they are similar in make to those used by savage tribes at the present day. And mixed with the bones of the extinct animals some bones of sheep were found—an animal unknown in Europe before the Neolithic age. Thus, if the bones of the extinct mammoth and rhinoceros prove the high antiquity of the "flint implements," the flints, which are only flakes used at the present day, and the Neolithic sheep, equally prove the modern origin of the deposit.

We now come to the breccia—the chief battle-field of the question of man's remote antiquity so far as this cave is concerned. But even here, according to Mr. MacEnery, a few bits of coarse pottery were found; and Mr. Pengelly refers to the animal remains as those of the "bear only." It is admitted that there is no proof that the bones were those of the extinct cave-bear (if such an animal ever existed), but are more probably those of the brown or the grizzly bear, both existing at the present day. It is admitted, in the Fifth Report of the Committee, p. 204, that "the remains of the extinct brute inhabitants (*sic*) of Devonshire are mixed confusedly with those of the present day; and the handiwork of the human contemporary of the mammoth is found inosculating with the product of the potter's wheel." And not only so; but in

the upper bed of the cavern the remains of the extinct animals are abundantly found, whilst in the breccia, the lowest bed of the cavern, and under seventeen feet of stalagmite, the bones of the existing animals only are found. There is also the remarkable admission in the Third Report, p. 8, "that the most highly finished implements, whether of flint or of bone, are those which have been found at the lowest levels."

Thus the obvious inference from such evidence tends rather to bring down the date of the extinct animals to the human period, than to take man back to a remote antiquity.

Other caverns are referred to by the author with similar results, especially that of the discovery of a human fibula under glacial clay in the Victoria Cavern, near Settle. At more than one meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, it was said of this bone :—Here is direct proof that man lived in England prior to the last inter-glacial period ; but many doubted such an important discovery. A conference of experts accordingly was held at the rooms of the Anthropological Society ; and here it came out that this important bone was first considered to be that of an elephant, then, that it was a human fibula, and ultimately it was decided to be probably the bone of a bear ; or, as expressed by Dr. Murie, "it might be almost any bone ; and that all ideas of the habits of the cave-dwellers founded upon it were, therefore, mere fictions."

The author proceeds to consider the alluvial deposits of the valley of the Somme, and of these he says :—"Assuming what is not proved, however, that these flints were tools, we pass on to the inquiry, Would the layers of gravel require the long period of time supposed for their deposition ?" On this important point he adopts the opinion of Principal Dawson, F.R.S., that the geological age of these deposits of the valley of the Somme might be reduced to perhaps less than 1,000 years. There are, further, valuable chapters on "Primeval Man not a Savage ;" on "No Trace of Anterior Barbarism" of man in Egypt and the East. The supposed evidence of man's antiquity drawn from the peat-bogs of Denmark, and from the pile-dwellings of Switzerland, is also discussed.

The conclusion from the whole of the evidence is thus summed up :—"The writer has now, he believes, examined all the principal evidence on which scientists rely for proving the remote antiquity of man, and he cannot find one fact which will prove that a longer time is required than the Bible chronology will admit." To those who have incautiously relied upon the defective evidence, and the strong assertions on which the remote antiquity of man has been attempted to be founded and bolstered up, we recommend this book as an antidote and a guide out of the difficulties with which the subject is entangled.

NICHOLAS WHITLEY.

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## Short Notices.

*The Chichester Diocesan Calendar, for 1883.* Published by authority of the Lord Bishop of the Diocese. Clowes and Sons, 13, Charing-cross.

In this Calendar appears a report of the Chichester Diocesan Conference containing an admirable address by the Bishop, and much interesting matter. Our attention was particularly attracted by the discussion on Church Boards. A full and comprehensive paper on the subject, "Parochial Councils," with an analysis of Mr. Grey's Bill, was read by Mr. C. A. Hall-Hall. He argued that Church Boards would strengthen the parochial system. The Rev. F. H. Vivian supported the resolution. Mr. F.

Barchard (who does not seem to have studied Mr. Grey's proposals) said that that Bill placed the Boards above the Bishop. The Rev. G. Chapman spoke of the Public Worship Regulation Act, and "the contradictory decisions of the Privy Council." The Rev. W. O. Purton replied to the two previous speakers, and argued that some sort of legalized Parochial Council was in these days necessary. Mr. F. Curtis held it contrary to reason to suppose that Boards would be better judges of questions affecting the ritual of the Church than the clergy. The next speaker was the Lord Lieutenant; and we give this speech unabridged:

The Earl of CHICHESTER said he did not like to give a silent vote on this motion. With the object of Mr. Grey's Bill, and that which had been advocated in the able remarks of the mover and seconder of the resolution, he very much agreed, but when he looked at the Bill itself and to the proposed constitution of the Church Boards, he certainly would not entertain the proposal. He did not think it right to enter into the very large subject raised by the motion, nor into one or two other large subjects raised collaterally by his friend Mr. Barchard, and one of the other speakers with whom he did not quite agree. The Church had always been deficient, not only in the popular element; but it had also lost sight of another principle of the early Church, which was the power of the Presbytery. The modern Episcopal Churches, some of them at least, had failed in this respect, having no Presbytery to assist in Church government. That, however, was a large subject, and he was not prepared to say how the principle could be adopted, but he thought that more power should be given, not to the parishioners, but to the members of the Church.

This speech, as our readers perceive, raises some questions of the highest interest and importance. The question of "the power of the Presbytery," for instance, has long seemed to ourselves one of the great Church questions of the time. We ventured, therefore, to solicit the venerated speaker for some expansion of his remarks. The noble Earl very kindly acceded to our request; and he has permitted us to publish a portion of his letter.

Lord Chichester writes:

I. My mention of Presbyters was in reference mainly to the administrative acts of the Church. My opinion is, that our Church is much too monarchical, and that we should resort to the primitive practice of associating the Presbyters with almost all the public acts of the Bishop.

II. As to Parochial Councils.—(a) They should consist solely of communicants, and should be elected, either by communicants or by members of the congregation declaring themselves to be members of the Established Church; (b) The constitution of such bodies, who, according to Mr. Albert Grey's, or Lord Sandon's Bill, would have certain legal powers, would necessarily require an Act of Parliament; (c) They would in many cases of an administrative character supersede the Churchwardens; but I should still leave these officers with certain duties and powers.

III. I do not, however, believe that we can do any good in the way of Church Reform until we have a more representative body than Convocation, with real synodical power attached to

it. This, I imagine, could be effected without altering the Royal Supremacy, and still retaining the power of the Crown and of Parliament to sanction or reject any proposed legislation. The Irish and some of our Colonial Churches would probably be our best models. I do not, however, suppose that either the Church or our best statesmen are yet prepared for so great a change.

IV. Until the rubric is corrected and made more clear, we cannot hope for peace in the Church.

*The Claim of Christ on the Young.* By ANTHONY W. THOROLD, D.D., Lord Bishop of Rochester, Select Preacher before the University of Oxford, 1878-1880. Pp. 123. William Isbister, 1883.

In this volume there are six sermons, four of which were preached before the University of Oxford, addressed mainly to young men. The subjects are Liberty, Training, Faith, Decision, Power, and "Farewell." The last of these, on the text "And they *two stood by Jordan*," was preached in York Minster. From it we quote a few sentences:—

O young people, you are the heirs of all the ages; you possess, if only you would care for them, the accumulated treasures of the Catholic Church of Christ! The wisdom of her thinkers, the constancy of her martyrs, the holiness of her saints, the evergrowing testimony of her nineteen centuries of faith and love are all yours; and what a possession that is! But you have even more. The parents who have nurtured you; the pastors who have taught you; the friends who have loved you; the saints who have made you at one moment ashamed of your shortcomings, and the next burning to rise up and be better—these are yours as well. Oh that you would use these privileges as you ought to use them; for your daily and blessed growth into the body of Christ! . . . The great traditions, the untiring energy, the meek holiness, the fruitful labours of those in front of us, must not for a moment discourage us who inherit them. What God was to them, He will be to us, if we will but ask, trust, receive, and adore.

Such words as these can hardly fail to influence the young men and maidens who hear or read them. Many earnest preachers fail as regards young people, nowadays, in the upper-middle, and the aristocratic classes, because their sermon language is too conventional; especially when it is printed, it looks, if we may use the common phrase, "cut and dried;" there is a lack of freshness, as well as perhaps of warmth and tenderness. But of Bishop Thorold's sermons, whatever else may be said, at least this will be admitted,—they are suggestive, affectionate, eminently *real*. Hence they are likely to win their way in cultured circles, where other sermons, equally evangelical, would be reckoned "dry," or thrown aside; and whenever they are read, it may be hoped they will prove a power for good. Their sweet persuasiveness breathes the dew of the Spirit, and their earnest pleading burns with the love of Christ crucified.

We heartily recommend this volume; it is printed and bound with taste.

*Our Bishops and Clergy.* Edited by the Rev. C. BULLOCK, B.D. "Home Words" Publishing Office, 1, Paternoster Buildings, E.C.

This is a capital gift-book, and we gladly recommend it. In this portrait-gallery we have Archbishop Tait, and other prelates—Canon Hoare, Dr. Blakeney, Mr. Kitto, Dr. Forrest, Mr. Gordon Calthrop, Mr. Goe, and other well-known men. The biographical sketches are brief, but clear. The volume has a tasteful cover.

*The Clergy Directory.* 1883. T. Bosworth & Co.

This is the thirteenth issue of the "Clergy Directory and Parish Guide : " it is now a well-known book, and needs but brief notice. It is very cheap. The work appears to be executed with the usual care.

*The Happy Man.* Christ's Sympathy in Human Joy. A Sermon preached in Norwich Cathedral, November 26, 1882. By the Rev. C. F. CHILDE, M.A. Hunt & Co.

We rarely notice single sermons : we have neither time nor space. But we gladly recommend Mr. Childe's sermon. He takes two texts (a very good plan now and then, we think), Luke x. 21, and Matthew xxvi. 38, "rejoiced" . . . "sorrowful ;" the experiences of joy and of sorrow. The esteemed writer cannot adopt, evidently, the new reading : *He rejoiced in the Holy Spirit.*

*A History of the Councils of the Church.* By the Right Rev. C. J. HEFELE, D.D. Vol. iii, A.D. 431 to A.D. 451. T. & T. Clark.

The erudition of Bishop Hefe's great work is recognised in every circle, as is also its candour, thoroughness, and accuracy. This History is the standard authority. The translation appears to be very good. More than two years have elapsed since the second volume was published. The Bishop of Rottenburg's fairness in almost every case will be generally admitted ; but now and then, as is natural, a bias is revealed. The 28th Canon of Chalcedon has the words : "Rightly have the fathers conceded to the see of Old Rome its privileges on account of its character as the imperial city." Bishop Hefe, of course, argues against these two points.

*The Preachers' Analyst.* Edited by the Rev. S. BIRD, B.A. Stock.

The sixth volume of "The Preachers' Analyst and Help in Preparation for the Pulpit" is neatly bound. The periodical is a sort of cheap *Clergyman's Magazine* ; and many preachers, no doubt, will find it useful.

*The First Prayer Book of King Edward VI. The Second . . .* Parker & Co., Oxford, and 6, Southampton Street, Strand. 1883.

These issues of the Prayer Books of 1549, 1552, are neatly got up, well printed, and cheap enough for any students. They are edited by Mr. James Parker, in whose preface appears two or three statements and suggestions, upon which, did space permit, we might well comment.

*Curiosities of Literature.* By ISAAC D'ISRAELI. A new edition, with portraits, views, and other illustrations. Pp. 578. Ward, Lock, & Co.

This is a capital edition of a charming classic, compact, clearly printed, and very cheap. Mr. Disraeli's (or d'Israeli's) preface, dated Bradenham House, 1839, opens thus :—"Of a work which long has been placed on that shelf which Voltaire has discriminated as *la Bibliothèque du Monde*, it is never mistimed for the author to offer the many, who are familiar with its pages, a settled conception of its design. The 'Curiosities of Literature' commenced fifty years since . . ." and so on. "Fifty years since !" said the author. His two earlier volumes remained favourites during an interval of twenty years ; and the third was sent forth in the year 1817. As any student for the first time turns over these essays, he will readily take in one meaning of the author's distinguished son's remark, "I was born in a library," a remark over which many critics of "Lothair" made themselves very merry. Not long before his death, however, Lord Beaconsfield said, in conversation with a friend, that he was really born in a library. Anyhow, Mr. Isaac Disraeli's house overflowed with books, and few writers have so thoroughly studied literature in

general, so deftly woven for the systematic student and for others, the results of vast reading, with ability as clearly marked as insight.

*The Official Report of the Church Congress, 1882.* Edited by the Rev. E. DUNKLEY. London: Bemrose & Sons, 23, Old Bailey, and Derby.

A review of this Report is unavoidably delayed. In the meantime we may remark that the volume is issued unusually early and is admirably printed. Messrs. Bemrose, and Mr. C. Basil Cooke, the accomplished "Official Reporter," have done their work well.

*Diaries and Letters of Philip Henry, M.A., of Broad Oak, Flintshire, A.D. 1631-1696.* Edited by M. H. LEE, M.A., Vicar of Hanmer. Pp. 415. Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

It is now nearly sixty years since the "Life of Philip Henry"—founded upon the account given by his son, Mathew Henry—was written by Sir John Williams. The interest which that volume excited will no doubt be extended to the Diaries and Letters now for the first time printed, edited by Mr. Lee. Philip Henry's motto from Thomas à Kempis, *Bene vivit qui bene latuit*, will explain why Anthony à Wood does not mention his name; why people often describe him now as Mathew Henry's father; why the late Dr. Wordsworth included his life in the first edition of the "Ecclesiastical Biographies;" and why Churchmen generally should have called for its removal from that series. To the volume before us we hope to return. With the editor's remarks we are not always able to agree; but his work has evidently been to him a labour of love, and the book will be both enjoyable and edifying to many readers.

*An Old Testament Commentary for English Readers.* By various writers. Edited by CHARLES JOHN ELLICOTT, D.D., Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. Vol. i. Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co.

We welcome the first volume of a much-needed Commentary. While there are several really good New Testament Commentaries, there are very few works indeed on the Old Testament which, with justice termed "popular" Commentaries, are really sound, ably-written, readable, deeply reverent, and well up to the requirements of the present day. The volume before us has a preface by Bishop Ellicott; and its writers are Dean Payne-Smith, Canon Rawlinson, Dr. Ginsburg, and the late Canon Elliott. It is hardly necessary, therefore, to speak of either its scholarship or its soundness, or to mention that it is adapted to these times. There are many students, thoughtful, well-disposed, yet honest doubters, who desire to see the results of conscientious inquiries set forth by divines who are at once able and sympathetic. A clearly written and candid exposition, which does not shirk those difficult questions which are talked about in fireside confidence as well as handled successfully or otherwise in periodicals, is sure to find readers. The volume before us will do, we hope and believe, great good service. The introduction to the Book of Genesis, and the Commentary on that Book, are the work of the Dean of Canterbury. To several points which we had marked for notice, full of interest, we may return.

*Reason for giving up Unitarian Ministry.* A Series of Letters to a Unitarian Friend. By the Rev. A. M. CREEERY, B.A. (of Buxton). Pp. 74. E. Stock.

Does not the Unitarian denomination tolerate the utmost freedom of thought on all religious questions?—Yes. "But this toleration extends, for the most part, only to those thoughts which tend towards negation. A minister may deny the reality of the miracles recorded in the New

Testament. He may represent all the events of Christ's life, from the cradle to the cross, as purely mythical—fictions evolved out of the pious imagination of a later time." Further, "He may even go so far as to hold that the only kind of immortality on which we can reckon is an immortality in the memory of our friends, and those who come after them; and that the existence of any self-conscious intelligence over and above the universe is very problematical. But should he maintain the Deity of Christ as one of the leading doctrines of revelation, or represent our Lord as the Saviour and Redeemer of man, to whom we must look in prayer for all spiritual blessings, he would find at once that he had passed the bounds of Unitarian toleration."

So writes Mr. Creery in the interesting pamphlet before us. On the present state of the Unitarian sect he writes thus:—

At the present time the divergence between the anti-supernaturalists, and those who tend towards a more evangelical theory of religion, is so great, that a division in the camp seems inevitable. The latter party, however, are still a very small minority; but as they are nearer to Christ than the others, we may expect to find them gaining ground. But the Unitarian community, as a denomination, is doomed. Old associations, and a considerable *esprit de corps*, keep them, for the present, together; but over the younger members these feelings have but little power.

*The Home Prayer Book.* A Book of Common Prayer for Household Worship, containing prayers for four weeks, morning and evening. By HENRY T. DIX, Author of "Our Old Prayer Meeting," &c. London: E. Stock. Dublin: Geo. Herbert.

In an interesting preface Mr. Dix tells his readers that he brought the subject of Liturgical worship before the Church Congress some years ago; and he has evidently taken pains to prepare supplications and thanksgivings for family worship, on the model of the prayers in the Prayer Book. Of these prayers, he truly says, four features may be noticed:—(1) clearness and brevity; (2) close connection between doctrine and practice; (3) correspondence between the address and the supplication; (4) tone of reverent love and worship. We may add, that one charm is their sweet rhythm. To Mr. Dix we tender thanks for his earnest effort; and we have pleasure in commending it, as in harmony with the Church's teaching, and breathing throughout "awe" and affection for God's Holy Word.

*Damascus and its People.* Sketches of Modern Life in Syria. By Mrs. MACKINTOSH, late of the British Syrian Schools, Damascus. With 15 illustrations. Seeleys.

Nineveh and Babylon are buried in ruins, and Tyre is now a small fishing village; but Damascus, boasting an antiquity of 4,000 years, is still a prosperous city, with a large industrious and lively population. In this remarkable city the writer of the book before us has resided seven years; she is well qualified to give us sketches of town and rural life in Syria. It is a very readable book, one of the best of the interesting and informing works of the Missionary class published by Messrs. Seeley. An extract from chap. xx. may be taken as a specimen:—

We have, perhaps, tarried too long in the old city, wandering about its bazaars, and orchards, and villages. Let us take the diligence, cross the Anti-Lebanon, the plain of the Bukaa and the Lebanon, to Beyrout, a journey of thirteen hours; and then we shall be rewarded by a peep at the bright deep blue sea beyond.

Few seaside places in the world can boast the beauty of the landscape at Beyrout, and many a quiet hour have we spent on the roof of one of the highest houses in the town, the British-Syrian Training Institution, by turns reading and gazing at the splendid view before us; the bright, many-coloured town below,

with the American Church and Printing Press, the numerous Consulates with flags flying, the Turkish barracks and Prussian schools, the little wooded hill of Ashrafia, while behind all rises Jebel Suneen, towering 10,000 feet towards the sky; and then there are the mountains of Kesrawar stretching beyond the bay of St. George, who, without a doubt, say the natives, slew the dragon, and delivered the town from the daily tax of a maiden whom he devoured; or, turning inland, we see the grey regular outline of the Lebanon hills, presenting no striking feature of pike or point or crag, but dotted over with numberless villages and hamlets, with here and there a convent. If we again change our position on the housetop and look to the south, we see, close at hand, the pretty home of the family to whose devotion and zeal the British-Syrian Schools owe their origin and success; and just beyond, strange reddish sandhills, stretching from the sea far inland, and covering an extent of country perhaps six or seven miles in length—a splendid place for a gallop, but a great trouble to planters and builders, for these sandhills are constantly encroaching, and many little houses and mulberry-gardens have from time to time disappeared beneath them.

*The New Testament Scriptures. Their Claims, History, and Authority.*  
By A. H. CHARTERIS, D.D. Pp. 223. Nisbet & Co.

Some ten years ago we recommended another volume by Professor Charteris—"Canonicity"—as soon as it was published; and we have been pleased to observe from time to time that our opinion of the value of that learned work is that of theological critics in eminent papers and periodicals both here and abroad. The present work appears, from what we have been able to read, worthy of equally high rank; but it is not intended so much for the learned; and, in fact, the average devout and thoughtful layman may peruse it with interest. In the opening pages we observe these notes of Scripture:—"All the books of the New Testament claim (1) to be true; (2) for themselves unity; (3) authority." Dr. Charteris then turns to Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism; here is nothing to correspond with the religion of the Bible, which claims to be founded on revelation. But what of Brahminism? To Buddhism the Brahmins object, in that it is not a revelation; it is a religion which recognised neither God nor soul. But Brahminism was not a revelation; its later books, no doubt, claim Divine sanction for the Vedic hymns, but the inspiration and invocation of those hymns are like that which Homer courted from the Muse.

Two really good gift-books must be briefly noticed:—*Dayspring*, by Mrs. MARSHALL, a tale of the time of Tyndale, as we have already remarked; and *The Nameless Shadow*, by AGNES GIBERNE. The character of Miss Giberne's works of fiction is well known; her present story, describing how a cloud of mystery hung sadly over a family, is worthy of warm praise. We thoroughly recommend both these volumes. "Home Words" Publishing Office, 1, Paternoster Buildings.

We have much pleasure in inviting attention to the first volume of *The Church Worker* (Church of England Sunday School Institute, Serjeant's Inn), a magazine for Sunday School teachers, and other "Church Workers," which has several times been commended in these columns.

From the Church of England Temperance Society (9, Bridge Street, Westminster, S.W.), we have received *Church Temperance Missions*, being "Hints and Suggestions for the Organization and Conduct" of such a series of meetings. We have also received *The "Blue Ribbon Army," or Gospel Temperance Mission*, by Canon ELLISON, and other useful publications. The C. E. T. S., God be praised, is doing a good work.

From Messrs. Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co., we have received several charming books suitable for young people, likely, in a missionary sense

to be of service. *Peeps into China, The Isles of the Pacific, Round Africa, Glimpses of South America, and The Eastern Wonderland.* These tastefully got up volumes are bright, informing, full of illustrations, of thoroughly good tone, and very cheap; capital gift-books for the elder pupils. We have seldom seen so good a series: boys as well as girls will use the epithets "pretty" and "nice." The second title of the book about China is "The Missionary's Children," a pleasing story. With this volume, and with that on Japan, *The Eastern Wonderland*, we are particularly pleased. In writing about the Japanese, MR. ANGUS, who declares himself much indebted to Mr. Eugene Stock's excellent publication *Japan and the Japan Mission*, has done his work well. The volume about New Zealand is also very good.

In the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* appears an interesting article on "The City of the Kaliphs," Bagdad, by HENRY MORRIS, Esq. Of the Arabian Nights Haroun—

Sole star of all that place and time,  
The good Haroun Alraschid—

Mr. Morris writes that he really deserves the epithet "bad," rather than that of "good." A graphic account of his doings has recently appeared in a monograph on him by that distinguished linguist and scholar, Professor Palmer, of Cambridge, whose early and tragical death is universally mourned. The *Leisure Hour* and the *Sunday at Home* are good numbers. The former contains a well-written paper on Hughenden, and Part I. of "Sketches in the Malay Peninsula," by the author of a "Lady's Ride in the Rocky Mountains." We read:

Singapore is really the Charing Cross or Oban of the East. From it steamers start for Australia, China, Japan, England, France, Italy, Ceylon, India, Burmah, Sumatra, Malacca, and any number of small ports. Yet the only people who look thoroughly awake are the Chinese, who number 86,000 out of a population of 130,000. They monopolize many streets altogether, erect temples, club-houses, opium dens, and gaming-houses, are utterly unquelled by the heat, and are said to be gradually supplanting the smaller European merchants. They are in such an enormous majority that one would suppose Singapore to be a Chinese town. The city is all ablaze with colour. I can hardly recall the pallid race which lives in our dim, pale islands, and is costumed in our hideous clothes. Every costume, from Arabia to China, floats through the streets; robes of silk, satin, brocade, and muslin; and Parsees in spotless white, Jews and Arabs in dark rich colours, Klings (natives of Southern India) in crimson and white, Bombay merchants in turbans of large size and crimson cummerbunds, Malays in red sarongs, Sikhs in pure white, their great height rendered almost colossal by the classic arrangement of their draperies, and Chinamen, from the coolie, in his blue or brown cotton, to the wealthy merchant in his frothy silk *crêpe* and rich brocaded silk, made up a medley irresistibly fascinating to the stranger.

In the *Antiquary*, still as dainty and as delightful as ever, appear papers on the Invention of the Steam-engine, Churchwardens' Accounts, and reports of the meetings of Antiquarian Societies. The *Quiver* begins the year auspiciously: one or two of the papers might well be a little longer, we think. *Little Folks* is capital; and the new magazine for the little folks, *Our Little Ones* (Griffith and Farran), is very good. The *Church Missionary Gleaner*, bright, well-illustrated and informing, contains a sketch of Archbishop Tait addressing the C. M. S. Meeting, May 1, 1877. In *Cassell's Family Magazine* appears, as usual, several interesting, useful papers, with Tales, Sketches, &c. "My Journey with the Khedive" is well worth reading.

A new edition of "*Granny's Chapters*" (on Scriptural subjects), by LADY MARY ROSS been sent forth (Hatchards). For the first edition, published in 1870, a commendatory preface was written by Dean Goulburn. The present volume (400 pages) is from Creation to the death of Moses.

We have received from Messrs. T. & T. Clark the first volume of a new HERZOG and SCHAFF'S Christian Encyclopædia. The full title of the work is *A Religious Encyclopædia. A Dictionary of Biblical, Historical, Doctrinal, and Practical Theology*, based on the "Real Encyclopædie" of Herzog, Plitt, and Hanck. Edited by Philip Schaff, D.D. The work is a condensed reproduction and adaptation. So far as we have examined, the articles are ably-written, trustworthy, and readable. Our notice must be deferred.

The Dean of CHESTER'S Sermon, *The Form of Sound Words* (E. Stock), contains two or three passages of special importance at the present moment. The sermon was preached at the opening of the Chapel of St. Aidan's College. A preface has been added; and from this we quote one passage. Referring to the use which has lately been made of the 36th Article, the pious and learned writer says:—

In a widely circulated tract entitled, in words taken from the Article, "*Neither Superstitious nor Ungodly*," I have seen it argued that the reference there to Ordination is so worded as to include the Ordinal of 1549—that the Ordination Service is part of the Communion Service—that therefore the express approval of the Article is extended to the Prayer Book of 1549.

Now it is impossible not to view with suspicion this attaching of such extreme weight to the Articles, when, in the very same quarter in which this argument first appeared, it had been said, "We have never seen the use of retaining the Thirty-nine Articles at all;" and again, "The abolition of the Thirty-nine Articles, the adoption of Edward VI.'s First Communion Office . . . would win for the Disestablished Church the respect of Christendom." But, further, it is not strictly correct to assert that the Ordinal is part of the Communion Office. It is not until the Ordination has taken place that the rubric directs that "all that are ordered shall tarry and receive the Holy Communion the same day with the Bishop."

We have received from Mr. Murray the new number of the *Quarterly Review*. Our quotations, from lack of time, are brief. "Archbishop Tait and the Primacy" is the first article. "Sir Archibald Alison's Autobiography," "Progress and Poverty," "American Novels," and two very interesting political articles, we can only mention. The *Quarterly* does justice, at the commencement, to Bishop Ollivant, "who represented the best traditions of the learning and sober piety" of "the great Evangelical School." The *Quarterly* is very sanguine as regards the new Primate. Mr. Reginald Wilberforce is sharply rebuked for his editorial indiscretions. "What we are concerned to protest against, in the strongest manner, is the flagrant impropriety . . . of publishing reports of private conversations in which living persons took part, during their lives, and without their consent." "Bishop Wilberforce's inaccuracy, and his son's recklessness," are touched upon in regard to Bishop Higgin. The writer in the *Quarterly* adds, in a foot-note:—

We think it right to add, in justice to the publisher, that we have reason for knowing that the most objectionable passages in the volume were inserted in spite of his earnest remonstrances.

## THE MONTH.

THE nomination of the Bishop of Truro to the Archbishopric of Canterbury was received with a chorus of congratulation, and appears to have proved very generally acceptable. Almost as a matter of course the Primacy was in the first instance offered to Dr. Harold Browne, the Bishop of Winchester; but that eminent Prelate, as was expected, felt himself unable to accept it. Dr. Benson, who is fifty-three years of age, was ordained in the year 1853.

The Right Rev. Edward White Benson, D.D., Lord Bishop of Truro, was consecrated in the year 1877.<sup>1</sup> As Head Master of Wellington College, Canon of Lincoln, and Bishop of Truro, he has been signally successful; he has won confidence and esteem to a very remarkable degree. Earnest prayers will be offered throughout the Church, by devout and loyal members, that in a sphere of the very greatest importance, at this crisis one of specially grave responsibility, he may be guided and guarded by the Holy Spirit.

May the Primate faithfully serve God in that high office, to the glory of His Name, and the edifying and well-governing of His Church. May he maintain and set forward quietness, love and peace; correcting, as needs may be, according to such authority as he has by God's Word, and as to him shall be committed by the Ordinance of this Realm.

The judgment of the metropolitan and parochial papers, on the whole, as we have said, was singularly favourable. Dr. Benson is known to be in politics a Conservative, and as a Churchman he is supposed to be decidedly "High." The newspapers of almost every shade, however, approve of Mr. Glad-

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<sup>1</sup> He was educated at King Edward the Sixth's Grammar School, Birmingham, under the Rev. James Prince Lee, first Bishop of Manchester, whence he proceeded to Trinity College, Cambridge, where his career was rapid and successful. He graduated B.A. in 1st Class Classics, and was Senior Chancellor's Medallist, and Senior Optime in the Mathematical Tripos, in 1852, proceeding to his M.A. degree in 1855. He was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Manchester in 1853, in which year he was appointed one of the Masters of Rugby School. In 1859 he was appointed the first Head Master of Wellington College. Whilst at Wellington College he received his B.D. degree in 1862, and that of D.D. in 1867, and in 1869 was appointed a Prebendary in Lincoln Cathedral and Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Lincoln. Three years later he resigned the Head Mastership of the College, upon being appointed Chancellor of Lincoln and a Canon Residentiary. It may be mentioned that, amongst Dr. Benson's fellow-pupils at King Edward's School, Birmingham, were Professor Westcott, one of the Company of New Testament Revisers, and Dr. Lightfoot, the present Bishop of Durham.

stone's choice. It is felt that Dr. Benson is a "strong" man; he is hard-working, it is said, large-hearted, discreet, and sagacious. Whether the policy of the Protestant Primate, Dr. Tait, who was particularly the representative of the laity, will be carried on by Dr. Benson, remains to be seen. For ourselves, we are inclined to be hopeful.

The Archbishop designate has consented to speak at the next anniversary of the British and Foreign Bible Society; and the new *Quarterly*, we gladly note, confirms the rumour that the late Archbishop looked forward with hope to being some day followed in the Primacy by Dr. Benson.

The *Guardian* (December 27) wrote:—

The appointment of the Bishop of Truro to the Primacy is certainly something more than merely the appointment of an able, or a learned, or a safe man to office—more than the mere appointment of a fit man to a Bishopric. It varies from the usual course in two ways: it is the choice of a comparatively young man, one of the youngest of his brethren, with the probability of a long career before him; and it is the appointment of a man who, though he has undoubtedly made his mark wherever he has been, has not been much before the eyes of men in London, or in the country generally, has never yet sat in Parliament, has been reserved in his language, and owes nothing to friendship or connections. . . . Such a man must have been chosen for his own sake and nothing else. He must have been chosen because he was thought to be not only fit, but the fittest man. . . . He is a scholar, a critic, an independent thinker, an historical student; he has been accustomed to come into contact not only with men of the highest knowledge and cultivation, but with the hard, narrow, keen intellects, the half-knowledge, the strong prejudices, the warm but ill-informed sympathies of the classes out of which Nonconformity is recruited. And his learning, his experience, and his practical training have fed in him more and more a deep and concentrated enthusiasm for the greatest of institutions which the world has seen, the Divine society of the Christian Church.

The Charge of the Bishop of Durham touches many points of immediate interest. The passage which relates to "Church and State" we quote as follows:—

It would be vain to deny that the relations between the Church and the State have become seriously entangled of late, and still cause great anxiety. Only time and forbearance can untie the knot, which a headstrong impatience would cut at once. So long as Church and State occupy the same ground, interest the same men, influence the same consciences, contact and conflict are inevitable. Viewed from the side of the Church, the relations between Church and State, so far at least as regards existing complications, resolve themselves ultimately into a question of expediency. But while using this term expediency, I deprecate its being understood in any low, selfish sense, as applying to material interests. I refer solely to the spiritual interests of which the Church is the guardian. The question that she has to ask herself is whether her union with the

State enables her to fulfil better the high spiritual functions which devolve upon her. But when we ask this question, no narrow interpretation can be given to her spiritual functions. If she had no other aspiration than to gather together compact congregations with definite and well-ordered services of one particular type, and to leave the masses of the population to themselves, then there is much to be said for a severance of the union. If any Churchman were content to take this view, I could imagine him not only awaiting disestablishment patiently, but even heartily welcoming it. He might thus be able better to carry out his own ideas unfettered and undisturbed. *Solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.* But if it be the true spiritual function of the Church—the ideal after which she aspires—to carry the Gospel into the highways and hedges, and to leaven the people of England throughout, then she will cling tenaciously to the advantages and the opportunities which she enjoys by her union with the State. Nothing but the imperious mandate of conscience would justify her in voluntarily relinquishing the vantage-ground on which God has placed her.

A correspondence between the Bishop of Gloucester, and one of his clergy, and the churchwardens, has been published. His Lordship desired the Vicar—

Not to use language such as that which you admit to have used in reference to the Eucharist, as it could not fail to be understood as implying that the Lord's natural body is locally situate on the Holy Table, whereas we are taught by our Prayer Book that the Lord's natural body is in heaven, and not here.

“Francis Close, of Cheltenham,” for twenty-five years Dean of Carlisle, has entered into rest, at the age of 86. With McNeile and Stowell, he was a power in the pulpit and on the platform, foremost in good works, honoured, and blessed for many years. Heartily wishing well to THE CHURCHMAN, the Dean gave us at the outset some good advice, though the infirmities of age prevented him from contributing to our columns. Remarkably shrewd, a very clever letter-writer, Dr. Close had a mark at which he aimed, and he used to hit it. His love for souls, his deep interest in sacred things, his prayerfulness, his cheery, conscientious, consistent Christian living, none could doubt. We pay our tribute of most sincere respect. From an interesting article in the *Record*, we quote the following :—

Providence sent him to Cheltenham, then in the patronage of the Rev. Charles Simeon. Francis Close was not yet thirty years of age when the sagacity of that eminent man discerned in him powers which fitted him for that difficult post. Cheltenham was then still the resort of the highest fashion. Railways had not opened the Continent, and Bath and Cheltenham had not lost their supremacy. Cheltenham had then its ancient parish church, supplemented by a chapel-of-ease. What it has since become, and to what extent the mind just departed influenced that growth, is a not unknown story. The early career of the young incum-

bent of Cheltenham was that of a life devoted to labour. The compositions of sermons had been to him a subject of careful study under the guidance of the venerable Charles Simeon. From him he learned the habit of that exact analysis of the text, and that clear arrangement of the subject, which, to the very last, distinguished this great preacher. But the style of presenting the matter so arrayed was entirely his own. The style of Simeon partook of the more rigid diction of the close of the last century. That of Francis Close was more glowing and flexible, occasionally ornate and poetic, but always full of masculine common-sense. Perhaps no one was ever more absurdly caricatured in distant popular representations. The beloved of Cheltenham spinsters, the recipient of countless gifts, as jocular enmity loved to describe him, was emphatically a Man . . . . Who that remembers him in Committees can fail to have a vivid picture of command? No failure of attendance, no thinly frequented Board, was to be feared where he was chairman. Inimitable stories and buoyant life interested and amused the members. But time was not wasted. Shrewd common-sense and a legal instinct led, but did not cajole; and the attendant secretary knew well that the chairman's eye discerned, and the chairman's hand held fast, the very point of the business. But the time came when this power seemed to be failing. Hereditary gout crippled the exercise of his strength, and in 1856 Lord Palmerston promoted him to the Deanery of Carlisle. There could not be the same record of work in the border city. Yet in spite of frequent ill health and advancing infirmities, those who should write his Carlisle history would have one of much blessing to record.

For the venerated Bishop of Llandaff, the *Nunc dimittis* period came, at the age of eighty-four. Dr. Ollivant, as a scholar and theologian, and a Bishop, did great good service in the Church; an able administrator, he ruled his diocese with gentle carefulness and love; in Convocation his sagacity and firmness were oftentimes of value; on all sides, his conscientiousness, courtesy, and spirituality, were much esteemed. We gratefully acknowledge, as regards THE CHURCHMAN, his kind consideration.

We regret to record the death of Archdeacon Boutflower, Canon of Carlisle, Vicar of St. Lawrence's, Appleby; an amiable man, deeply in earnest, much-respected.<sup>1</sup>

To the living of St. John's, Miles Platting, Sir Percival Heywood presented Mr. Cowgill, the Ritualistic Curate, and after due consideration the Bishop declined to institute him.

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<sup>1</sup> The Archdeacon had arranged to preach in the Cathedral with special reference to the death of Dean Close, whose body was at the time lying in the church; but on the previous evening he was seized with apoplexy while sitting in his study, and so serious were the effects of the attack that he never rallied. He was sixty-seven years of age. To the Residuary Canonry he was appointed by Bishop Waldegrave.

The correspondence published is full of interest. In his letter to the patron his Lordship says, that from a sense of duty to the discipline of the Church he is constrained to refuse, with deep regret, to institute Mr. Cowgill:—

The causes which led to the deprivation of the late Rector, the Rev. S. F. Green, are notorious. Can I, without assisting others to trample on the law of the Church and realm and to defy all constituted authority, institute to the same benefice a clergyman who admits that he has practised there the same illegal ceremonial acts for practising which Mr. Green was deprived; and who, I have every reason to believe, means to continue and repeat the same illegal ceremonial acts, if and when he should be instituted to the benefice?

The only points in Sir Percival Heywood's reply of any force are these two: (1) He says—"You have allowed Mr. Cowgill for a year and eight months, without a word of warning, to practise the very Ritual of which you complain;" and (2) he says, "The Prime Minister has not hesitated to reward, with well-earned advancement, a priest who practised, and was perfectly well known to practise, that ceremonial which you characterize as illegal." With regard to the Curate, the Bishop had, no doubt, good reasons for not interfering; and as to the second point, Sir Percival should address himself to supporters of Mr. Gladstone. Certainly law-abiding members of the Established Church have reason to complain of the "reward" bestowed by the Premier on a law-disregarding "priest."

An admirable letter, with a Protestant tone, was sent by the Bishop in reply to a sympathetic address; and his Lordship thus concludes:—

If there is to be "a truce" at all, the only ground upon which it can be reasonably offered or accepted is that both parties should keep within the limits of defined law as it stands, existing provocations being withdrawn and no fresh ones introduced. Is it unnatural or an improper thing to ask, "Till the law is altered, keep within the limits of the law"?

I neither am nor ever was a party man. I am not seeking now popularity with a party, or to win a triumph for one; and I deeply deplore that I have been forced into a position which is unwelcome to all my natural inclinations and impulses. But there are principles which I feel bound by every sentiment of fealty to my Church and to my office to endeavour to maintain: and the time may be coming rapidly on when it will behove Churchmen, if they would save Scriptural truth, to declare that, while desiring to be true to the principles of all really Primitive and Catholic Christianity, they will be true to the principles of their own sober and well-considered Reformation.

These words have a true ring. The Bishop's policy is plain, and his language, like his action, is manly and straightforward. The *Spectator*, indeed, cannot appreciate it; but that journal,

on such questions, gets weaker and weaker. It is said that the law is against the Bishop; he has virtually no discretion in the matter.<sup>1</sup> This is a mere assumption. The Bishop, no doubt, has taken advice, and certainly he does not stand alone. Now is the time for loyal Churchmen, clergy and laity, all who are true to the principles of the Reformation, whether they be classed as "High," or "Low," or "Broad," to look this question in the face—Shall the Mass be tolerated in our midst?

Mr. Gladstone re-constituted his Cabinet at the end of the year. Lord Derby goes to the Colonial Office. For Sir Charles Dilke a place was found at the Local Board Office; the honourable Baronet had proved himself a singularly successful Under-Secretary; some of his extremely Radical opinions have been cast off. By the advice of his doctor, the Premier has postponed his Mid-Lothian campaign. Mr. Fawcett, we gladly note, has recovered from a very severe illness.

The work of repression and punishment proceeds in Ireland. Several convicted murderers underwent the extreme penalty of the law.

The death of M. Gambetta has made a void in France. A materialist, like the great majority of educated Frenchmen, he sought, it is said, when he was dying, to be reconciled to the Church. In an eloquent oration, Father Hyacinthe mentioned that M. Gambetta once declared to him that to separate Church and State would be *la fin du monde*. Mirabeau himself, whose portrait Gambetta kept hung above his bed, had said, "God is even more necessary to France than liberty."

There has been a good deal of gossip about diplomatic relations between St. James's and the Vatican. A timely protest by the honoured Bishop of Lincoln has appeared in the leading journal.

The new Law Courts have been opened for the despatch of business; and Mr. Bradlaugh met with another rebuff.

Rain has been incessant; and the floods on the Continent are severe.

Jan. 17.

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<sup>1</sup> "Dr. Fraser's resolution and courage," says the *Record*, "are in favourable contrast to the deplorable weakness which has been shown by the Bishop of London with reference to the Mackonochie case. The dying efforts of the Archbishop to put an end to a long and harassing litigation by persuading Mr. Mackonochie to resign a post from which he was just about to be ejected, were taken advantage of to procure fresh preferment for Mr. Mackonochie, where he could carry on his irregularities under Episcopal protection, and also for the purpose of giving to St. Alban's a new incumbent, pledged to maintain the Mass and its accessories."