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Reviews.

1. *The History of Scotland from Agricola's Invasion to the Extinction of the last Jacobite Insurrection.* By JOHN HILL BURTON, Historiographer-Royal for Scotland. Blackwood & Sons. 1876.
2. *The Scottish Church from the Earliest Times to 1881.* St. Giles' Lectures. First Series. W. & R. Chambers. 1881.

NO histories should be more instructive than Church histories, and yet as a general rule few are more dreary and barren. The failure does not arise from want of a grand model. The Bible itself, if we may say so with reverence, is the type and epitome of all Church history—the type because its theme is the work of God in the world carried out by natural and supernatural agency, and the epitome because it depicts the past, and foreshadows, at least in outline, the future of the Church of God. It is true that there are limits of the extent to which such a model can be followed. We dare not write, as He writes, to Whom all hearts are open, and to Whom the future is as clear as yesterday. But surely the key-note of Church History, as of Bible History, should be the work of God, not the work of man. What witness for Christ have His servants borne in each successive age, how has that witness been received or rejected by the world, to what remarkable ends have purely human counsels been overruled by Divine Providence, what have been the sins of national churches, and what fruit those sins have borne—these, it seems to us, are the proper subjects of ecclesiastical history. No field of inquiry could be grander or more fruitful. A miserable substitute, surely, for such topics are wearisome wrangles between long-named doctors and heretics, dates and decisions of self-styled oecumenical councils, and tedious miracles of half apocryphal saints. How many ordination candidates have been exasperated by this portion of their studies, how few edified! And outside ordination candidates how few readers even turn over the pages of an ordinary Church history!

It is impossible, however, that the stereotyped fashion of writing on Church matters should not be affected by the more recent methods of treating general history. National life and national interests are beginning to find a place on the arena, which was confined to the intrigues of kings and queens, statesmen and generals; and among these interests historians are recognising the importance of religion. No doubt they often treat matters of faith with cynical contempt or supercilious patronage, but they are forced to study them, and in virtue of their cynicism or patronage to treat them with impartiality. Luther, Calvin, Knox, Baxter and Bunyan, are no longer ill-bred fanatics, but gifted, though mistaken, leaders of the people. Their doings, their sayings, their work and character, must be represented truthfully according to the view of their contemporaries. And as the story of each age unfolds itself, and the appropriateness of God's servants for the work they had to do,

becomes more manifest, we trust that the sphere of Church history will be more clearly defined. We shall not look for God's voice in the world among party bickerings, anathemas and excommunications, any more than we should seek it now in reports of the Church Union, or the judgments of Lord Penzance.

These reflections were suggested to us, partly by the recent death of Dr. Burton, and partly by the perusal of a volume of St. Giles' Lectures. We have no intention here of reviewing Dr. Burton's history. It has long been before the public, and its merits are well known. But there are reasons why his account of the Scottish Reformation is of special interest at the present time. As Churchmen, we feel that we are on the eve of a crisis, if not passing through a crisis, second in importance only to the Reformation era. As Englishmen we cannot help inquiring by what process Scotland, once fully as alien to us as Ireland, became our close and firm ally. From both these points of view the story of the Scottish Reformation is of surpassing interest. In Dr. Burton's work the tale is told with judicial impartiality, not without some affectation of philosophic indifference. In the St. Giles' Lectures, on the other hand, we have the story of the Scottish Church fresh from the lips of her most prominent ministers. We were not prepared to find that the Scottish pulpit was occupied with such themes on Sunday afternoons. We cannot help wondering how St. Margaret, niece of Edward the Confessor, to whom, we are told, "Scotland owes her solemnly-kept Sundays," would have regarded the discourses before us, as Sunday lectures. But as Church history they are unquestionably good, and perhaps owe some of their merits to the restraints imposed by the fact of their being pulpit and Sunday utterances. The desire to edify would help to bring into prominence what God has done by the Church in each age, and to exclude mere party questions and the strife of political factions. Nor are the lectures less instructive for being thrown into a popular form. We doubt whether any equally interesting compendium of English Church history is to be found. The lecturers are Doctors Lees, Boyd, Campbell, Mitchell, Macleod, Cunningham, Flint, Story, Tulloch, Charteris, Scott, and Macgregor. What the volume loses in connectedness as a history, it gains, for popular purposes, in variety of style and treatment.

But to return to our purpose, which is to discuss the place of the Scottish Reformation in the ecclesiastical and general history of Great Britain. We should be disposed to summarize it as follows:—The Scottish Reformers were raised up, first, to assert the paramount authority of God's Word in all matters of faith, without compromise, and without bias of political considerations; and secondly, to be the instruments of binding England and Scotland with bonds of common interest, too strong to be severed either by national prejudice, political misrule, or the remembrance of centuries of national wrong-doing. The first of these great ends was partly the outcome, humanly speaking, of the character and principles of the Reformers themselves; but both resulted chiefly, and in a very remarkable manner, from such an overruling of selfish human counsels to higher and nobler ends, as might well convince the most sceptical that "verily there is a God that ruleth the earth." We will venture to tell the story, familiar as it is, in our own fashion, with such comments as may be suggested from time to time by the works which we have mentioned.

One of the first peculiarities of the pre-Reformation Church in Scotland, which an English observer would notice, is its want of national sentiment, and insignificance as a national power. The Church of England, even in Romish days, was thoroughly English: it turned foreign prelates, when

they were thrust upon it, into English party leaders; it held the balance not unfrequently between the contending forces of the Crown and nobility. But the Scottish Church was not so truly National. Scotland, in her long strife with England, learned to welcome foreign interference. She was content to bolster up her just claim to independence with a Papal Bull, her Universities were fashioned on foreign patterns, her churches for two centuries designed on continental models, her principal clergy were educated abroad, and were aliens in all their sympathies. Poverty saved Scotland from the bands of hungry foreigners who swarmed over English benefices. But her own Churchmen were foreigners at heart, though none but Scottish blood might run in their veins. As long as France continued to be a distant but useful friend, the alien character of the clergy impaired their usefulness and weakened their hold upon popular affection, but it did not excite violent animosity. It was endured as a necessary evil, just as the baronial rule was endured; and Church oppression, like the baronial, was corrected and mitigated only by the general spirit of lawlessness and insubordination. Where he dared do so, each man took the law into his own hands, and so alleviated a tyranny which would otherwise have been intolerable.

This oppressiveness of the Scottish Church is a second peculiarity which distinguishes it from the English. No doubt our forefathers, too, had their burthens to bear, but in England every pretension of the Church was jealously scrutinized by the Crown; in theory, at least, all important excommunications, all trials of laymen in ecclesiastical courts, required the sanction or supervision of the king. The very revolt of Henry VIII. from Rome was no protest against Papal corruptions, but the crowning act of a long warfare to maintain the independence and complete sufficiency of English jurisdiction. Across the Border no such check upon the Church was possible. What little law there was owed its origin, directly or indirectly, to the Church. In one most important sphere of life the Church was both absolute and merciless. Without her no marriage was possible; yet such were the entanglements which she wove, that even with her help it was scarcely possible to contract a valid marriage. The extension of forbidden degrees was extraordinary. No persons could marry who had a common great-great grandfather or great-great grandmother, or who were connected by marriage within those degrees, or even who were brought within them by baptismal connections: of godfather or godmother. Hence, in a small and remote country like Scotland no marriage was secure. The Church herself defeated one great end for which she appeared to have been raised up. There was a time when she had been the one witness to licentious barbarians in behalf of the sanctity of marriage and purity of life. Now she was even more than the patroness of divorce, she made binding marriage all but impossible. Like the Jewish Church of old, in God's name, and with all manner of religious sanctions, she made void the very elementary commandments of God.

Other instances of Church tyranny might easily be named, such as "cursings"—by which the person and property of all persons who had taken an oath were at the mercy of ecclesiastics—excommunications, and interference with wills and successions. But to be brief, the Scottish bishop, presbyter and deacon of pre-Reformation days, can best be imagined as the exact opposite in every particular of the ideal set before Timothy by Paul. It would have been strange indeed if God had not appointed a day of reckoning for such a Church as this. But what good was to be brought out of this evil, and by what agencies, not the keenest of political observers could have guessed.

To all outward appearance the death of Edward VI. was the funeral

knell of the Reformation in the British isles. England passed immediately into Spanish hands, and Spain, it might be thought, was at once freed from a dangerous rival and strengthened by an important acquisition. The Spanish Court was nearer by one long stride to its desired goal, universal Empire founded on close alliance with a universal Church. It seemed easy to predict that heresy would now be crushed in England, that the joint power of Empire, Spain, and England would bring France to reason; that, with the suppression of heresy in France, all fear of heresy in Scotland was over, for was not Scotland the old ally, and now all but the subject, of France? Thus, no doubt, many reasoned with themselves; but we, looking back on the past, can see that the life of Edward VI. might have been far more formidable to the progress of truth than his death. Centuries of war had proved that England could defeat Scotland, but could not subdue her: they had proved that whatever England tried to force upon Scotland was detestable in the eyes of the Scotch. As nothing, humanly speaking, contributed more to the overthrow of Spanish and Roman tyranny in the days of Elizabeth than the good understanding between England and Scotland, so division and dissension between the two could hardly have failed to secure Philip's triumph. If Europe was to be saved from an intolerable despotism, religious as well as political, Scotland and England must be united in common defence of Protestantism; if Scotland was to embrace Protestantism heartily, it must not be imposed upon her by England, but appear, if possible, to be unpopular at the English Court. This end was precisely what the Marian persecutions and the fires of Smithfield achieved.

The early Scottish Reformers had laboured under the suspicion of being agents and emissaries of the English Court. We are not bound to believe, on the slight evidence adduced by Dr. Burton, that the martyr Wishart was the Wishart who was hired by England to assassinate Cardinal Beaton. But it is quite certain that there were English Protestants, and those in high places, who would not have hesitated to make their Scottish brethren traitors and even assassins if they could. Patriotism and hatred of oppression might as easily have bound the Scotch as the Irish to devoted adherence to Rome. But these dangers were averted by the death of Edward and accession of Mary. It was she who drove John Knox out of England, and so was a means of sending him to the work to which God had called him. It was she who let loose upon Scotland a flood of exiles, who were men of faith and piety, not mere plunderers of churches; and it was she who made them welcome in Scotland by treating them as the enemies of England. The First Covenant dates from the time of the Marian persecutions. In its terms it announces the great work which, in our opinion, was reserved for the Reformed Church of Scotland:—

We perceiving [runs the declaration] how Satan, in his members, the Anti-Christ's of our time, cruelly doth rage, seeking to overthrow and destroy the evangel of Christ and His congregation, ought according to our bounden duty, to strive in our Master's cause even unto death, being certain of victory in Him. The which our duty being well considered we do promise before the majesty of God and His Congregation, that we (by His grace) shall with all diligence, continually apply our whole power, substance and our very lives, to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed Word of God and His Congregation, and shall labour at our possibility to have faithful ministers purely and truly to minister Christ's evangel and sacraments to His people. We shall maintain them, nourish them and defend them, the whole Congregation of Christ and every member thereof, at our whole powers and lives against Satan, and all wicked power that does intend tyranny or trouble against the foresaid Congregation. Unto the which Holy Word and Congregation we do join us, and also do forsake and renounce the Congregation of Satan, with all

the superstitious abomination and idolatry thereof : and moreover, shall declare ourselves manifestly enemies thereto, by this our faithful promise before God, testified to His Congregation, by our subscriptions at these presents.—*At Edinburgh, the 3rd day of December, 1557 years.*¹

The prominent features of this declaration are the determination at all hazards to maintain the pure Word of God along with a faithful ministry, and to renounce Rome with all her superstitious and idolatry. It was one thing, however, to subscribe this declaration as a bond of union amongst devoted Reformers, it was quite another to make it the basis and moving principle of a National Church. Dr. Burton has clearly traced the order and connection of events by which, far more than by human agency, this great work was accomplished. He reminds us how the Queen Regent, Guise though she was, was not yet committed to a policy hostile to Protestantism. "When in Edinburgh the great idol called St. Giles was first drowned in the North Loch, after burnt," and that was in 1558, soon after the signing of the Covenant, the Queen is said by Knox to have adopted a conciliatory tone to the rioters. "My joys, my hearts, what ails you? We mean no evil to you nor your preachers. The bishops shall do you no wrong. Ye are all my loving subjects." Had the Queen kept to such language, and had she been content to dismiss her French forces, the whole history of the Scottish Church might have been altered. With Elizabeth on the throne of England, Protestantism might soon have been stigmatized as an English faith, or some partial reformation have been effected, in which compromise and political considerations would have carried far more weight than the Word of God, or hatred of idolatry. Knox and his following would have become an extreme party to be disposed of by exile or other means. But at this very moment Mary and her brothers became convinced that all Protestants were rebels, and that none but Catholics could be true subjects. The conspiracy of Amboise, in 1560, marks the time when the Guise faction became irreconcilably committed to the overthrow of Protestantism. But in the latter days of the regency of Mary in Scotland, their policy was assuming this shape, partly through her influence. Thus it was, that Mary, refusing to be guided by her subjects, leaned solely upon France and upon the old Church; and thus, too, she identified that Church more than ever with alien oppression, and made all attempts at internal reform a mere object of derision. Indeed, but for the name of the "Twopenny Faith" with which Knox labelled it, we might never have heard of this last manual of the expiring Church; the last which it published, and the first in which it attempted to make its doctrine intelligible to the people.

On the 10th of June, 1560, the Queen Dowager died, but not before the conspiracy of Amboise had necessitated the return of the French troops to France; and the negotiations for the Treaty of Edinburgh, by which the long alliance between France and Scotland was dissolved, and England became, for the first time, her neighbour's ally and friend, were conducted within seven days of the Queen Regent's death. But for these events—the death of Mary, the departure of the French, and the alliance with England—we can hardly imagine that the 25th of August, 1560, would have been the eventful day which it proved to be for Scotland. On that day Parliament, in the name of the nation, abjured Romanism, made celebration of the Mass punishable in the last instance by death, and accepted the "Confession of the Faith" as the symbol of national belief. On that day the nation became Protestant, as far as law could make it so.

Of course, it would be absurd to regard the Acts of 1560 as the comple-

¹ Burton's *History of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 345.

tion of the Scottish Reformation. Politically, we have but opened the first scene of that great drama. But the note which was then struck continued to be the distinguishing note and feature of the whole movement. A party, which took its stand, not on the Divine right of kings to prescribe a worship for their subjects, but upon the sovereign authority of the Word of God, had overthrown the old faith, and at the same time the traditional policy of many centuries. In course of time that party was so extended as to include the whole nation. By what steps the Scottish nation became identified with what had been the party of Knox and of Geneva, we have no space to tell. Nor does the tale need telling, for it is the well-worn history of Mary of Scots and her descendants. But it was of the utmost importance for Scotland, and in time for England also, that the Reformed Church rested her claim, not on any human, but on Divine authority. In the Confession of Faith adopted on that memorable 25th of August these remarkable words occur :—

We conjure you if any man will note in this our Confession any article or sentence repugnant to God's Holy Word, that it would please him of his gentleness, and for Christian charity's sake to admonish us of the same in writing, and we upon our honour and fidelity do promise him satisfaction from the Holy Scriptures or due reformation of that which he shall prove to be amiss.

It were an easy but an ungenerous task to point out the deviations of the Scottish Church from the principles here laid down, and to reproach her with arrogance, over-dogmatism, and harshness. She had been more than human had she never deviated from so lofty an ideal. But it was the aim thus deliberately proposed, of unswerving obedience to the Word of God, that constituted the grandeur and the value of that Church to England as well as to Scotland. It was this principle which saved her amid the perils of the twelve years immediately following upon the establishment. When we remember what Mary's powers of fascination were, how irresistible to many of the sternest natures about her, how she tried her craft upon Knox in arguments and conferences, theological and political, we cannot but feel that there was a purpose in the sternness which he used, and that in the ruggedness of his behaviour there was something more noble, more Scriptural, more truly charitable than in the time-serving obsequiousness of the Elizabethan prelates. How hopeless would have been the wreck of the newly-launched Church had she been committed to any compromise with Mary's wickedness for her own security. It was happy for Scotland, that through all the foul scenes between Mary's arrival and her abdication, and again in the Civil Wars of the Regency, she was led by one who never feared the face nor courted the favour of any living potentate, but feared God and His Word only. Amid all the shoals and quicksands, the intrigues, plots and counterplots of those perilous years, the Church was kept in a safe course; she was neither made partner in the crimes of Mary nor of her opponents; not caught in the snares of Elizabeth, nor misled by the influence of false friends like Grange and Lethington, because her leader was one who would never countenance what he believed to be contrary to the Word of God, whoever might be the doer of it.

It was this principle of reverence for Scripture that made the Scottish Church a thoroughly national Church. We have seen that the old Church was hated because she was alien at heart. It would have been easy for the new Church to become unpopular on the same ground. But his unswerving fidelity to the Bible led Knox to criticize freely and to correct what he believed to be erroneous in the English Church. And his fidelity was rewarded by escaping the imputation of servility to England. There is no doubt that Knox was strongly impressed by French Calvinism; and

that he and his followers had many of their best friends among the Huguenots. But the course of events in France saved him from all temptation to make terms with the hated French faction in Scotland. Love for the Word of God led him to trust to the power of preaching rather than to court popularity. Hence, as Mr. Froude has eloquently said:—"The Commons of Scotland were sons of their religion. While the nobles were splitting into factions, chasing their small ambitions, taking security for their fortunes, or entangling themselves in political intrigues, tradesmen, mechanics, and poor tillers of the soil had sprung suddenly up into consciousness, with spiritual convictions for which they were prepared to live or die. The fear of God left in them no room for the fear of any other thing, and in the very fierce intolerance which John Knox had poured into their convictions they had become a force in the State. The poor clay which a generation earlier the haughty barons would have trodden into slime, had been heated in the red-hot furnace of the new faith." Nor were only the Saxon Scots cared for, but the Gael of Scotland, more fortunate than the Celt of Ireland, had provision made that he might worship in his own tongue—a provision of which Scotland to this hour reaps the reward, while England is suffering years, we had almost said, centuries of punishment for neglect in this very matter. Nor must we forget the pains taken to wed the affections of the people to their faith by the power of Psalmody and song, even though we may not wholly approve the "godly ballads," as they were called."

Here we must take leave of our subject. Other lessons, no doubt, might have been gathered from the Scottish Reformation. It is enough for the present, in these days of political perplexity, unbelief, and scientific dogmatism, to learn and weigh well the fact that God honours His Church, so long as she honours the Word of God. It is easy to be mistaken in political forecasts, easy to make concessions, which appear unimportant at the moment of making them, and afterwards prove to have been of vital consequence; it is easy to shift from tack to tack in the vain quest after the breezes of popularity; but it is not easy, nay, it is impossible, for the gates of Hell to prevail against the Church of God, so long as she continues to be faithful to the deposit committed to her charge.

Thomas Carlyle: a History of the First Forty Years of His Life, 1795-1835. By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE, M.A. Two vols. Longmans, Green & Co. 1882.

In a preface to this work appears some interesting information with regard to a Life of Carlyle. In his will Mr. Carlyle expressed a desire that no biography should be written. He had collected the letters of his

¹ Quoted in the "St. Giles' Lectures," p. 150.

² Of these adaptations of popular songs to religious uses, Dr. Burton quotes this, among other specimens (vol. iv. p. 352):—

"With huntis up, with huntis up,
It is now perfeit day;
Jesus our King is gane a-hunting,
Quha lykis to speid they may.

"Ane cursit fox lay hid in rox
This lang and mony ane day,
Devouring scheip, quhill he micht creip,
Nane micht him schaip away."

wife, it seems, and prepared them for publication, adding notes and introductory explanations. These letters he placed in Mr. Froude's hands eleven years ago, with materials for an Introduction which he was himself unable to complete. Two years later, however, after he had made his will, Mr. Carlyle discovered that whether he wished it or not, a Life, or perhaps various Lives, would appear when he was gone. Since a Life there certainly would be, he wished it to be as authentic as possible. Besides the Memoir of Mrs. Carlyle, he had written others, chiefly autobiographical, "not distinctly to be printed," says Mr. Froude, "but with no fixed purpose that they should not be printed." He made these over to his friend, and also his journals and correspondence, "with unfettered discretion to use in any way" that Mr. Froude might think good.

"A few weeks before Mrs. Carlyle's death," says Mr. Froude, "he asked me what I meant to do. I told him that I proposed to publish the Memoirs as soon as he was gone—those which form the two volumes of the 'Reminiscences.' Afterwards I said that I would publish the letters about which I knew him to be most anxious. He gave his full assent, merely adding that he trusted everything to me. The Memoirs, he thought, had better appear immediately on his departure. He expected that people would then be talking about him, and that it would be well for them to have something authentic to guide them." These wishes, or directions, were observed. The Memoirs, as Carlyle's "Reminiscences," were published without delay.

The "Reminiscences," as soon as they were published, were briefly noticed in *THE CHURCHMAN* (April, 1881); a few extracts were given, mainly from those portions of the two volumes which form Carlyle's *In Memoriam* of his parents and his wife. The "Reminiscences" were reviewed at some length by Canon Bell in the June *CHURCHMAN*.

"Mrs. Carlyle's letters," says Mr. Froude, "are a better history of the London life of herself and her husband than could be written either by me or by any one. The connecting link is Carlyle's own, and to meddle with his work would be to spoil it. It was thus left to me to supply an account of his early life in Scotland, the greater part of which I had written while he was alive, and which is contained in the present volumes.¹ The publication of the letters will follow at no distant period. Afterwards, if I live to do it, I shall add a brief account of his last years, when I was in constant intercourse with him." It may be said, adds Mr. Froude, "that I shall then have produced no Life, but only the materials for a Life. This is true. A real picture, as far as it goes, however, will have been given; and an adequate estimate of Carlyle's work in this world is not at present possible."

As to the portrait of Carlyle, at present only partly drawn, yet full enough for almost every critical purpose, Mr. Froude refers to Carlyle's

¹ In the present volumes, that is, the brilliant biographer has followed his hero "from the peasant's home, in which he was born and nurtured, to the steps of the great position which he was afterwards to occupy."

remarks on biographical portraits in his review¹ of Lockhart's "Life of Scott;" and he says that in dealing with Carlyle's own memory he has felt himself bound to conform to Carlyle's own rule. If I had studied my own comfort, he adds, or the pleasure of my immediate readers, "I should have produced a portrait as agreeable, and at least as faithful, as those of the favoured saints in the Catholic calendar. But it would have been a portrait without individuality—an ideal, or, in other words, an 'idol,' to be worshipped one day and thrown away the next." When the worst has been said against Carlyle,² adds his friend and disciple, there will be left "still a figure of unblemished integrity, purity, loftiness of purpose, and inflexible resolution to do right, as of a man living consciously under his Maker's eye, and with his thoughts fixed on the account which he would have to render of his talents."

In the first volume of this "Life"—or "History of the first forty years"—appear twenty-two chapters, beginning *Æt.* 10, and closing *Æt.* 32. Of Carlyle's early struggles, of his dyspepsia—a disorder which never left him, and for years was torture, like "a rat gnawing at the pit of his stomach"—of his natural impatience and irritability, of his disappointment in regard to Miss Gordon,³ of his connection with Irving, and of the "three most miserable years" of his life, when out of humour with himself, with ill health, "a prey to nameless miseries," he wandered about the moors, or fretted himself in the loneliness of Edinburgh, the revelation is full and clear. There came upon him, says Mr. Froude—

"the trial which, in these days, awaits every man of high intellectual gifts and noble nature, on their first actual acquaintance with human things—the question, far deeper than any mere political one, What is this world then, what is this human life, over which a just God is said to preside, but of whose presence or whose providence so few signs are visible? In earlier ages religion silences scepticism if it cannot reply to its difficulties, and postpones the solution of the mystery to another stage of existence. Brought up in a pious family, where religion was not talked about or emotionalized, but was accepted as the rule of thought and conduct, himself, too, instinctively upright, pure of heart, and reverent, Carlyle, like his parents, had accepted the Bible as a direct communication from Heaven. . . . Young men of genius are the first to feel the growing influences of their time, and on Carlyle they fell in their most painful form."

¹ *Miscellanies*, vol. v. pp. 221, 199.

² Carlyle had a strange temper, and from a child was "gey ill to live with." He often said "cruel things" to his brother John, whom he dearly loved. He was ashamed of his language and oftentimes apologized. "Penitence, however, sincere as it might be," remarks Mr. Froude, "was never followed by amendment, even to the very end of his life." In judging others he was, oftentimes, bitter, harsh, and grossly unfair.

³ An extract from a farewell letter shows "how the young unknown Kirkcaldy schoolmaster appeared in the eyes of the young high-born lady who had thus for a moment crossed his path." She wrote: "Genius will render you great. May virtue render you beloved! Remove the awful distance between you and ordinary men by kind and gentle manners. . . . Let your light shine before men!" Admirable advice.

Thus to poverty and dyspepsia, continues Mr. Froude, "there had been added the struggle which is always hardest in the noblest minds." Again: "The greatest of us have our weaknesses, and the Margaret Gordon business had perhaps intertwined itself with the spiritual torment."

Some of Mr. Froude's sentences, whether in regard to "spiritual torment," or religious experience and dogmas, invite comment. But Mr. Froude is Mr. Froude; of his doctrinal position or of his literary power, no remark is needed. We will only observe that as to his remarks on Carlyle as a prophet, or on the "phenomena" of the Bible and human life, our silence must not be misunderstood. Concerning Carlyle, indeed, his "pride," at the very time when his spiritual struggles began, is pointed out by our author himself (p. 91).

In 1820, when he was twenty-five years of age, Carlyle began his acquaintance with German literature. He was writing articles for Brewster's "Encyclopædia," and teaching pupils. Irving was steadily cheering him with confident promises of ultimate success. Never had Carlyle or any man a truer-hearted, more generous friend.

In 1821, Carlyle was introduced by Irving to the young lady who was afterwards to be his wife. Jane Baillie Welsh was an only child; tradition traced her lineage to Knox and Wallace. She was born in 1801. Irving, fresh from college honours, had become master of Haddington School, and was trusted with the private education of Jane Welsh. Dr. Welsh treated him as a son. Taking fever from a patient, Dr. Welsh was bled profusely and died. Had he lived his daughter's life might have been much happier. An heiress, with wit and beauty, called the flower of Haddington, she had many suitors. A secret attachment, however, had grown up unconsciously between herself and her tutor. While she was still a child Irving had entered into a half-formed engagement with the daughter of the Kirkcaldy minister; he was longing for release, and for a time, at all events, marriage was out of the question. A constant visitor at Haddington, Irving discovered that his real love was for his old pupil, and the feeling on her part was—this word is her own—"passionately" returned. The mischief was done before they became aware of their danger. Irving's situation being explained, Miss Welsh refused to listen to any language but that of friendship from him until Miss Martin had set him free. Irving was equally high principled. But there was an unexpressed hope on both sides that he would not be held to his word. It was an unhappy state of affairs. Miss Welsh was working eagerly at literature, ambitious of becoming an authoress, and winning name and fame. Irving thought of his poor friend Carlyle, and obtained permission to introduce him to her, as likely to be of use. Carlyle set her to read German books. Irving, of the nature of whose interest in her Carlyle had no suspicion, was vexed and uneasy. His own religious convictions were profound and sincere; and in a very striking letter to Carlyle he points out the mischievous muddle of æsthetic German mysticism. Now Carlyle disliked much that he found in his German friends; to him, as to many that are not "stern Scotch Calvinists" (p. 191), Goethe and Schiller appear to think that the hope of improvement for mankind lies in culture rather than morality—in æsthetics, in arts, in poetry, in the

drama, than in obedience to rules of right or wrong, based on the principles of Christian truth. But Carlyle persisted in his Goethe-worship.

In 1822, through Irving's kindness, Carlyle became tutor to Charles Buller, at a salary of £200 a year. In 1822, Irving became minister of Hatton Garden Chapel; and marriage was brought within measurable distance. He informed Miss Martin and her father of the condition of his feelings, and afterwards he informed Miss Welsh—in a touching letter, not unworthy of a Christian minister¹—that from his engagement he could not become *free*. The struggle, we read, had almost "made his faith and principles to totter." "I stand truly," wrote Irving, "upon ground which seems to shake and give way beneath me; but my help is in Heaven."²

The character of Jane Welsh, Mrs. Carlyle, says Mr. Froude, was profoundly affected by this disappointment, and cannot be understood without a knowledge of it. Carlyle himself, though acquainted generally with the circumstances, never realized completely the intensity of the feeling which had been crushed.

After a time the correspondence between Miss Welsh and Carlyle grew more confidential and affectionate. It amused her to see the most remarkable person she had ever met with at her feet; she would sometimes ridicule his Annandale accent, and "snub" him; at other times she drew him back, and gave him hopes. In short, she had been disappointed; she was impatient of her surroundings; she was both romantic and ambitious. At length, in April, 1824, a sort of engagement was made. "She did not love him as she felt that she could love," says Mr. Froude; she had found him moody, violent, and selfish, yet she could not make up her mind to part with him. And so, in October, 1826, they were married. But she was not happy. Long years after, in the late evening of her laborious life, she said, "I married for ambition. Carlyle has exceeded all that my wildest hopes ever imagined of him—and I am miserable."³

During their residence at Craigenputtock, a dreary moorland farm, Mrs. Carlyle was sadly neglected. A devoted wife, she strove to make the best of the moody, ill-tempered philosopher; but the struggle was severe.

¹ Some beautiful letters from poor Irving to his "dear Jane" are given. In one of the best (p. 161) he points out the danger of worshipping success; the "intoxication of high talents," and the arbitrary tempers of men of literary power.

² "His intellect was shattered," says Mr. Froude. From the time of his marriage, "the old, simple, unconscious Irving ceased to exist."

³ Mr. Froude makes some apologetic observations on Carlyle's selfishness. He sought a companion who would sacrifice herself in order to aid him in what he conceived to be his *mission*. It was selfishness of a rare, elevated kind, but selfishness still; and it followed him throughout his married life. He awoke only to the consciousness of what he had been, when the knowledge could bring no more than unavailing remorse.

Miss Welsh (writes Mr. Froude) had looked forward to being Carlyle's intellectual companion, to sharing his thoughts and helping him with his writings. She was not overrating her natural powers when she felt being equal to such a position and deserving it. The reality was not like the dream. Poor as they were, she had to work as a menial servant. She, who had never known a wish ungratified for any object which money could buy; she, who had seen the rich of the land at her feet, and might have chosen among them at pleasure; with a weak frame, withal, which had never recovered the shock of her father's death—she after all was obliged to slave like the wife of her husband's friend Wightman, the hedger, and cook and wash and scour and mend shoes and clothes for many a weary year. Bravely she went through it all; and she would have gone through it cheerfully if she had been rewarded with ordinary gratitude. But if things were done rightly, Carlyle did not inquire who did them. Partly he was occupied, partly he was naturally undemonstrative, and partly she in generosity concealed from him the worst which she had to bear. The hardest part of all was that he did not see that there was occasion for any special acknowledgment. Poor men's wives had to work. She was a poor man's wife, and it was fit and natural that she should work. He had seen his mother and his sisters doing the drudgery of his father's household without expecting to be admired for doing it. Mrs. Carlyle's life was entirely lonely, save so far as she had other friends. He consulted her judgment about his writings, for he knew the value of it, but in his conceptions and elaborations he chose to be always by himself. He said truly that he was a Bedouin. When he was at work he could bear no one in the room; and, at least through middle life, he rode and walked alone, not choosing to have his thoughts interrupted. The slightest noise or movement at night shattered his nervous system; therefore he required a bed-room to himself; thus, from the first she saw little of him, and as time went on less and less, and she, too, was human and irritable. Carlyle proved, as his mother had known him, "ill to live with." Generous and kind as he was at heart, and as he always showed himself when he had leisure to reflect, "the Devil," as he had said, "continued to speak out of him in distempered sentences," and the bitter arrow was occasionally shot back.

To the second volume (A.D. 1828-1834) we may return. Its main interest lies in the fact that Mr. Froude gives an answer to the question, What was Carlyle's religion? And his answer, briefly, is this: Carlyle "was a Calvinist without the theology!" Mr. Froude gives an explanation; and we may give the gist of it in a few quotations. Carlyle "did not believe in the Christian religion;" he "based his faith, not on a supposed revelation . . . ; experienced fact was to him revelation, and the only true revelation;" the miracles of "sacred history were not credible to him." Yet, while Carlyle rejected Bible narrative he "believed in the spiritual truths of religion;" and in his scheme of belief there was "room for prayer,"—"aspiration," at least, or "silence." How gloomy was the preacher of this melancholy gospel the volumes before us testify. His pious parents were infinitely happier; and as for his wife, whose faith he had "deranged"—the term is Mr. Froude's—she was miserable. "A dull gloom, sinking at last almost to apathy, fell upon her spirits."

Proceedings of the Ecumenical Methodist Conference held in City Road Chapel, London, September, 1881. Pp. 607. London: Wesleyan Conference Office, 2 Castle Street, City Road, E.C.

THIS volume should have received an earlier notice in our pages. The Report of the "First Ecumenical Methodist Conference"—to quote the words on the cover of the volume—has a real interest and value. Few who are interested in great religious movements or questions of Church polity will take up such a Report as this without finding material for thought, while for many members of the Church of England the movements of Methodism, more especially, of course, of the old Wesleyan body, have a peculiar interest.

The Report is published—according to the title-page—at the Wesleyan Conference Office, at the Methodist New Connexion Book Room, at the Primitive Methodist Book Depot, at the Bible Christian Book Room, and at the Methodist Free Church Book Room. In a note by the (four) Editors, we read:—

This book, being the record of a Conference which must be historic, as it marks a memorable epoch in the progress of our Churches, is commended to the great Methodist Family in the belief that its perusal will advance the cause of the Redeemer, by inspiring the followers of Christ with greater zeal in working for the conversion of the world.

A prefatory statement, drawn up by that eminent and accomplished minister, the Rev. William Arthur, gives sufficient information as to the steps which led to the formation of the Conference. The first step was the passing of a resolution by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church assembled at Baltimore in the year 1876. In May, 1880, a combined committee of Methodist Churches, British and Irish, Canadian, United States, Episcopal and non-Episcopal, with representatives of the negro race, assembled in Cincinnati, where it was agreed that the Ecumenical Wesleyan Conference should be held in City Road Chapel, the chief centre of John Wesley's labours, in September, 1881. The number of delegates was to be 400; half to be chosen by churches in Europe with their Missions,¹ half by churches in America with their missions; of the Eastern Section the President of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference was to be chairman; of the Western Section, Bishop Simpson. The 5th of August was observed, on both sides of the Atlantic, as a day of special prayer for the Conference. On September 7 the delegated brethren assembled in the appointed place:—

They represented twenty-eight different denominations. They came from England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Germany, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Africa, India, China, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Polynesia, and from all sections of the United States, from Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, South America, and the West Indies. They belonged, for the most part, to the Teutonic and African races. Of the Teutonic race the three great divisions were represented—the main German stock, with the Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian branches. Of the African race it would be impossible

¹ At a representative meeting in London, Nov. 1880, it was decided not to allocate the two hundred members of the Conference to the various Methodist bodies on the exclusive principle of numerical representation; so the two largest bodies get less, and the smaller ones more, than they would otherwise have had. The following is the distribution: The Wesleyan Conference, eighty-eight; Primitive Methodists, thirty-six; Methodist Free Churches, twenty-two; Methodist New Connexion, twelve; Bible Christians, ten; Reform Union, four; Irish Conference, ten; French, two; Australasian Conference, sixteen. The different Methodist bodies will elect their own members, and they will consist of ministers and laymen in equal numbers as far as practicable.

to say how many branches were represented, but they were not a few. Those loosely called the Latin races were not unrepresented, but their numbers were small. There was, however, in attendance no African born and residing in Africa, nor any native Asiatic, American Indian, or Polynesian. The portion of the existing Methodist family actually present was, therefore, broadly speaking, only so much of it as could send delegates capable of taking part in proceedings conducted in the English tongue. Numerous first-fruits of various races to whom that tongue is strange were praying for the Conference in thirty or forty languages, and the hearts of missionaries in the assembly were often turned towards those absent brethren in hope that future Ecumenical Conferences would witness the presence of many a nation and race not now represented.

The morning service was read by the President of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference, the Rev. Dr. Osborn. The sermon was preached by the Senior Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Dr. Matthew Simpson. At the close of the sermon the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered to the assembled delegates.

It ought not to be omitted to mention that on the morning preceding the opening of the Conference a very large number of the delegates were entertained by the Religious Tract Society at a breakfast in Exeter Hall, and on the evening of the day of opening the whole of their number, with many other friends, were cordially welcomed at a public reception in the Mansion House by the Lord Mayor of London, the Right Hon. William McArthur, M.P.

The subjects treated in the opening days of the Conference were—

The grateful recognition of the hand of God in the origin and progress of Methodism : Statistical results.

Methodism, a power purifying and elevating society; the influence exerted on other religious bodies, and the extent to which they have modified Methodism.

Evangelical agencies of Methodism : "The Itinerant Ministry," "Lay Preachers," "Women, and their work in Methodism."

Then followed "Methodism and the Young," "The Lord's Day and Temperance," "Possible Perils of Methodism," "Education," "Missions," and other subjects, closing with "Christian Unity." The discussion on Foreign Missions is full of interest. The Wesleyans are doing a noble work in many spheres.

We quote a few sentences from Bishop Simpson's sermon :—

As to the divisions in the Methodist family, there is little to mar the family likeness. For, first, there has been among the Wesleyan ranks no division as to doctrines. The clear statements in Mr. Wesley's sermons, and the doctrinal character of the hymns constantly sung, have aided in keeping us one. All over the world Methodist theology is a unit. Nor, secondly, is there any radical difference in usages. The class-meeting, the prayer-meeting, the love-feast, the watch-night, though more or less strictly observed, are known everywhere in Methodism. So far as the membership is concerned, there is scarcely a single difference. Even in the Connexional bonds there is general likeness. The itinerant ministry, and the quarterly and annual conferences, exist in almost every branch. In the manner of legislation, and in the mode of effecting ministerial changes, there are some differences; but the points of agreement are so numerous as compared with the differences that we are emphatically one.

To the statistics given in various speeches and in appended Tables we may return. But a summary may now be given in two or three lines. Of "Itinerant Preachers," British Wesleyan, there are 3,326; of other British Methodists, 2,085; of United States and Canada Episcopal, 23,566, non-Episcopal, 3,675; total, 32,652. Of Local Preachers, the total number is 89,292. Of "Members" the total number is within a few hundreds of 5,000,000; of which 3,713,265 are United States and Canada Episcopal.

Now, at a glance, two things strike the eye: first, that the strength of Methodism is its Local Preacher system, and second, that Methodism is to a great extent American. It may be added that, in the opinion of one speaker (p. 65), the relative proportions of the Methodist populations of the world to the Anglican, are 14,000,000, to 17,000,000. Take these figures how one may they lend weight, we think, to the plea of Church Reformers for greater elasticity and for new organization within the Anglican community.

We may quote one extract from a speech by a Welshman, Mr. L. Williams (p. 96). He reminded the Arminian Conference that a powerful Methodist body in this country is not Arminian. He said:—

There is a Methodist Church that is not represented in this assembly. In Wales the popular Church—the most powerful Church—is known as the Calvinistic Methodist Church. The revival of the last century under the teaching and preaching of Howell Harris and Rowlands, and like men, whose names cannot be too highly honoured in this assembly, took a distinctly Calvinistic turn. That Church is now the most powerful Church in the Principality. It numbers 118,000 members, with two large colleges. The Congregationalists have about 90,000 members in the Principality, and the Baptists have 70,000. I think that would give a total of nearly 300,000 members out of a population of one and a quarter millions.

In regard to the “local” as distinguished from the regular or “itinerant” ministry, there exists, it seems, a considerable difference of opinion among Wesleyans. In the discussion on Evangelistic Agencies, Mr. Waddy, the eminent lawyer, sometime M.P. for Sheffield, spoke out plainly. He said:—

Our friends have been talking about *local* preachers. That is not the question. The subject as it is specified here (in the official programme) is “lay preachers.” Now, in one sense, all our preachers are lay preachers. Until the year 1822, when somebody chose to alter that tablet to the memory of John Wesley, and to substitute a new one, the words that were upon it were these—that “he was a patron and friend of the lay preachers, by whose aid he extended the plan of itinerant preaching.” Somebody, by whose authority I do not care now to inquire (though I know pretty well), chose to take away the original tablet and to substitute the present one, in which the lay preachers are done away with, and the inscription now runs thus—“He was the chief promoter and patron of the plan of itinerant preaching.” In the view of Wesley and in the “Church” view of us your status is still the same. You doctors of divinity, who wear your titles so honourably and so well—for you are as truly divines as the men of any Church; you doctors of law, who get that inappropriate degree, as I suspect, because you know little law but less divinity; you bishops whom we delight to receive, and to honour; you are all lay preachers according to this sense of the term—not “ordained” according to the notions of some Churches, but “set apart.” And that is the great point—we local preachers are not in that sense “set apart.” So some of you try to establish a distinction between us. You affect too much of the uniform and the livery—I must be plain—of other churches. I venture to say that what we want now is not that more difference should be made, but that less difference should be made between the two.

The article on “A New Form of Verse” in the April *CHURCHMAN*, by the Rev. RICHARD WILTON, Rector of Londesborough, has called forth several communications from readers of this magazine. CANON SAUMAREZ SMITH sent a Rondeau as illustrative of Mr. Wilton’s opinion that this musical form of verse is capable of “bearing the burden not only of rural description but of religious contemplation.”

Shâlôm, Shâlôm.

(Isaiah xxvi. 3, margin.)

Peace, perfect peace is theirs who stay
 Themselves upon the Lord each day,
 Who, mid earth's weariness and care,
 Breathe, inwardly, diviner air,
 Imparting strength for all the way :
 Strength in the midmost eager fray,
 Strength, when the mortal powers decay,
 Until death brings, as angel fair,
 Peace, perfect peace.

What may not such souls do and dare ?
 Ready their Master's cross to bear,
 Knowing He will not say them nay
 While in His love they watch and pray,
 Hoping one day with Him to share
 Peace, perfect peace.

Canon CLARKE, of Southport, wrote to the same effect, and also enclosed an experiment in the new measure.

"Like Early Dew."

Like early dew that sparkles bright
 Beneath the blaze of morning light,
 But soon forsakes the flowerets gay,
 Unwilling long on earth to stay,
 Eager to reach the cloudy height :
 So youthful joys by age's blight
 Are dimmed, and vanish out of sight ;
 So sweetest memories pass away,
 Like early dew.

But ere the burning heat of day
 In manhood comes, or shadows grey
 Of age obscure the path of right,
 May not the soul begin its flight,
 And heavenward soar on sunbeam ray,
 Like early dew ?

Canon BELL has also favoured the writer of the article with a specimen of this new form of verse.

Give God thine Heart.

Give God thine heart : dark clouds will break,
 His love around thee sunshine make ;
 A light transfigure sea and shore
 That never gleamed on them before,
 And songs within thy soul awake.
 God for thy Guide and Guardian take,
 He ne'er will leave thee nor forsake :
 Behold, He knocketh at thy door,
 Give God thine heart.

Thy mind shall be like tranquil lake,
 Whose bosom no rude tempests shake,
 Nor winds of winter ruffle o'er,
 And peace be thine for evermore :
 For love of Christ and His dear sake
 Give God thine heart.

It is gratifying to think that the introduction of the Rondeau to the

notice of the readers of *THE CHURCHMAN*, should have been followed by such practical and musical proofs of kindly appreciation: and it may well be hoped from these happy specimens that this graceful and light-hearted measure of our "sweet enemy France" (to use Sir Philip Sidney's phrase) may yet do good service to Englishmen in the cause of "Truth and Soberness."

There is another and allied form of verse called the *Rondel*, which is preferred by some good judges to the *Rondeau*. It boasts of an equal antiquity. A specimen may be given in the original old French, composed by Charles of Orleans (father of Louis XII., King of France), who was taken prisoner at the battle of Agincourt; and who now, after four centuries, has his sweet revenge on the English in their adoption of the metre which he loved, and with which he doubtless solaced his long imprisonment in this country.

Rondel.

(Charles d'Orléans, 1391-1465.)

Le temps a laissiè son manteau
De vent, de froidure et de pluye,
Et s'est vestu de brouderie,
De souleil luisant, cler et beau.
Il n'y a beste ne oyseau
Qu'en son jargon ne chante ou crie :
Le temps a laissiè son manteau
De vent, de froidure et de pluye.

Rivière, fontaine et ruisseau
Portent, en livrée jolie,
Gouttes d'argent d'orfaverie
Chacun s'abille de nouveau.
Le temps a laissiè son manteau
De vent, de froidure et de pluye.

This *Rondel* has been translated by Longfellow,¹ but without proper observance of the order of the rhymes.

The *Rondel* consists of fourteen lines with two rhymes only—divided into two parts of eight lines and six. The lines, though the same in number, are shorter than those of the sonnet.

The sequence of the lines is as follows:—a, b, b, a, a, b, a, b—a, b, b, a, a, b. The opening couplet is repeated after the sixth line, and again after the twelfth line, thus forming a longer refrain than is found in the *Rondeau*.

An English specimen may be given.

"*They shall say always, 'The Lord be Praised.'*"

"The Lord be praised!" I love to say
At blush of morn and evening's rose;—
When first the conscious Orient grows
Red with the thought of coming day:
Or when mild evening's mantle grey
With streaks of crimson richly glows;
"The Lord be praised!" I love to say
At blush of morn and evening's rose.

As birds pour forth a gladsome lay
When dawn its breezy signal shows,
And when with pensive footstep goes
Calm eve, they join in chorus gay:—
"The Lord be praised!" I love to say
At blush of morn and evening's rose.

R. W.

¹ P. 585, Rossetti's Edition.