generally regarded as the main causes of his defeat in the general election of 1868. But, as he suggests himself, his studied advocacy of unfamiliar projects of reform had made him unpopular with "moderate Liberals." When he was first elected on a sudden impulse of enthusiasm, extremely little was known about him by the bulk of the electorate; and his writing about checks against democracy had prepared many for a more conservative attitude on questions of practical politics. He retired with a sense of relief to his cottage and his literary life at Avignon. His parliamentary duties and the quantity of correspondence brought upon him by increased publicity had absorbed nearly the whole of his time. The scanty leisure of his first recess had been devoted to writing his St Andrews rectorial address on higher education and to answering attacks on his criticism of Hamilton; of the second, to annotating, in conjunction with Mr Bain and Mr Findlater, his father's *Analysis of the Mind*. But now he could look forward to a literary life pure and simple, and his letters show how much he enjoyed the change. His little cottage was filled with books and newspapers; the beautiful country round it furnished him with a variety of walks; he read, wrote, discussed, walked, botanized. His step-daughter, Miss Taylor, his constant companion after his wife's death, "architect and master-mason all in one," carried out various improvements in their quiet home for the philosopher's comfort. "Helen," he wrote to Mr Thornton, "has carried out her long-cherished scheme (about which she tells me she consulted you) of a 'vibratory' for me, and has made a pleasant covered walk, some 30 feet long, where I can vibrate in cold or rainy weather. The terrace, you must know, as it goes round two sides of the house, has got itself dubbed the 'semi-circumgyratory.' In addition to this Helen has built me a herbarium, a little room fitted up with closets for my plants, shelves for my botanical books, and a great table whereon to manipulate them all. Thus, you see, with my herbarium, my vibratory, and my semi-circumgyratory, I am in clover; and you may imagine with what scorn I think of the House of Commons, which, comfortable club as it is said to be, could offer me none of these comforts, or, more perfectly speaking, these necessaries of life." Mill was an enthusiastic botanist all his life long, and a frequent contributor of notes and short papers to the *Phytologist*. One of the things that he looked forward to during his last journey to Avignon was seeing the spring flowers and completing a flora of the locality. His delight in scenery frequently appears in letters written to his friends during his summer and autumn tours.

No recluse ever had a more soothing retreat than Mill's Avignon cottage, but to the last he did not relax his laborious habits nor his ardent outlook on human affairs. The essays in the fourth volume of his *Dissertations*—on endowments, on land, on labour, on metaphysical and psychological questions—were written for the *Fortnightly Review* at intervals after his short parliamentary career. One of his first tasks was to send his treatise on the *Subjection of Women* through the press. The essay on *Theism* was written soon after. The last public work in which he engaged was the starting of the Land Tenure Reform Association. The interception by the state of the unearned increment, and the promotion of co-operative agriculture, were the most striking features in his programme. He wrote in the *Examiner* and made a public speech in favour of the association a few months before his death. The secret of the ardour with which he took up this question probably was his conviction that a great struggle was impending in Europe between labour and capital. He regarded his project as a timely compromise.

Mill died at Avignon on the 8th of May 1873.

Within the limits of this article it is impossible to attempt a criticism of Mill's conclusions in so many fields of research; one must be content with trying to indicate the purpose and the spirit of his work. Perhaps we still stand too near to judge without bias; some years hence men will be better able to say whether he made sciolism less reckless or brought mankind appreciably nearer that dominion of the wisest which was the remote goal of his endeavour. It will be long before humanity finds a nobler example of the searcher after the best means of social improvement. He sought after clear ideas with the ardour of a mystic, the patience and laborious industry of a man of science; he encountered opponents with a generosity and a courtesy worthy of any *preux chevalier* of mediæval romance, while he was not inferior to that ideal in the vigour of his blows against injustice. As regards his influence, it has been well said that "no calculus can integrate the innumerable pulses of knowledge and of thought that he has made to vibrate in the minds of his generation." He quickened thought upon every problem that he touched. Any estimate of Mill's service to political or philosophical thought at this moment is liable to be injuriously affected by the temporary discredit into which some of his doctrines have fallen. He was not infallible; he made no claim to dogmatic authority. But in criticism of detail, according to our present light, we may easily blind ourselves to the greatness of the work that Mill accomplished in the development of opinion. (W. M.)

**MILLAU**, or Milhau, capital of an arrondissement in the department of Aveyron, France, is situated on the left bank of the Tarn, half a mile below the point at which that river is joined by the Dourbie, and 48 miles to the south-east of Rodez, on the Rodez and Montpellier line. Itself 1210 feet above the level of the sea, it is overlooked by hills covered with vineyards and fruit trees or by bare and scarped rocks. The streets of Millau are narrow, and some of the houses of great antiquity, but the town is surrounded by spacious boulevards. On two sides the Place d'Armes is adorned by stone columns supporting galleries of wood; the only buildings of special interest are the Romanesque church of Notre Dame, and the belfry of the old hôtel de ville. The principal industry is the manufacture of gloves, but various branches of the leather manufacture are also carried on. The chief articles of commerce are wool (both raw and prepared), Roquefort cheese, wine, almonds, and live stock. The population in 1881 was 16,628.

The viscounts of Millau are mentioned as early as the 10th century; in the 16th it became one of the leading strongholds of the Reformed party in the south of France. Its industry suffered severely by the revocation of the edict of Nantes.

**MILLENNIUM.** In the history of Christianity three main forces are found to have acted as auxiliaries of the gospel. They have elicited the ardent enthusiasm of many whom the bare preaching of the gospel would never have made decided converts. These are (1) a belief in the speedy return of Christ and in His glorious reign on earth; (2) mystical contemplation, which regards heavenly blessings as a possible possession in the present life; and (3) faith in a divine predestination of some to salvation and others to perdition. Each of these forces has at particular times proved too strong for church authority and burst the embankments with which the church had at once narrowed and protected Christian life and thought. They have produced ecclesiastical, social, and political convulsions, where the elemental force of religious conviction has destroyed all organization, whether of church or of state. They have released from its fetters the free spirit of Christianity, though often enough they have associated with it a fanaticism more damaging to the gospel than the temporizing policy of the hierarchy.

First in point of time came the faith in the nearness of Christ's second advent and the establishing of His reign of glory on the earth. Indeed it appears so early that it might be questioned whether it ought not to be regarded as an essential part of the Christian religion. That question, however, will scarcely be answered in the affirmative. The ideas of the Sermon on the Mount, or the pregnant thoughts of the Pauline theology, are independent of the expectation that the kingdom of glory will shortly

be established. On the other hand, it must be admitted that this expectation was a prominent feature in the earliest proclamation of the gospel, and materially contributed to its success. If the primitive churches had been under the necessity of framing a "Confession of Faith," it would certainly have embraced those pictures by means of which the near future was distinctly realized. But then these pictures and dreams and hopes were just the things that made systematized doctrine impossible, it is possible to formulate the mythological ideas, but not the shifting imagery of the imagination.

In the anticipations of the future prevalent amongst the early Christians (*c.* 50–150) it is necessary to distinguish a fixed and a fluctuating element. The former includes (1) the notion that a last terrible battle with the enemies of God was impending; (2) the faith in the speedy return of Christ; (3) the conviction that Christ will judge all men, and (4) will set up a kingdom of glory on earth. To the latter belong views of the Antichrist, of the heathen world-power, of the place, extent, and duration of the earthly kingdom of Christ, &c. These remained in a state of solution; they were modified from day to day, partly because of the changing circumstances of the present by which forecasts of the future were regulated, partly because the indications—real or supposed—of the ancient prophets always admitted of new combinations and constructions. But even here certain positions were agreed on in large sections of Christendom. Amongst these was the expectation that the future kingdom of Christ on earth should have a fixed duration,—according to the most prevalent opinion, a duration of one thousand years. From this fact the whole ancient Christian eschatology was known in later times as "chiliasm,"—a name which is not strictly accurate, since the doctrine of the millennium was only one feature in its scheme of the future.

1. This idea that the Messianic kingdom of the future on earth should have a definite duration has—like the whole eschatology of the primitive church—its roots in the Jewish apocalyptic literature, where it appears at a comparatively late period. At first it was assumed that the Messianic kingdom in Palestine would last for ever (so the prophets; *cf.* Jerem. xxiv. 6; Ezek. xxxvii. 25; Joel iv. 20; Daniel vi. 27; Sibyll. iii. 49 *sq.*, 766; Psalt. Salom. xvii. 4; Enoch lxii. 14), and this seems always to have been the most widely accepted view (John xii. 34). But from a comparison of prophetic passages of the Old Testament learned apocalyptic writers came to the conclusion that a distinction must be drawn between the earthly appearance of the Messiah and the appearance of God Himself amongst His people and in the Gentile world for the final judgment. As a necessary consequence, a limited period had to be assigned to the Messianic kingdom. It is not altogether improbable that the mysterious references to the sufferings of the Messiah had also an influence on some minds. This, however, is doubtful. It is certain at all events that the whole conception marks the beginning of the dissolution of realistic and sensuous views of the future. The age was too advanced to regard the earthly Messianic kingdom as the end. There was an effort to find a place among the hopes of the future for those more spiritual and universal anticipations, according to which eternal and heavenly blessedness will be the portion of the faithful, this earth and heaven will pass away, and God will be all in all. As to the period to be assigned to this earthly kingdom, no agreement was ever reached in Judaism, any more than in the detailed descriptions of its joys and pleasures. According to the Apocalypse of Baruch (xl. 3) this kingdom will last "donec finiatur mundus corruptionis." In the Book of Enoch (xci. 12) "a week" is specified, in the Apocalypse of Ezra (vii. 28 *sq.*) four hundred years. This figure, corresponding to the four hundred years of Egyptian bondage, occurs also in the Talmud (Sanhedrin 99*a*). But this is the only passage; the Talmud has no fixed doctrine on the point. The view most frequently expressed there (see Von Otto in *Hilgenfeld's Zeitschrift*, 1877, p. 527 *sq.*) is that the Messianic kingdom will last for one thousand (some said two thousand) years. "In six days God created the world, on the seventh He rested. But a day of God is equal to a thousand years (Ps. xc. 4). Hence the world will last for six thousand years of toil and labour; then will come one thousand years of Sabbath rest for the people of God in the kingdom of the Messiah." This idea must have already been very common in the first century before Christ. The combination of Gen. i., Dan. ix., and Ps. xc. 4 was peculiarly fascinating.

2. Jesus Himself speaks of only one return of the Son of Man—His return to judgment. In speaking of it, and of the glorious kingdom He is to introduce, He makes use of apocalyptic images (Matt. viii. 11, xxvi. 29; Luke xxii. 16; Matt. xix. 28); but nowhere in the discourses of Jesus is there a hint of a limited duration of the Messianic kingdom. The apostolic epistles are equally free from any trace of chiliasm (neither 1 Cor. xv. 23 *sq.* nor 1 Thess. iv. 16 *sq.* points in this direction). In the Apocalypse of John, however, it occurs in the following shape (chap. xx.). After Christ has appeared from heaven in the guise of a warrior, and vanquished the antichristian world-power, the wisdom of the world, and the devil, those who have remained steadfast in the time of the last catastrophe, and have given up their lives for their faith, shall be raised up, and shall reign with Christ on this earth as a royal priesthood for one thousand years. At the end of this time Satan is to be let loose again for a short season; he will prepare a new onslaught, but God will miraculously destroy him and his hosts. Then will follow the general resurrection of the dead, the last judgment, and the creation of new heavens and a new earth. That *all* believers will have a share in the first resurrection and in the Messianic kingdom is an idea of which John knows nothing. The earthly kingdom of Christ is reserved for those who have endured the most terrible tribulation, who have withstood the supreme effort of the world-power,—that is, for those who are actually members of the church of the last days. The Jewish expectation is thus considerably curtailed in the hands of John, as it is also shorn of its sensual attractions. "Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection; on such the second death hath no power; but they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with Him a thousand years." More than this John does not say. But other ancient Christian authors were not so cautious. Accepting the Jewish apocalypses as sacred books of venerable antiquity, they read them eagerly, and transferred their contents bodily to Christianity. Nay more, the Gentile Christians took possession of them, and just in proportion as they were neglected by the Jews—who, after the war of Bar-Cochba, became indifferent to the Messianic hope and hardened themselves once more in devotion to the law—they were naturalized in the Christian communities. The result was that these books became "Christian" documents; it is entirely to Christian, not to Jewish, tradition that we owe their preservation. The Jewish expectations are adopted, for example, by Papias, by the writer of the epistle of Barnabas, and by Justin. Papias actually confounds expressions of Jesus with verses from the Apocalypse of Baruch, referring to the amazing fertility of the days of the Messianic kingdom (Papias in Iren. v. 33). Barnabas (*Ep.*, 15) gives us the Jewish theory (from Gen. i. and Ps. xc. 4) that the present condition of the world is to last six thousand years

from the creation, that at the beginning of the Sabbath (the seventh millennium) the Son of God appears, to put an end to the time of "the unjust one," to judge the ungodly and renew the earth. But he does not indulge, like Papias, in sensuous descriptions of this seventh millennium; to Barnabas it is a time of rest, of sinlessness, and of a holy peace. It is not the end, however; it is followed by an eighth day of eternal duration,—"the beginning of another world." So that in the view of Barnabas the Messianic reign still belongs to οὗτος ὁ αἰών. Justin (*Dial.*, 80) speaks of chiliasm as a necessary part of complete orthodoxy, although he knows Christians who do not accept it. He believes, with the Jews, in a restoration and extension of the city of Jerusalem; he assumes that this city will be the seat of the Messianic kingdom, and he takes it as a matter of course that there all believers (here he is at one with Barnabas) along with patriarchs and prophets will enjoy perfect felicity for one thousand years. In fact he reads this view into the Apocalypse of John, which he understands to mean that before the general resurrection all believers are to rule for a time with Christ on earth. That a philosopher like Justin, with a bias towards an Hellenic construction of the Christian religion, should nevertheless have accepted its chiliastic elements is the strongest proof that these enthusiastic expectations were inseparably bound up with the Christian faith down to the middle of the 2d century. And another proof is found in the fact that even a speculative Jewish Christian like Cerinthus not only did not renounce the chiliastic hope, but pictured the future kingdom of Christ as a kingdom of sensual pleasures, of eating and drinking and marriage festivities (Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 28, vii. 25).

3. After the middle of the 2d century these expectations were gradually thrust into the background. They would never have died out, however, had not circumstances altered, and a new mental attitude been taken up. The spirit of philosophical and theological speculation and of ethical reflexion, which began to spread through the churches, did not know what to make of the old hopes of the future. To a new generation they seemed paltry, earthly, and fantastic, and far-seeing men had good reason to regard them as a source of political danger. But more than this, these wild dreams about the glorious kingdom of Christ began to disturb the organization which the churches had seen fit to introduce. In the interests of self-preservation against the world, the state, and the heretics, the Christian communities had formed themselves into compact societies with a definite creed and constitution, and they felt that their existence was threatened by the white heat of religious subjectivity. So early as the year 170, a church party in Asia Minor—the so-called Alogi—rejected the whole body of apocalyptic writings and denounced the Apocalypse of John as a book of fables. All the more powerful was the reaction. In the so-called Montanistic controversy (*c.* 160–220) one of the principal issues involved was the continuance of the chiliastic expectations in the churches. The Montanists of Asia Minor defended them in their integrity, with one slight modification: they announced that Pepuza, the city of Montanus, would be the site of the New Jerusalem and the millennial kingdom. Modifications of this kind, which have often appeared in later times in connexion with the revival of millennarianism, are a striking evidence of the tendency of every sect to regard its own little membership as the centre of the world and its fortunes as the kernel of universal history. After the Montanistic controversy, chiliastic views were more and more discredited in the Greek Church; they were, in fact, stigmatized as "Jewish" and consequently "heretical." It was the Alexandrian theology that superseded them; that is to say, Neo-Platonic mysticism triumphed over the early Christian hope of the future, first among the "cultured," and then, when the theology of the "cultured" had taken the faith of the "uncultured" under its protection, amongst the latter also. About the year 260 an Egyptian bishop, Nepos, in a treatise called ἔλεγχος ἀλληγοριστῶν, endeavoured to overthrow the Origenistic theology and vindicate chiliasm by exegetical methods. Several congregations took his part; but ultimately Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, succeeded in healing the schism and asserting the allegorical interpretation of the prophets as the only legitimate exegesis. During this controversy Dionysius became convinced that the victory of mystical theology over "Jewish" chiliasm would never be secure so long as the Apocalypse of John passed for an apostolic writing and kept its place among the homologoumena of the canon. He accordingly raised the question of the apostolic origin of the Apocalypse; and by reviving old difficulties, with ingenious arguments of his own, he carried his point. At the time of Eusebius the Greek Church was saturated with prejudice against the book and with doubts as to its canonicity. In the course of the 4th century it was removed from the Greek canon, and thus the troublesome foundation on which chiliasm might have continued to build was got rid of. The attempts of Methodius of Tyre at the beginning of the 4th century and Apollinarius of Laodicea about 360 to defend chiliasm and assail the theology of Origen had no result. For many centuries the Greek Church kept the Johannine Apocalypse out of its canon, and consequently chiliasm remained in its grave. It was considered a sufficient safeguard against the spiritualizing eschatology of Origen and his school to have rescued the main doctrines of the creed and the *regula fidei* (the visible advent of Christ; eternal misery and hell-fire for the wicked. Anything beyond this was held to be Jewish. It was only the chronologists and historians of the church who, following Julius Africanus, made use of apocalyptic numbers in their calculations, while court theologians like Eusebius entertained the imperial table with discussions as to whether the dining-hall of the emperor—the second David and Solomon, the beloved of God—might not be the New Jerusalem of John's Apocalypse. Eusebius was not the first who dabbled in such speculations. Dionysius of Alexandria had already referred a Messianic prediction of the Old Testament to the emperor Gallienus. But mysticism and political servility between them gave the death-blow to chiliasm in the Greek Church. It never again obtained a footing there; for, although, late in the Middle Ages, the Book of Revelation—by what means we cannot tell—did recover its authority, the church was by that time so hopelessly trammelled by a magical cultus as to be incapable of fresh developments. In the Semitic churches of the East (the Syrian, Arabian, and Æthiopian), and in that of Armenia, the apocalyptic literature was preserved much longer than in the Greek Church. They were very conservative of ancient traditions in general, and hence chiliasm survived amongst them to a later date than in Alexandria or Constantinople. It is to these churches that we are mainly indebted for the extensive remains of the old apocalyptic literature which we now possess. From remote cloisters of the East Europe has recovered within the last forty years many works of this kind which once enjoyed the highest repute throughout Christendom.

4. But the Western Church was also more conservative than the Greek. Her theologians had, to begin with, little turn for mystical speculation; their tendency was rather to reduce the gospel to a system of morals. Now for the moralists chiliasm had a special significance as the one distinguishing feature of the gospel, and the only thing

that gave a specifically Christian character to their system. This, however, holds good of the Western theologians only after the middle of the 3d century. The earlier fathers, Irenæus, Hippolytus, Tertullian, believed in chiliasm simply because it was a part of the tradition of the church and because Marcion and the Gnostics would have nothing to do with it. Irenæus (v. 28, 29) has the same conception of the millennial kingdom as Barnabas and Papias, and appeals in support of it to the testimony of disciples of the apostles. Hippolytus, although an opponent of Montanism, was nevertheless a thorough-going millennarian (see his book *De Antichristo*). Tertullian (*cf.* especially *Adv. Marcion.*, 3) aimed at a more spiritual conception of the millennial blessings than Papias had, but he still adhered, especially in his Montanistic period, to all the ancient anticipations. It is the same all through the 3d and 4th centuries with those Latin theologians who escaped the influence of Greek speculation. Commodian, Victorinus Pettavensis, Lactantius, and Sulpicius Severus were all pronounced millennarians, holding by the very details of the primitive Christian expectations. They still believe, as John did, in the return of Nero as the Antichrist; they still expect that after the first resurrection Christ will reign with His saints "in the flesh" for a thousand years. Once, but only once (in the Gospel of Nicodemus), the time is reduced to five hundred years. Victorinus wrote a commentary on the Apocalypse of John; and all these theologians, especially Lactantius, were diligent students of the ancient Sibylline oracles of Jewish and Christian origin, and treated them as divine revelations. As to the canonicity and apostolic authorship of the Johannine Apocalypse no doubts were ever entertained in the West; indeed an Apocalypse of Peter was still retained in the canon in the 3d century. That of Ezra, in its Latin translation, must have been all but a canonical book,—the numbers of extant manuscripts of the so-called 4 Ezra being incredibly great, while several of them are found in copies of the Latin Bible at the beginning of the 16th century. The Apocalypse of Hermas was much read till far through the Middle Ages, and has also kept its place in some Bibles. The apocalyptic "Testamenta duodecim Patriarcharum" was a favourite reading-book; and Latin versions of ancient apocalypses are being continually brought to light from Western libraries (*e.g.*, the *Assumptio Mosis*, the *Ascensio Jesajæ*, &c.). All these facts show how vigorously the early hopes of the future maintained themselves in the West. In the hands of moralistic theologians, like Lactantius, they certainly assume a somewhat grotesque form, but the fact that these men clung to them is the clearest evidence that in the West millennarianism was still a point of "orthodoxy" in the 4th century.

This state of matters, however, gradually disappeared after the end of the 4th century. The change was brought about by two causes,—first, Greek theology, which reached the West chiefly through Jerome, Rufinus, and Ambrose, and, second, the new idea of the church wrought out by Augustine on the basis of the altered political situation of the church. Jerome, the pupil of the Greeks, feels himself already emancipated from "opiniones Judaicæ"; he ridicules the old anticipations; and, though he does not venture to reject them, he and the other disciples of the Greeks did a great deal to rob them of their vitality. At the same time the influence of Greek theology was by no means so great in the West that this of itself could have suppressed chiliastic views. It was reserved for Augustine to give a direction to Western theology which carried it clear of millennarianism. He himself had at one time believed in it; he too had looked forward to the holy Sabbath which was to be celebrated by Christ and His people on earth. But the signs of the times pointed to a different prospect. Without any miraculous interposition of God, not only was Christianity victorious on earth, but the church had attained a position of supremacy. The old Roman empire was tottering to its fall; the church stood fast, ready to step into its inheritance. It was not simply that the world-power, the enemy of Christ, had been vanquished; the fact was that it had gradually abdicated its political functions in favour of the church. Under these circumstances Augustine was led, in his controversy with the Donatists and as an apologist, to idealize the political side of the catholic church,—to grasp and elaborate the idea that the church is the kingdom of Christ and the city of God. Others before him may have taken the same view, and he on the other hand never forgot that true blessedness belongs to the future; but still he was the first who ventured to teach that the catholic church, in its empirical form, was the kingdom of Christ, that the millennial kingdom had commenced with the appearing of Christ, and was therefore an accomplished fact. By this doctrine of Augustine's, the old millennarianism, though not completely extirpated, was at least banished from the realm of dogmatic. For the official theology of the church it very soon became a thing of the past; certain elements of it were even branded as heretical. It still lived on, however, in the lower strata of Christian society; and in certain undercurrents of tradition it was transmitted from century to century. At various periods in the history of the Middle Ages we encounter sudden outbreaks of millennarianism, sometimes as the tenet of a small sect, sometimes as a far-reaching movement. And, since it had been suppressed, not, as in the East, by mystical speculation, its mightiest antagonist, but by the political church of the hierarchy, we find that wherever chiliasm appears in the Middle Ages it makes common cause with all enemies of the secularized church. It strengthened the hands of church democracy; it formed an alliance with the pure souls who held up to the church the ideal of apostolic poverty; it united itself for a time even with mysticism in a common opposition to the supremacy of the church; nay, it lent the strength of its convictions to the support of states and princes in their efforts to break the political power of the church. It is sufficient to recall the well-known names of Joachim of Floris, of all the numerous Franciscan spiritualists, of the leading sectaries from the 13th to the 15th century who assailed the papacy and the secularism of the church,—above all, the name of Occam. In these men the millennarianism of the ancient church came to life again; and in the revolutionary movements of the 15th and 16th centuries—especially in the Anabaptist movements—it appears with all its old uncompromising energy. If the church, and not the state, was regarded as Babylon, and the pope declared to be the Antichrist, these were legitimate inferences from the ancient traditions and the actual position of the church. But, of course, the new chiliasm was not in every respect identical with the old. It could not hold its ground without admitting certain innovations. The "everlasting gospel" of Joachim of Floris was a different thing from the announcement of Christ's glorious return in the clouds of heaven; the "age of the spirit" which mystics and spiritualists expected contained traits which must be characterized as "modern"; and the "kingdom" of the Anabaptists in Münster was a Satanic caricature of that kingdom in which the Christians of the 2d century looked for a peaceful Sabbath rest. Only we must not form our ideas of the great apocalyptic and chiliastic movement of the first decades of the 16th century from the rabble in Münster. There were pure evangelical forces at work in it; and many Anabaptists need not shun comparison with the Christians of the apostolic and post-apostolic ages.

The German and Swiss Reformers also believed that the end of the world was near, but they had different aims in view from those of the Anabaptists. It was not from poverty and apocalypticism that they hoped for a reformation of the church. In contrast to the fanatics, after a brief hesitation they threw millennarianism overboard, and along with it all other "opiniones Judaicæ." They took up the same ground in this respect which the Roman Catholic Church had occupied since the time of Augustine. How millennarianism nevertheless found its way, with the help of apocalyptic mysticism and Anabaptist influences, into the churches of the Reformation, chiefly among the Reformed sects, but afterwards also in the Lutheran Church, how it became incorporated with Pietism, how in recent times an exceedingly mild type of "academic" chiliasm has been developed from a belief in the verbal inspiration of the Bible, how finally new sects are still springing up here and there with apocalyptic and chiliastic expectations,—these are matters which cannot be fully entered upon here. But one remark ought to be made in conclusion. A genuine and living revival of chiliastic hopes is always a sign that the church at large has become secularized to such a degree that tender consciences can no longer feel sure of their faith within her. In this sense all chiliastic phenomena in the history of the church demand respectful attention. But when attempts are made to find room for millennarianism in a dogmatic system, it must always assume a form in which it would be utterly unrecognizable to the millennarians of the ancient church, who, just because they were millennarians, despised dogmatic, in the sense of philosophical theology. The claims of chiliasm are sufficiently met by the acknowledgment that in former times it was associated—to all appearance inseparably associated—with the gospel itself. Those who try to remodel it, so as to conserve its "elements of truth," put contempt on it while they destroy it; for it was in its day the most uncompromising enemy of all remodelling, and it can only exist along with the unsophisticated faith of the early Christians.

*Cf.* Schürer, *Lehrbuch der Neutestamentlichen Zeitgeschichte*, 1874, §§ 28, 29; Corrodi, *Kritische Geschichte des Chiliasmus*, 1781. A thorough history of chiliasm has not yet appeared. (A. HA.)

MILLER, HUGH (1802–1856), eminent in science and literature, and one of the most remarkable among self-taught men of genius, was born at Cromarty, on the north-east coast of Scotland, on the 10th of October 1802. His father, a sagacious and strong-willed seaman, who earned a livelihood by sailing his own sloop, perished at sea when Hugh was five years old. His mother looked much, in the upbringing of her son, to her two brothers, James and Alexander Wright, the one a saddler, the other a carpenter. Scrupulous integrity, sincere religion, unflagging industry, and resolute contentment were the lessons which these men, not so much by precept as by example, impressed upon the boy. But young Miller had inherited from his father a strong individuality and obstinate force of will, and began at a very early age to take a line of his own. The enchantment of open air and freedom—the irresistible charm of mother nature on the hill and by the sea—made him at thirteen an incorrigible truant; and his schoolmaster thought it likely that he would prove a dunce. Nevertheless the truant schoolboy was already giving indications of the destination of the man. At an age too early to date he had found in his pen a divining rod that led him to waters of inexhaustible delight. His mother summed up, in the singular dialect of the district, the impression derived from her son's boyhood and youth in the words, "he was aye vritin." But the writing from the first, and increasingly as time went on, could be discriminated from the ordinary productions of boyhood. A continuity of idea, an indefinable grace and freshness, marked his performances. They were never bombastic or verbose. At no period of his life did he suffer from a flux of words. But, boy and man, he had a felicitous knack of fitting words into their right places and avoiding jerkiness and inequality. In verse he lacked the passionate intensity required for true rhythmic movement, but he had a fine sense of cadence and modulation in prose.

It is a curious fact that what determined Hugh Miller to apprentice himself to a stone-mason was his delight in literary composition. Unemployed during the winter frosts, the mason, he perceived, could enjoy for some months every year the ecstacy of writing. One result of his decision was that he never learned any language but English. Another was that fifteen years of the quarry and the hewing-shed, with stern experiences of over-work and privation, sowed in his frame the seeds of incurable disease. Meanwhile the advantages of his decision were indisputable. Under the discipline of labour the refractory schoolboy became a thoughtful, sober-minded man. Miller always looked back to his years of hand-labour with a satisfaction that has something in it of solemnity and pathos. "Noble, upright, self-relying toil," he exclaims; "who that knows thy solid worth and value would be ashamed of thy hard hands, and thy soiled vestments, and thy obscure tasks,—thy humble cottage, and hard couch, and homely fare!"

It cannot be added that his fifteen years of close and constant intercourse with fellow-workmen inspired him with much respect for their class. He was most unfortunate in his comrades during the two seasons, 1824 and 1825, when he worked at Niddrie in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. Swinish in their enjoyments, meanly selfish in their class ambitions, and fatuously subject to talking charlatans, that Niddrie squad of reprobates which he describes in *My Schools and Schoolmasters* stamped on the mind of Hugh Miller an indelible conviction of the incapacity and degradation of the hand-workers.

Returning to Cromarty, he worked in happy patience as a stone-cutter year after year, sedulously prosecuting at the same time the grand object of his ambition, to write good English. He found time to invigorate and enrich his mind by careful reading, and was habitually and keenly observant both of man and of nature. His reading was not extensive but well chosen, and embraced Locke and Hume; Goldsmith and Addison were, more than any others, his masters in style. It was to get time to write that he had become a stone-mason; another of the surprises of his career is that it was in advertising himself as a mason that he came before the world as a literary man. A stone-mason, figuring as a poetical contributor to the *Inverness Courier*, might, he thought, be asked by some of the readers to engrave inscriptions on tombs. He therefore forwarded some of his verses to the editor. These seem to have been consigned to the waste-paper basket, which had been the fate of an "Ode on Greece" offered to the *Scotsman* when he was at Edinburgh. Piqued by his second failure, he now resolved, at all hazards, to see himself in print. In 1829 appeared the small volume containing *Poems Written in the Leisure Hours of a Journeyman Mason*. It procured its author the valuable friendship of Mr Robert Carruthers, and was favourably noticed by the press. Miller looked at his poems in print, and concluded, at once and irreversibly, that he would not succeed as a poet. It was a characteristic and very manly decision, proving that there was no fretting vanity in his disposition. Doubtless also it was right. His field was prose. But, though his poems yielded nothing in the way of fortune, they were a beginning of fame. The simple natives of Cromarty began to think him a wonder. Some very eloquent letters on the herring fishery extended his reputation. Good judges in Edinburgh detected in his work the mint-mark of genius, and Miller's first prose volume, *Scenes and Legends of Cromarty*, was published there in 1835. In the interval he had become the accepted lover of Miss Lydia Fraser, a young lady of great personal attractions, rare intellectual gifts, and glowing sympathy with all that was good and brave and bright. Her affection naturally steadied him in his resolution to emerge from the hand-working class; the mallet and chisel gradually dropped from his grasp; and when his prose venture appeared he was being initiated, in Linlithgow, into the duties of a bank clerk. On his return to Cromarty he found employment in the local branch of the Commercial Bank.

He was a married man, and his tent seemed stably fixed at Cromarty, when the agitation that preceded the Disruption of 1843 made the air of Scotland vibrate. Miller loved his church, and deliberately esteemed her the most valuable institution possessed by the Scottish people. Fervently as he had sympathized with those who procured political representation for Scotland by the Reform Bill, he still more fervently took part with those who claimed that Scottish congregations should have no pastors thrust upon them. In the summer of 1839 he wrote his famous pamphlet-letter to Lord Brougham; Dr Candlish read it with "nothing short of rapture"; and the first days of 1840 saw Miller installed in the editorial chair of the *Witness* newspaper, published twice a week in Edinburgh to advocate the cause of non-intrusion and spiritual independence. He continued to edit the *Witness* till his death, which took place in the night between the 23d and 24th of December 1856. Unremitting brain work had overtaxed a system permanently injured by the hardships of his early mason life; reason at length gave way, and Miller died by a pistol shot fired by his own hand. A *post-mortem* examination, attested by four medical men of the highest character, evinced the presence of "diseased appearances" in the brain; and he left a few words indicating the form taken by the insane delusion which had mastered him.

During the three years preceding the Disruption, championship of the church by Miller did more, probably, than any other single agency to win for it the suffrage of the Scottish people. Months before the day of separation, the name "Free Church" was prospectively assigned to the party proposing to sever connexion with the state; and, whether Hugh Miller suggested the name or did not, he was one of the chief architects of the institution. Nor has the sequel shown that his labour was vain.

But long ere now an enthusiasm parallel in intensity with that which he felt for his country and his church, and to which even his old literary enthusiasm had become subservient, had taken possession of him. From infancy he had been a keenly interested observer of all natural facts and objects, and during his career as apprentice and journeyman mason he had accumulated a vast store of the particular information belonging to the geologist. But it was not until later that he expressly undertook the study of geology. We still find him, when twenty-seven, laying down charts of study and production without a word about science. When, however, he had convinced himself that his road to the stars was not by poetry, and when the limited success of his prose tales and literary essays in the volume on Cromarty suggested a profound misgiving as to the adequacy of his purely literary materials to produce an important result, he bethought him of his hoard of scientific knowledge, and addressed himself with the concentrated energy of mature manhood to geological reading and geological researches. These, in fact, were not new to him, and he was much impressed by the interest excited among scientific readers by a geological chapter in the *Scenes and Legends*. His chief master was Lyell, whom he reverenced henceforward as one of the greatest of living men. The principal scene of his own investigations was the Cromarty district, where he ransacked every wrinkle of the hill-side, and traced every stratum sawn through by the watercourse, and where, on the beach at ebb, in indurated clay of bluish tint and great tenacity, belonging to the Old Red Sandstone formation, he discovered and dug out nodules which, when laid open by a skilful blow of the hammer, displayed certain organisms that had never been seen by a human eye. He had entered upon correspondence with Murchison and Agassiz; and "fellows of the Geological Society and professors of colleges" had been brought by his descriptions "to explore the rocks of Cromarty." Along with the patriotic and religious enthusiasm, therefore, that burned within him when he went to champion his church in Edinburgh, there glowed, in the depths of his heart, not indeed a stronger but a more gentle and perhaps a dearer enthusiasm for that science in which, he felt persuaded, he had something of his own to say, something to which the world of culture would be glad to listen. So early as September 1840 there began to appear in the *Witness* a series of articles entitled "The Old Red Sandstone." They attracted immediate and eager attention; and the month was not at an end when, at the meeting of the British Association, Murchison brought them under the notice of the geological section, presided over by Lyell. Agassiz, already familiar from Miller's correspondence with the organisms described, contributed information respecting them, and proposed that one of the most remarkable of the fossils should be called *Pterichthys Milleri*. Buckland joined warmly in the encomiums of Murchison and Agassiz, vowing that "he would give his left hand to possess such powers of description as this man." The articles which met with so enthusiastic a reception from the most eminent geologists in Europe formed the nucleus of a book soon after published, and entitled *The Old Red Sandstone*. It established Miller's reputation not only as an original geologist but as a practical thinker of great sagacity, and as a lucid and fascinating writer. He had at last fairly found his hand; it is impossible to turn from the *Scenes and Legends* to the new volume without feeling that the spirit of the author has become more exultant, his touch at once stronger and more free.

During his seventeen years of residence in Edinburgh he published a variety of books, all of them more or less geological, but claiming attention not on account of their geology alone. His *First Impressions of England and its People*, the fruit of eight weeks' wandering arranged in the leisure hours of a hard-worked editor, will be best appreciated when we contrast its grace and gentleness, the classic moderation of its tone, the quiet vivacity and freshness of its observation, the sense and sentiment and justice of its criticism, with the smartness of the ordinary newspaper correspondent, or the vulgarity and the impudent omniscience of the conventional book of travels. Apart from its masterly descriptions, partly geological partly scenic, and that prose poem on the ubiquity of the ocean which, though brief, will compare not unfavourably with select pages from Wilson or from Ruskin, its two passages on Westminster Abbey and Stratford-on-Avon would alone suffice to prove that the Cromarty stone-mason was a man of extraordinary genius. Of his autobiographical volume, *My Schools and Schoolmasters*, no opinion but one has ever been expressed. It ranks among the finest masterpieces of its kind in the English language.

As a geologist his reputation is securely based upon his actual discovery of important fossil organisms, one of which bears his name, and on his contributions, thoroughly serviceable at the time they were made, to our knowledge of the formation in which those organisms occur. His eye-to-eye acquaintance with nature is attested on every page; and, if his enthusiasm does not often rise into spray and surge of rapture, it is a deep ground-swell perceptible in all he wrote. His powers of observation were singularly strong and accurate, and were accompanied with the most careful reflexion and a fine rich glow of imaginative vision. His discernment of the true position of the ventral plate of *Pterichthys*, when