



The life of William Denny

Alexander Balmain Bruce

THE LIFE
OF
WILLIAM DENNY,
SHIP-BUILDER, DUMBARTON.

BY
ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCE.
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WITH PORTRAIT.

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P R E F A C E .

I READ few biographies, and I never expected to write one. But when I was asked to write the Life of William Denny, any hesitation I felt was due to a fear that I might not be able to perform the task in a manner worthy of the subject, not certainly to any feeling that the Life was not worth writing. William Denny was a man whose memory on many grounds deserves to be carefully preserved. He accomplished much in a short life, and the fact that he was taken from us so soon only makes it the more needful to perpetuate his influence by a literary record. Confessedly among the foremost in his own profession, he was not less remarkable in other ways. The most remarkable thing about him was his personal character. He was a Christian. To some that may appear a small thing to say; as I mean it, it is a great thing. Let no one fear that this is going to be a goody biography of a man who at a distance seems to be a saint of the conventional type, and on closer scrutiny turns out to be a very commonplace character. William Denny had a great contempt for characters of that kind. He was a saint indeed, though of the modern uneclesiastical sort. He was a man who honestly went to Christ's school and

learnt from Him the ethical ideal of life. That ideal he believed to be realisable both in the individual life and in society; and he considered it to be the duty of every man to work for its realisation in this world, instead of treating it as a Utopianism to be relegated to the next.

Those who knew William Denny—and these are many—will need no inducement to read his Life, but will welcome even the most imperfect record of the acts and words of a man whom they greatly admired and loved. Those who did not know him—and they also are many, for he died before he had time to become famous, though not before he had made his mark—will, I believe, not regret making his acquaintance through these pages.

The materials of this memoir have been arranged in the main topically rather than chronologically. The Life is a drama—alas, in its close a tragic one!—consisting of five acts, in which the subject is shown successively as a youth; as an administrator of labour; as a naval architect; as a philanthropic, public-spirited citizen, interested in all that pertains to the higher life of men; and as a pioneer in the development of navigation on the river Plate and its tributaries.

With the exception of the chapters relating to Mr. Denny's professional career (VI.—X.), the materials presented in this volume are of a character to interest all. There is nothing even in these five chapters that may not be understood by non-professional readers. They present a popular account of Mr. Denny's technical work written by one who possesses no knowledge of the technic of ship-building. And

even in these apparently dry pages the character of the man shines through.

I could not have written these technical chapters without assistance which it is my pleasant duty here to acknowledge. For Chapters VI. and VIII. Mr. F. P. Purvis, head of the scientific department in Leven ship-yard, furnished me with copious notes, of which I have made very free use. In the preparation of Chapter VII. I received important aid from Mr. Robert Duncan, of Port Glasgow, especially in reference to Mr. Denny's conflicts with the authorities at Lloyd's Register, with which Mr. Duncan is at once very conversant and in full sympathy. Mr. Duncan has also given me valuable help in connection with the chapter on the Load-line Committee, of which, with Mr. Denny, he was a member. In the preparation of this chapter I have also been materially assisted by a statement kindly furnished by Courtenay Boyle, Esq., of the Board of Trade. Among the other sources for that chapter I have pleasure in referring to Mr. Martell's lecture on the "History of the Load-line Question," delivered at the Mansion House, London, in the winter of 1886-7.

Writing as a layman on technical matters, I deemed it proper to append to my account of Mr. Denny's technical career some estimates by experts. I beg to express my obligations to the gentlemen who have furnished these, and especially to W. H. White, Esq., Assistant Controller of the Navy and Director of Naval Construction at the Admiralty, whose very full statement regarding the extent and value of Mr. Denny's work will be accepted as authoritative by the whole profession.

I have pleasure in acknowledging my indebtedness to the many friends who have favoured me with letters for this work. With scarcely an exception, applications for letters have been responded to in a most friendly spirit. To others who have given me the benefit of their personal recollections and impressions I also return sincere thanks. I cannot name all, but I may be allowed to refer particularly to Sir Bernhard Samuelson, Mr. John Rae, author of "Contemporary Socialism," and Mr. Frederic Harrison.

The source for many of Mr. Denny's addresses and speeches on general topics is the columns of the *Dumbarton Herald*. The reports which appeared there were, as a rule, revised by Mr. Denny or his secretary, and may be relied on as correct. My work has been greatly facilitated by the pious zeal with which Mrs. William Denny has devoted herself to the collection of materials fitted to serve for the preservation of her lamented husband's memory.

The engraving by M. Jacquet, which forms the frontispiece of the volume, is a fine specimen of French art, and a most satisfactory and expressive likeness.

It is impossible to write a biography of one so recently deceased without occasionally treading on delicate ground. I have endeavoured in all cases to avoid giving offence. If by chance I have in any instance failed, I trust it will be ascribed to inadvertence, and not to intention.

A. B. BRUCE.

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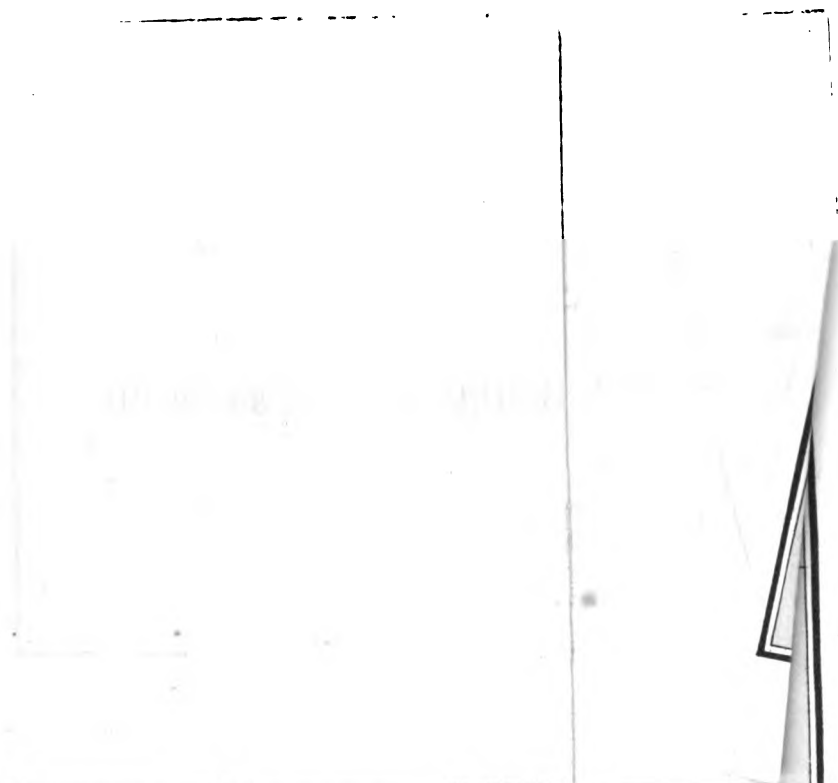
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CHAPTER I.

BOYHOOD.

WILLIAM DENNY was born in Dumbarton, on the Clyde, on the 25th of May, 1847. He was the eldest son of Peter Denny, senior partner in the well-known firm of ship-builders "William Denny and Brothers," and of Helen Denny, eldest daughter of James Leslie, Supervisor in the Inland Revenue, and of Violet Lockhart Nicol.

He was to a large extent self-taught, and in a sense his education may be said to have begun when he left school. He was not robust in childhood, and nature seems to have protected him from the mischief of a prematurely stimulated brain by a beneficent listlessness. Till he was eight years old he received instruction at home, and "Nancy," the old family nurse, relates that he was slow to commit to memory the Psalms and Paraphrases which Scottish children were wont to learn by heart. His handwriting was crude and characterless even after he was no longer a boy.

Among those to whom his early education was entrusted two men stand out as exercising a marked influence on the development of his mind and character. These were the late Rev. A. J. Murray, Presbyterian minister of Jersey, and the late Mr.

John Carmichael, one of the masters in the High School of Edinburgh.

As he lingers in my memory after well-nigh forty years, when we were students together at the New College, Edinburgh, Alexander Murray was a man of slight figure, pale face, small, refined features, and soft, delicate, insinuating ways, quiet in speech and laughter, fond of the society of ladies, and apt to find favour in their eyes. A well-educated man all round, he was especially notable for literary taste and love of art. One who knew him well in after-years describes him as not a specialist in any branch, but possessing a mind of natural refinement and careful culture, well read in history, poetry, and the modern literature of art, and endowed with an extraordinarily retentive memory, and knowing how to inspire those under his care with similar enthusiasm in such subjects.

After being a year at school in his native town, William Denny went to Jersey in 1856, where he remained for four years under Mr. Murray's charge, receiving private lessons from him while attending the public school in St. Helier's taught by Dr. Carter. He was sent thither partly on account of his health, which it was hoped would be benefited by the mild climate of the Channel Islands.

The boy was by no means an apt or precocious scholar. He took little interest in the routine lessons, and therefore made no marked progress. He was taken up with other things than the prescribed tasks, as boys are apt to be. Mechanical subjects were more congenial to him than Latin and Greek; and he felt the fascinations of gunpowder, his use of

which became a source of danger both to the house and to himself.

A letter written to his mother from Paris, whither, with Mr. Murray, he had gone for a holiday, contains a most penitent confession of failure to profit in one branch of his education—the French language. The letter bears date 21st May, 1857, and contains this passage: “The more I see of this beautiful town and country, the more I am delighted with it, but I regret very much that I have been so careless with my French. I could scarcely manage to buy a few oranges last night, but I was useful to the ladies in one shop, when Mr. Murray was not with us. I told the shopman something that they could not make him understand, and he looked so pleased at me.” When it comes to buying oranges in a foreign tongue, even a boy of ten years can see the advantage of paying attention to lessons. This early experience seems to have sunk deep into the boy’s mind, and to have borne fruit in various ways. It probably had its own share in forming the views which he afterwards entertained concerning the method of learning foreign languages, and which will be noticed in another place. Its more immediate effect doubtless was to send him back to Jersey determined to qualify himself for buying oranges successfully the next time he visited the French capital. In a letter to “Nancy” written some two years later this significant sentence occurs: “We have got a French servant here, to whom I have got to speak French.” By the use of this natural method of learning a language he attained ultimately a complete mastery of French, which enabled him to transact much more

important business than that of buying oranges, and made ample atonement for boyish negligence.

On returning to Jersey from his Parisian holiday, William wrote his mother another letter, in which occurs one sentence worthy of note. "I have learned," he says, "something about buildings since I went to France, principally about the arches and mosaic floors." We here observe the dawn of that intense interest and delight in art which became so conspicuous a feature in his character in later years.

One year later we find the boy revealing affinities for another art, viz., poetry. In a letter to his father dated 21st September, 1858, he writes :—

"I have just come out with the idea that I will be a poet, which I thought at first to be very foolish, until told by Mr. William Carter that I had some turn for poetry.

' O Caledonia, stern and wild,
Meet nurse for a poetic child !'

There was some of mine in the last letter, which I do not think was very good. Mrs. Murray says I ought to study poetry more before I begin to write it, and make my lines more equal. But a good poem I hope I will make some day."

We smile at the boy's fancy, yet he was not so far wrong. William Denny was in spirit, though not in performance, a poet. He had through life the poet's sense of beauty, his sympathy, his intensity, his devotion to the ideal. He only lacked the accomplishment of verse, the power to make his thoughts submit gracefully to the fetters of rhyme. In his manhood he was a true *vates*, but there was more of the prophet in him than of the poet.

His father's reply was a quaint mixture of wisdom and humour :—

"Regarding your poetical pursuits, I should be far from discouraging you, more especially as it may keep your mind employed, and your hands from mischief ; but it is of consequence to you that you should be laying in stores of solid food for the mind in after-life if you are spared. And I would not like the ideal to usurp the real. The Muse is a fickle jade at the best, and requires much courting before she's won, which, alas for her votaries ! is but seldom ; and when those in pursuit of her soar from the earth, they are often left to live on an element less satisfying than their more earthly fellows get. However, I will not object to have a 'Milton' in the family ; and if you can combine that fame with being the first marine architect and engineer of the day, you will be independent of your publisher, which most poets would find to their advantage. So mount Parnassus if you like, but mind the green fields below if you can. Joking aside, I trust you will make good use of your time, and that you and I may be spared, so that at no distant period you may be able to relieve me of some of the weight of business, if your inclination lies that way ; and as at some date, sooner or later, if you are spared, you should take my place in the Family, Church, and State, I will have pleasant reflections if I see you bidding fair to be a credit in all capacities. For this end looking for guidance and strength where it only is to be had, and remembering your Creator in the days of your youth, will notably sweeten your tasks and hallow them, and give joy and happiness in all you undertake, let it be study, poetry, or play."

From a letter to his father in the following year it appears that the Jersey schoolboy, if remiss in his attention to tasks, was at least an enthusiast in cricket. In the case of one in whose manhood there was little play, too little for his good, it is a satisfaction to know that in his boyhood at least he had his own share of fun. The letter bears no year date, but the writer speaks of "three happy years" spent in Jersey, which would fix it down to 1859. Possibly the "three" is a mistake for "four," for the letter reads like a farewell to Jersey. In any case it may fitly enough come in here.

"9th May.

"MY DEAR FATHER,—I have at present all the pleasure of thinking of coming home mixed with the regret of parting with boys whom I have

known through three happy years in Jersey. I am sorry to leave even those who once bullied over me, but I am equal to them now. For how long shall I not remember the cricket, and my first two runs and ten minutes against Mr. William, and how my side cheered and cried, 'Bravo, Denny!' and other similar exclamations, how our side won, and the rain came on and stopped the game, the group of boys, the disputing, the pale twilight, and the gun fired from the castle heightening the scene! Thus did I come into notice at cricket with my first two runs. I wish you would allow me some money for a cage and white mice. My silkworms are out and flourishing, tell Mother and Peter. We are hoping for examinations soon. Kind love from all here to all at home.

"I remain,
"Your loving son,
"W. DENNY."

The reference to Peter—"tell Mother *and* Peter"—to one who understands it is pathetic; it comes in often in the Jersey letters. Brother Peter was for long a sufferer, and William as boy and man had a tender, sympathetic heart. Benevolence was one of his outstanding characteristics; to live for others' needs became at length the sum and substance of his religion.

In the spring of 1860, Mr. Murray's health requiring rest and change, it was arranged that he and his pupil should make a tour to the East, visiting Egypt and Palestine, and returning home by Italy, lessons being carried on all the while, it is to be feared under difficulties. William had instructions from his father to keep his eyes open, which, from his pocket-books and letters written during their journeyings, he appears to have done to good purpose. A solitary sample of the schoolboy's epistles may here be inserted. It lacks, of course, the element of pious reflection in which the narratives of senior visitors to the same hallowed regions usually abound. Perhaps it is none the worse for that, for one is

thankful now and then to meet with a book like Kinglake's "Eothen," which leaves out of view the sacred past, and tells us only what the eye can see in Palestine to-day. The letter in all its boyish neutrality, and with bad spelling uncorrected, follows.

"JERUSALEM, 9th April, 1860.

"MY DEAR FATHER,—The last letter I wrote you from Alexandria was not very long, and the bad postage arrangement here has compelled me to wait till now. We left Alexandria in the French screw-steamer *Gange* at four o'clock for Jaffa on Monday, the 26th March. On board we met a Frenchman, the chief engineer, who said he had been at Dumbarton and knew you. We had a very nice passage and arrived at Jaffa on Wednesday, the 28th. When we came there, we engaged a dragoman, and set out for Ramleh through the orange groves and fertile fields of the plain of Sharon. We stayed at Ramleh all night, and started in the morning. There are no hotels at Ramleh, but the monks in the convent, who entertained travellers. They gave us a good dinner and beds. We went out in the evening, and saw the remains of an ancient and beautiful church, with Gothic arches and underground vaults of great extent. It is in the form of a square, with cloisters all round. In the centre is an old Moslem tomb, and in one corner lay the unburied remains of a sheikh in a small house. We found here, however, that even taking off shoes won't let you into some places. There was also a beautiful tower of Saracenic architecture, to the top of which I went, and had a splendid view of the plain and mountains of Judea. We got up at five o'clock, and started for Jerusalem through the hills of Judea. The road wound through rocky glens, like the ones in Scotland. We rested more than half-way to Jerusalem through the stupidity or obstinacy of our guide. We had fowls, bread, oranges, and coffee there. We arrived at Jerusalem between two and three. We entered by the Jaffa gate, and went immediately to Houser's hotel. I will give a general account of the city by supposing myself on the Mount of Olives. Before me is the Kedron valley, Gethsemane, Tomb of the Virgin, where St. Stephen was stoned, the eastern wall of the city, St. Stephen's gate, the Mosque el Sakhara at Omar, the haram, and the governor's palace. On the south is the Zion gate, the Dung gate, the Jews' wailing-place, and Mount Zion. On the west the Jaffa gate, our hotel, the Holy Sepulchre, the tower of Hippicus, and the English church. On the north is the Damascus gate, the English consul's, and a great cave. We are all well here. I will write you another letter on Wednesday, with fuller particulars of all the places in and about Jerusalem. We stay here another fortnight. We are very

happy and comfortable here. Kind love to all at home, and specially to Peter."

On the homeward journey, Mr. Murray, thinking of the time, now near, when he should have to give up his charge, in a letter to Mr. Denny expressed his opinion regarding his pupil. While not altogether silent as to faults, his language in the main is that of affection and pride. Both he and his wife cherished for William a genuine liking. Mrs. Murray describes him from recollection as a boy with fair, pleasant face, turquoise blue eyes, and soft, confiding ways, which were very attractive, of an affectionate disposition, helpful, good-tempered, and obedient, and conducting himself as a son to them before they had one of their own. In a letter written from Leghorn on 23rd May, 1860, after giving an account of their rapid run through Italy, Mr. Murray writes: "We have done a good deal at actual lessons on the way, but of course many a time, as in Rome and Florence, where every hour was precious, we had to take the instruction that was around us. I am sure William has profited much. He has been a pleasant companion to me. The contrast between his quick observance and ready understanding and the slowness of one of the young people, or indeed of both of those with Mr. C——" (chance travelling companions) "was very notable. He, I assure you, knew more than either of them, one sixteen and the other more than twenty. Besides, he has an aptitude for taking up things and going on from a hint, which is still more useful than actual knowledge, as it gives the way of acquiring more." Animadverting on his one serious fault, carelessness about books, clothes, etc., he

remarks: "I would like to see him for a time in circumstances where he would have to attend or be the loser. I think this most needful for him before he goes into business and runs the risk of serious losses. For other things he will pick up knowledge wherever he is, though he does not apply steadily and doggedly to one settled thing; and he will be contented and happy wherever he is if people are ordinarily kind to him."

In a letter written ten days later from St. Malo Mr. Murray returned to the subject of William's merits and demerits, and thus wrote: "In regard of what I said before of William's carelessness, it is not so much any single act that can be quoted, but the general way of him, that shows it most, when he continues to forget things that have been impressed on him since childhood. But human nature is strange, and I have been amazed, after being vexed with him for something, to find him immediately after speak of other matters that he had been thinking of in a most thoughtful and intelligent way, and do things right well that he had never been taught. His disposition you will find as before. He never bears malice, never. His love for home has rather increased than diminished, and to Peter especially he has a most warm side." Intellectually and morally the picture here given of the boy is equally applicable to the man.

Arrived in Jersey, in a letter dated 3rd July, Mr. Murray again expressed his opinion of William, now returned to his home in Dumbarton.

"I hope," he wrote, "he received his diary all right, which I posted to him. It is well worth read-

ing. I am sure you will find it entertaining and very sensible. But the diary is only to be a text on which I am sure you will have many discourses." This diary of the Eastern tour unfortunately has not been preserved. "I thought," he continues, "you would find him more grown than you expected; he lengthened out on the journey more than in six months before. I am most anxious to hear all about what you and his mother think of him, for I myself feel considerably proud of the boy, and most affectionately anxious for his future. You spoke of Edinburgh, sending him to school as here, I suppose, and living with some one. If so, I would prefer the High School to the Academy. In the former I fancy the education is more thorough and more Scotch; that is, more substantial. . . . Wherever Willie is he will readily catch up all the general knowledge and information that comes near him without trouble; but he wants to be kept steady at the regular necessary routine, in order to teach him exactness."

These extracts from Mr. Murray's correspondence with Mr. Denny exhibit him as a faithful, sagacious, and kindly tutor and guardian. William Denny gained much good from his four years' sojourn under his roof, specially these two benefits: a strong love of art and a sincere respect for one belonging to a class for which in his early manhood he had no great liking—that of clergymen.

After his return from Jersey, and before going to Edinburgh, William took private lessons from another clergyman, with whom he was on terms of intimate friendship through life: the Rev. William Stephen, of the Episcopal Church, Dumbarton. Mr. Stephen's

account of him at this period is not flattering. He reports him as having been very flighty mentally, unable to concentrate his ideas, and giving no promise of his latent abilities.

In October of 1860 William went to Edinburgh to reside with Mr. John Carmichael, and to attend his class in the High School. Each master in this school has the same boys for four years. Denny joined the class in its second year, being then thirteen years and some months old.

Mr. Carmichael was a man under whom no susceptible boy could be placed without receiving a powerful impetus. What struck one passing him casually in the street was the swift, eager step, the keen, penetrating eye that glanced through his spectacles, the air of nervous energy. All seemed to say: "There is a man who is a terror to triflers and blockheads, and a stimulating, inspiring master to all bright-souled youths minded to learn." Looking closely, one could detect about the mouth an expression of tender feeling for which the ordinary passer-by would not give him credit. Sharp temper rather than tenderness a stranger might ascribe to him as his most characteristic quality. But that tenderness was a marked feature of his character is attested by Mrs. Carmichael, who has favoured me with the following graphic sketch of her late husband:—*

"He was a born teacher; he read character at a glance, and he brought all his marvellous play of wisdom, learning, and knowledge to bear upon the daily task, with splendid effort, unflagging patience,

* The writer of this sketch did not know William Denny. He resided with Mr. Carmichael during the life of his first wife.

rare tact, and ungrudging generosity. He taught with such intensity that he killed himself; and he died, as he said he would, at his desk. Such a spectacle of reality and devotion, presenting itself daily to a mass of boys, leavened even the idle and the froward with respect; while the good and gentle were fired with a love that rose even to passion, and imbued with a reverence that was akin to worship. The way he handled them was wonderful; his spirit ran like fire along the ground. Every glance, every gesture, told upon the class. There he stood, or blazed, the eager anxiety of his countenance intensified, ruling, guiding, inspiring, and swaying them as the trees of the wood are moved by the wind. A stranger whom I once introduced into his class, after watching him with astonishment, exclaimed to me: 'He is like one of the living creatures in Ezekiel! When he turns his face, he is like an eagle; when he turns his back, he is like a lion.' Nor was he behind in other gifts. William Denny, as an inmate of his house, was a constant witness of his conversational, his argumentative, and his mimetic powers. Like Yorick, he could set the table in a roar; or he could hold it silent under the spell of his pathos or the thunder of his indignation. He was a master of all arts. Specialists in theology, philosophy, history, music, wondered to hear him speaking to every man in his own language, and even sometimes to feel him shooting past them. His memory was minute, yet gigantic. He had a passionate hatred of cant and sham. His remorseless tearing away of masks now and again made him an enemy, for he was dowered with the hate of hate, the scorn of scorn, the love of

love. The keynotes of his character were tenderness and truth ; but while the one was patent to all, the other, like the water in the rock, was concealed and scarcely suspected."

Denny was a favourite pupil of Mr. Carmichael's. Mrs. Carmichael testifies to the emphasis and affection with which her husband always spoke of him, as his best pupil, the most intelligent, affectionate, and appreciative boy he had ever had in his house. The preference was not hid from classfellows, nor did it tend to make Denny a favourite with them. Old High School men remark, possibly with undue emphasis, on the very ill-advised partiality displayed towards him by Mr. Carmichael, and on his consequent unpopularity among the boys. But apart from any partiality of the master, there seems to have been a lack of sympathy between Denny and many of his classmates. Old members of the class represent it as of a very unruly and rowdy character, and quite beyond the master's control. A boy of gentlemanly manners was not likely to get on particularly well with fellows of this description. Indeed, the very first letter Denny wrote home to his mother from Edinburgh contains significant indications of the sort of relations in which he stood to boys of such a type. On the 8th October he wrote thus :—

" I am glad to say that I am getting on fine. I am in French, Latin, geography ancient and modern, history, drawing, arithmetic, mathematics, algebra, fencing, drill, broadsword, and gymnastics. At first when I came they hit, but I gave three of them a right good thrashing and kicked a fourth downstairs. The boys here are very mean, great sneaks, thrashing the small boys, and telling lies as a general rule. I like Mr. and Mrs. Carmichael very much, and the school also."

The good-natured boy, one is glad to see, can blaze

out against bullies, sneaks, and liars. In this respect also the boy was the father of the man.

The following well-authenticated story, while throwing a lurid light on the demoralised state of the class, suggests an explanation of Mr. Carmichael's attachment to Denny highly creditable to them both. One of the boys pinned a long tail to the coat of the master, much to the amusement of the rest. The master, greatly enraged at the indignity when discovered, asked each boy in turn if he had done it or if he knew who had done it. All the boys, including the culprit, till the question came round to Denny, denied guilt and knowledge. On being interrogated in his turn, Denny answered to the first question, "No," to the second, "Yes," but to a third question, "Who did it?" he refused to answer. Persuasion and threatening proving vain, recourse was at length had to the cane, which was applied unmercifully, but without effect so far as getting the desired information was concerned. Thereafter the master and the boy who had preferred to be punished rather than play the part of informer became firm friends.

From all indications the time spent in Edinburgh, apart from the personal influence of Mr. Carmichael, seems to have been rather unprofitable. William's letters to his father and mother betray careless habits. They are often undated, full of bad spelling and worse writing, short, and perfunctory. In after-years he spoke of that period with regret. When Mr. Scott came to Helenslee in 1865 to act as tutor to his brothers, he told him that he had missed his opportunity in Edinburgh and did not wish for his brothers the same misfortune, adding: "The past is

past, and the future will be different." A letter which he wrote to his father towards the close of his third year in Edinburgh shows that even then he felt the atmosphere of the metropolis uncongenial. Here is an extract: "I was out at the B——s' on Saturday. I like them very much; and the old gentleman is, like yourself, without airs. As for the young one, he is a first-rate business man, but terribly endowed with common-sense, which he lectures me with as if he were my father. However, he is a very jolly kind of chap, just the kind of son for you, so very correct, etc., etc. I like him very much, and all the more so from the knowledge that he is a good companion for me (being neither fast nor racketting), and, as I said before, with a great amount of common-sense and a very definite idea of right and wrong. I tell you this to show you that I have a good, steady friend and companion (rather a rarity in Edinburgh)." The writer is evidently aware that his father is somewhat anxious and dissatisfied regarding him, and this is his way of setting the paternal mind at rest. The description of the exemplary youth who has such a superabundant stock of common-sense is a good sample of the only kind of humour William Denny ever indulged in: that of hitting off weak or ludicrous features in the characters of the men he met, always in good-nature and without malice.

The schoolboy appears to have been glad to escape from the city in which steadfast friends were so rare. After leaving the High School, he went on a visit to his former tutor, preparatory to setting out with him on a grand Italian tour. Thence he wrote home as one glad to get back to old friends and familiar haunts.

"I am now sitting in my bedroom writing to you. The day is very fine, and the flowers in the garden are in full bloom. There are trellised vines, hops twining in garlands and waving with the wind. In fact, it is a little gem of a garden, and the room we sit in opens on it. In truth everything here smacks of Puck and Fairyland. And fancy would almost persuade you that yon blue-eyed flower peeping from the shrubbery was his lightsome eye. Everything is refreshing to eyes accustomed to the grey walls of Edinburgh, where I would probably have been soon had not I come here. It is to me a rare pleasure. I have seen two summers, one with you already ending, one here that would make you believe the Hesperides were found."

Writing to his father on December 1st, 1863, Mr. Murray animadverted on William's Edinburgh life in these terms: "I have all along been most specially bearing in mind what you said about the tone of some of the society William saw in Edinburgh. I found out it was far from wholesome, and of course never said a word to him condemning it, but took my own way, and was rewarded two days ago by this spontaneous observation of his: 'Well, I don't know what change has come, but my thoughts and writings are far higher and better than before I came.' I did not tell him why, but the truth is, there was a kind of irreverence, a kind of putting out of sight the higher spiritual things altogether, a sort of exclusive worshipping of the intellectual. Now he knows I don't despise intellect, but there are other things also. I was most delighted and most thankful to hear his remark."

Whatever unpleasant memories Denny might have of Edinburgh boys and people, he left the city cherishing a grateful sense of his obligations to Mr. Carmichael. On returning home, he sent him a present of Froude's "History of England," accompanied by this note:—

"It is my wish, and I would hope it is yours, that the many pleasant hours spent with you in your own house in the study of the grand old Saxon literature should not be forgotten. They were to me in many ways the happiest hours I ever spent ; and I am sure that if God grant me long life, I shall look back upon them not only as hours of great pleasure, but also as the beginning of what never satiates : the true employment of the mind. And so I would wish you to receive these books as remembrances of those hours that I am sure will be to me a memory not to be forgotten."

It is pleasing to find that the genial side of the master's nature, as revealed in hours of recreation, also left a lasting impression on the mind of his pupil. In a letter written ten years later to the lady to whom he was betrothed, he tells how his Latin master, now dead, "used to sing ' Mary Morison ' in his poor trembling voice, throwing his heart into its words." "I like," he adds, "the echoes of old relationships, old associations. They make the heart poetry of our lives."

On the 14th of December, 1863, William Denny, accompanied by his old tutor, set out from Jersey on a Continental trip which was to be the finale of his school life, and a brief notice of which shall form the close of this boyhood chapter. Their route lay through Paris, Avignon, and the south of France, Nice and the Riviera, Geneva, Pisa, Florence, Rome, Naples, Pompeii, back to Rome, thence on to Bologna, Venice, Padua, Verona. It was a pilgrimage of two devotees to the shrine of the beautiful, and it brought to young Denny his first great opportunity of education in art. The new experience had a powerful effect in stimulating the development of his mind. He seems to have leapt all at once out of boyhood into young manhood. The means of observing the sudden rush of growth are put within our reach by a

journal in which the sights of each day are faithfully described, with such reflections as they naturally suggested. With reference to the whole period covered by the journal may be cited a remark of the writer in regard to the sights of a single day in Florence: "This is the nursery of the growing mind, and I have to-day seen the lesson-books of art, and learnt of their great leaves, but only such disjointed rhymes as little children do before they read and know." He was an apt pupil, and learnt his lesson quickly and well. Most of the great names are mentioned in the record: Cimabue, Giotto, Fra Angelico, Fra Bartolomeo, Ghirlandajo, Michael Angelo, Raphael, etc. The great works of these and other masters are described, and even criticised; for the young art student has his likings and his aversions. The opinions expressed, except when prompted by his more experienced companion, are the judgments of a tyro, and of course of no intrinsic value, but they afford interesting indications of personal character. In reading the journal, one notes that there is nothing flippant, conceited, or dilettante in the remarks of the youthful critic. These are always earnest, pure, ideal, manly, appreciating pictures in proportion as they reveal high moral qualities. Denny did not saunter through the picture-galleries and languidly stare at the walls, and make some insipid or conventional remark about the reputedly great pictures. He made the works of the celebrated painters a regular study, took notes in a pocket-book, then extended these every night before going to bed. He could not have taken more pains if he had been going to earn his bread by painting.

This is not the temper or the method of dilettantism. Accordingly not a single flippant sentence is to be found in the journal. All is serious, except when playful comments occur now and then on chance travelling companions. The criticisms may be crude, but they are always thoughtful; and the bias is always on the side of the noble and the good. His admirations are guided by pure moral sentiment, as well as by shrewd æsthetic instinct. Hence of all the Italian artists the Pre-Raphaelite Fra Angelico, the angelic brother, and saintly painter, is his great favourite. No one is so frequently mentioned, or spoken of in terms of such affectionate admiration. "These are the pictures," he exclaims enthusiastically regarding the works of the great Dominican, "in which every face has soul within, and every hand a heart; all is life; joy is joy, and grief is grief; and piety through all mellows the whole to charity, as heavenward tread the holy saints of old. Describe each I cannot; only their remembrance is with me, and hooded Fra Angelico, pencil in hand, sketching and limning the faces, embodiment of Christ on earth." Again: "The Madonna della Stella by Fra Angelico for sweetness and love surpasses all of his age, while the Christ nestles into her neck and loves, and for a while, before the thorny way is opened to Him, tastes all love of earth." This is the painter of whom it is written that he was wont to say that the practice of art required repose and holy thoughts, and that he who would depict the acts of Christ must learn to live with Christ. This was the man who above all others took captive William Denny's admiration. It was like drawing like.

Throughout the pages of the journal are scattered moral and religious reflections which indicate that the soul, not less than the intellect, of the writer is awake. The style in these parts is rather struggling and helpless, as of a young eagle making its first attempts at flying, destined ere long to soar and move easily and gracefully in lofty regions. Votive offerings in a chapel at Marseilles speak to him of the love of mothers, wives, and sisters for the sailors of France. An inscription on a column supporting a cross by the wayside, "Stat crux dum volvitur orbis," provokes the comment, "A line of simplest words and belief, fit to call even the lowest to prayer and thoughts of the barred future in which stands nothing except true faith and love, the virtues of the Cross; and fully must the simple sign bring back to the lone traveller, driven forth sinful and weary on this earth, the faith, the love, the simplicity, and the memory of the stories of the sad night." The sights in Pompeii excite feelings of disgust which find vent in a strain of severe moralising: "To no other people can I compare them of the modern day except the French; for here, as with them, is the most exquisite taste in colour and design, the perfection of drawing, and the beauty of arrangement, combined with the vilest thought, wanting even a single touch from heart or soul to shed some kindly ray upon its helpless animalism. Everything in Pompeii speaks of the body, eating, drinking, and sensualism, and not in one of its streets is a single high-souled thought depicted, not even a single manly idea, but all equally vile." Of Venetian art it is remarked: "The colouring is beyond everything I

have ever seen for perfection. . . . The figures also are very finely drawn, and the grouping in every case most effective, while in some it is exceedingly powerful. But the high religious order seems to have been forbidden the Venetian. The ideal is, I think, scarcely ever reached. The Madonnas and the angels, the saints and the Apostles, and the martyrs are not those of the rest of the north of Italy in the full noble feeling that should exist in the paintings. They are colour and grouping to perfection, but in the sublime glory of Angelico, Giotto, and the rest, they are wanting."

The last date in the journal is "17th February, 1864, Verona." On this day, and doubtless from this place, though the fact is not noted, Denny wrote the following most characteristic letter to his father in reference to his health, which had not been good, the ailment being insomnia. Formerly his concern had been for brother Peter; now it is for a not less tenderly loved parent; and the manner in which he takes him under his filial care, while it provokes a smile, reveals a heart whose affections have not been blunted by the pleasures of travel.

"I am very sorry that I did not write you before, but things have come between and knocked my good intentions on the head. I was very glad to hear that you were better every way, except the sleeplessness, and that you ought not to think much of, because you have almost the same comfort in the daytime from your small allowance of sleep as many a man has from much more, and therefore you ought not to fear it; neither is it wasting you away nor reducing your strength, nor is it even changing you at all. It is more a great luxury that you desire in the present state of affairs. As to its cure, it must evidently be a thing of time. All cures of chronic discomfords are. Again, the want of your pipe, although for the present disagreeable, and perhaps retarding the return of sleep, will, I have no doubt, in the end do you good. It may have had much to do with it. Tobacco is of the nature of laudanum, making the organs rest

unwillingly, and therefore unnaturally. How far any unnatural agency hurts the body any thinking person well knows, even although for the time being it may appear to do good. And therefore I suppose that your pipe has bent the nervous action of some of your organs for the time being, and the only school of medicine which has successfully restored vigour to a weakened part in almost any case has been the hydropathic. The allopathic has more often supplied an unnatural action, which damages more in the end than the disease. So hope on ; it is a long lane that has no turning, and my dearest wish is that you may soon see the islands of the blest, budding in springtime beauty, 'the new life of vigorous health typical of higher things,' flash on you. The Doctor is going to write. He has rashly formed a conclusion that the cold water is not agreeing with you. Don't put much stress upon his opinion ; it was formed in an instant, after the Doctor's fashion ; and he is coddling it and rolling it as a sweet morsel under his tongue, as a hobby. Don't you ride it !! Ride your nags at Richmond for a fortnight longer."

With the record of sight-seeing in Verona on the day this letter was written the journal abruptly closes. For the happy two months' holiday had a sad, though not tragic, end. During the previous fortnight the weather in North Italy had been severe, with snow lying a foot deep in the streets of Bologna and Ferrara, and the temperature far below the freezing point. In crossing the Alps, Mr. Murray was seized with rheumatic fever, through which he nearly lost his life. While he lay sick in a Paris hospital Mrs. Murray was summoned to nurse him, and Mr. Denny came from Scotland to take his son home.

At Venice on the 13th February Mr. Murray wrote to Mr. Denny, giving this account of his young companion :—

"William's well-kept journal will give you full accounts by-and-bye of all our wanderings. His mind continues to grow, as I said before, and his thoughts and dispositions even more and more to

bend towards good. He read to me, after he had written it, parts of the letter he wrote to his mother yesterday. You will see there in what direction his mind is going. From the things we have been seeing so much of his great idea has been the influence of true religion upon art; but he by no means would confine it to art. He feels that it should penetrate and mould all life, even 'whatever we do;' and I believe that, by God's grace, he will make that his rule. This is the great thing. He has intellect enough and energy enough for his work in the world, and will not be behind anybody, and it will just complete the thing when he walks and lives as in the sight of God. When I spoke in my last of his not perhaps taking the line of the usual Sunday-school teachers, it was not by any means as thinking lightly of their work, which has done so much good, but that his will be different and, I think, higher. I would not like to see him urged by minister or anybody to such work at first. He will wait till his time comes. Indeed, I have formed very high expectations of him. His mind needs yet a great deal of filling up with reading, and his old thoughtlessness is still in some things there, but nothing like what it was. He needs to learn also to bear with men when they do not see with himself. I see you have difficulties about the combining college with his work. It is difficult, but not impossible. If he began his work on the 1st April and went on till 1st November, it would be a long and good start, and the winter in Glasgow would even be a rest for him, and keep him from the yard in the cold season."

Such were the thoughts of the master concerning

his pupil, towards the close of their Italian tour, as he looked into the future. He expected him to be a remarkable man, he hoped he would live for the highest ends, but he did not wish him to be set to the task-work of organised religious agencies. His forecast was sagacious, and his counsel was wise. William Denny was to do noble work under the inspiration of the most exalted motives, but his work did not run to any considerable extent in the ordinary Church channels. It closely concerned the kingdom of God and the welfare of men, but it lay for the most part outside the ecclesiastical system. It arose gradually and naturally out of his position and vocation, and was adapted to his peculiar gifts, and it was well that he came to it with virgin energy. The result was a life of great activity, animated by Christian goodness, yet entirely free from everything goody, hackneyed, or conventional.

CHAPTER II.

APPRENTICESHIP.

FROM Italian duomoes and picture-galleries William Denny passed to the workshop in his father's ship-yard in Dumbarton, under the murky atmosphere of the Vale of Leven, to serve an apprenticeship of five years to the trade of ship-building. It was to be a very real and thorough apprenticeship ; for Mr. Denny, while a kind-hearted man, was at the same time a stern father, and had no idea of rearing his sons to be fine gentlemen, nominally connected with business, but spending their time and his wealth in fashionable amusements and genteel idleness. He would not even run the risk of his son falling between the two stools of ship-building and learning. Therefore he determined not to adopt the advice given by Mr. Murray in the letter quoted at the close of last chapter—to send William to the university during the winter months. It was a very natural and proper advice for him to give, and the course suggested was a very desirable one if it could be carried out compatibly with attaining the end aimed at : that of making the lad a real, not a sham, ship-builder, or indeed a ship-builder of any sort. William himself probably was in favour of Mr. Murray's plan ; it is certain, at least, that not very

long after his apprenticeship had commenced he expressed regret that he had not got the benefit of a university training. One can understand and sympathise with his feeling, yet without hesitation approve of the decision come to. Going to the university would have issued in an entirely different vocation: that of a literary man, or more probably that of a clergyman; for at the time William uttered the regrets above referred to his thoughts were running in the direction of the Church. These thoughts were not whimsical. They arose out of the prophetic instinct deep-seated in his nature. His true, highest vocation was that of the preacher. After he reached full manhood he was always preaching: in conversation, in correspondence, in public speech, even in business. But it was well that he did not become a professional preacher. He could preach far more freshly, freely, and tellingly as a layman and business man than he was likely to have done as a clergyman, at least than most clergymen actually do preach. A layman is not bound by Church articles; and if he take to uttering lofty truths, it is supposed to be from the sheer force of conviction and because necessity is laid upon him.

Whatever hankerings young Denny might have after academic culture, he entered on his apprenticeship in no half-hearted spirit. Nor did comfortable surroundings awaken in him any effeminate wish that the hard conditions of the service might be relaxed in his behalf. The home he lived in might have tempted one of less noble spirit. Situated on the northern shore of the Clyde, on the summit of a sloping bank rising to a considerable elevation, and

stretching westwards for upwards of a mile from the mouth of the Leven towards Cardross, Helenslee commands a wide, imposing view of land and water. In front is the river, visible for miles from above Dumbarton Rock to below Greenock, and gradually widening out from the breadth of an ordinary Scottish stream to the spacious dimensions of a noble frith, having a width of five miles between Greenock and Helensburgh. Bounding the view to the west and north-west are to be seen the lofty hills of Argyllshire. The shore line on the north side is indented with promontories, and lochs reach up into the land like fingers. The opposite bank is studded with modern villages composed of elegant villas, and with old towns, busy hives of industry; and on winter evenings it presents a picturesque sight, being lighted up for miles with one continuous string of lamps. Pleasanter surroundings could not be desired than those of that stately mansion perched on the height, an object of attraction to all who sail up the river towards Glasgow.

This charming home was no castle of indolence and self-indulgence for our young apprentice. He loyally complied with the requirements of his position, scorning delights and living laborious days. He had to be in the yard punctually at six o'clock in the morning, not returning home till six o'clock in the evening. This meant rising shortly after five. At first he was called by a servant; but his mother demurring, he dispensed with the help, and trusted to himself. During the first few weeks he was occasionally late, but afterwards never. He came home to breakfast at the workmen's hour: nine o'clock. If

he came at the family breakfast-hour, eight o'clock, he was not made welcome, his father scarcely saying good-morning, so sternly, but wisely, frowning on any breach of rules. But the son was very rarely an offender. He recognised it as his duty to make his apprenticeship a reality in every respect. He soon acquired the workman's *esprit de corps*. According to the testimony of the Yard, he was a most faithful timekeeper, and worked hard in the various departments through which he successively passed. He discarded the collar, and wore white moleskins and a blue dungaree jacket, like the rest of the boys. It is said that he tore the knees of his trousers that he might not appear better clad than any of his comrades. When he got an ugly cut with an adze, he was quite pleased, because he had at last got the trademark. In short, it was his desire to be in all things like his fellow-workmen. Of great men, referring especially to Fichte, Heine remarks: "Poverty sits on their cradle and rocks it roughly, and this lean foster-mother remains their true life-companion." This was not true of William Denny; and he almost seemed to regard the fact as a disadvantage, and to feel it necessary to do his utmost to neutralise as far as possible the drawbacks arising out of being a rich man's son. Hence it gave him deep inward satisfaction to merge and lose himself among the crowd of artisans; hence to wear working clothes was a joy to him, not a humiliation, or a humiliation transmuted into a glory; hence the meanest tasks were performed not only with submission, but with feelings akin to enthusiasm. Ordered to fetch a board, he brings a clean one from the rack

where they are stored; told that this good one is not wanted, and that one lying on the ground covered with mud will suffice, he cheerfully shouldered it on his newly washed jacket. He recollected the incident nearly twenty years later, and told it with justifiable pride, as a soldier might show the scars of wounds received in battle. It was one of the tales with which he beguiled the hours of convalescence after a fever in conversation with his nurse. At the same time he was overtaken with a second calamity: the destruction of his house by fire. Among the losses he most keenly regretted was an old suit of workman's clothes, which he had preserved in a drawer as a memorial of apprenticeship days, to be shown in due season to his boys, that they might be infected with the same spirit of brotherhood towards the working classes. Another index of the deep, lasting impression made on him by those early years of servile labour is supplied by the little but significant fact, that he always carried about with him a foot-rule, even in full dress and when he went to church.

When young Denny entered on his apprenticeship, he was told by his father that he was to go in at the hawse-hole and come out at the stern window; that is to say, learn all branches of the trade. This accordingly he did, so far, at least, as woodwork was concerned. He began with the joiners; and after being two years with them, he passed on to the carpenters, and then finished his time in the drawing-office. The four years spent in the two first departments yield few incidents. The fact seems to be that he passed through these years like any ordi-

nary apprentice, attracting no special attention. He was not the son of the master to be stared at and talked about, but simply "Bill," one of the numerous apprentices. The net result of all available testimony is that he was a quick, eager learner, a willing worker, and a good comrade. He wanted to know how everything was done, and was not content till he could do it himself. He shirked no rough work. When wood had to be carried from the sloop to the yard, he was there ever ready to put his broad shoulder under the heavy end of the stick. When the deck of a newly built ship was being planed, he was there hard at work on his knees amid the pitch. When the work on hand involved exposure to weather, he would listen to no suggestion to take shelter. "If I were you, Bill," said a comrade to him in a pelting rain, "I would bolt." "That would be cowardly," he replied. "I might make off if it were fine weather, but not now." A ship is to be launched; he is to have the honour, his first experience of the kind. The launching hour is 3 a.m., to catch the highest tide of the day. He is down in town by 2 a.m., making for the foreman's house (who meets him in the street), for fear he should "sleep in."

He showed the spirit of true comradeship in every possible way. He joined heartily in the sports of fellow apprentices at meal-hours. If blame was going, he was ready to take his full share. A workman was late one morning, and arrived at the gate to find it shut. Turning to leave, he noticed William Denny hurrying forward, for once behind time. He waited to see if he would gain admittance. The gate opened, and the delinquent hurried in at William's back.

“Hullo!” cried the gateman, addressing the former; “come here.” “What do you want?” asked William. “He is late. I must get his name, and mark him a quarter late.” “Very well, then,” he replied; “you must also quarter me, for I am late too.” It is to be feared both delinquents got off that morning. Of course one who so maintained his solidarity with comrades even in blame could be trusted not to play the spy or talebearer. He was ever ready to do acts of kindness, the only form in which he asserted his superiority. When any one got hurt, he was prompt and skilful to help with instruments which he kept ready for the purpose. He did acts of kindness without ostentation, and with the utmost possible delicacy. The carpenters were caulking the decks of a ship in chill, blustering weather. Observing that a fellow-apprentice was poorly clad, he brought a bundle of his own clothes under his arm one morning, and that he might not hurt the feelings of modesty or pride, hid it in the bow of the vessel, hoping it would be found by the person for whom it was meant, as it was, to his joy and comfort.

The interest which young Denny took in his fellow-workmen, being deep and genuine, did not pass away with his apprenticeship. He never forgot the men beside whom he had handled the joiner’s and carpenter’s tools. When they were sick, he visited them, leaving a kind word and a sovereign behind. When they were in sorrow, he knew it, and was ready with his word of sympathy. “I am sorry for you,” said he one day, passing a workman who had buried the last of seven sons; “I am sorry for you from my

heart." That word went home, and will never be forgotten. When they were getting old and losing their vigour, he was on the outlook for a job suited to their years. The whole body of workmen reaped benefits from his having been one of themselves. The wages of apprentices when he began his apprenticeship were three shillings per week ; they were afterwards raised to nine shillings. One of the features in Leven ship-yard is a surgery fitted with everything needful in case of accidents. It is a monument to the wounds received by William Denny when he handled the plane and the adze.

Interesting glimpses of life in the drawing-office are afforded by notes furnished by a gentleman who was one of the staff in those years, from which a few extracts may here be given :—

“In those days the office hours were from 7 a.m. until 6 p.m., and punctual to the minute William’s step was heard in the lobby, and the next moment he had entered, taken off his coat and hat, and put on his working jacket, ready to commence work. It did not, however, always follow that work was commenced at that early hour, as William, being in the habit of rising very early and having an hour’s reading of some favourite author or studying Greek or Latin, was generally full to overflowing ; and in order to get relief, it was no uncommon thing to postpone the more serious business for a quarter of an hour, and listen to him either giving us a recitation or an oration from whatever author happened to be the favourite at the time. He had a wonderful flow of language, and at times Mr. Bryson and I were kept spell-bound, as it were, when he warmed to the subject.

He was extremely sensitive ; and in reading or reciting any pathetic passage, the tears would come down his cheeks."

The favourite author in those days, it appears, was Carlyle.

Music sometimes beguiled a leisure half-hour.

"Although not possessed of a very musical voice, owing to his being troubled with his throat, he was very fond of music ; and nothing pleased him better than when he got me to start some tune and then join in with him by singing bass. His favourite tune was 'French.' I was often amused at the earnest way in which he would sing and beat time. These little concerts frequently took place in the spare time we had during dinner-hour, and sometimes, but not often, in the afternoons when we were not busy."

Dancing, it is apologetically admitted, had its turn among the innocent recreations of the young draughtsmen.

"At that time there was a new waltz which was exercising all the young people ; it was called the 'Trois Temps' waltz. William had learned it ; but, as usual, he was not content unless he could teach some one and at the same time get practice. This amusement, being rather noisy, could only be indulged in when the lower office was clear ; as soon therefore as he had taken his lunch, and I had returned from dinner, the waltzing commenced, and I found myself whirling round and round acting the rôle of the lady partner. He was a most enthusiastic dancer, all life together."

Recitations, singing, and dancing were but the brief recreations of busy days. In the drawing-office,

as in the shop and the yard, young Denny was an earnest worker. Not unfrequently he and his companion remained together in the office till 10 p.m. busily engaged in the calculations connected with shipbuilding. Even in those early days his attention was occupied with the investigations connected with the relations of power and speed with which his name has become indelibly associated. "Progressive speed trials" had their roots in the extra office labour of the earnest apprentice.

When our apprentice laid down his tools, and left the yard for the day, his day's work was not over. He spent the evening hours till between nine and ten o'clock in the higher work of self-culture, and snatched an hour from sleep in the early morning for the same purpose, rising about 4.30 and kindling his own fire in the winter season. Keenly conscious now of his defects, and regretting that he had not made more of his opportunities of learning in boyhood, he put himself once more under the care of his friend and former tutor the Rev. W. Stephen, that he might acquire a more perfect knowledge of Latin and Greek, the literature of these ancient languages having now a great attraction for him. He read with Mr. Stephen two nights a week, preparing on the other nights Greek and Latin exercises, which he sent to his tutor for correction. In spite of boyish carelessness, he had gained under Mr. Carmichael a considerable insight into the Latin tongue, so that he was able, now that he worked with all his heart, to make rapid progress, reading in the course of two years large portions of the well-known Latin authors. In the latter part of that time the practice was

begun of reading Livy and Cicero *ad aperturam*, and translating aloud with as much fluency as possible, after the example of the younger Pitt, who exercised himself in rapid translation of Cicero with a view to acquire facility of extemporaneous expression. Denny must have been conscious of deriving similar benefit from the habit, for in addressing a meeting of students in the Free Church College, Glasgow, on "Public Speaking," twenty years after, he recommended it to them in these terms: "Give up the ordinary way of learning classics, and read Cicero as you would read a French novel at sight. Translate Cicero aloud into English rapidly. Never mind the correctness, but translate rapidly aloud, and you will find you will soon get a remarkably good vocabulary, flexible and ready for use."

Such devotion to classical studies combined with earnest attention to business is very uncommon. To some of young Denny's friends laudably interested in his future the combination seemed impossible. They feared that he would never be a ship-builder unless he gave up his classics and his bookish ways, and confined himself to the work of the yard. There was a risk, doubtless, and the subject of these critical observations was himself aware of it. Speaking to a friend at this period on the union of the poetical and the practical in character, as forming the best type of man, he remarked that the former element was the stronger in himself. Nevertheless he solved the problem of harmonising the two elements in his own case wonderfully well, so as fully to justify the apology made for him by another friend to one of his critics: "Let him alone. Give him time to become

a man of business. You have little to complain of. He is better occupied with his books than if he were spending his evenings in the tavern with boon-companions."

By careful use of spare half-hours William Denny found time during the years of his apprenticeship to make himself acquainted with many of the best books of English and foreign literature. Notes preserved in the diary of a friend of the family give some idea of the extent and variety of his reading. The list of books read in a single year seems large enough for one who had nothing else to do, though they were merely the recreation of one who was working with his hands all the time eight or nine hours a day, and carrying on in his leisure hours studies in Latin and Greek. The poets occupy a prominent place in the list, Spenser's *Faerie Queene* standing at the top, and Coleridge, Tennyson, Milton, Shelley, Goethe, Dante, following in succession.

A fashion has lately been introduced by editors of getting distinguished men to tell the world what books had chiefly influenced them. No document headed "Books which have influenced me" has been left by William Denny, but from other sources of information it is well known what authors took the most powerful hold of his mind at different periods of his life. During the early part of the apprenticeship period the *Faerie Queene* had great attractions for him, being associated in his mind with Gothic architecture and pre-Raphaelite paintings. Victor Hugo's "Les Miserables" impressed him powerfully with the difficulty, the impossibility almost, of getting up when once one is down, and fostered in him that

sympathy with the poor and oppressed which was so prominent a feature in his character. Carlyle became one of his great masters. He did not like him at first, being repelled by his hardness, or possibly prejudiced by evil reports of incompetent readers; but gradually he came under his spell, and read with interest "Heroes and Hero-worship" and "Frederick the Great," and with enthusiasm "Cromwell" and "The French Revolution." The experience of others in reference to this great prophetic writer has been similar. The sermons of Robertson of Brighton were his Sunday reading, and what he valued specially in him was his views of woman as expressed in such a sermon as that on "The Glory of the Virgin Mother." He regarded Robertson as one of the few who knew how to appreciate womanly character. Of Ruskin's "Seven Lamps" the "Lamp of Sacrifice" was his favourite. "In Memoriam" he read constantly at the time when his little brother Robert died. Its elegiac strains expressed and soothed the deep sorrow of his tender heart. In the "Life of William Blake," the poet and artist, so exquisitely written by Gilchrist, he took great delight. He was charmed with the simplicity and utter unworldliness of the man. It struck him much to find one who might well have complained of the hardness of his lot saying to a little girl in the evening of his days: "God make the world as beautiful to you as it has been to me." That he thought the finest thing in a life pathetic throughout. Among books read at a later date, Froude's essay on the book of Job and Jean Paul Richter's "Flower, Fruit, and Thorn Pieces" interested him greatly. He felt in thorough sympathy

with the idea of Job's life as a combating of the notion that the good and the chosen prosper. Good for goodness' sake, hoping for nothing, was his motto. Richter's dream "No Father in Heaven" he read countless times: its terror fascinated him; no wonder! Who that has read it has not felt so?

Books were read at the same rate year after year. The result was a quite uncommon acquaintance with literature and the accumulation of a splendid library, which was to its owner what wealth is to a man of the world. William Denny's treasure was in books, not in bank stock. Consciously or unconsciously, his prayer and *pium desiderium* was that of Socrates: "May I esteem him rich who is wise, and may my treasure be such as none can carry away save one who is of sober mind."

Work with hands by day, work with brain by night; and what of play? There was not too much of that then or at any time in our friend's life. It has indeed been said of him that he could not play. That may be something of an exaggeration, but it is certainly true that he took his play as earnestly as if it had been work. He seems to have found his recreation chiefly in a change of work—from mechanical to mental, and *vice versa*. But there was one form of amusement of which he was passionately fond—dancing, supposed by serious people to be the exclusive enjoyment of the frivolous. They are mistaken; extremes may meet here as elsewhere. The thoughtful may dance as well as the thoughtless, and it is well for them when they can. Denny danced with all his heart, an hour or so in the evening two or three times a week being devoted

to the exercise. Not content with dancing in the drawing-room with members of the family and such friends as might be staying in the house, when a servants' dance was impending he would undertake to teach them some new dance, nor would he rest till they knew it thoroughly,—enthusiastic in small things as in great.

Autumnal holidays brought more complete rest. These were generally spent on the Continent, in visiting with companions old haunts or new scenes. But even on these holiday trips the relaxation was not complete: they only brought a change of occupation; for all his life long on his pleasure excursions Denny had something in his mind which he meant to make a side-study of, and which was to be the specialty of the trip. During his apprenticeship years the main object of interest was art, even in Switzerland, which he visited in 1865, as he confessed in a letter to his friend Mr. Murray, written some years later, when he had at length got his eyes opened to the glory of nature. Art had taken a hold of his mind which it never lost in that pilgrimage through Italy in 1864. He would take up now and then the journal he wrote at that time, and read portions of it to a friend, taking pleasure in acknowledging his deep obligations to Mr. Murray for directing him in forming opinions on pictures, and passing high encomiums on his taste and insight. He did not, however, imagine that artistic genius was confined to Italy. Mrs. D. O. Hill, who, with her late husband, visited Helenslee in 1866, testifies to his deep admiration of the weird, allegorical drawings of Blake. Struck by his appreciation of one so

little known that his biographer attached to his name on the title-page of his "Life" the epithet "Pictor ignotus," this lady gave to him a water-colour by the English artist, one of a small collection in her possession. It was "Christ in the midst of the golden candlesticks;" it was to him a "joy for ever," or at least till the fire in 1883, when its destruction became one of his great sorrows in connection with that event.

During those early years William Denny's mind was much occupied with the subject of religion. The Calvinistic or Covenant theology of the Scottish Presbyterian Church greatly troubled him. All who have been reared in pious Scottish homes of the old-fashioned type know what a strong hold that theology had taken of the people. It entered into every fibre of their life, even into the grace before meals, in which this was a standing petition: "Grant us a Covenant-right to these mercies." That "Covenant-right" and the exclusive election implied in it William could not reconcile himself to. His humane disposition and his wide culture both tended to put him out of sympathy therewith. It might have been predicted by any one who knew him that he would find acquiescence in the hereditary national creed difficult, if not impossible; and the fact is—and it may here be stated frankly—that in the end he broke away from it decisively. But this did not come about without a severe struggle. One thing made it certain that he would not be able to throw off the stern creed in which he had been reared lightly and without regret. It was the religion of his mother, whom he then and always devotedly loved,

and who was well worthy to be so loved. It is a hard thing for such a son to be obliged to say to such a mother with reference to the sacred interests in which union of mind and heart is most to be desired: "Woman, what have I to do with thee?" Many a son has had to say it, but no young man of generous, noble spirit ever said it by word or deed without passing through a hell of mental torment. William Denny had full experience of religious doubt, and of the consequent isolation from loved ones for whom he could willingly have laid down his life; and he did his utmost to conquer doubt, and to maintain communion in belief with father, mother, minister, and all worthy, estimable, orthodox people. He tried hard to make his thoughts and feelings run in the customary grooves of religious opinion and experience. He spent whole hours in earnest thought and prayer, and went much to prayer-meetings. His sense of sin became so deep and morbid that he went the length of imputing to himself moral responsibility for the death of his little brothers and sisters, and regarding it as a sign of God's anger against him. To the minister of the Free Church in Dumbarton, the Rev. John Tait, he stated that the only book other than the Bible that gave him comfort was Bunyan's "Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners." But, with all his efforts, he did not find rest, at least for his intellect, but only a state of unstable equilibrium. Nor was it possible for one of his earnestness, and sincerity, and thoroughness to be content with a compromise—to touch his hat to a creed he did not believe, and go on his way thinking his own thoughts. That is the

approved way of dealing with Church creeds, but it would not do for William Denny. He must believe with all his heart or not at all. And a God such as Calvinism seemed to him to teach he felt it impossible to trust and love as God ought to be trusted and loved. His heart craved for a God who loved all, and whose magnanimity in forgiving was as far above his own as heaven is high above earth. And so he turned away more and more from the God of the orthodox, as he conceived Him, to the Father-God of Christ, and from the theology of the Covenants to the theology of Kingsley, and Maurice, and Robertson of Brighton.

It was about the time that his spiritual troubles began that I first became acquainted with him. I chanced to preach in the church which the family attended, in September, 1866. He was present; and the result was a determination to go to the church at Cardross, three or four miles west from Dumbarton, of which I was minister. He attended regularly for a considerable time, which gave me opportunity of knowing him, of which, however, I did not take as full advantage as I might, owing to a certain reserve imposed by the consciousness that he was deserting the family pew. I saw enough of him, notwithstanding, at church and at his home to discover that he was a young man of singularly noble spirit, open-minded, ingenuous, truth-loving, an earnest seeker after God, handsome in form, beautiful in features, not merely from the artistic point of view, but because of the soul that looked out on you through large, orb-like blue eyes full of intelligence, truth, and tenderness. I loved him then as I have loved few;

and I continued to love him and to watch his career with an almost paternal pride, though removal to another part of the country in 1868 deprived me of opportunity for constant intercourse. I lay no claim to have been an important factor in his religious history. I refer to the foregoing facts chiefly to indicate the nature of our relations. There was a certain fitness in his coming my way for a season, as I had passed through an experience similar to his. The Church's presentation of Christianity, whether in creed or in life, had failed to lay hold of me; and I had been obliged to dive into the deep sea of doubt in quest of the pearl of faith. And during those Cardross years I was as a man who had found a thing of inestimable price—genuine Christianity, the Christianity of Christ—found it by searching in the Gospels. From these Gospels were drawn most of my texts in those days, and all my inspiration. My sermons, I am sure, contained many crudities, yet I venture to believe that they were wholesome in their main tendency. The Christianity of Christ differs from ecclesiastical Christianity in many ways, but above all in spirit; and the "Galilean Gospel" is more worthy of acceptation than any gospel which is stated in terms of a rigid theological system; and it is the test and standard of what is genuinely evangelic. I presume William Denny perceived my attitude, and sympathised with it, and found it helpful. He was using a young man's right to go where he can get light and stimulus. It is a right which cannot be refused without heavy penalties; for nothing is more demoralising and perilous, at the time of life when religious opinion is in solution,

than to be compelled to listen to a presentation of religion which does not commend itself to the reason and conscience of the hearer, no matter whose the fault may be, his or the preacher's.

The young inquirer's religious perplexities were aggravated by the circumstance that under his father's hospitable roof he met many clergymen, some of whom were of ultra types, of very pronounced opinions, Calvinistic and "Evangelical" (using the latter term in its conventional sense, and protesting against giving to party what belongs to Christendom), and, without intention or consciousness of doing harm, making their views as repellent as possible to persons of sensitive nature not prepossessed in their favour. One of these deserves special mention. He was one of the most notable clerical characters in Dumbartonshire. He was a man of imposing presence, tall, dark-haired, face pale and haggard, of choleric temperament and powerful, passionate nature, full of fun, humour, and laughter, with a talent for telling a good story, and capable of great outbursts of wrath, frank and outspoken even to cynicism. This interesting, able, and amusing minister was the most unmitigated and relentless Calvinist in the west of Scotland. He scorned apologies for his creed, or softening phrases, or weak, illogical compromises, or watery dilutions of Calvinism mixed with Arminianism to suit soft heads and mawkish tastes. He regarded the Calvinistic theology of the Westminster Confession as a system capable of demonstration by irresistible logic; and he would not hesitate to esteem and call the man who did not accept it a fool, an idiot, or an intellectual

weakling. It is commonly reported that in preaching on the familiar text: "I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto Me," he began his sermon with this sentence, pronounced with an emphasis that attracted universal attention: "'All men;' that is, the elect." The story is typical, and does him no injustice. The effect of such preaching on William Denny was great, but not such as the preacher aimed at. It made him say: "Rather Atheism than belief in such a God."

In the last years of his life William Denny was greatly impressed by the writings of James Hinton, and was unwearied in proclaiming the doctrine insisted on by that writer that service of others in love is the supreme law of human life. This was not a conversion to views previously foreign to his spirit and character; it was rather but the intensification of feelings rooted in his nature—an instinct transmuted into a theory. He needed no man to teach him the principles of "altruism." Benevolence was in his blood, an inheritance from both parents. Traces of its influence revealed themselves in every period of his life—in boyhood, in youth, in mature manhood. The schoolboy felt for his suffering brother Peter; the apprentice looked on the death of his little brothers and sisters as the penalty of his sin. It was a morbid feeling, but it was a form of morbidity possible only to a tender heart. "The quantity of sorrow he has, does it not mean withal the quantity of sympathy he has? Our sorrow is the inverted image of our nobleness." These words of Carlyle in reference to Cromwell and his early

melancholies Denny was fond of quoting in the time of his own youthful troubles, extracting from them, one may hope, some comfort, though little knowing how applicable they were to himself.

Healthier manifestations of an almost feminine tenderness and pity are presented in little incidents preserved by loving memories. When little brother Robert was sick, William ran into the room where he lay every morning to see how he was before going off to the yard,—very significant in a lad in his teens enamoured of his books and obliged to be in the workshop punctually at six in the morning. One evening a tipsy workman came to see him. He was one of the old hands who had served under Uncle William of sacred memory. He took him to the kitchen and told one of the servants to give him a good tea, asking him to come back next day to see himself. These incidents are insignificant in themselves; their importance lies in their being typical. The man was ever the same: thoughtful towards the suffering, forbearing towards the morally weak, severe only towards sins of heartlessness and inhumanity. Then he could be stern enough. “I have seen,” writes one, “his face grow pale, and the whole man tremble, as he denounced, with clenched fist and flashing eye, some injustice or wrong.”

One of the most conspicuous features in the character of William Denny was his chivalrous behaviour towards women, not merely ladies, but all bearing the name of woman, except indeed gay, worldly women, to whom he was never more than barely civil. After he was married he treated with the utmost consideration and courtesy every inmate

of his house, visitor, governess, or servant, unless by their conduct they forfeited his esteem. As a master he made it a rule in the yard that no man should enter a room where girls were working without taking off his hat. When he met a workman in the street with his wife, he never failed to lift his hat. This chivalrous bearing showed itself in the early years of which I now write. He then treated girls and women in humble station as he would his mother's friends in his own home, to whom his delicate attention was notable to all visitors. He was scrupulously courteous even to domestic servants. He could not endure to see a woman doing a man's work. When he returned home from a holiday, he brought presents for every one in the house, distributing them among the dependants with his own hand. For the very washerwoman he would open the gate, standing hat in hand while she passed through. Trivial facts, yet not trivial as indices of character; nor will they be so regarded by those who in after-years came into contact with the man in business and otherwise, and who noted, as no one could fail to note, the singular grace of his manners, while perfectly natural and free from affectation. His courtesy in the case of the washerwoman may seem Quixotic, but at least it is a fault which leans to virtue's side. And it is a quality allied to *purity*, another outstanding feature in Denny's character attested by all who knew him. One who was intimately acquainted with him from youth till death writes: "In looking back upon his life all through the time I knew him, I think one of his most fascinating characteristics was the simple-hearted purity of all he said about girls and women."

Mr. Murray, his old tutor, deeply impressed with this trait while on a visit to Helenslee in 1866, remarked with enthusiasm: "His face is beautiful from its expression of inward purity." This purity, however, was not the attribute of a cold nature insensible to feminine charms; very much the reverse.

Our picture is finished. It is a goodly one, exhibiting a character full of virtue inclining to the heroic type. Were there no faults? Vices there were none, but of course there were the faults of his qualities. Of these the most obvious was impulsiveness, too great quickness of sympathy and action. I am reminded here by contrast of the Greek youth Theaetetus, one of the interlocutors in Plato's Dialogue of the same name, whom the great philosopher thus describes: "He has a quickness of apprehension which is almost unrivalled, and he is exceedingly gentle, and also the most courageous of men; there is a union of qualities in him such as I have never seen in any other, and should scarcely have thought possible; for those who, like him, have quick, and ready, and retentive wits, have generally also quick tempers: they are ships without ballast, and go darting about, and grow mad rather than courageous; and the steadier sort, when they have to face study, are stupid and cannot remember. Whereas he moves surely, and smoothly, and successfully in the path of knowledge and inquiry; he is full of gentleness, and flows on silently like a river of oil."* William Denny resembled Theaetetus—the

* "The Dialogues of Plato," translated by Jowett, vol. iv., p. 287.

Sought-from-God—in several respects: in quickness of apprehension, in gentleness, and in courage; but not in the manner of his mental movement. He flowed not silently like a river of oil, but rather like a mountain torrent, leaping in sudden bounds from rock to rock, and making a loud noise, the noise of overvehement utterance and dogmatic assertion. Along with this quality went a certain instability. Quick to sympathise, he was liable to change in his sympathies. One author took a powerful hold of him for a time, then gave place to another who in turn became the favourite. While he lay in bed with a wounded leg he was much taken up with the writings of Trench. Shortly after he presented a friend with a copy of that author's work on "The Parables," with the inscription, "In memory of our Trench mania." This changeableness, however, was in opinion rather than in friendship, and generally from good to better, from one-sided, partial views to a comprehensive grasp of a subject in all its aspects.

CHAPTER III.

YOUNG MANHOOD.

THE aim of this chapter is to give a general account of that part of William Denny's life lying between his coming of age in 1868 and his marriage in the beginning of the year 1874, a period of about five and a half years. It will form a sort of prelude to the following chapters which relate the story of his work as an employer of labour and as a naval architect.

On the same day on which young Denny arrived at his majority—the 25th May, 1868—he was admitted as a partner into the firm, an event which gave him deep satisfaction, as a mark of confidence from his father, for whom he entertained the most profound respect. There were great rejoicings in the town, and in the evening fireworks and a dance. William was too thoughtful to be elated, and experienced that nervous depression, that “fear and trembling,” which visits all sensitive souls at critical periods of life bringing new and untried responsibilities. Nevertheless he danced with energy as a matter of duty, and on his health being drunk made a brief speech, expressing his desire to live for the good of those around him and the God above him.

A better indication of the feelings with which he

entered on his new position is given in a speech which he made at the annual soirée of the workmen in November of the same year. It was his first public appearance after he had been made a partner. Addressing an audience of fourteen hundred persons, he said :—

“More than four and a half years ago, when I, a boy fresh from school, came among you first, I had little idea of the benefit which my father was conferring upon me by putting me in a position where I could get a practical knowledge of the various departments of the work ; I had almost no idea of the many lessons I had to learn. One of these I feel I have learnt ; and that, my fellow-workmen, is respect and liking for you. I can look back on these past years without one regret and without one bitter memory. I can thank you without insincerity for the kindness and courtesy that I have met with from all among you. I must also thank those tradesmen under whom my father placed me for the earnest desire they ever showed that I should advance in my profession. Glad, however, as I am that I have been taught a good and honourable trade, I am still more so that I have learned it under many who worked alongside of my uncles, and the greater part of whom will continue, I hope, to work along with my father and myself. Of the future I cannot speak with that confidence which experience gives. My father is my hope, as he is yours. I look to him as my pattern and example. I do not know that I shall be able to approach him in business ability, but I shall try to imitate him in looking after your interests and your welfare. In conclusion, I can assure you that your interests and my father's and mine are the same, and that it will ever be my purpose and my desire to make the working-men connected with this establishment as happy as I possibly can, God helping.”

These were no empty words. They expressed the speaker's consciousness of possessing two most valuable acquisitions gained from his apprenticeship, and his earnest purpose to turn these to the best account in the future. He has a trade at his finger-ends, and he has learned sympathy with working-men. His purpose is to give practical effect to his sympathy, and to do his utmost as a ship-builder to

maintain the high traditions of the firm. There is no boasting, but there is a keen sense of obligation. There are memories of the past pressing home the adage "Noblesse oblige"—memories of uncle William and his achievements, and of grandfather William also, though to him no reference is made, of whom more in a future chapter. Then there is his father by his side, his model in business and in character, worthy of his highest admiration for shrewdness, integrity, and just, humane consideration for the interests of his employés, a veritable captain of industry.

The earnest temper revealed in the soirée speech bore abundant fruit in due season. But even before the full results began to appear there were significant indications of what was coming. From the first the young partner threw himself heart and mind into his work. A journal of work commenced in April, 1869, about the end of his apprenticeship (which overlapped the partnership nearly a year), remains to attest his methodical attention and his devotion to duty. The first entry is "Friday, 23rd April, 1869, 7.20 a.m." Then follow particulars relating to the various ships on the stocks, indicating the progress made, everything stated with the utmost exactness. The same thing is repeated day after day, omissions to go the usual daily round being carefully noted, with the reasons. Then there is the work in the drawing-office: speed and displacement calculations, laying down lines of new vessels, and the like; this part of the work commencing often at six in the morning, and going on till ten at night. And while he goes his rounds in the yard, or works at his cal-

culations in the office, the young partner has an eye quick to detect defects in administration or slackness in any department of labour. Such entries as this occur: "Down at yard before 6 a.m., and noticed the very irregular way in which a great number of our men came in to their work. Told the timekeepers that the letter of the rules must be observed. My father late in the day issued an order to the effect that all the timekeepers must be in attendance at 6 a.m., to take down the time of the men coming in late." Here is an ominous "N.B.:" "—— informed me to-day that there were grave suspicions of fellows climbing over walls into their work, and also of stuff being handed out of the yard by windows." This also is significant, under date 24th February, 1870: "My father has settled that the next ship shall be done piece-work. My opinion is that the joiners humbug their work more than any men." The following relates to the drawing-office: "To remedy the nonsense likely to occur from every man's doing what is good in his own eyes in this office, I have resolved to write a short treatise on all the calculations, etc., about ships. This treatise to contain a short and concise account of how all calculations and work are to be done, with notes of allowances to be made and a list of the mistakes likely to occur. From this manual no departure to be made in practice excepting such as I myself may permit. The great want in this office has always been a fixed standard easily accessible to all." These entries reveal the spirit of thoroughness, and foreshadow coming reforms.

In addition to his duties in the office and the yard,

young Denny devoted portions of his spare time to the preparation and delivery of essays and lectures on subjects connected with ship building. The first of his papers on such topics was read in December, 1869, to the Literary and Philosophical Society of Dumbarton, the subject being "The Dimensions of Seagoing Ships." Having made his *debut* in this line, his growing enthusiasm emboldened him to appear before his fellow-townsmen as a public lecturer on professional topics. The course consisted of four lectures on these subjects: the strains to which ships are subject; the means of resisting these strains; strength of iron and its distribution; iron workmanship. Prizes were offered to apprentices in the yard for the best essays on the lectures. This course was as successful as the lecturer could desire, and doubtless proved instructive to some of the hearers. But its main interest to us is the simple fact of such lectures having been delivered. It indicates that the mind of the lecturer was already intensely occupied with the problems of naval architecture on which he afterwards made such important contributions. If he did not succeed in this early effort in instructing others to any considerable extent, he was at all events instructing himself. In delivering these lectures in the town of Dumbarton, he was qualifying himself for making weighty utterances on similar topics, at a later period, to a wider and more influential audience.

Towards the end of the year 1871, Mr William Denny, in company with his uncle Mr. John MacAusland, went on an important errand to Burmah. The chief purpose of their visit to that country was

to attend to the interests of the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company, in which Mr. Denny senior was the principal partner. The Company had been engaged since 1863 in a carrying trade with a small fleet of seven vessels purchased from the Government. These vessels were of an antiquated type, ill-suited for the navigation of the river, especially in the dry season; and in consequence the affairs of the Company were not in a prosperous condition. The two travellers sailed up the Irrawaddy as far as Bahmo, and made themselves acquainted with its navigable qualities and with the resources of the country. Denny saw that what was wanted was flat-bottomed steamers of light draught, and reported accordingly. The result was a steady and extensive development of the carrying trade on the river and ever-increasing commercial prosperity for the Company. The small fleet of seven grew to be a great fleet of one hundred and seventy vessels, with a carrying capacity equal to 65,000 tons. Denny acted as naval architect for the Company, and nearly all the new steamers were designed by his hands or under his direction. He thus played an important part in creating that extensive industry in the far East which is now rendering important service to the latest addition to the British empire. It is remarkable that the last work of his life was to perform a somewhat similar, though far more difficult, task in South America.

Denny's letters from the East are chiefly descriptive, and contain little that is of public interest. Readers may wish to know how the religions of the East impressed his thoughtful, open mind. Of Buddhism, the religion of Burmah, he used afterwards to speak

as the religion of self-denial. Of Brahminism and Mahometanism he gave his opinion in a letter written from Calcutta to his mother, dated 17th December, 1871.

His estimate of the two was very diverse, as the following extract will show :—

“Brahminism is the dominant belief here, and does little to inspire either virtue or courage in the hearts of its followers. It is full of gods many and legends many, split up and divided into innumerable forms of worship. Idolatry of the most degrading and sometimes beastly kind has literally crushed the life out of what must have at one time been a philosophic, if not very deep, religion. This belief is very fairly reflected in the poor spiritless and dependent lives of the people throughout Bengal and much of Southern India. Up towards the north-west, at Delhi and Agra, things are different. Mahometanism rules there, and to some purpose. However much Mahometans in India may have been influenced by contact with the Hindoos, and therefore slipped into formalism, there are three points upon which they are clear, and these are :—

“1. That there is one God only, unseen, eternal, and all-powerful, a most opposite belief to the polytheism of the Hindoos.

“2. That God can be represented by no form in the universe, and therefore in no place of worship must there be any representation of any living thing, plant or animal.

“3. That they (the Mahometans) should rule in India, and propagate their belief there.

“Under this kind of belief an independent stamp of men is produced, men who are less obedient to our rule than the Hindoos and with nobler aspirations. A Mahometan mosque such as the Grand Jumna Musjid at Delhi is a fine exponent of the severity of the worship celebrated in it. This mosque is simply an open colonnade, of great size, topped by three beautiful domes of white marble and terminated at each side by graceful minarets. The central dome is the largest, and immediately under it stands the small pulpit from which the Koran is read. The ornament employed is either of a formal style, or mathematical in design ; and the marble here and there is inlaid with quotations from the Koran in a very fine character. In front of the mosque is a large square court capable of holding forty thousand people, and ornamented by a fine colonnade. Here every Friday the people collect to worship together. We were fortunate in being there on the last Friday of the Rhamadan, and saw fifteen thousand people worshipping at once. They bowed, knelt, and

responded together. Every now and then the cry of 'Allah! Allah!' rose, with a kind of wail, from them, followed by a silence so perfect that you could hear the most distant noise of the city distinctly. I never saw anything so grand as this simple, unadorned worship. It eclipsed any Roman Catholic ceremony. With all the faults of Mahometanism—and they are many—such union of worship and plainness of creed cannot fail to give it a firm hold upon the hearts of its followers. . . . I think our missionaries may be very hopeful of work among the Hindoos, for they offer them so bright an alternative to their own belief, but I do not think there is much more hope of changing a Mahometan than a Jew."

These are first-hand impressions, not mere echoes of Carlyle's views as set forth in "Heroes and Hero-worship," albeit with these the writer of the above letter was familiar.

The new enthusiasms arising out of his changed position did not draw away the heart of the young ship-builder from the Muses. He still devoted his spare hours to reading, only there was a gradual change in the character of the books read. The scientific element became increasingly prominent, though general literature continued to retain its hold. A common-place book begun in February, 1873, records what he was reading at that time. The first entry is dated Sunday, 2nd February, 1873, and consists of three lists of books: "Books I am reading (steadily)," "Books I am reading (desultorily)," and "Books lately read through," to which is appended a fourth list of "Magazines I am reading." The "steady" list includes Lewes's "Life of Goethe," George Eliot's "Romola," Secchi's "Le Soleil," and Greg's "Enigmas of Life." The "desultory" list is made up of lighter books, such as Beranger's "Poems." Among those read through are Lecky's "Rise and Influence of Rationalism," Freeman's "General Sketch of European History,"

and Bagehot's "Physics and Politics." The magazines are the *Athenæum*, *Fortnightly Review*, *Contemporary*, and *Naval Science*. To the list this note is appended: "Of these I read on an average 75 per cent. thoroughly," a larger proportion than most people read of the single magazine they patronise.

It seems to have been Denny's intention when he commenced this common-place book to use it as a record, not merely of his reading, but also of his opinions of the works read. But this purpose he did not carry through, probably because he found sufficient scope for his critical faculties in conversation and in the essays and lectures which he prepared from time to time for the local societies with which he was connected. He made a beginning, however, with two good morsels of criticism, which may here be preserved. The first refers to W. Rathbone Greg:—

"I find this gentleman (as he himself says) better at propounding than solving riddles. His intellect is destructive and anti-positive, with a queer metaphysical admixture which leads him to postulate fancies his ordinary thinking cannot support. His best advice is certainly the negative. Like Darwin and Spencer, his science makes him an optimist; and he looks at all life teleologically even in the thick of considerable hopelessness. Not one of his ideas, except a few borrowed from the evolutionists, is new or fresh to me. I have reached most of his difficulties by my own roads, and without his assistance. The road to the *tabula rasa* is pretty well finger-posted in this nineteenth century, and the travelling cheap."

These sentences, it will be observed, have autobiographical as well as literary interest.

The other piece refers to the life of Goethe:—

"In Goethe's life the fact is to be noted that his youth was permitted its natural outcome. As a young man he made his experiments upon

life with so much fire, spirit, and carelessness of doctrinaire wisdom, that he astounded his elders. There is a certain truth in the old story of wild oats. Their sowing is not to be encouraged and flattered, but in a man of profound mind and strong temperament the sowing (when the harvest is not too great) is not only a sort of safety-valve for the energy of youth, but forms the very matriculation of experimental life. Men gain a wisdom by their own blunders, in the freedom of their own action, which can be but ill replaced by the policeman-like services of overhasty fathers, guardians, and friends. It is not necessary to know the pain of mistake in every part of life and bit of knowledge. To know thoroughly life and knowledge, it is only necessary that from a moderate amount of blundering we should learn to infer the accuracy of the wisdom held in suspense by ordinary minds. The experience of the 'individual' must be endured before a man becomes robustly capable of grasping the experience of the 'race.' It is very difficult to make some partially trained men see that there is a wisdom which is foolishness and a foolishness which is wisdom, but from these facts this must be evident."

This passage is somewhat in the Byronic or Werterean vein, and the doctrine enunciated may appear very dangerous. It certainly may very easily be abused, though it was not employed by the writer to cover any personal licence. Yet these sentences only state in modern language the rationale of Christ's conduct in associating with those who were in disrepute on account of irregularities, which was that He believed better citizens of the kingdom of heaven might be drawn from that class than from the circle of morally and religiously superior persons who "needed no repentance." This idea is one of those in our Lord's teaching which the Church has but imperfectly understood. It comes much easier to take the Pharisaic than the Christian position on this subject.

The above specimens of literary reflection are so good that they give rise to regret that there are not more. But, as already remarked, Denny's thoughts on books found expression chiefly in the essays and

lectures which he read to literary societies. One of these has been preserved. Its subject was "Science and Life;" it was delivered in December, 1872, and it was rewritten in 1874, in the same common-place book from which the foregoing extracts are taken, a fact which shows the great interest the writer took in the subject. The lecture takes the form of a historical sketch, the course of which can be imagined. Naturally Bacon receives prominent notice, whose "Novum Organum" the writer has carefully studied. The value of the lecture for us lies in the indications it supplies of the extent of the writer's reading and the direction of his sympathies. It appears very clearly that his heart beats loud and fast for the great causes of liberty and the rights of the people. This comes out in the manner in which he alludes to the French Revolution. At this point the lecturer rises into true eloquence. Speaking of the state of science at the end of the eighteenth century, he remarks:—

"I am afraid the time referred to has generally a very bad reputation, for which science is supposed to be responsible. Timid people, like rash people, are often given to hasty and superficial generalisations, and find in its tragic French Revolution climax a sort of Promethean punishment on the boldness with which every kind of intellectual speculation was then advanced. . . . It is impossible to deny that the Revolution of '92 was a great punishment, but it is well in judging a great movement to put our sympathies and antipathies out of court. The philosophic and scientific men were merely the mouthpieces of a large and popular feeling of revolt against the gross egotism and injustice of a debased aristocracy and priesthood. To the dumb anger of the crushed, hungry multitude they gave a voice, but no more. Had misery and oppression not planted rebellion in the hearts of the 'Sansculottes,' no science, no philosophy, could have created it there. Now link this great revolution into the chain of events we have been considering, and you will see the unity of later European history. Its keynote is rebellion. We have in the sixteenth century Luther and the Reformation revolt, in the seventeenth

Bacon and the philosophic revolt, and in the end of the eighteenth, fired and fanned by many hands, the revolt of the people. How the stream of rebellion has enlarged its banks! In the fifteenth century a brook, it has now become a flood no pope or king may stem, and, like the great Ganges, can at times change its channel in a month and drive its former banks in sand to the sea. From the fifteenth century onwards our European history has the sound as of mighty armies on the march. Again and again rises the clamour of great battles mingled with the cries of millions perishing in a warfare from which they, the unfortunate, will reap no peace. Even the wail of sickness, the sob of bereavement, and the pitifulness of despair are minors in such great strains. We forget the millions crushed in our progress, those whose bodies form the highway of our present life. Yet you can hear through all this woe and darkness the unshaken tramp telling that the armies of advance are still on the march."

The foregoing extract taken from the revised copy differs from the original only verbally, and not always altered for the better. In other places the lecture is entirely remodelled. The lecturer has in the interval been reading the writings of Darwin and Spencer and other authors who have applied their principles to various departments of knowledge, such as Freeman, Maine, and Bagehot. He has accepted Darwinism in its main features, and rejoices in the new world which has been created by the epoch-making man from whom the system is named. Old lights lose their lustre in presence of the new luminary. Carlyle and Tennyson are regarded as out of date, because they are not scientific in the modern sense, at best "only unconsciously scientific." Of Carlyle his once enthusiastic admirer now writes:—

"Keenly as every man must appreciate Carlyle's earnestness and dramatic power, combined with a sense of duty which is far above the average, one cannot help feeling that in almost all his works the dramatic power has far too much embroiled him with the characters he describes. Take up the 'French Revolution,' undoubtedly one of his best works, and one of the most eloquent produced in this century; you

cannot fail to be struck with the want of judicial power displayed in it. Every one is either a saint or a devil. Mirabeau and Danton are heroes; Robespierre and Marat are the opposites. Carlyle never grasps the idea, as the scientific historian will do, that such leaders as Mirabeau and others are impelled often more than they impel, that they are almost always the selected instruments, the fittest to be found, of some large movement. There is no tracing the great waves of human change, claspings centuries, ay and nations too, within their crests. He luxuriates in small detached epochs and single lives, and is content to produce a matchless gallery of portraits and landscapes. From this defect flows his greatest error: that of placing the hope and help of humanity upon individual men."

Tennyson too is dethroned. Speaking of the influence of science on literature, the lecturer remarks of this great poet, once the king:—

"If Goethe willingly embodied the influences of science in his life and works, Tennyson in his exquisite 'In Memoriam' sonnets is constantly groaning under an imaginary terrorism produced by them. The beneficent and unailing force of nature, its changelessness and freedom from whims, so attractive to Goethe, and to every one who has really valued them, become in Tennyson a mighty machine in which he is involved and crushed. It is true in one of his poems—'Locksley Hall'—the researches of science are set forth as the very jousting-ground of fancy, the lists in which valiant victories may be achieved, while in 'The Two Voices' its increase and glory are made links to connect a despairing life with the world. This did not last, however; and in maturer years a more sombre fancy has fallen on him. He has left us and our struggles and searches to become the poet of a past to which I think he has brought almost all its beauty and worth, and he is losing his power over his time because he will not move with it. While we are clamouring at the closed doors of truth and knowledge, he flies back on the varicoloured wings of the past away from us to a time whose virtues are only in his 'Idylls.'"

These judgments may be thought to illustrate the impulsiveness referred to at the close of the last chapter. They certainly show that the writer has come under the spell of a new influence, and is thrilled through and through with enthusiasm for modern science. That is to be his mood for years to come.

The lecture on science was not the solitary literary effort of the years now under review. The services of the lecturer were much in demand, and his prolific pen seems to have had no difficulty in providing the necessary supply. He delivered a lecture on "Education" in 1873. It has not been preserved, but the nucleus of it may be found in a paragraph in the common-place book which sets forth views on which the writer acted in the education of his own children. It may be regarded as an outcome of the shopping experience in Paris related in the first chapter.

"Education as presently conducted in our schools seems to me one of our most foolish and wasteful expenditures of power. Not only do we make our children learn, to begin with, languages which are useless for almost all branches of life, but we make them learn these in a thoroughly unnatural way. We learn our own language as children by accumulating gradually a vocabulary of words, in which, it may be noticed, the verbs are the least perfect. Gradually, however, the verbs develop into form, and lastly the syntactical peculiarities. Long before these last two changes take place we are able to converse fluently, though incorrectly, and to read simple books easily. The writing of the language is the very last step in this natural education. The same natural method may be observed in young children learning foreign languages, which they do with wonderful ease. At school an unfortunate child does not acquire its vocabulary of a foreign language according to its needs or the natural selection of its youthful ideas, but according to an elaborate etymological system which cannot till a very late period really take hold of its mind. This unnatural drill is accompanied by a system of exercises wearisome and disheartening to a child, while the portions to be read are detached and generally unmeaning. At the close of this performance the pupil has to master the syntax, equally encumbered with exercises."

Brain-work at high pressure and religious perplexities like those described in the last chapter are not promotive of health. William Denny did not escape the usual penalty. The remedies prescribed were the bath and outdoor exercise on horseback. In

carrying out the prescription, the patient made a great discovery. He woke up to the glory of Nature, and found in her a beneficent healing influence, and even a source of fresh, wholesome religious sentiment. Every one who has had similar spiritual experience can understand and appreciate the raptures of the new apocalypse. Nothing is more vivid in my own memory than the joy and benefit I received from the same source when recovering from a six-years-long misery of religious doubt and concomitant physical languor. My physicians were the sights and sounds of the country and the songs of Robert Burns. The sigh of the winds in the pines soothed me as a mother's lullaby soothes a sick child; and the songs of Burns brought a spring to my frozen heart, touched the natural feelings to tears, and exorcised morbid thoughts.

That something of the same sort happened to Denny appears from a letter he wrote in 1871 to his old friend and tutor Mr. Murray, formerly of Jersey, but at the time the letter was written residing at Croydon. Mr. Murray stood in need of consolation, and got it from one who had learned sympathy by suffering, and who, through the recovery of health, was able to write in a hopeful tone. The letter is lengthy, but it is judged best to give it in full, because in giving counsel the writer unfolds somewhat of his own history and gives us insight into his own character. The way in which he takes his friend in charge reminds us of the letter, full of sage medical advice, he wrote to his father from Verona at the close of the Italian tour. The excessive activity of the brain complained of was a temptation the

writer had always to fight with, and of which we shall hear more hereafter. The letter follows:—

“DUMBARTON, 25th April, 1871.

“MY DEAR MR. MURRAY,—When I saw Mrs. Murray at Croydon on my last visit to London, and missed yourself, I promised to drop you a note, and principally about your overworked feeling. Like that self-satisfied young man Elihu, Job's fourth and, as I esteem him, shabbiest friend, I ask you to listen to me for a page or two.

“I have felt that same uncertainty Mrs. Murray described to me as troubling you, a doubt as to whether I actually said what I intended; and a more painful feeling one can hardly experience. It is due, you will find, to overmuch brain-work unaccompanied by sufficient and regular exercise.

“One finds not only a discipline necessary to free the brain from apathy and rouse into activity its powers, but after this has been attained, another discipline, as it were an *imperium in imperio*, even more necessary, to set bounds and limits to that activity. The mass of men need little more than the first, or irritant, treatment; you, I am convinced, need the second, or tonic, method.

“Dr. — had sufficient *nous* to hit the nail on the head in my case, and advise eight miles on a horse in the morning air, without any physic, as the best cure. At first I felt there were other streams, the Abana and Pharpar of my work and reading, to which I should have preferred resort; but since then the horse has proved its excellence, and my experience of its benefits has not been small.

“In these bright spring mornings, the freshness of the opening day, the crisp greenness of the hawthorn hedges, and the noise of the happy birds, with all the wonder of the ever-changing skies, has been a new revelation to me.

“Somehow I knew there was a *Madre Natura* in the world, but never felt her before. Now, in the reaction from overwork and overtension of the brain, I have found her out in the mornings; and she has unravelled my doubts, and filled my heart with a gladness that goes up past her to the Everlasting. He (whose name I now know) was the song of the morning stars and the shout of the sons of God. To you this will not seem strange, as you know that of old it was more to art and literature than to nature even in Switzerland my mind leant.

“However, this is all away from the point, excepting as a proof of the benefit I have received from a cold bath the first thing at six in the morning, with good exercise after it. If you wish more new health, never mind the doctor, reverse your hours, go to bed every night at eleven, and rise at six. Sponge your whole body excepting your feet (which should

be kept in tepid water) with the coldest water, and start immediately after this on a four miles' walk, with some companion. Of course I mean you to rub down your body till your skin is red with a Russian towel, and to eat some little thing. For two weeks you will find this intolerable and without much, if any, benefit. After that time you will find the protoplasm of your brain beginning to sort itself slowly, but surely. Joking apart, however, this is, I believe, the only real cure you will find effectual. Its disadvantages are that you may find it very difficult to carry out, and very annoying. Its advantages you can hardly fancy at present.

"I know you will excuse my frankness. Experience makes me speak strongly.

"Above all, do not be afraid of your ailment. It is a vapour when grasped, as I hope you will grasp and overcome it; it can only be powerful so long as your sedentary habits permit it.

"Read Tyndall's address to the students of London University, and you will see how he acknowledges that Carlyle as a spur to the soul and a cold bath as a whip to the body carried him through the enormous labour he has endured. You do not need any of the first, but you do assuredly require the second.

"P.S.—Excuse the motley nature of this letter, as it is the work of odd minutes of leisure at the desk."

To one weary even to death of doubts engendered by theology the worship of which the world is the temple, and the birds of the air the choir, and the sounds of woods and streams the voice of the great congregation, is a source of unspeakable rest and peace. During the years now under review Denny appears to have had put into his hands by a merciful Providence a full cup of this blessedness. The above letter is abundant evidence of the fact, and concurrent testimony is supplied in this extract from the diary of a friend: "May 1st, 1872. Lovely day. W. D. says this is a day when 'natural religion' prevails. You bless God for the sunshine, and you are pleased with everybody, and feel like dancing for praise."

In August, 1873, William Denny became engaged to a lady, to whom he was married in the beginning

of the following year. The engagement letters written during the intervening months are not the mere gushing effusions of a lover; they are, moreover, the revelation of a character in which manly simplicity, practical wisdom, benevolent impulse, and moral earnestness are conspicuous. Among the most interesting passages are those in which the writer takes his ladylove into his confidence, and lets her see exactly how he thinks and feels at the moment on the subject of religion. These passages show how far he was at that time from entire acquiescence in current opinions, and betray here and there a severity of tone which bears witness to a powerful reaction. Written to a foreigner, they contain explanations of national peculiarities which for a Scotch lady would have been unnecessary. The reference in the opening sentence of the first extract is to a change of Church connection—from the Free Church to the United Presbyterian Church. It was an event of local and minor significance. The rest of the extract explains itself:—

“20/8/73.

“Who told you the U.P. Church was to be yours? You are right enough in the fact. As to the hard sayings of the Bible, I used to be much puzzled about them, but I am not now. My canon of criticism is this, and it should be yours: most of the Bible sayings are, taken by themselves, only partial aspects of great universal truths. To read them apart from this would be most unfair. They are often, too, forcibly expressed with reference to the people who heard them, and we have to judge them by their immediate importance to them. Remember no course can be more dangerous than to pin your actions to individual texts. A habit of this kind is the curse of many of our most pious Scotch ministers. Good as they undoubtedly are, most of them superior to myself, they are, from a natural smallness of intellect, incapable of catching three sides of a truth at the same time. Such men I respect, but by no means follow. Try when you come north to take the same

course. Look to God as a true Father, like your own real father, only infinitely greater, wiser, and kinder, One who will accept your love, and who has made you of a purpose to love your fellow-creatures. Do not doubt His gentleness, and do not weary yourself in trying to fathom His great purposes. They are beyond us both. All we can do is to work our day's work while we can, and trust His love. He says there is no offering so sweet to Him as this. Without a tear you can make it every day, Lelia. You know Cowper's beautiful hymn written on the verge of his terrible madness :—

'Ye fearful saints, fresh courage take ;
The clouds ye so much dread
Are big with mercy, and shall break
In blessings on your head.'

That was all he could say. It is all you and I can say, Lelia. Scotch ministers want, and wrongly, logical certainty in their religious trust. Have you logical certainty in my love? I think not. But you have a deep heart certainty that it will not fail you through your life, as I have in yours. Well, that is an earthly pattern of heavenly love ; and God cherishes it as such. Rest, Lelia. Do you know Tennyson's pretty cradle song ?—

'Rest, rest on Mother's heart ;
Father will come to thee soon.
Silver sails all out of the west,
Under the silver moon.
Sleep, my pretty one,
Sleep.'

"In the highest things, Lelia, we cease to inquire ; we only love and trust. God asks you and me to do this. We will not fail Him, or be inquisitive of His ways, shall we ?"

The next extract refers to clergymen, against whom the writer has evidently contracted a strong prejudice :—

"2/9/73.

"I look upon all ministers and parsons as common men, of whose utterances I accept only as much as I approve, and not one whit more. I am hoping earnestly my little Lillil will learn the same habit, for far too many women worship priests and parsons, forgetting that they are only weak and fallible men, like ourselves, with generally an effeminate hankering after meddling power, which turns very frequently to the curse and disruption of innocent family ties. I tell you frankly my experience of the class, either at home or abroad, has made me generally dislike

them. Some of them, like my friend Mr. Murray, are pious and kindly men, but they are rare exceptions, whose places are oftener filled by selfish, greedy, politic men, or men who are disinterested only because their minds are the dwelling-place of various fiery fanaticisms."

In the next extract the writer expresses his views on the vexed question of the eternity of future punishment, in very decided terms:—

" 3/9/73.

"I do not believe in the eternity of hell, and many good men countenance my belief. I believe all will be made true and good at the last. God will wash away our impurities and complete our imperfections. Be assured of this: we were not made to be burned. Your good Dante's *Purgatorio* tells a sweet story of how the poor souls being purified raised great cries of delight when one went heavenward from their number. The poor man wandering in a dim, cruel age had a far-off glimpse of God's sweet mercy far truer than many of our fierce dogmatists see even yet."

What follows is hard on Highland preaching, for the letter was written from the Highlands:—

" 7/9/73.

"To-day we had a very loud-voiced and rampant young man for a preacher, all noise and repetition. I wearied of his voice. His religious knowledge lay a long way outside his heart; and logically labelled, it wanted the warmth, that large, Divine tenderness of all-embracing love, which punishes even in love, not in vengeance, like a Moloch or a Juggernaut."

After an allusion to eternal punishment, the writer goes on to say:—

"Nevertheless you will find many good, kind, pious people holding the cruel opposite doctrine, and building upon it lives of real gentleness and purity. So strange is it in this magical world, the most cruel, even unbelievable, beliefs, like those I shall some day show you painted on the Campo Santo of Pisa, have the power, if consistently and purely held, of ennobling their worshippers' faith. Still to those who are resolved to live not only spiritually, but wisely, a wider and more fearless judgment is requisite. Remember these solid, terrible old beliefs offer you an apparent certainty the newer thought cannot give. Growing truth will have the noontday brightness yet upon its fair white brow, but to us the dawn is purple-barred and many-clouded. We must trust and be

patient, even in our ignorance, making our faith our help. Fearless we shall dare to be because God never intended us to crouch like a pack of hounds before His voice and whip."

The doctrine that home is the true Church, though somewhat fiercely expressed in the sentences following, will find more general acceptance:—

"28/9/73.

"Our home is our real Church, into which we should receive with humility our God. As a Presbyterian and a Scotchman, I look with hatred and contempt upon any human organisation which dares to lay its claim before those of my home and its sacred duties. You and I are imperfect, but our weakness must never be the vantage-ground of any priestly presumption."

Our last extract relating to religion strikes a chord which will call forth a response in every Scottish heart. It recalls apprenticeship days, when young Denny, with his companion in the drawing-office, amused himself singing psalm-tunes. His intense delight in psalmody means much. It indicates that beneath the surface current of intellectual dissidence there is deep down in his soul an unchanging sympathy with the religious life of his country. The musical knowledge displayed is slight. The judgment on tunes is not that of an expert, but that of one of the people. It is the religious feeling revealed that is valuable, feeling which he desires his betrothed to share.

"30/8/73.

"I shall send you shortly a book of Scottish psalm-tunes. Rugged things many of them are, but full of feeling. They are twined through my earlier memories. I think they will be the last music I shall remember. Nancy used to sing me to sleep with them. The finest of them, I think, are 'Old Hundredth,' 'French,' 'Communion,' 'Morven,' 'Soldau,' and 'Huntingtower.' The last is a peculiar favourite of my aunt MacAusland's."

One or two fragments, next, of domestic philosophy :—

“14/10/’73.”

Having occasion in the letter of this date to mention the failings of a certain gentleman, the writer indicates his idea of how such a case should be dealt with by a wife :—

“I once saw a good wife receive a husband the worse of drink (not a habitual drunkard) ; and I think her kindness and respect to him, her refusal to acknowledge his state to him even by a sign, is one of the sweetest remembrances of my life. Their love was stronger after it than before.”

“21/11/’73.

“You are a little impatient to lay down rules for the future. Be less ready to do this, not less willing to confide in and trust me. Our married life must to a great extent form itself ; and its success will depend not upon foregone conclusions, but upon the wisdom, patience, and steady love we both bring to it from day to day. Life’s battles are daily ones, and turn almost always upon little things. If you plan largely beforehand, you will blind yourself to the import of these littles until they become growths of indifference or dislike all the fine principles in the world will not defeat.”

Two brief snatches, finally, of fellow-feeling for suffering humanity :—

“2/9/’73.

“Two days ago there arrived here such a delicate-looking, refined little governess to teach Mr. T——’s children, driven to this by some reverse in her father’s fortune. Her salary is £15 a year. Can anything be more sad than this poor girl’s lot, her position little beyond that of penury, with next winter to be passed among people who, although kind-hearted, are almost unpolished ? And we two are so happy in the midst of all this. We hear of such sorrow as we hear the winds when we are warm at night. This is the soul-winter. As far as we can, we must together warm its chill.”

“2/1/’74.

“Yesterday I made a long round of calls, mostly with my uncle MacAusland. One of the last was to the poorhouse. What a difference between them and us ! ”

The bridegroom was making his P.P.C. calls before going off to be married. He finished this social duty by visiting the poor unfortunates to whom society thinks it owes no duties beyond keeping them alive. It was like the man. The last night he spent in his father's house before his marriage he shook hands with every servant in the house. One was out late. He sat up till past midnight that he might say good-bye to that one also.

On the 7th January, 1874, William Denny was married to Lelia Serena, eldest daughter of Leon Serena, who was born in Venice in 1819, took part in the Revolution in 1848, and acted for a time as a member of the Italian Government. Four children were born to them, all of whom, with their mother, survive : Peter Robert, Leon, Caroline, and Helen.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CAPTAIN OF INDUSTRY.

THE manner in which an employer of labour manages his business may very naturally appear to be a private matter, with which the public have no concern. But the administration of Leven shipyard, in so far as it owed its character to William Denny, is of public interest for three reasons. It is a revelation of his character; it approximately embodies an ideal which he publicly advocated; and certain features in which it is original may, on being made known, commend themselves to others for adoption, as indeed in part they have already been adopted.

In administration William Denny was a reformer, as in naval architecture he was sometimes in fact, and always in spirit, a pioneer. It is the lot of all inbringers of new things, whether new ideas or new modes of action, to encounter opposition or criticism. Honest and also dishonest lovers of old ways say in effect: "Cui bono? Things have gone well enough in the old grooves; why change?" Doubtless there were those in Dumbarton who took up this attitude towards the young master and his reforms. "The firm has prospered; master and men have been mutually content with each other in the traditional

relations; why cannot you also be content?" Men might say to each other: He is flighty, impulsive, fussy; it is the old proverb of the "new broom" fulfilling itself once more. To all which time alone can furnish an effectual reply. If changes turn out to be improvements, and as such perpetuate themselves, the reformer is justified.

William Denny was of that earnest temper that must and will improve where improvement is possible. Things could hardly be so well that they would not appear to him capable of being made better. His natural temper was strengthened by the military discipline to which he had been subjected as a captain in the Dumbartonshire Volunteers, with which he was connected from 1870 to 1878. Captaincy in a volunteer corps may possibly in some instances be a dilettante affair, a position sought by vain persons desirous of a little prominence and dignity. It was certainly nothing of the kind for Denny, as old officers of the regiment, themselves thorough soldiers and disciplinarians, attest. He was earnest in his soldiering as in everything else, and well exemplified the type of officer he described in a speech delivered at a mess dinner of the regiment in 1884. "We require," he said, "men looking more to the duties of their offices and positions than to the honours, which are empty without such a spirit and such motives, to make up for the number of useless men filling offices of dignity and honour, and having thought only of their dignity and nominal honour, but without the sense of duty and responsibility such positions must involve."

The first subject to which our reformer turned his

attention was the adoption of the piece-work system of paying wages. In this the firm of William Denny and Brothers did not lead the van among Clyde ship-builders, but rather brought up the rear. Their conservatism was not discreditable to them, for it certainly was not due to any notion that time payments were the best for their interest in a money-making point of view, but to the influence of more kindly feelings. It was a survival from the good old days when grandfather William, in the words of his grandson of the same name, "was virtually his own foreman, knew every workman, and valued or condemned his conduct from personal knowledge." The grandson of the first ship-builder in the family knew and respected the feelings of the firm which he had recently joined; but coming with a fresh eye, he saw that the old system, which worked well in a small business, was not suited to present circumstances, under which a vastly increased number of workmen made personal inspection on the part of the employer impossible. Wages might now be paid for which an equivalent might not be given in an honest day's work. Slackness and idling, formerly impossible, might now creep in without detection. That this was no imaginary danger the extracts from the common-place book given in last chapter show, and there can be no doubt it was these indications of the demoralising effect of the day's wages system that turned the attention of the young master to the piece-work method of payment. How strongly he had been impressed with the temptations connected with the old system appears from a passage referring to the subject in a pamphlet on "The Worth of

Wages" published in 1876, of which a full account will be given in next chapter. "It is," he writes, "a grievous and mean thing to see men otherwise good and upright slinking back to work at benches they have been neglecting for perhaps a good part of an hour, with a shame that is but ill concealed in searching for tools that are cold from the want of their hands. This is a sight I could show a stranger almost any day in our own yard, and it is the curse and degradation of time wages which alone makes it possible. You need not judge these men harshly, for I think day's wages so direct a temptation to carelessness and dishonesty that some excuse may be made for them. Still should we not do our utmost to terminate a system so ignoble in its fruits?" Such reflections point at the total abolition of day's wages as their goal, and the wholesale adoption of piece-work as the only system which supplies the necessary stimulus to exertion. Accordingly the task of reorganisation seems to have been taken in hand with this aim in view. Whether there were any reasons which might make it difficult or undesirable to put particular departments of work on the new footing was a question not fully considered, or possibly not considered at all, at the outset. The practice came first, the theory afterwards. The theory was given in the pamphlet already referred to, and not even then in full or final form, for the writer, as will appear, lived to modify his views and became his own severest critic. At first the earnest advocate of piece-work had just one idea in his mind: Let us be done with sham work, and have work done with both hands earnestly; and if work so done earns

much larger pay, so much the better. In this spirit the process of reform was commenced under a new manager in 1870, being first applied to the iron workers; and after a lapse of some years, affording ample time to test the results of the first experiment, it was extended to all the departments in succession, with a characteristic thoroughness which provoked from a facetious friend the bantering question: "Have you got the gatekeeper put on piece-work yet?"

All systems are liable to incidental abuses. One abuse which grew up in connection with the new system was the habit of resorting to the public-house to divide the money paid to a squad for the job for which they had contracted at certain rates. This practice led to a notice to piece-workers being posted by the firm in the yard on the 7th January, 1879. The judgment and good taste displayed in it are admirable, and its authorship is easily recognisable. It was as follows:—

"Our attention having been drawn upon several occasions to the fact that many of our piece-working squads make a practice of dividing their pay in public-houses, we would ask them to consider the unfairness of such a practice in its interference with the liberty of individuals by compelling members of squads to yield to the will of the majority in an arrangement which we understand many wish to avoid.

"We would also ask our men to consider, in this time of depression and probable scarcity of work, whether they should not avoid making the first expenditure of their pay a luxury which might be left to the last.

“To enable our piece-workers to divide their pay before leaving the yard, we have given instructions that all piece-working squads shall be paid with sufficient change, and that when the change is insufficient it shall on request be rectified. We further place the shedded portions of the yard at the disposal of squads for settling their accounts, and we trust they will fully avail themselves of the opportunity we now place before them.”

The notice had the effect which so reasonable an appeal was likely to have. Dividing wages in the public-house is now unknown.

One of the most outstanding features of the new administration was the gradual development and perfecting of a system of rules for the regulation of everything going on in Leven ship-yard and its offices, and of all that pertained to the interests both of masters and of workers. These rules, as finally adjusted and printed in a book, of which a copy is put into the hands of every person in the employment of the firm, are very full and comprehensive, and cannot here be given at length. Codes of laws, moreover, are apt to be dry reading, and can hardly be looked for in a work of a biographical character; the utmost that can be expected is the indication of points of special interest for the public or of features in which the spirit of the legislator shines through. Of such there is happily no lack.

The aim of these rules as a whole is obvious at a glance to any one who reads them. It is to bring to bear the spirit of justice and humanity on the affairs of an industrial republic. But it will be best to let the man to whom the code owes its existence speak

for himself. In a letter to Mr. Henderson, Superintendent Inspector of Factories, written in December, 1881, Mr. Denny thus explained the object he had in view :—

“The purposes of all these rules are simple and few : to increase the efficiency of the yard and the men’s interest in that efficiency ; to raise the tone of the yard, and to hold out hopes to all our workmen for their children’s advancement ; to help in times of accident, and generally to promote kindly feeling between our men and ourselves. We have good reason,” he adds, “to believe we are attaining these ; and we purpose pursuing the same policy by adhering to our present methods of working and, as they may occur to us, adopting new methods of the same purport.”

The rules are arranged under five heads : yard rules, rules for admission to the various offices, rules for the guidance of the Committee of Awards, rules of the Accident Fund Society, and fire brigade rules.

The rules belonging to the first head have all fines attached to them ; and the points of interest in them are the gradation of the fines, the destination of them, and what may be called the sympathetic participation of the firm in the offences to which fines are attached. Offences against the interests of the firm in connection with time-keeping, piece-work, and the like have the lightest penalties attached to them. In the rules against accidents, as affecting the lives and welfare of the men, the fines are heavier. Offences of the nature of dishonesty, such as that of an employé entering or leaving the yard otherwise than by the gates, are visited with the heaviest penalties of all. As regards the destination of the fines, it is recognised as a principle which ought to have the force of a law that no employer should make a profit by the fines of his

workers. The fines of individuals are made to revert to the workers in a body, in the form of a contribution to the Accident Fund; and the firm, instead of being gainers from fines, impose on themselves the obligation to pay into that fund a sum equal to the total amount of the fines. In an address to one of the conferences at which the rules were finally revised (of which more further on), Mr. Denny made the following remarks on the two last features of the rules relating to fines:—

“We have been anxious to deal with these fines in such a way as would meet with the approval of our employés. We therefore decided, on the last revision of the rules, that all fines should be paid to the credit of the Accident Fund; and we did this because we thought the fines could be used in no better way than for the direct advantage of the employés of the yard, and that the distribution of these should be under their control. But we decided further that, as the other contributions to the Accident Fund were subscribed penny about by you and ourselves, we would not make a ‘step bairn’ of this enforced contribution, but would contribute its equivalent; and we believed the rules which we asked you to obey would be obeyed more willingly when you knew that we shared every sixpence of your fines, and accepted the punishment for ourselves we imposed on you.”

It was a modest claim which the speaker of these words made for the principles enunciated, at a subsequent conference, that they lifted the fines “above any suspicion either of profit or of personal vindictiveness.” In the whole body of rules regarding fines justice and mercy meet together. The self-inflicted penalties of the firm, in which they “step down and take part in the punishment,” may appear romantic or whimsical. The spirit which dictated them is certainly more Christlike than worldlike, but it is so rare that it may be forgiven.

One other point bearing on the subject of fines

remains to be noticed, viz., their position in the eye of law-courts. Referring to certain legal decisions at one of the conferences, Mr. Denny said that the impression made by them on his firm was that the law-courts did not recognise fines on workmen, and that the reason why they desired to adhere to the fines, and to get the consent of all concerned to their doing so, was that were there no fines there would only be one possible punishment left: that of dismissal, a punishment too severe except in very extreme cases. In view of that alternative and of the benevolent destination of the fines fund, the consent desired would not be difficult to obtain.

The two groups of rules relating to admission into the office and awards for improvements in machinery, taken together, exhibit a well-considered effort on the part of the firm of which Mr. Denny was a member to stimulate the intelligence of their employés, and to advance the cause of technical education. The general nature of this effort, its aim, and the policy with which it was associated in the mind of its originator cannot be better set forth than in a letter which he wrote in 1883 to Sir Bernhard Samuelson, M.P., in answer to inquiries on behalf of the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction, of which he was chairman. The letter, which was published in the fifth volume of the second report of the Commission, is as follows:—

“HOTEL DES RESERVOIRS, VERSAILLES,

“April 25th, 1883.

“DEAR MR. SAMUELSON,—I must ask you to forgive me for the delay which has occurred in sending you the enclosed printed documents referring to our attempts at technical education in our ship-yard and engine-works. They consist of the following:—

"a. Rules as to the admission by examination of apprentices and others into the ship-yard offices.

"b. The same for our engine-works.

"c. Rules for the Awards Committee to guide them in rewarding the workmen for inventions or improvements.

"A similar scheme of awards has been begun in our engine-works.

"From these papers and the private information given to you as to the awards made, you will observe that our attempts to stimulate the intelligence of our employés have developed in two forms corresponding to the main divisions of these employés. *First*, by examinations, we have tried to secure a supply of apprentices and others for our offices, elected for ability and steadiness, and with some knowledge suitable for the careers before them. *Second*, we attempt by rewards to stimulate the minds of our workmen directly to invention and to a continual criticism of the methods of work, tools, and machines employed by them. We have not tried as yet to induce them to attend technical classes, but a few of them do attend such classes in the town, conducted under the control of the Science and Art Department.

"All our draughtsmen attend such classes, and in addition have from us the use of our offices, with paper, etc., free, also of a very complete library of works on naval architecture and cognate subjects, every evening excepting Saturday and Sunday.

"Technical education has most come under our notice in connection with the naval architecture classes and examinations of the Science and Art Department. Previous to last year, the instruction in this subject was very antiquated and insufficient, but it is now greatly improved and promises to be of very great utility to the country. I believe it is through the Science and Art Department technical education can best be forwarded. Their system of forming the standard of teaching by examination is the only one capable of wide easy extension; and if the returns to masters, the payments by results, were only sufficiently large to induce more first-class men to become teachers, great improvements could be made. The fees could not be raised, but the results payments might be lowered without reducing the number of students, even if a portion of the results payments were made obligatory on the districts having the classes.

"Beyond such direct means of teaching, the last indirect means of raising the technical skill and intelligence of our workmen would be cheap and easily procured. In the interests of the whole country, there is no property a workman should be made to feel more real and valuable than the useful inventions of his brain. Could you obtain this result, your committee would create the spur and stimulus to great technical improvements, and you would develop a large amount of genius now latent. The workman would see possible personal advantages in his skill, instead

of, as at present and generally, no advantage at all. I have no great hope of you doing much through the influence of employers. The great mass of them are as little interested in technical education as their men, and with much less reason. Most of them sneer at anything out of their routine. I would place more confidence in a direct appeal, by means of amended patent laws, to the great body of the workmen. They know the meaning of personal interest when it is brought within their grasp and made tangible. Perhaps your colleagues may think I am wandering from the text of technical education, but it is only so apparently, for you will not interest working-men in the subject till you show them a personal and immediate interest in it. Show them that clearly, and you will have no reason to complain of their want of interest in the subject you and your colleagues have so painstakingly and generously taken in hand.

“ Yours very sincerely,

“ WM. DENNY.

“ B. SAMUELSON, Esq., M.P.,

“ House of Commons.”

The important feature connected with admission into the various offices—the drawing-office, the counting-house, and the various departments of girls' work: tracing and decorative painting—is that the one way of entrance is by competitive examination. The examination for admission into the drawing-office is tolerably testing, the subjects being mathematics, including arithmetic; geometry as far as the first two books of Euclid; algebra as far as and including simple equations and logarithms; theoretical mechanics as required for the elementary stage of the Science and Art Department; practical plane and solid geometry according to the same requirements; freehand drawing and mechanical drawing, 40 per cent. of the maximum number of marks being requisite for admission. The examination is open to all apprentices in the yard who have been at least one year in the employment of the firm, and who have not been absent during the regular working-hours for more than one hour in thirty. Candidates must have

attended the South Kensington naval architecture classes for two years, and have passed the elementary stage of the examinations in naval architecture. No exemption from examination is made in favour of the class called "gentlemen" apprentices. This class is not so much as recognised in the administration. There may be apprentices who are gentlemen by birth and social connection, but the fact is ignored. No premiums are accepted, no favour shown, no preference given except on account of superior capacity and diligence. It was Mr. Denny's habit to explain all this carefully to all applicants, fathers or friends, for admission of young men to the service. To one he wrote: "We never try to make a man more than he can make himself, looking upon this very power of making himself as the signal of his success. We therefore never make any promises of advancement, or even of guidance. We throw the whole responsibility on the young man, and reserve to ourselves the full right of opinion as to the results." To another: "He must understand, if he come to us, that he will receive no favours, only fair play and plenty of good hard work, and that he will count as of no greater importance with his foreman than any other apprentice. We take no premiums, and therefore know no difference among our employés saving those arising from superior character, steadiness, and ability, and consequently greater usefulness to us."

Upon the whole, this rigorous captain of industry seems to have had no great liking for "gentlemen" apprentices. In a letter to a friend interceding for a youth, dated 13th January, 1882, he remarks:—

"A habit has arisen of calling some of them gentlemen apprentices,

because in birth and education they have been a little more fortunate than their fellows. In so far as we are concerned, this distinction has for us no existence, excepting in the distinction this class has created for themselves of being less steady and reliable, and less useful to us, than their fellow-apprentices. There are some exceptions, but few, to my remarks, and so few that the question has been raised several times whether we should not absolutely close our works to this class, not because they are gentlemen, but because as a class they seem to want that fine persistent and courageous perseverance in their work which we find almost inbred in those they frequently and foolishly consider their inferiors." *

In an address delivered about three weeks after this letter was penned, at a meeting of the local science and art classes for the distribution of prizes, the writer returned to the subject, and said :—

“ With rare exceptions, the class called premium apprentices are what might be called failures. You hardly ever meet a premium apprentice coming to distinguished success. He is a ‘ petted darling.’ He has been paid for by his parents, and his foreman has been instructed not to speak any harsh words to him. He is expected to get longer holidays and greater privileges than his fellow-apprentices. He is a child wrapped in cotton wool. Children thus brought up are seldom vigorous. The firms to which I belong have no premium apprentices, because they consider that not only are they useless in themselves, but being useless persons, they have a damaging influence upon all who work round about them.”

We are not surprised to learn that one holding such views, so far from being inclined to exempt gentlemen apprentices from the examinations, regarded it rather as one of the benefits accruing from these that they helped to weed out useless persons belonging to that class. Mr. Denny was wont humorously to call the examinations a “ pill for duffers.” He expressed the same sentiment in more dignified language in a letter to Sir Thomas Brassey written about a month after the speech from which

* The firm now have no apprentices of this class, except when induced by business relations.

an extract has just been given was delivered. In this letter he states that the rules "have been of the greatest benefit in stopping duffers and loafers from creeping into our offices, and further in clearing out such apprentices of the wealthier classes as will not work, a large proportion of these classes I am sorry to say, and of the most evil influence on the discipline of a work." Stern words these! But the writer had been an apprentice himself, and his apprenticeship had not been of the cotton-wool type. He was the master's son, but his sonship had been ignored, and he had been content that it should be so, knowing that the discipline, however hard, was beneficent; and he did not conceive it to be the part of true kindness to exempt others from a rigour which had been a blessing in his own experience.

The man who was so stern in his attitude towards persons of his own social standing felt a generous partiality towards the children of the workmen, and after them all young people who were natives of Dumbarton. The openings in the counting-house and in the various departments of girls' work were reserved in the first place for boys and girls whose fathers, blood-relations, or guardians had worked or were working in the yard; and failing them, competition for such places was thrown open to the whole town. The terms of the rule determining who were eligible candidates are so amusingly definite and careful that they are worth quoting at length. The same words are repeated under each head, only substituting "girl" in place of "boy" in connection with the examination for places in the girls' departments. The rule runs thus:—

“The examination will be open to any boy not under fourteen and not over eighteen years of age” (higher limit for girls, twenty-two) “who is able to show satisfactory certificates of character and health, and one of whose near relatives has been in the employment of Messrs. Denny and Co.” (Engine Works) “or this firm for at least two years prior to the date of examination, and is in the above employment at that date, or has died while in above employment after working in it for at least two years, such near relative being father or stepfather, mother or stepmother, brother or half-brother, sister or half-sister, uncle or aunt, or any one acting *bonâ-fide* in place of a parent.”

The interest Mr. Denny took in the girls in the employment of the firm was exceptionally great. The tracing department as a branch of female labour was a new development, and its success was a source of gratification to him. When a girl showed special talent, he was delighted; when a girl pushed her way to the front in spite of obstacles put in her way by jealous rivals, he rejoiced as much as if she had been his own sister. Most interesting evidence of this intense sympathy with struggling merit is supplied in the following extract from a letter to B. Martell, Esq., of Lloyd's Registry, London, who had kindly undertaken to read the examination papers in a girls' competition for places in the tracing-room. The extract refers to the girl whom Mr. Martell placed at the top:—

“DUMBARTON, 29 41881.

“I have a story about her which will interest you. When she joined us nine months ago, she was an illiterate field-girl, walking up and down

to and from the print-works up the river every day of her life. The girls in the office on this account, or rather their foolish mothers, turned up their noses at her, and declared that her character was not what it should be, nor fit for their girls to associate with. Two of the girls came with such messages to Miss Smellie, our superintendent, who, to her credit, stood by her charge. I told Miss Smellie to ask the girls to convey the following message to their mothers: that the firm was surprised any mother should send such a message by her daughter, and that unless the charges against the girl's character were put in writing and signed no attention would be paid to them. This squashed the mothers, but their daughters formed a cabal of nearly the whole office and sent the poor girl to Coventry. Her reply to this has been such a display of quiet energy, steadiness, and pluck as has won her the esteem of all the men in the office, and at last even of some of her female enemies. Your award has been a triumph for the poor thing, and a most healthy admonition to snobbery."

The scheme of awards for inventions and improvements in machinery is a most important feature of the remodelled administration. It was set on foot in 1880, and was a natural outgrowth of the introduction of piece-work. That step involved extensive developments in the use of new machinery and in the improvement of machines already in use. It also created a demand for brain-work on the part of the men. Over and above its effect in quickening diligence in the use of their hands, it greatly stimulated their thinking powers. The award scheme fits in to both these results of the new system, giving ample scope to the inventive faculties of the workmen, and making it worth their while to exercise these to the utmost. According to the rules, any worker (exclusive of head foremen and heads of departments) may claim an award who has either invented or introduced a new machine or hand-tool, improved any existing machine or hand-tool, or applied such to a new class of work, or discovered or

introduced any new method of carrying on or arranging work, or generally has made any change by which the work of the yard is rendered either superior in quality or more economical in cost. The awards at first ranged from £2 to £10 according to the estimated value of the invention, but the higher limit was afterwards raised to £15. Since 1884 any man who has gained five separate awards is entitled to an additional sum equal to the amount of all the awards, under the name of a premium. When an invention is deemed worthy of being patented, provisional protection at the Patent Office is taken out at the expense of the firm on behalf of the inventor, and an award of £15 granted, all with a view to enable him either to dispose of his invention during the period of protection, or to make arrangements for completing the patent at his own or his friends' expense, the firm to have in return free use of the invention for all time coming.

Mr. Denny watched over the interests of his men in connection with this scheme with jealous care. When, as sometimes happened, the use of a workman's invention was surreptitiously obtained by other firms, he did his utmost to compel them to pay for the benefit. When a workman suggested a useful improvement on the invention of another person, he took care to bring the fact under the notice of the inventor, with the view of procuring from him a substantial acknowledgment of the service rendered.

The results of this scheme, as reported by Mr. Ward, managing partner of the firm, in a brief memoir of Mr. William Denny read before the Institution of Engineers and Ship-builders in Scotland on

20th April, 1887, are most satisfactory: "Since its introduction seven years ago, claims have been considered valuable and worthy of award to the number of 196, while rather more than three times this number have been considered altogether. Awards have been granted to the amount of £716. In 1884 he introduced the system of premiums, granting to any workman who had made five successful claims an additional sum equal to the aggregate of the five claims. To show the extent to which the thinking powers of the workmen have been benefited by this stimulus, the total premiums paid in three and a quarter years amount to £217, the grand aggregate disbursed cheerfully by the firm for awards and premiums up to date being £933. The benefits of this scheme have been recognised, and the scheme itself adopted, by many employers of labour both in this country and abroad. In every instance the origin has been gracefully recognised."

The "Accident Fund Society" of Leven ship-yard was projected by the workmen, includes them all as members, and is managed by a certain number of foremen selected by the firm with as many more workmen elected by the members of the various departments. Its funds are derived from monthly contributions and the fines for offences against the rules of the yard, and are of such amount as to yield substantial aliment to all disabled by injuries. All who sustain injuries are entitled to benefit except in cases where intoxication is the cause of injury. Aliment is also forfeited when the use of intoxicants hinders recovery. The firm, as already indicated, contribute a full half of the total fund. It is not

difficult to conjecture what attitude a firm acting in this spirit would assume towards the Employers' Liability Act. They were not likely to object to the principle of the Act, which makes the employer responsible for injuries resulting from faulty administration, or to endeavour in any way to evade their responsibilities. They did neither of these things. They regarded the Act as just; they did not ask the men to contract themselves out of the Act; they did not join any Employers' Insurance Association for minimising the burden falling on individuals, but accepted their own risk, and whilst doing so they continued to contribute to the "Accident Fund Society" as before.

William Denny, acting as the spokesman of the firm on this subject at the annual festival of the Friendly Society of Shepherds in Dumbarton in December, 1881, stated his views in these terms:—

"I am betraying no secret when I say, your order in the ceremony of initiation teaches as a cardinal doctrine a mutual dependence on each other, as brothers, for help and sympathy in times of distress. That feeling of friendliness and kindness expresses far more than the outer world suspects. It is a great factor frequently lost sight of in the higher ranks of commerce. The feeling of being bound to help each other is one which has been greatest in the world when the world was best, and least when the world was worst. It is the great duty of religion, and is to be taught to the end of time as the great duty of all. It is the expression and reiteration of this which imparts to friendly societies that degree of stability which must sooner or later attract the attention of all who take a deep interest in the more important concerns of our country.

"This aspect of the friendly societies has appealed very directly to all the members of my firm, and influenced them largely in the determination of a most important point. Last year, when addressing a similar gathering, I referred to the Employers' Liability Act. I at that time told them it was a most just Act, and one rightly passed. I did not tell them, however, that my firm at the time had under consideration

what position they were going to take up with reference to that Act. You have since learned our decision, and in our determination we were largely guided by the knowledge that our workmen were numerously interested in societies like the present.

“We have concluded that men who could form these societies, and who could treat each other in such a friendly way, were worthy to be treated with a similar friendliness by their employers. Therefore my firm decided that they would join no employers' liability assurance company, but take themselves the risk of exceptional cases. We will continue to act as we have done from the beginning, to help our workmen in times of difficulty and distress arising from accident, and take no measures that would in any way divorce our feelings of friendliness from those of our employes.”

If all masters were like-minded, equally solicitous to do justice and to maintain a good understanding with their workmen, there would be no need for Employers' Liability Acts. “The law is not made for a righteous man,” still less for a man who is not only righteous, but generous.

I must not pass from the subject of the “rules,” though it has occupied us so long, without noticing the method by which they were finally adjusted. It was by conferences between representatives of the firm and delegates of the workmen. This method of procedure was in keeping with the general views which Mr. William Denny had come to entertain regarding the best means of solving the labour question and of bringing about right relations between masters and men, a subject on which, as will appear in next chapter, his mind passed through various phases. But the method was not adopted in a doctrinaire spirit, in accordance with a cut-and-dry theory. It arose out of the circumstance that two conferences had been held to settle a matter in which the men were directly interested, viz., the best mode of

collecting and dividing the subscriptions made by the men in the yard to the various institutions and charities which they supported. These conferences, having worked well, suggested the idea of having all the rules of the yard submitted for revision to the workmen's delegates; and so, with the practical sagacity which characterised him, and with the confidence of a good conscience having for its sole aim to do right, Mr. Denny resolved to go on, applying the method of conference to the larger subject. How far the method is suitable for general use may be questioned. So much depends on the men who work it. It demands in masters high qualities: a passion for righteousness, generous confidence in their workmen, superiority to snobbishness and patronising airs, enthusiasm in the cause of the union of classes, and strength of personal character. In some instances conferences would fail for lack of pure intention and consequent inability to inspire trust; in others failure might result through good intention being associated with a goody benevolence lacking power to command respect. In the case of William Denny miscarriage was not to be apprehended from either cause. He was a strong man every way: strong in intellect, in the sense of duty, in sympathy, and in self-respect. He could trust himself among his workers, and leave his authority and dignity as master to look after themselves.

At the close of the second of the two conferences on subscriptions, held on 21st January, 1885, Mr. Denny intimated his intention to submit the rules for revision to similar conferences, in these terms —

“You are aware we have in this yard a very elaborate series of rules. These rules have taken us a great deal of trouble and thought to prepare, and the trouble and thought we have expended upon them have not been without result. But we believe by calling you into conference upon these rules that not only will they receive from you, the delegates, and the men in this yard, such sanction and approval as will make them more effective, but also such suggestions as will tend to improve them in very many ways. I think I am right in saying that the step taken by this firm in asking their workmen to join with them in the preparation of the rules of this yard is a new step in the history of labour. I cannot find from anything I have heard or read that any firm previous to my own firm has asked the men in their employ to join with them in the preparation of the rules by which these men were to be governed. I do not know that it would be advisable for every firm to do this; but the men we employ have shown in the past that they are able to take prudent and just views of things, and we wish to give them this mark of our confidence in asking them to confer with us in this matter. We believe the men whom you represent have sufficient experience of the world to know that no business can be carried on without effective rules, that the wise discipline of a business is an essential element in its efficiency, and that the efficiency of this business is the great means by which work is brought into the yard, and you are kept in constant employment.”

At the final conference, held on the 8th of April, 1886, Mr. Denny delivered an address to the delegates in which he expressed his high satisfaction with the experiment, and took occasion from the proceedings of the various conferences and their results to make some general observations on the labour question. The sentences bearing on the latter topic might very well find a place in the next chapter, devoted to an exposition of Mr. Denny's views on the industrial problem; but they may with equal appropriateness be introduced here, as spoken by a master to the representatives of his workmen on subjects of common interest. The utterance of the words which follow was an act of administration; it was, in fact, the last administrative act of the speaker's life. Through

these words, first spoken to some fifty men of Leven ship-yard, let him now speak to a wider audience. Surely they are worthy of earnest attention !

Having pointed out the three great principles established by the new rules and underlying them—viz., that no employer should make a profit by the fines of his workers ; that the workmen of a great public work should not be ruled by laws which they have had no voice in preparing and approving ; and that the fines should be varied, not according to impulse, but according to broad general principles which can be admitted as just, and applied to all future changes in them—the speaker went on to say :—

“I sincerely hope, for the future of the labour question in this country, that these principles may become widely spread. If they do so spread, many difficulties at present felt to be grave and doubtful will diminish and disappear. In the labour question there seem to be two great dangers, one passing away, but the other more and more growing into prominence. The first is that of autocratic domination, of an employer so loving power that he exercises it for the pleasure of exercising it, without consideration for others. I think the temptation to such an exercise of power is gradually dying, and is therefore a decreasing danger. The other danger is the increasing tendency to convert personal businesses into impersonal ones, to convert the businesses of private firms into joint stock companies. In such companies the proprietors are a scattered body of shareholders, who have no interest in them excepting that of profits, and their servants are a body of directors and a staff of managers and foremen who have no other interest than to produce these profits. That, gentlemen, is a very serious danger ; for it cannot be well for a country when those most interested in the conduct of manufacturing businesses and large works are beyond the influence of the expression of their employes' opinion. That is one of the greatest difficulties in the labour question, the increasing number of companies which are absolutely impersonal, and whose workers cannot get at anybody really responsible to them. When they make an appeal to the manager or to the foremen, they are told, ‘ We are servants of the Board of Directors ; ’ and when they go to the Board of Directors, they

find these gentlemen the servants of some hundreds of shareholders. That is a deplorable condition of affairs, and unless controlled by effective organisation on the part of the workmen, might lead to disastrous results.

“Gentlemen, in the present day we should all extend a little sympathy to each other; we all suffer more or less from the force of a competition which is not confined to our own country, but which presses upon us from all the other civilised countries in the world. The pressure we thus receive we are very much tempted to transmit in its entirety to other people. But this pressure should be divided, and fairly borne by all those on whom it comes. No one should seek to transmit the whole of it to those immediately below him, but should keep a portion of the load for himself. He can only ask those who are below him to bear what they are fit to bear, and what it is fair for them to bear. Now, in the face of this competition, this commercial war, what should be our policy? It should be one of mutual consideration and mutual forbearance—*forbearance* on the part of the employer when he has the power to do as he pleases; *forbearance* on the part of the workman when he has the power to do as he pleases. Indeed, it is only by such mutual consideration and *forbearance* that the spirit can be cultivated in which we may, as it were by a second nature, live together, constantly thinking, in whatever affects us, not only our own thoughts, but the thoughts required for the comfort and happiness of others. In the face of this competition, we should do as an army does in the face of an enemy’s charge—close our ranks and draw closer together.

“These conferences, begun by those about your subscriptions, and developing as they have done into the series about the rules which we are now concluding, may, I hope, develop still further, and form in the future, as they have done in their short past, an increasingly strong bond of union between us. A bond of union, to be real, implies frankness between the parties who are embraced in it, that they speak to each other plainly about their needs, and by means of such frankness find a way to arrange their difficulties. We have not ended our work with these conferences, for over and above the rules which a conference can prepare and sanction, there are other rules which cannot be printed—laws which ought to govern you and us which cannot be put down on paper. There are laws of justice, fairness, and kindness which we cannot put between the two boards of a book. These laws must grow, not out of printed paper, but from that human spirit which, when touched within each one of us, can throw up far sweeter growths and flowers than we imagine. We must labour that the spirit of this yard may so strengthen and broaden that injustice from a journeyman to a labourer or apprentice, from a foreman or an under-foreman to any one in his department, or from a member of this firm to any one within these

gates shall become a thing impossible and abhorred. That is the spirit we want among us, and we want this yard to have so much of it that injustice may become unknown within its boundaries."

These noble words seem to come to us from the ages of chivalry rather than from this prosaic, money-making, utilitarian nineteenth century. They are surely words worthy to be the last spoken by an employer of labour to the thousands in his employ! A man could not speak better, perhaps not so well, even if he knew he was speaking his last words. They have not, we may be sure, been spoken in vain. They were not, we know, spoken in vain so far as the men of Leven ship-yard were concerned. The spirit in which William Denny uniformly discharged his duties as a master, and which found its last expression in the sentences quoted, had its reward in a kindred spirit in his workmen. Mr. Stubbs, in his valuable book on "Christ and Democracy," cites Sir Thomas Brassey as an illustration of "the contagion of trust." William Denny is another. His manly, conciliatory, and trustful bearing inspired in the men feelings of confidence and goodwill, which, as occasions occurred, manifested themselves in an unmistakable manner. Even while the conferences on the rules were being held a signal proof of the *entente cordiale* was given by a request addressed to the firm by the workmen that their wages might be reduced on a steamer which was being built on speculation to keep them in employment in a time of depression, the rivetters, the least esteemed among ship-building trades, leading the way. Mr. Denny was in Paris when this happened; and when he told his French friends of it, they called it "beautiful."

with reference to which epithet he remarked, addressing one of the conferences after his return: "I think they used the right word. In all the best and kindest actions we are quite as conscious of a sense of beauty as of their rightness." It was indeed the fitting word. The act of Mary in anointing Jesus the anointed One called a beautiful work, morally fair; and all generous actions rise into the region of loveliness.*

Another significant indication of the good understanding prevailing may be found in the behaviour of the men of Leven ship-yard with reference to the Employers' Liability Act. In a letter to Dr. Cameron, M.P., written in August, 1884, Mr. Denny was able to say: "We have never even been threatened with a legal claim, which I think shows that straightforward and kind ways of dealing with men are not only the best, but are responded to by them." The legal right to claim redress for accident was not denied by the firm, but the inclination was killed by their kindness, and it still shows but feeble signs of life.†

The spirit of concord in Leven ship-yard made it invulnerable even against the attacks of trade-unionism. During the busy times of 1883, the Trade Union of Iron Ship-builders dictated to the firms on the Clyde the number of apprentices they might employ. The disposition to domineer over Leven ship-yard also was not wanting, but instruments to give effect to their wish could not

* *Vide* Chapter XIV., Letter 10.

† Two cases lately, of which the first got no further than notice of action.

be found within the yard, and the firm was left unmolested.*

It was Mr. Denny's ambition to make the business with which he was connected, to use his own words, "a model of efficiency on all sides." This desire revealed itself in manifold ways, and sometimes found expression where it could hardly have been looked for. Thus in a letter of congratulation to his brother John on his approaching marriage we find him looking after the interest of the firm by offering the following advice :—

"20/11/'83.

"MY DEAR JOHN,— . . . Will you allow me to offer you one maxim which I have already offered to Archie, and have acted on myself : ' Never let your wife know your business ' ? Beyond knowing that I am a partner in the yard and engine-works, Lelia knows nothing. There are many reasons for this advice, but the principal is that in almost all disruptions of copartnerships among brothers the cause is to be found in the jealousy of their wives, and not of themselves. Women, you will find, while possessing many excellent qualities we men lack, are deficient in the tolerance and judicial faculty required for life in the world. Besides, their position as keepers of the home renders them unfit to judge of the affairs of practical life or to measure the effects their influence or action might produce upon them. I think we partners in W. D. and Brothers have more hope of remaining combined, and therefore strong and prosperous, than most partners. If we will all accept and loyally hold the maxim I have enunciated, I think the hope may become a certainty."

One does not often meet with such words of wisdom in congratulatory epistles. To some they may seem like clerical admonitions at a marriage ceremony : sage counsel out of season. But the writer was instant, in season and out of season, caring for the common good, aiming, not in the first place at increase of wealth, but at moral prosperity.

* Delegates were found, but, ashamed of the business, came only once, and were fined £10 rather than come again.

This incessant solicitude manifested itself in a more than brotherly anxiety for the success of another brother, Archibald, in his studies at the Royal Naval College, Greenwich, where for three years he enjoyed the benefit of a course of training for his profession which his elder brother deeply regretted he had not received himself. How highly he appreciated the privilege appears from the terms in which he wrote in 1883 to a gentleman who had consulted him as to sending his son to that college. "None of the rest of us," he said, "were at the college; and it will be a lifelong regret to me I missed its advantages. It is unquestionably the best school of naval architecture in the world, and I would strongly advise you to give your son the advantage of its course. . . . Of the school itself and the men it and the previous Government schools of naval architecture have turned out, one can hardly speak with too much praise. The work of these schools is the leaven which is slowly but profoundly inspiring and changing the character of our profession." Had he been a small man, he would have pooh-poohed advantages which he had been denied; but of such vulgar, low-minded egotism he was utterly incapable, and it is pathetic to observe how in his letters to his brother he urges him to make the utmost of his opportunities, exhorting him now to work steadily and systematically at his studies, whether he is in the humour or not, at another time not merely to purpose to work, but to persistently discipline himself to that end. "By this I mean that you should acquire that ready plunge into the heart of your study at the very minute you fix for beginning it. I have

been trying all my working life to win this habit for myself, and I know when I am successful in it I do my best. The mornings when on entering the office I attack instantly the most repellent piece of work begin days in which double and often treble an ordinary day's work is done." Another extract from a later letter may be permitted, as it contains good counsel for all students: "The habit of regularity will ease your work and make it less irksome. Above all, don't look too much ahead. Go at the thing before you. You only need to look ahead to plan your work. Words or thoughts spent on the future beyond this are a waste of energy and a deduction from the all-important present. Feel that you are attacking your work regularly, systematically, and quietly. Get up a discipline for yourself, and try how often you can dominate yourself against your liking. I am only giving you advice I greatly need myself."

The firm of "William Denny and Brothers" have always had an honourable reputation for courtesy to visitors, which the subject of this memoir certainly did nothing to tarnish. They have been as mindful to entertain strangers as if they really expected them to turn out angels; and their kindness has often received emphatic acknowledgment. The following testimony may be given as a sample. Though a State document, it is manifestly something more than a piece of merely official courtesy: a frank, sincere expression of obligation, creditable to all parties, which serves to show how far-reaching in its influence a chivalrous spirit, working ordinarily within narrow limits, may be. The two young officers of the United States navy referred to were some months in the

office of the firm, during which time they had unrestricted facilities for making themselves acquainted with everything going on within the yard.

“NAVY DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON,

“6th December, 1880.

“MESSRS. WM. DENNY AND BROTHERS,

“DUMBARTON, SCOTLAND.

“GENTLEMEN,—By an official communication from Cadet Engineers Richard Gatewood and Francis T. Bowles, of the United States navy, now, by the favour of the Government of Great Britain, receiving instruction at the Royal Naval College at Greenwich, this Department has been informed of the great courtesy shown them by your firm upon their late visit to Dumbarton. The access given them to all parts of your extensive establishments has put them in possession of valuable instruction in economical merchant-ship-building; and the facilities afforded them by your introduction have enabled them to visit the most important works on the Clyde, the Barrow Iron and Steel Company, and those of Messrs. Laird Brothers in England. This Department has been so impressed with your generous and kindly treatment of them that I cannot refrain from adopting this method of tendering to you the thanks of the Government of the United States. These intelligent young officers acknowledge themselves to have been greatly improved in their studies by the opportunities thus afforded them; and when hereafter they shall have reached the high professional eminence which, on account of their present merits, it is confidently expected they will obtain, and shall thereby be enabled to render most valuable services to their own Government, this Department will not fail to remember that your kindness to them has contributed in a great degree to their success. Such acts of courtesy tend most materially to the cultivation of proper, kindly relations between the peoples of different Governments, as well as the Governments themselves; and it will afford this Department at all times the greatest pleasure to reciprocate your generosity, which it recognises as kindred to the liberality of the Government of Great Britain in allowing these young officers to enter the Royal Naval College at Greenwich.

“I have the honour to be,

“Very respectfully,

“R. THOMPSON,

“Secretary of the Navy.”

The foregoing pages set before us an administration of labour in a great hive of industry which challenges

respectful attention by the loftiness of its ideal, and by the energy, persistency, and unity of purpose with which the ideal is worked out. The spirit of the administration is old; it is the traditional spirit of the firm; it is pre-eminently the spirit of the senior partner and head of the firm, whose aim it has ever been to do justly and love mercy. But the methods are more or less new, and the moral enthusiasm which the administrator brought to his task is unique. The feature of this administration which will probably appear of greatest interest and importance at the present time is the effort made to stimulate the intelligence of the workmen. The award scheme has received from many the sincere homage of imitation, and will probably ere long be generally adopted; but the examination system is more likely to provoke criticism, at least till the public has become more impressed than it is now with the value of technical education. Of the lukewarmness of employers on this subject Mr. Denny made a complaint in his address on technical education, from which an extract has already been given. Having pointed out the improvements needed to make the examinations connected with the South Kensington Department efficient as a means of developing technical skill, he went on to say. "But had we done all these things—improved the examinations, rendered them wider and more suitable to all parts of the country, and given every advantage in the way of training and salary to teachers—there remains a great want still, namely, the perception on the part of employers of the value of technical training. I am afraid among many employers there has been

what might be called a little inconsistency in their advocacy of technical education. Outside their works they have spoken in its favour, but inside done nothing. As 'charity begins at home,' so technical training begins in the workshop, and should there receive its stimulus and encouragement. It is useless to talk of its value if we do not place a distinct stamp of approval on those who pursue, and an equally distinct stamp on those who neglect, it. Technical education will become a clamant appeal when employers have such faith in it as to impress their employés with the reality of their faith. Till then the cry for it will be more or less a half-hearted one."

Time will determine whether Mr. Denny was riding a hobby or was simply in advance of his fellows in recognising the importance of a movement which will ere long be beyond discussion. Meantime let me close this chapter by quoting from a letter with which I have been favoured from Sir Bernhard Samuelson, the words of one who is entitled to speak with authority:—

"SOUTH KENSINGTON, *March 1st, 1888.*

"I attach very great importance to the late Mr. Denny's plan of giving rewards to artisans for inventions, as well as to the conditions of admission into his works. Mr. Hugh Cunningham, who took an active part (represented the firm) in their jury, is now employed by me in my Banbury works as sub-manager; and one of the principal recommendations to me to choose him out of an immense number of applicants was the confidence which Messrs. Denny reposed in him, and it has been fully justified by my experience of his ability.

"Of course the possibility of determining the admissions by examination depends on the opportunities which youths have of qualifying by study; and these are happily within their reach on the Clyde, and will be to a still greater extent, under the recent reorganisation of the Glasgow Technical Schools. I have no doubt, moreover, that, with the improved education of your artisans, the prize scheme will increase in usefulness from year to year."

CHAPTER V.

VIEWS ON INDUSTRIAL QUESTIONS.

IN November of 1876 Mr. Denny delivered, and in the following month published in the form of a pamphlet, a lecture on "The Worth of Wages," which attracted considerable attention and gave rise to a good deal of discussion. It contained the rationale and justification of the change that had been made in the yard in the method of payment. Fresh from the work of putting labour on the footing of piece-work which has been going on for years, the employer here unfolds the reason of his conduct. The prelude had been given in an address at the annual festival of the workmen connected with the engine-works of Messrs. Denny and Co. held in March of the same year. Mr. Denny always contrived to find or make occasions for uttering his sentiments on any subject which was occupying his mind. Other men might act and keep their thoughts to themselves; but he was under a necessity to speak, and as his thoughts were always fresh, vigorous, and suggestive, we can only be thankful. Such men are the educators of public opinion and the pioneers of social progress.

The theme of the speaker at the annual festival was foreign competition, and how to meet it. The

point he strove to impress on his hearers was the necessity, if we were to hold our own against foreigners, of increasing the value of labour as much as possible. His argument was to this effect: The wages are lower in other European countries than in Britain, and we ought not to follow them in that; therefore we must increase the quantity of work done in a day as compared with the money paid, which happily is in our power. He warned the workmen against a policy which, shutting the eyes to the risk of foreign competition, thought only of increasing the wages of operatives, and adopted for that purpose artificial contrivances for reducing the amount of work done in a day to a minimum. This policy, he argued, would mean short-lived prosperity for artisans, and ultimate ruin both for them and for their employers.

The keynote of the lecture is struck in its title: "The Worth of Wages." It is a singular title, and might set the reader new to the line of thought off on a wrong tack; viz., what wages will buy for the man who earns them. By the phrase is really meant what wages are worth to the employer who pays them. The worth of wages to him is the amount and quality of work he gets for his money. The attitude thus assumed by the lecturer appears to be a homeward-bound one, for it is the employer's interest that is nominally spoken to; but it is only nominally, at least in the lecturer's intention and belief, for he holds and strongly asserts that the money value of any increase in the amount of work obtained by new methods of paying workmen, such as payment by results, will ultimately go into the

pocket, not of the employer, but of the public, the purchaser of the articles manufactured, whether ships or anything else. The competition among manufacturers will ensure that result. The real purpose of the writer is to establish the position that it is the interest of workmen to give a maximum of work for a given amount of wages, and he advocates piece-work because he believes it is the way by which that maximum can be reached.

The advantages of piece-work are summed up under three heads :—

1. Its effect in reducing the cost of any manufactured article, and thereby making both employer and employed secure against competition.

2. Its effect directly on the prosperity and intelligence of the workman.

3. Its promise for the future of the workman.

On the first head the author remarks :—

“ In considering the power of piece-work to secure employers and employed against competition, we will take an extreme case for illustration, and suppose that the amount of wages paid on the manufacture of any single article has not been decreased, but only the output of the article increased, say 50 per cent. Now in such a case it is evident that the rate of the charges on the given article would be reduced a third, and that the manufacturer could reduce his rate of profit one-third without diminishing his gross profit. This is easily evident, and we are only considering the matter in its weakest form. We come nearer the truth by saying that a workman under piece-work generally increases his output in the long run, partly by working hard, but principally by

exercising more intelligence and arranging his work better, by about 75 per cent., while the total amount of his wages increases by about 50 per cent., making a direct saving on the wages portion of the cost of the given article of about 14 per cent., a saving which, as I have before pointed out to you, the competition of the masters generally hands over in greatest part to the buyer or consumer, much against the masters' will of course. We may here remark the absolute necessity of piece-work in the conduct of expensive tools, such as are used more in engine-works than in building-yards. There the stupidity and obstinacy of a single workman may greatly decrease the output of some expensive and important machine. Piece-work would perhaps double this output, and thereby make the capital employed equal to twice its value. Men would find numerous ways of saving, not only in the actual work, but in the shifting and adjusting of the pieces treated and in the sharpening and use of their tools, which would on the whole nearly double the output of their machines. For work of this kind very high rates could be paid, with a direct and marked saving to the employer. This is the aspect of piece-work as it concerns the master and the public. As regards the workman, we have to consider that the increase of from 25 to 50 per cent. in his wages—and this increase my experience confirms as the rule—puts at once within his power a more comfortable and easy style of living, combined with an opportunity of saving which, if he is a sober and careful man, will enable him to enjoy a pleasant old age, and even to lay by sufficient money to

enable him to refuse on his own account any rate of payment which he deems insufficient."

The writer attaches even more importance to the second effect of piece-work: that of stimulating the intelligence of the workmen, as evinced in improved methods of work, skill in judging machines, fertility in suggestions for improving existing machines, or even in inventing new ones. Under the third head, the promise of piece-work for the future of the workmen, what is insisted on is the opportunity afforded under that system for practising co-operative production. "You see the germs of co-operative production in ordinary piece-work where two or three men undertake work, and more perfectly in the larger squads of men employed in our yard in framing and plating. Such men are mastering the technicalities and difficulties of production; and such men will in the future be the founders of co-operative production, if it is ever to have a palpable existence. The time-worker is neither training himself nor his fellows to a comprehension of these things. He is a mere speculator and dreamer."

In arguing for piece-work, the lecturer took occasion to assail the policy pursued by trades unions in endeavouring to reduce by all means the amount of work done in a day, so as to create an artificial demand for labour. This policy he stigmatised as "the policy of the degradation of labour." Much might be said on the morality of such a policy, but what Mr. Denny insists on in the pamphlet is its folly. He fearlessly condemns it "as foolish in the highest sense, and altogether unpatriotic and ruinous," and tells the authors and

abettors of it: "You cannot contrive rules and restrictions in one country which will not be counteracted and defeated by the greater energy and self-sacrifice of other countries. The acceptable market price of any article, provided the quality remains unchanged, will always be the cheapest at which it can be supplied on the spot to the consumer or user. You cannot avoid this conclusion, and the determining factor in this struggle is the efficiency of the workman in the sense I have already explained."

In the course of his argument Mr. Denny dealt with the various objections to piece-work. The main objection to it, he believed, in the eyes of a thorough trades unionist, is that it is the direct reverse of the policy of the degradation of labour. This reason, however, is not made prominent by its opponents, but rather such as the following: Piece-work makes the workman overwork himself, leads to scamping and bad workmanship, and causes competition among the workmen. To the first the writer replies that no case of a workman overworking himself has come under his notice; to the second that bad workmanship is guarded against by a system of inspection involving the rejection of all bad work; to the third that it is the objection of the lazy, dishonest, and incompetent workman, and is a compliment to piece-work. "It is no blame of a system of payment that it will reward skill and industry, and give laziness short commons. Competition is the fire in which men are perfected in skill and power, and selected for their fitness. It has made the middle classes of this country, and when operating freely among our

workmen, will show them to be the best in the world. They have all the physique and all the qualities to make them the master-workmen of the world ; and if once the keen stimulus of self-interest draws out their strength and develops their intelligence, other nations will learn this, and not to their disadvantage."

One objection to piece-work payment Mr. Denny overlooked. What if under the new system the wages of workmen should sink below the desirable minimum? Possibly here might be discovered the weak point of his case. Now if this topic was not touched on, it was not because the writer was indifferent to the interest of the workmen. That this was a matter of fundamental concern to him is apparent from the fact that the pamphlet commences with a discussion of the question : " Why have wages in this country not risen in proportion to the increase of wealth ? " Having referred to two of the answers usually given to this question—viz., that a large portion of the accumulated capital, or " wages fund," finds its way into other countries, and that increase of wages causes an increase of population which soon brings them down again—the writer goes on to speak of a third set of causes, to which he attaches most importance, and which he sums up as a " want of progress in the efficiency of labour." In other words, Mr. Denny's view at the time he wrote his pamphlet on " The Worth of Wages " was that the only sure way to increase wages was to increase the efficiency of labour ; and he advocated piece-work simply as a means to that end.

As time went on, and as his experience of piece-

work was enlarged, Mr. Denny began to see where the weakness of his argument lay. In one of those occasional addresses which he was in the habit of delivering at meetings of local societies and clubs, he told his audience that his views on the labour question had undergone modification. Speaking to the members of the Rock Bowling Club in December of 1884, he said: "You are all aware that several years ago, in the heat of a little struggle we had in Dumbarton, I wrote and published a pamphlet called 'The Worth of Wages.' I am not going into the merits of that pamphlet, but I wish to say there are many points in it which do not now find approval from me. There are many views expressed in it as absolute which I have learned to regard as partial. Had I to rewrite the pamphlet, probably one half of it would not now be written." The pamphlet had been much criticised by the workmen of the town and by representatives of the trades unions when it first made its appearance, but their criticisms are of much less moment to us than those which Mr. Denny himself offered as the result of his own later reflection. The views expressed in the pamphlet were not the hasty, ill-considered utterance of crude opinions. They contained shrewd original suggestions of permanent value. Among the permanently valuable elements were the doctrine that the key to the labour question is the efficiency of the labourer, and the vigorous denunciation of the policy of the degradation of labour pursued by trades unions. Mr. Denny never recanted these opinions. But he saw weak points in his former argument, and it would be instructive to know what he had to say

on these. Our curiosity is gratified by the following letter to Mr. Rae, author of "Contemporary Socialism," written by Mr. Denny on the eve of his departure for Buenos Ayres:—

"LEVEN SHIP-YARD, DUMBARTON,
"12th June, 1886.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I duly received your very interesting letter of the 8th inst, and am well pleased to see from it that we have come to very much the same conclusions as to the conditions on which real social progress can be made. I am only sorry I have not the necessary time to discuss the matter further with you. As I start for Buenos Ayres on the 16th inst., I can only write you regarding the question of piece-work, and that very shortly.

"At the time I published my pamphlet 'The Worth of Wages,' I was under the impression piece-work rates would regulate themselves as I then assumed time wages did. A larger experience of piece-work has convinced me that, excepting in cases where rates can be fixed and made a matter of agreement between the whole body of the men in any works and their employers, piece-work prices have not a self-regulating power, and are liable, under the pressure of heavy competition, to be depressed below what I would consider a proper level. You must understand there is a broad and very real distinction in piece-work between the kind of work which can be priced in regular rates and that in which contracts are taken by the men for lump jobs of greater or less extent. In the former kind of piece-work it is easily possible for the rates to be effectively controlled by the joint efforts of the employers and the workpeople, as it is in the case of time wages. In the latter, owing to there being no definite standard, it is quite possible that the prices may be raised too high for competitive efficiency, or depressed to too low a point to recoup the workmen for the extra exertion and initiative induced by the very nature of piece-work. In such work as that of rivetters, iron fitters, and platers and in much of carpenters' work standards of price or rates can be arranged or controlled, and the workers are not likely to endure any arrangement they may consider inequitable. They are indeed much more likely by insisting on uniform rates for a whole district to do injustice to the more intelligent and energetic employers, who, by introducing new machinery and new processes, are directly influential in drawing work to their districts. It is evident that if piece-work rates are not reduced so as to make the improvements in machinery and methods introduced by such employers fully effective in diminishing cost of production, there will be a tendency on their part to abandon these attempts, with diminished chances of work for their districts. In the case of such improvements

it is possible to reduce rates without in any way reducing the effective earnings of the workpeople. I may say that in our own experience we have almost invariably found our workers quite willing to consider these points fairly and intelligently. Frequently they themselves make such suggestions as materially help us to reduce cost of production. Such cases of invention and helpfulness on their part are rewarded directly through our awards scheme, of which you have particulars.

In the second kind of piece-work, involving contracts which cannot be arranged by rates and controlled by the whole body of the workers, the prices are necessarily a matter of settlement between individual workmen and small groups of workmen and their foremen. Here it depends upon the control exercised by the heads of the business whether this kind of piece-work drifts into extravagances or into such reductions of contract prices as either to reduce them to less than the value of time wages, or to so little above time wages that they do not compensate the men for their extra exertions. We have found in testing such piece-work that the best method is to compare the earnings made by these piece-workers in a given period with the time wages which they would have received for the same period; and it is the duty of one of our partners to control this section of the work, and he does it almost invariably to the advantage of the men. Our idea is that the men should be able to average from 25 to 50 per cent. more wages on such piece-work within a given time than their time wages would amount to. There are occasional and exceptional cases where the results are less or more favourable. Where they are less favourable, we consider them to be not only a loss to the men, but disadvantageous to ourselves; and our reason for this is very clear, as unless the men feel that their exertions produce really better wages, and that increased exertions and better arrangements of work will produce still further increases of wages, there is an end to all stimulus to activity or improvement.

“I know an instance in which a well-meaning foreman, desirous of diminishing the cost of the work in his department, reduced his piece-work prices to such a point that he not only removed all healthy stimulus to activity from his workmen, but produced among them serious discontent. Our method of piece-work analysis and control enabled us to discover and remedy this before serious disaffection had been produced. I know another instance in which a foreman, while avoiding the mistake I have just mentioned, gave out his contracts in such small and scattered portions, and under such conditions as to the way in which the work was to be done and as to the composition of the co-partneries formed by the men, that he not only reduced their earnings to very nearly time rates, but created very serious disaffection among them. He was in the habit of forcing the men to take into their co-partneries personal favourites of his own, who very naturally became burdens upon those co-partneries.

As soon as our returns and inquiries revealed to us these facts, we insisted that the contracts entered into with the men should be of a sufficient money amount to enable them to organise themselves and their work efficiently. We removed the defective arrangements above referred to, and laid down the principle that their co-partneries were to be purely voluntary. We were enabled by these means, and without altering a single price, to at once raise their earnings from a level little above what they could have made on time wages to a very satisfactory percentage of increase and to remove all discontent. These two instances will show you how necessary it is in this kind of piece-work that there should be a direct control over those who are carrying it out. When the heads of a business are absentees or indifferent, the most effective way in which the workmen can control such piece-work would be by taking care that the standard of time wages was always kept perfectly clear and effective, and that regular comparisons between this standard and their earnings per hour on piece-work were made. Such comparisons would immediately enable them to arrive at a correct conclusion as to whether the prices paid them were sufficiently profitable.

“There is besides a mixed kind of piece-work in which skilled workmen employ labourers at time wages to do the unskilled portion of their work for them. Here, too, some kind of control is required, as instances occasionally occur in which the skilled workmen treat their labourers, either intentionally or unintentionally, with harshness. I have even known an instance in which such piece-work contractors reduced their labourers' time wages on the pay-day without having given them any previous notice. On the other hand, there are instances in which these labourers behaved in an unreasonable and unfair spirit to the skilled workmen who employed them.

“In conclusion, I would say that the method of piece-work is one which cannot either be approved or condemned absolutely, but is dependent upon the spirit and the way in which it is carried out for the verdict which should be passed upon it. It is imperative in such kinds of piece-work as by their nature cannot be reduced to regular rates that either the employer should take the responsibility of safeguarding his workmen's interests, or that the workmen themselves should, by such a method as I have suggested, obtain an effective control over them.

“There are besides conditions in which even piece-work rates of a general nature may become instruments of very great hardship. I mean instances in which the workers are incapable of effective resistance, and in which employers are either themselves ground down under the force of a competition with which they are unable to cope, or in which, while the employers possess extreme powers of position and capital, they are deficient in any corresponding sense of responsibility to their workpeople. I hope the day is not far distant in which an absentee employer would be

looked upon with as much contempt and disapproval as an absentee landlord. If such a healthy public opinion should ever become dominant, it is to be hoped it will be most active in influencing those employers whose works are conducted in great part or wholly upon the piece-work method.

“ Hoping these remarks may be of service to you in the new edition of ‘ Contemporary Socialism,’ and with kindest regards,

“ Believe me,

“ Yours very sincerely,

“ WILLIAM DENNY.

“ J. RAE, ESQ., M.A.,
“ LONDON.”

At the time he wrote the foregoing letter, Mr. Denny had become fully aware that piece-work could not be trusted to secure adequate wages like a self-acting machine. He had indeed ceased to believe in any self-acting, mechanical methods of accomplishing that end, and so solving the labour question. His later faith was that moral causes, working both in men and in masters, were indispensable factors; and the unwearied assertion of this truth, rather than any claim to be in possession of a ready-made remedy, was his final contribution to the solution. This state of mind, characteristic of the last years of his life, comes out in all his preserved utterances on the subject, whether in speeches or in letters. He was always insisting on the moral conditions of the problem in relation either to workmen, or to employers, or to theorists. Of the way in which he applied the doctrine in the first of these connections we have a sample in the Rock Bowling Club speech already referred to, which seems to have been intended to form the first of a series of addresses on the labour question. The subject was still the old one—foreign competition, and how to meet it. The

opinion that it could only be met by longer hours and lower wages he earnestly contested. There was, he thought, a better way—the development of *head-work*. Let men work, not with their hands only, but above all with their brains, and so increase indefinitely the efficiency of labour. But good brain-work is not forthcoming without health and hope; it demands a well-fed body and a buoyant spirit. And these, again, demand good wages, so that we are brought back to the question: How are wages to be kept permanently high? The new answer given to this question is the point to be noted. “What,” the speaker asked, “is the greatest impulse in keeping up a high standard of wages? It is that working-men should have a high standard of life. I do not mean that working-men should have a standard of life which means extravagance and luxury, because I do not think that standard of life is good either for working-men or for any other class of society. What I mean by a high standard of life is that working-men should have a steadily increasing idea of the comfort and propriety they ought to have in their homes for themselves and their families, and of the amount of pure and good amusement which they are entitled to, and of the amount of good training, of cultivated training, which their children should receive so as to give them pleasure in after-life, and that all things in the enjoyments of the upper classes which are pure, and good, and lofty should be in some way or other included within the scope of their lives. This is a very different doctrine from that of those who wish British labour reduced to the standard of living on rice or some other

economical grain consumed by Eastern nations, whose common people are subjects, but not citizens." He closed his speech by declaring that questions having to do with political and social economy should never be studied as abstract questions, "but under the influence of a care for our fellow-men and a profound belief in the possibilities in them."

The manner in which Mr. Denny enforced this doctrine of moral requirements in relation to employers was exemplified in an address which he delivered at a meeting of the employés of Leven ship-yard in May, 1885, for the presentation of a testimonial from them to Mr. John Ward, who had been assumed a partner in the beginning of the same year, in token of their gratification at an event which signified the elevation of one of themselves to the position of master, for Mr. Ward had begun his connection with the firm as a chief draughtsman in the drawing-office. This was a suitable opportunity for discoursing on the duties of employers, and Mr. Denny did not let it slip. The words he spoke were few, but weighty:—

"People have often asked me about labour questions—what solution I had for the difficulties. Had I any special organisation or methods which I would recommend? I have always felt obliged to reply that I had no such methods as would alone suffice to solve the difficulties. Then they have asked me: In what do you place your hope for their solution? My reply has been: In the strength of a growing and better educated public opinion, leading employers to feel that the conduct of a large business is not only a question of money-making, but involves serious responsibility. The more this idea of responsibility grows in the minds of employers, and the more it is pressed home upon them by a strong and improving public opinion, the greater hope there will be for the solution of all our labour difficulties. We are dealing with great forces which cannot be changed at will, or forced into the channels of an artificial future, but which can be met and moulded by strong desires

to do rightly, kindly, and justly. If these desires exist strongly and honestly, ways and means will ultimately be found in response to them of solving every difficulty. If they do not exist, there will be no solution. The truth is, there should be neither absentee employers nor absentee landlords. Every man who obtains the privilege of owning land, or who has the honour of administering a large business, should live among his tenants or dwell among his employé's, and be subject to their opinions. Let him get from them a cold reception if he give them cold treatment. If he love and trust them, let him find among them that home in the human heart which is the truest home, to which every man may return, however dejected or weary, however beaten down in the battle of life. He will find in such conditions a greater happiness than any rising in mere rank can afford, and a permanence which is of the nature of things hereafter, less changeable than the ordinary circumstances of life. These are the hopes which alone will be fruitful in the future; all others will be delusive. What we have got to do in labour questions is to beat out slowly a problem which can only be slowly unravelled. If we put a right heart to it, an honest wish, and a kindly disposition, we shall succeed. If we attempt to replace these human elements by mere organisation and administration, we shall hopelessly fail."

The emphasis with which the obligations of employers are insisted on in this address has in it "something like prophetic strain." The prophetic mood is still more apparent in the following letter, written to Lord Ravensworth some months previously, in which an almost passionate severity of tone is apparent. The date of the letter is nearly a month later than that of the Bowling Club address, of which a copy had been sent to his Lordship, and to which reference is made.

"26/1/85.

"MY DEAR LORD RAVENSWORTH,—You will think me very careless in not having long ago answered your very kind note of the 8th inst. I should have done so at once if only to express to you my sincere regret at the accident which has confined you to the house. I hope its effects are now quite gone, and that you are once more thoroughly well and about again.

"The audience I was addressing at the Bowling Club consisted of the men you mention, excepting only that there were very few riveters

among them. We find, excepting the rivetters, our men of the superior trades very agreeable to deal with, and when courteously treated by no means unreasonable. The men in the yard had their delegates in conference with me last month, and again last week, regarding some matters; and had you been present, I am sure you would very willingly have occupied the chair. To show you how much confidence we have in them, I may tell you that next month we purpose to submit all the rules of the yard to them in conference with them. As soon as they are printed I shall send you copies of these papers in connection with these conferences.

“The difficulties with workmen would be fewer if there were fewer absentee employers loafing in London, and leaving their men, as the Highland lairds left their crofters, to the tender mercies of underlings and factors. It is an article of my social faith that education, culture, and talent are given to superior men in order that these superior men may be bonds of union to society, hasps of strong iron to bind its elements together, and that such men should live and move in the midst of the masses, breathing the air they breathe and keeping in close and constant touch with them. Is this what happens, or is it not rather a rush of vulgar, narrow-minded *nouveaux riches*, clamouring for access into societies which when they are wise kick them out of doors? These men, frequently drawn from the ranks of the workmen, are the Cassandras of the day, the latest news to society from the mining and manufacturing districts. Between them and limited liability manufacturing companies, it is a miracle to me the seeds of socialism are not widespread among the working classes.

“Believe me, the common people are sound at heart. If they were only led by men inspired by the sense of duty, and honour, and sympathy, they would little by little free themselves from their faults and sins. But nine-tenths of our employers, and their wives even more than themselves, are devoted heart and soul to the merest wealth-getting and tuft-hunting, when dominant in any character two of the most disruptive and revolutionary causes of the day.

“I am trying to teach my two boys that the prime meaning of honour is fulfilled social responsibility, and that to serve the common people well is the highest and at the same time the most Christian honour. Thus I am preparing them to stem the revolutionary tide which the plutocracy is very generally swelling. We want a new crusade with this object, but neither the ordinary *nouveaux riches* nor their offspring are of the mettle for such work. The men of your own class should carefully avoid being misled by such of this set as you may meet, and keep firmly the conviction that the common people will do well if courteously, fairly, and kindly handled. They are of the same blood as the brave fellows in war now risking and losing their lives in

Egypt ; and to draw closer to them and show you believe in the possibilities in them is not only a duty of a true citizen, but the only true line of cleavage through which our society can safely and well pass.

“Forgive me for writing you at such length, but the subject is one on which my convictions and feelings are so strong, it tempted me. I have much more to say on the labour question, and intend developing my ideas in a series of addresses similar to the one you have received. Of these, as I find opportunity for their delivery, I will send you copies. My father joins me in kindest regards to you, and in sincere wishes for your early and complete recovery.

“Yours sincerely,

“WILLIAM DENNY.”

The reader will observe the reference made by Mr. Denny in the foregoing letter to his two sons. What he has in view is a series of letters which he had been writing to them, while away from home at school, with the express purpose of imbuing their minds with right sentiments on religious, moral, and social topics. These letters will come before us in due course, and will be found, it is hoped, interesting and instructive reading. Meantime it may be well to explain that all that belongs to the later period of Mr. Denny's life—from 1883 onwards—bears traces of a peculiar fervour of moral enthusiasm. That was the year in which the two calamities mentioned in the “Apprenticeship” chapter—the fever and the fire—befell him. In the wake of these events followed what may be characterised as a spiritual crisis, consisting, not in a change of spirit or convictions, but rather in an intensification of convictions previously existing and an exaltation of the whole spirit and temper of the man. This hint will throw light on the tone of the letter to Lord Ravensworth, as on most of the utterances of the last four years.

We have seen what modifications Mr Denny's views on the subject of piece-work underwent in the course of time. On another subject—that of the attitude to be assumed by employers towards trades unions and strikes—his views underwent not merely modification, but revolution. In 1877 he conceived a project of an employers' association "capable of resisting the well-organised and efficient combative power of workmen's unions."* He observed that employers' associations had hitherto been merely deliberative and talking bodies, having no power to enforce their decisions and no resources from which pecuniary help could be given to their members. What he desiderated was a powerful combative organisation, possessing the features which make trades unions so strong for fighting purposes. These features in his view were—a strong social hold over its members and a decisive power of class censure; an executive which during a struggle is practically absolute; an effective power of fining members; and a large fund accumulated during periods of quiet by periodical cash contributions, and forming a fighting reserve for a period of struggle. The first and third of these features he deemed unattainable, but the second and fourth—a powerful executive and a large fund—he thought practicable, and his proposal was that an association possessing these characteristics should be organised. The scheme was put into its final shape in 1879, and privately submitted to brother ship-builders for discussion. In some respects it met with favour, but the big fighting fund—a quarter of a million to be raised in three years was

* *Vide* on this Chapter XIV., Letter 13.

named—was the formidable difficulty. Some objected on principle to an organisation which should put such vast power into the hands of employers, fearing disastrous abuse. In the mind of the projector the scheme was meant simply for purposes of legitimate defence against reckless demands on the part of trades unions. It was not intended to be an instrument of tyranny, but rather to be a check upon tyranny, a means of compelling trades unions to be reasonable. The author of the project meant to fight undoubtedly, but he desired to fight only for reason and fair play. In that view his scheme was at least honourable in intention, and nothing to be ashamed of. As, however, it never was made public, it might have been passed over in silence, save for the fact that it affords a tempting opportunity of exhibiting Mr. Denny in a very characteristic attitude of self-criticism, in which he rises from the lower level of conflict to the higher level of conciliation. Nothing is more instructive than to see an earnest, honest, truth-loving mind passing through various phases of opinion on a difficult, perplexing question. The first thoughts of such a mind are as interesting as the last; and if in themselves valueless, they at least lend emphasis and weight to the views finally reached.

Mr. Denny criticised his own scheme in a letter to Mr. John Inglis, jun., who was one of those most decidedly opposed to it when first propounded. The part of the letter bearing on the subject was as follows:—

“ 15/10/85.

“ As to the Employers' Association, do you remember pointing out to

me at the time I propounded my scheme that it would give our ordinary employers far more power than they could safely or worthily use ?

"I was very impatient with your criticisms then. Every year since has, however, forced their justice in upon me, and so much so that there is now nothing I would more regret than the adoption of my own scheme. I think the aim should be to form an employers' association with the express purpose of selecting and uniting its best men in a permanent conference with an equal number of the men's delegates, the whole to be presided over by some perfectly independent chairman, satisfactory to both parties, and of known honour and impartiality. Such organisations exist in France, and in the iron and coal trades of the north of England. My friend Mr. David Dale, the arbiter of these trades, and himself an employer, gave me an excellent account of their working, and how one by one elements of strife had been eliminated. We must move in the direction of keeping in constant touch with the men through their delegates. To move in the direction I suggested would, I now think, be a deplorable mistake.

"The first step is to accustom employers and employed to discuss quietly and fairly their respective interests, and the best way to do this would be to secure every opportunity of bringing even small matters before the combined committee I have suggested. When I return, I shall send you some papers showing how we have been working tentatively towards such objects inside of the yard.

"The worst element in the employers and employed question just now is a very detestable caste feeling, making the former look down with an assumed superiority and a good deal of fear and dislike on the latter, the compliment being returned with interest from the latter. You will only eliminate this ugly element by a constant habit of meeting as equals to discuss your interests round the same table. The method I proposed, and you very properly rejected, would have the very opposite effect, and if successful, would be so only on the condition of changing the strength of trades unionism into the violence of socialism. The day that makes our workmen powerless to control and ameliorate their condition will be an ugly one. It would be better to lose our commercial supremacy than face it. I believe the method of permanent conference is the only solution. Anyway it is worth a trial on the Clyde.

"If you will send me any proposals you have written down, I shall be glad to give you any help and advice I can. I owe you a return for much I have received from you, and not least upon this very question.

"Yours very sincerely,

"WILLIAM DENNY.

"JOHN INGLIS, Esq., JUN.,

"POINTHOUSE SHIP-YARD, GLASGOW."

In these letters to Lord Ravensworth and Mr. Inglis *socialism* appears to be referred to as a scarecrow. It was, however, no scarecrow to the writer. He looked it plainly in the face, studied with intense interest the literature devoted to its advocacy, and assumed towards it an attitude which might be described as on the one side one of intellectual dissidence and on the other one of at least partial moral sympathy. He expressed his opinion on the subject in a paper written at the end of 1879 on the administration of labour, in which, after explaining the system at present generally prevailing, he went on to consider other proposals which, though often discussed, had not yet reached any decided maturity. Under this head he referred in succession to industrial co-partnerships, co-operative production, and the State management of labour proposed by socialists. Of the first, in which masters and men are united as partners in gains. though not in losses, he took an unfavourable view, remarking of it that there was a feature of unreality about it; that of the two advantages which might be claimed for it—its tendency to allay the bitterness of the employed in wages disputes and to stimulate exertion by the prospect of sharing gains—the second at least was very doubtful, the reward of exertion being too remote and indirect; and that the laying of the accounts before numerous workmen and the necessary publicity connected therewith would expose a point of weakness and attack to rival concerns. Co-operative production, on the other hand, the frank attempt of workmen to assume the functions and obtain the profits of the employer, he regarded with hopeful feelings, and without any

jealousy. He wished such attempts all success, and carefully pointed out the conditions under which they were most likely to be successful, these being when the business undertaken required little capital, few varieties of trade, small numbers of workmen, and little technical or business administration. The possibility of workmen becoming the rivals of employers in the future he contemplated without fear, hoping that the class to which he belonged would reap benefit from the competition, if not in wealth, then in sharpened energy, and that it would get rid of its triflers and do-nothings. "No nation," he said, "can really suffer by the rise of a new class upon its own merits, and ours least of all."

Of socialism Mr. Denny in this essay wrote as follows:—

"Its aim is through the medium of the State to produce an enforced and sustained equality of property. Such an equal division could be treated with a smile as impracticable were it not that it seems to have not only the sanction of the greatest name which has ever brightened this world, but also the most pronounced approval of the earliest Christian Church. In the face of such approval, and with the knowledge that many of the disciples of this doctrine are not only devoted and earnest men, but of character to command esteem, a little hesitation is prudent in hurriedly dismissing socialistic theories. Their aim is to reduce the excessive differences of wealth now existing; and I think few will deny that if this could be done without removing the stimuli necessary to induce men to exert themselves, a certain amount of good would be produced. The aim of a noble socialism has fascinated many thinkers and assumed many forms. Its fault lies in this: that it is unrealisable saving among a society of men and women more willing to save than to be saved, more anxious to turn their talents and their labours to the advantage of their fellow-men than to their own. This is idealism, I grant, but it is idealism sanctioned by too glorious examples for a mere flippant laughter to upset. There is no fear of socialism realising itself; we may comfort ourselves with that consolation. It has not as yet come within the sphere of practical possibility with regard to the administration of labour. If ever it is attained, it will be by long periods of growth and change, in which

men's characters will have changed even more than their institutions. Its advocates abroad, in allying themselves with all the elements of discontent and sedition, are defeating their own efforts."

This remained substantially Mr. Denny's view to the end. Generous avowals of sympathy with socialistic criticisms of existing conditions of society and ideals of a better future might lead some to think and say that he was not far from being a socialist outright; but he always adhered to the position above indicated, though it might be variously expressed. He always held that socialists erred in seeking a change in the form of society before it was changed in spirit, because the form so obtained could not be permanent, and by reaction would bring about worse evils than those it was meant to remedy; but he held that, while the remedies of socialists were wrong, their criticisms of orthodox economic theories and the social conditions these are meant to buttress were right.

The practical result of this review of the administration of labour in its actual and possible forms is that the existing system, with its employers and employed, capitalists and labourers, is likely to obtain for a long time to come. The great and urgent question therefore is how to make the most of things as they are, how to secure reasonable prosperity for both masters and men, and to make their mutual relations just and humane. For this end Mr. Denny's watch-words were—efficient labour with hand and brain; resident employers, realising their responsibilities and bent on something higher than making money; and permanent conference between masters and men in reference to all matters of common interest. His

own conduct, as depicted in last chapter, is the best commentary on these conditions of well-being. His doctrine was good, but his life was better. His character as an employer was his best contribution to the solution of the labour question. Were such men as William Denny common, it would be well for this country. Let us hope there are more such men than we know of.

It will be a fitting conclusion to this chapter if I append here an estimate of Mr. Denny's views on the social question by the author of "Contemporary Socialism." In a letter to me dated 31st December, 1887, Mr. Rae writes:—

"I was first attracted to Mr. Denny as a guide of unusual insight on the social question by his remarkable pamphlet on 'The Worth of Wages,' the main purpose of which, as you know, is to show that the pivot of the whole labour question is the personal efficiency of the labourer. That was a conclusion to which I had been led by my own previous study of the question, but I had never before seen it so impressively enforced. Mr. Denny had seen what was at that time seen by few: that the rate of wages depended, not, as economists used to teach, on the cost of the labourer's living, but on the amount of the labourer's production—the worth of the work he did. The cost of his living might represent a certain minimum below which wages could not permanently remain, but the amount of his production governed the rate of remuneration which his employer could afford to give; and happily it was a quantity that was capable of very large increase, through better methods and management of work, without involving any serious strain on the powers of physical endurance. It was in this practicable increase of production, and not in the opposite policy, too popular among certain sections of the working class, of diminishing production, that the hope of future improvement in the condition of working-people lay. Mr. Denny went further: it was not only the hope of the labouring class; it was also the only hope for the continued commercial supremacy of the country. For, as he pointed out—and the remark is as true as it is striking—industrial progress has now reached a stage at which a foreign manufacturer can get any requisite of production for the asking except efficient labour. Capital belongs now to no country: it goes where it is wanted; plant and

machinery of the best and most improved patterns may be fitted up to-morrow in any part of the world as easily almost as it can be at home ; but a foreign manufacturer, when he has got these to his hand, has got but little if he still wants efficient labour, and efficient labour he can neither produce in his own country in a day nor tempt from ours into a disagreeable exile without great difficulty. Under both these aspects then Mr. Denny contended very justly that our great care at present ought to be to improve the productive capacity of our labourers, or the quantity and quality of the work they were able to turn out.

“ One of the chief means to which he trusted at that time for effecting this purpose was piece-work. He had found in his own yard that piece-workers earned more wages and produced more work in a shorter day than time-workers ; and under piece-work, combined with the sub-contract system, the men earned higher wages than the firm could afford to pay, from the mere reason that the men did more work in the time than the men employed by the firm. And he was so much struck by these facts and the evidences of progressive training they evinced in the labourers that he thought that if a reign of co-operative production was to come in at all, it would only come in through the habits of working by the piece and co-operating for the miscellaneous jobs that are usually done in large works on the sub-contract system.

“ Now it was on this point of the sufficiency of piece-work and the sub-contract system that his views underwent a change ; and the change seems to have been to some extent caused, or at any rate to have been accompanied and influenced, by a change of a wider character regarding the operation of what are known as economic laws. He found that piece-work, though certainly enabling the employer to afford better wages than time-work, contained in itself no necessary security for the labourer actually getting the increase of wages which his increase of work warranted, and that this security was more especially wanting in the kind of work given out on contract, because it might be of a different character in each separate contract, and was therefore not capable of being regulated by any fixed list of prices. This is of course quite true. The labourers, if they are to get better wages, must not only do an amount of work that will enable the employer to afford better wages, but they must also have some sort of force at their back—they must have what the Germans call a certain *Machtstellung*—to press their point successfully. Piece-work itself will not work this result, nor yet the sub-contract system ; the sweating system among the tailors of the East End of London is the sub-contract system as it may deteriorate when the labourers have no force of any sort to back them, no trade union, no scarcity of workmen, no moral submission of employers to the authority of what is reasonable, just, or humane ; and those tailors are paid by the piece, and even according to a list of prices.

"Now the perception of this inherent insufficiency of piece-work for the ends he attributed to it appears to have exercised an important influence over Mr. Denny's opinions on the social question. It led him on the one hand to give up his former confidence in political economy—and in doing so I think he erred—but it led him on the other to what was the most remarkable characteristic of his later position on the question : a profound belief in the power of habitual personal communication between employers and employed about their common affairs, or what he called "the touch of man with man," in the discussion face to face of what was reasonable on both sides, as the most important requisite for a satisfactory solution of the labour problem.

"In regard to political economy he wrote me in a letter, which I regret has been lost, that when he delivered his lecture on 'The Worth of Wages' he believed economic phenomena to be governed by rigid, inflexible laws which would of themselves bring about the distribution of fair wages, but that he had now given the economists up, and thought the socialists had the better of them in the controversy that prevailed between them. In the remedies proposed by the socialists he had no faith, but he thought them right in their criticisms of the existing state of things, and especially that they had much more sense of an ideal than the economists had, and participated more in the unselfish spirit which he said would, when the time was ripe, create the new social organisation of the future. The spirit, he held, must always create the organisation, and not the organisation the spirit ; and it was one of his objections to socialism that it was forcing on an organisation before the spirit necessary for giving it life had been breathed abroad. He seemed to me both in his letters and in his speeches to think too well of the spirit of socialism. I don't speak of course of the socialism of Church congresses (which is only a bewildered philanthropy), but of the socialism of real life, as we see it among the Continental revolutionists, which is pervaded by as intense a spirit of selfishness as ever existed ; and even after it conceives itself to have passed its militant phase, it has no motive to influence men by except the old economic motive of self-interest. When Mr. Denny spoke as if he agreed with the criticisms of socialists, I did not understand him to mean that he agreed in the least with particular economic theories—their scientific socialism, as they call it—any more than he agreed with their practical proposals. And I will only add in this connection that I think he was a little too hard on the economists, who were by no means such idolaters of self-interest as is imagined, but always left a considerable place everywhere for the operation of social justice. In fact, I think he stood in his later views more nearly in the lines of the English economists than in his earlier. When he said the end must be the substitution of the principle of self-sacrifice for selfishness, he had no idea of abolishing the principle of self-interest, or of dreaming that the world

would be better or better off if everybody were to look after the interests of his neighbour (which he could know little about) instead of looking after his own (which he knew well), but merely that the self-interest would willingly subject itself to the restraints and requirements of social justice and the responsibilities of a common humanity. For he saw the beginning of the better era of self-sacrifice in the Factory Acts and the Education Acts. . . . But these Factory Acts, and Education Acts, and Health Acts, and Working-class Dwellings Acts were supported by the English economists all along, because the English economists have all along held the State bound to secure to the citizens the elementary conditions of all humane society.

"Now it was the growth of this very sense of public obligation and the pressing of it home on employers by a powerful public opinion that Mr. Denny thought the most important desideratum for the solution of the labour question in its present stage of development. What the distant future might unfold he did not undertake to forecast; he did not believe it would be profit-sharing or industrial partnership; . . . he hoped it might perhaps be co-operation: but whatever it would be, that was the concern of the future. What we found at present, and what seemed likely to last as far as we could practically look forward, was the wages system; . . . and in order to secure for the workmen under that system the remuneration and treatment to which they were entitled, it was above all things necessary that the employer should not look on his business as a mere matter of money-making, but as a work of serious responsibility, influencing the lives and homes of thousands of families every whit as good as his own. . . .

"Mr. Denny's views on the labour question may therefore be summed up by saying that, while he saw no immediate prospect of the wages system being superseded, he entertained a confident opinion that under the wages system the labourer's remuneration and general economic position admitted of large and progressive improvement, and that this improvement would spring on the one hand from an enhancement of the personal efficiency or productive capacity of the labourers themselves, and on the other from a pressing home upon employers of a more effective sense of the responsibilities of their position and from the establishment of a system of permanent conference between heads and hands in the same establishment and of general representative boards of conciliation for every respective trade."

The following brief statement from Frederic Harrison, Esq., in reference to his relations with Mr. Denny, may interest readers. In a communica-

tion to me of date 20th March, 1888, Mr. Harrison writes :—

“ Mr. Denny came to Merton Hall during a series of lectures that I was giving some years ago on the social system and capital and labour, and in which I was urging that the workmen had far more to hope for from the wise and capable capitalist when duly raised to a sense of his public duties by sounder religious and social ideas than now prevail than he had to expect either from socialism or from co-operation. I urged that in industry the skill and entire freedom of a chief was as absolutely necessary as in war or in government, and that it would prove as hopeless to conduct a great industrial undertaking by an elected committee of workmen as it would be to expect an army to win a victory if commanded by the votes of the soldiers, or to expect an Atlantic ‘liner’ to reach New York if the seamen and stokers were to take command of the ship. But I said : ‘ Before the mass of the workmen will ever quietly accept the leadership of the capitalist, the capitalist must show himself morally and socially fitted and willing to secure their welfare and fair treatment ;’ and I spoke of several great industries where something was being done to secure that end.

“ Mr. Denny introduced himself to me, and told me about the system pursued at the Leven ship-yard, and much interested me in the system there at work. He sent me the papers, reports, rules, etc., and constantly supplied me with newspapers giving accounts of the proceedings there.

“ I have always felt great interest in the experiment, which seemed to me one of great value and promise ; and from all my conversations and correspondence with Mr. Denny, I felt sure that at Leven they were on the right road.”

In the same letter Mr. Harrison refers to a lecture by Professor Patrick Geddes, of Edinburgh, one of a series on “ The Claims of Labour,” as expressing views which he cordially endorses in reference to the value of the experiment being made at Dumbarton. Having explained the main features of the administration in Leven ship-yard, Professor Geddes remarks : “ I must say it seems to me that we have here a real case of the right sort of progress, and that towards ideals which are generally thought to be irreconcilable, Carlyle’s industrial captain and regi-

ment, yet living with a great deal more of liberty, equality, and fraternity than we see elsewhere.”

Interesting notices and criticisms of the various proposed solutions of the labour problem will be found in Toynbee's "Industrial Revolution." Mr. Toynbee thinks that the improvement in the moral character of employers for which the Comtists, including Mr. Harrison, hope is not possible within a reasonable space of time. This work of Toynbee had much attraction for Mr. Denny.

CHAPTER . VI.

THE NAVAL ARCHITECT.

DISTINGUISHED as an administrator of labour, William Denny was, if possible, still more distinguished as a naval architect. He brought to his profession the spirit of a pioneer ever bent on progress. His numerous contributions to the literature of naval architecture in the form of papers read before various institutions and societies, and the experimental work which went hand in hand with these, are of recognised value, and place him in the foremost rank of scientific ship-builders. He was able in a comparatively short time to influence in many ways the opinion and practice of his profession, and he has left behind him a name which will ever be held in honour by all who are able to appreciate the value of his service.

It was fitting that William Denny should be great in this line. The traditions of the family demanded it. He was the third in succession of three Williams, of whom the two first, his grandfather and his uncle, had been men of genius in the art of ship-building; and it was meet that the third should continue the succession in genius as well as in name. It was in the person of William the first that the Denny family first took to ship-building. The family had

been in Dumbarton for generations before his time as tillers of the soil and "wee lairds," the genealogical tree showing our William as in the sixth descent from John Denny, of Braehead and West Faulds, born about 1670. Grandfather William being a younger brother, instead of becoming a laird, became a joiner or carpenter, and eventually in 1817, when there was no ship-building yard on the Clyde above Dumbarton, started ship-building on his own account. In his day steam navigation was in its infancy, and he gained renown as the builder of the steamer *Marjory*, which was employed in the Thames passenger trade, and of the mail steamer *Rob Roy*, the first sea-going steamer that had ever been built, engaged at first in the Glasgow and Belfast trade, and latterly running as a passenger boat between Dover and Calais. He also built the *Trinidad*, the first steamer that sailed to the West Indies, considered in her time a triumph of skill. He had seven sons, all of whom became ship-builders, Peter, the father of the subject of this memoir, being now the sole survivor. William, his brother, uncle of our William, was famous in his day for his skill as a marine architect, and, brother Peter being witness, *for his modesty along with it*. His career, like that of his nephew, was brief, but brilliant. He discovered where his strength lay on a sick-bed. Seized with disease in one of his limbs, the young ship carpenter amused the weary months of a lengthened illness by making models of ships which soon attracted attention by their beauty; and he went forth from his sick-room, famous as a draughtsman, to do business as a marine architect. In 1844 he started the firm of William Denny and

Brothers, and devoted his talents to the business of iron ship-building. It was a critical period in the fortunes of Dumbarton, when the stoppage of the glass works, formerly the chief industry of the burgh, had cast a gloom over the community. In ten years his genius and enterprise created a new era of prosperity, which made his death, at the age of thirty-nine, to be felt as a public calamity. An obelisk erected over his grave in the cemetery where he was the first to be buried testifies by its inscription to the sense of his skill, kindness, and worth cherished by the grateful workmen of the town.

His predecessors having led the van in connection with the introduction of steam-power and the use of iron in naval architecture, it remained for the third William Denny to carry their spirit of initiative into new spheres of progress in an age when science was to be more closely associated with the ship-building art than it had ever before been, propounding problems and suggesting solutions not dreamt of in older times. He performed his more difficult part in a manner worthy at once of his ancestral name and of the scientific era in which he lived. He brought to his task a thoroughly scientific spirit. In saying this, I do not mean to represent him as a man of science in the wide acceptance of the phrase, or even in the narrower sense of being a deeply learned mathematician, able to apply the most abstruse processes to problems connected with ship-building. He made no such claims for himself; on the contrary, he was singularly free at once from scientific affectation and from scientific pedantry, and always ranged himself among the practical men. He was

scientific to the extent of keeping himself well informed of what was going on in the scientific world, especially in so far as it bore on his profession, and, above all, of being thoroughly imbued with the Baconian spirit of observation, and careful to distinguish between ascertained scientific truth and scientific hypotheses or theories, and resolute to bring all such hypotheses and theories to the test of experiment. It was by the application of this spirit to current theories relating to the propulsion of steamships that he chiefly became famous. The boldness with which he asserted for himself and for all other practical men the right and the duty of assuming this attitude is strikingly evinced in the following sentences from a paper on "The Difficulties of Speed Calculation," to be hereafter more particularly referred to: "We are not on this account, however, incapable of testing theories and speculations. We can experiment and bring them to the test of practical result. This is our duty; and we should do it constantly, and permit no dumb awe of a reasoning, however elaborate, which is incomprehensible to us, to silence our criticism or drive us from that scepticism which should be our constant attitude towards all speculation till it is proved by experiment or practical result."

These words reveal something more than the innate love of truth which puts fact above theory, even a moral courage which is as rare as it is admirable. And I observe here that in the technical part of his career, as in all other departments, what is really most remarkable in Mr. Denny is his moral character. To illustrate: I have spoken of him as

a pioneer. But it is not meant by this that he was a great discoverer or inventor. What is meant rather is that he was sagacious to discern quickly the value of a new suggestion or invention, prompt to give it generous recognition, energetic and enthusiastic in taking it up and developing it until it had gained a secure place in general thought and practice. His originality was not merely or even chiefly intellectual, but of the far higher sort which has its root in the moral nature.

It is not possible in the space at my command to give anything like an adequate or exhaustive account of Mr. Denny's technical work or of the service rendered by him to naval architecture. He was interested in everything relating to his profession, his activity was incessant and many-sided, and there was hardly a subject connected with ship-building on which he did not in essays or in correspondence utter a useful word. All that can be attempted here is a slight sketch of his principal contributions, such as can be written by one possessing no technical knowledge of the subjects to which these relate, and may interest a public not better informed than himself. Professional men desirous of more exact and thorough information must consult the Transactions of the various societies before which his papers were read. The notes on his professional career appended to the tenth chapter will serve as a guide to such as wish to make themselves acquainted with these papers, and at the same time will give some idea of the immense amount of work done by their author in the course of a too brief career.

Mr. Denny's technical contributions group them-

selves chiefly around four topics: propulsion, the material used for ship-building, stability, and construction.*

In connection with the first of these subjects, his name will ever be honourably mentioned as that of the man who advocated and established the practice of *progressive trials of speed*. There is good authority for stating that a very powerful impulse towards a methodical study of naval science in general, and of the subject of propulsion in particular, came to him from the report of the committee of the British Association appointed in 1868 to inquire into the existing knowledge of matters connected with the stability, propulsion, and sea-going qualities of ships. The report submitted to the meeting of the Association in Exeter in 1869 disclosed the paucity of data on the subject of propulsion, and opened up to Mr. Denny's view a fruitful field of research. That report also made him acquainted with the name of a distinguished man with whom he was destined to become very intimately associated, and towards whom he ever cherished the reverent affection of a disciple for a master. This was the late Mr. William Froude, of Torquay, known to all by his experiments on models of ships and important contributions to the science of naval architecture based thereon. Mr. Froude signed the report of the committee, subject to certain explanations. The chief point of difference between him and the other members of committee was that, whereas they recommended that experiments should be instituted by the Government on full-sized ships towed through the water at various

* What relates to construction will be found in next chapter.

speeds to ascertain the law of resistance, he from his own investigations, carried on for some years, insisted very confidently on the value of experiments on models as a means of solving problems connected with speed and power. From this report and Mr. Froude's dissentient rider, as it appeared in the pages of *Engineering*, where he saw it, young Denny probably got the first hints of two lines of inquiry on the subject of propulsion—progressive trials of speed of new steamers on the measured mile, and experiments on models. If so, the seed fell on good soil, and bore abundant fruit, and speedily.

In January of the following year—1870—Mr. Denny commenced the practice of trying progressively new steamers on the measured mile, instead of making only single trials at the highest speed obtainable, according to the then all but universal custom. Three years afterwards he entered into correspondence with Mr. Froude, to whom he thenceforth communicated the results of his experiments. The first of the Froude letters is interesting as showing the use he was making of speed trials to test current theories as to the connection between speed and driving power, and also as confirming the statement I have made as to the writer's freedom from all scientific pretension. It is as follows:—

“LEVEN SHIP-YARD, DUMBARTON,

“17/2/73.

“MY DEAR SIR,—My father received your letter of the 4th inst. with much pleasure, and intended answering it fully before leaving for Egypt, which he did last Thursday. During his last day at home he was, however, so much pressed for time, making his final arrangements for departure, that he asked me to reply for him and thank you for the letter.

“For your invitation to us to visit you if at Torquay we both thank

you. Nothing would give me more pleasure, as I am deeply interested in the question of ship resistance and the allied subject of proportionate length; and the very description of your experiments makes me desirous to see your method of carrying them out. In preparation for my father's intended letter I had prepared a couple of notes on subjects in your letter. To these I have added another on some practical difficulties connected with Professor Rankine's speed formula. I trust you will not think me forward in venturing to send them to you, or that I in any way underrate the great genius of Rankine because I attack his speed formula or object to his overmathematical and algebraic explanation of the practical subjects he took in hand. You have no idea how much harm this did, and how imperfectly his books are understood by all practical men. To most of us they are as tightly closed as if they were written in Russian. Now I do not think this was Rankine's aim, although it has been the result of his labours. He never seemed to grasp the fact that while a man is engaged in practical work he cannot be theoretical to any great extent, for the simple reason that, while Rankine and men like him fight in the van of progress for the ideal of mechanical progress, the workaday man must build the world's comfort out of the imperfections and half-certainties that lie to his hand. A high idealism in such a man would render him discontented with his materials. But in spite of this, though seldom the fountain, he is always the channel, of improvement, and should be considered and spoken to in something more intelligible than an unknown tongue. The most popular writer among engineers at present is Tyndall. His 'Heat' and 'Sound' are widely studied by most of the intelligent young men I know, and you will easily see the reason of this: that it is because they are so intelligible. I spoke to Sir William Thompson on this subject when he was down seeing us, and he acknowledged the fact that Rankine was very unintelligible to practical men; and I have brought it under your notice because I am convinced it is one of the leading difficulties in the way of permeating us practical men with the intelligence of those above us.

Trusting you will pardon me for having taken up so much of your time,
"Believe me, etc."

Rankine's formula referred to in this letter is one of three which have been used to determine the relation between the speed of a ship and the power which propels it. The other two are known as the Admiralty formulæ, and Professor Rankine's was a supposed improvement on them. All three go on

the assumption that the power required to produce certain speeds varies as the cubes of the speeds.* If this were true, the old system of speed trials would suffice. That system was to run a steamer two, four, or six times consecutively backwards and forwards over a measured mile at her maximum speed. The mean of these runs was supposed to reveal the power required to drive the steamer at the speed attained on the trial. From this the power required for any other lower speed could be ascertained by deduction from the formula. By the time the foregoing letter was written Mr. Denny had become convinced by actual trial of ships at various speeds that the assumed fixed relation between speed and power was fallacious and seriously misleading. By 1875 he had become so sure of his ground that he was prepared to appear before the public as a critic of these cut-and-dry formulæ, and especially of the one pretending to greatest accuracy, and as a strenuous advocate of progressive trials of speed as the only safe way of ascertaining the actual relation between any given speed and the power required to produce it in the case of any particular ship. Accordingly, having been invited to write a paper for the Institution of Engineers and Ship-builders in Scotland, of which he was a member, in the spring of

* The three formulæ are as follows :—

$$\text{Admiralty } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} P = V^3 \times \frac{\text{area of midship section in square feet,}}{\text{constant.}} \\ P = V^3 \times \frac{\text{displacement } \frac{1}{2},}{\text{constant.}} \end{array} \right.$$

$$\text{Rankine's } P = V^3 \times \frac{\text{augmented surface,}}{20,000,}$$

where P means power and V speed.

1875, he consented, and selected as his subject "The Difficulties of Speed Calculations." This epoch-making paper attracted much attention, gained for its author the marine engineering medal of the Institution, and laid the foundation of his public fame. The main purpose of the paper, as stated by the writer in a letter to Mr. Robert Duncan, of Port Glasgow, who had been instrumental in getting him to write it, was twofold: to prove "the uselessness of Rankine's formula," and to urge "the desirability of having all steamers, if possible, tried progressively." It was accompanied by diagrams exhibiting in the instances of several ships the curve of speed given by the theoretical law of the cubes and that yielded by actual trials, the two curves in every instance being far enough from coinciding.

The paper closed with a high eulogium on Mr. Froude and an earnest appeal to the ship-builders of the Clyde to combine for the working out of the progressive trial system. "We are," the writer said, "only entering upon the investigation of speeds, and are very far from the theorising stage. Mr. Froude has clearly expressed this opinion; and I regard him, in the discovery of the relations existing between the speeds and resistances of larger and smaller models and of models and steamers, as having added the only solid bit of science worthy of the name to the subject for many years. And we are very fortunate in having such a man as Mr. Froude to lead the scientific and purely experimental side of speed investigation. Unpossessed of crotchets, unbiassed by theories, unfaltering in his desire for plain and simple truth, ready to take up and investigate every

suggestion, it will be long before a finer type of the scientific man assists in our work. Let us follow his example, and make our efforts unitedly and heartily to try every ship that leaves our hands with accuracy and care, communicating the results. No single firm or individual can hope in his experience to include even all the types of steamers at present building on the Clyde. We could do it as a district; and if we did it fairly and willingly, in two years a mass of information would be accumulated surpassing even the Admiralty trial sheets for amount and utility. If the progressive trial system were adopted, in the time mentioned we would gather more information on the subject of mile trials than is now in existence. There is surely no reason why this kind of thing should be unattainable. We would all be gainers by it, and our arts of ship-building and engineering would be much advanced. In any case more thorough and complete information would enable us to co-operate with such men as Mr. Froude, and to check on their first appearance theories which are imperfect and incomplete. Above all, we should escape that delusive 'anticipation of the mind' which is continually tempting even the ablest men to build mountains of theory on pin-points of fact."

The generous spirit which pervades this appeal, its entire freedom from the petty jealousies of commercial rivalry which breed distrust and frustrate efforts at co-operation, are noticeable and characteristic. It was remarked on in the discussion which followed, Mr. Robert Mansel taking occasion to express the extreme gratification with which he learned that a gentleman in Mr. Denny's position

had set an example of departing from that guarded silence as to their professional labours which Clyde ship-builders and engineers seemed to adopt towards one another.

Having thus auspiciously entered on his career as an advocate of reform in the method of trials, Mr. Denny did not let the matter rest, but availed himself of every good opportunity of bringing his views to bear on public opinion. He read a paper before the British Association in the same year on "The Trials of Screw Steamships," setting forth substantially the same views as those contained in the paper read to the Institution of Engineers and Ship-builders. The reception given to the paper encouraged him, and he wrote shortly after the meetings to his friend Mr. R. Duncan in these hopeful terms: "My paper for the British Association was much superior to that delivered in Glasgow and free from several of its defects. Froude backed me well, and said it was simply absurd to call any other system of trial than the progressive system a fair trial of a ship's work on the mile. Anyway I shall not rest till I get the system acknowledged and generally adopted. Froude will very likely press it on the Admiralty."

Mr. Denny made yet another literary effort in the cause in that memorable year 1875 in the form of a popular statement in the *Engineers' Annual*, entitled "Notes on Speed Calculations, Ordinary Speed Trials, and Progressive Trials." In these "Notes" the writer expressed himself in strong terms regarding the "trickery on the mile" connected with the old system, which had covered mile trials with a

cloud of suspicion, and earnestly deprecated the introduction of similar tricks into the new system. "It will," he wrote, "be much to be deplored if the trickery still in practice on the mile, and still reported in newspapers, should seize hold of this newer system and convert it, too, into a matter of suspicion. It therefore remains with honest, upright, and well-informed contractors to show fair examples in their trials, whether they be simple or progressive, and for shipowners so far to master these questions that they may compel, and with penalties, the fulfilment of promises made by their contractors." He spoke to the same effect before the British Association, stating in emphatic terms the conviction that "progressive trials without honesty and accuracy will be failures." It was a matter of course that everything savouring of sham, slovenliness, and fraud in such affairs should be offensive to a man of Mr. Denny's earnest, truthful spirit; and there are abundant indications that he felt very strongly as to the manner in which trials were sometimes conducted. In one of the Duncan letters this sentence occurs: "My reason for being severe on dishonest trials is this: that such courses should never need to be resorted to were every possible piece of information gathered from the trials, and if people when on the mile did real work instead of eating, drinking, and doing the agreeable."

It may be asked, What permanent practical end, beyond the temporary one of refuting and discrediting a fallacious formula connecting power and speed, is to be served by the system of progressive trials so energetically advocated by Mr. Denny? It

might be replied briefly that for a required speed one form of vessel is better suited than another, and that progressive trials are useful for ascertaining the best form. But it may be well to quote Mr. Denny's own words on this important question, as contained in his paper on "The Difficulties of Speed Calculation:" "As to the utility of these curves" (showing results of progressive trials). "If formed at a trial draught, they become valuable guides for future estimates of trial speeds, and when formed at load draughts should in no less degree assist the shipowner in determining the most economical speed of his steamer. It does not of course follow from this that the speed of maximum efficiency is the most economical speed. It is so only in one aspect, and its adoption would be conditioned by several financial considerations which might determine the preference of another speed. In any case, the shipowner would work in the light instead of in the dark. They would afford also the surest means of comparing different steamers by showing their work at the same speeds. We could besides value steamers by the greatness of their maximum efficiency speed, and by the constant shown in it. So intricate, however, is the consideration of this, and so unripe for founding any very general principles on, that a very large number of progressive speed trials would have to be collected before much could be done."

That the method advocated by Mr. Denny is practically valuable, and not fitted merely to gratify curiosity, is proved sufficiently by the fact that it has been generally adopted, and that those best able to judge concur in the opinion that he rendered an

important service in pressing it on public attention. In this connection I may be allowed to quote a few sentences from the introductory address of Mr. Alexander C. Kirk, President of the Institution of Engineers and Ship-builders, delivered in October, 1887. Referring to Mr. Denny, Mr. Kirk said: "It would be out of place in me to attempt to summarise all Mr. Denny did. I will only refer to one brilliant piece of work from which we have all benefited—I mean his introduction of progressive speed trials, and his showing us how from these we could deduce in each particular case a law, expressed graphically, connecting power and speed. Taken in conjunction with the labours of the late Mr. Froude, what Mr. Denny did has gone far to give us a very complete, if somewhat empirical, solution of the difficult problem of finding the power required to drive a ship at any particular speed. Not only did he do this, but he placed the results of these investigations freely in our hands; and by his energy and power of lucid explanation he so firmly established the process, that probably few of us complete a ship without having her tried as Mr. Denny showed us how to do.

A not unimportant service rendered by Mr. Denny, through his progressive trials of ships built by his firm, was the supplying of data to scientific men. The results of these trials he transmitted from time to time to Mr. Froude, who made them the basis of two important papers read before the Institute of Naval Architects in London in April, 1876: one on "The Ratio of Indicated to Effective Horse-power as elucidated by Mr. Denny's Measured Mile Trials

at Varied Speeds," the other on "The Comparative Resistances of Long Ships of Several Types." In the former of these papers Mr. Froude said: "Mr. Denny has taken the bold but well-considered step of discarding the conventional type of measured mile trials, which, as regards the speeds tried, have long been limited to full speed and half boiler-power. Mr. Denny now tries each of his ships at four or even at five speeds; and the result is that he obtains fair data for a complete curve of indicated horse-power from the lowest to the highest speeds. . . . No doubt the limited view of the proper range of the inquiry to which the trials are intended to supply an answer arose from the belief that resistance must be as the square of the speed, and horse-power as its cube; and this belief, incorporated into one or other of the well-known 'constants,' has survived more or less persistently, in spite of attacks and misgivings, and has constituted a self-supported obstruction to new ideas. It is also true, however, that measured mile trials, even as at present limited, are costly experiments; and notions of economy have assisted to damp the ardour of those who have been on other grounds willing to become innovators. But no expenditure ostensibly encountered in the search for truth is really so uneconomical as that which, while it seems to furnish information, helps to support error, and, in fact, 'darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge;' and it is to Mr. Denny's honour that, finding the so-called constants were invariably variable and inconsistent, he determined of himself to strike out a new line and find out by trial what is fact, instead of contenting himself with assuming

what ought to be, the relation between indicated horse-power and speed.”

In connection with the subject of *material* the important fact to be mentioned is that Mr. Denny played the part of a pioneer in the early employment of *steel* and the earnest advocacy of its use in ship-building. In the use of this material the Admiralty led the way in this country. The French Admiralty had however, forestalled the British, the *Redoutable*, built at L'Orient in 1874, being constructed of steel made both by the Bessemer and by the Siemens process.* In 1875 Mr. (now Sir Nathaniel) Barnaby at the Institution of Naval Architects challenged steel manufacturers in this country to produce steel equal to or better than that used in France, with the result that the Landore Siemens steel works accepted the challenge, proved their ability by producing specimens able to stand the prescribed tests, and finally entered into a contract with the Admiralty to supply steel for the two cruisers *Iris* and *Mercury*, commenced in 1875.

The firm to which Mr. William Denny belonged

* In the manufacture of steel in large quantities sufficient to take the place of iron in structures such as ships, bridges, and boilers there are two processes: the Bessemer and the Siemens. The former dates its first application from 1856, the latter from 1865. By both processes very variable qualities of steel can be made at will. If of very great strength combined with small ductility, the quality is known as “hard;” if of more moderate strength combined with great ductility, the quality is known as “mild.” Steel made by both processes has been successfully used for ship-building, the mild quality being the best suited. Yet with the Siemens process the greater certainty of getting a material uniformly good and free from any suspicion of brittleness has caused that process to be the one generally preferred at the present day for the manufacture of steel for ships and other structures built up of plates.

were among the first to follow the lead of the Admiralty. After having used the new material in several vessels of smaller dimensions, they turned out in 1878 the *Rotomahana*, the first merchant ocean-going steamer built of mild steel. Besides setting an early example in the adoption of this material, when grave doubts naturally prevailed as to its suitability, Mr. Denny did important service by advocating its use in papers read before various societies, in which he dealt in an effective and persuasive manner with existing misgivings on the score of safety and economy. In 1880 he read a paper at the Institution of Naval Architects on "Steel in the Ship-building Yard," in which he described the experience of his firm up to date in the ships they had built, and endeavoured very specially to meet doubts respecting the safety of the material. For this purpose he cited the case of the *Rotomahana*, which had run on to and over a rock. The only damage sustained was a considerable indentation of her plating. She remained free from any leak, and the worst plate when removed was found capable of being reset and replaced. The toughness of steel thus critically tested he urged as conclusive evidence of its superiority on the score of safety in cases of stranding.

In the same paper Mr. Denny drew attention to a grievance which at that time pressed sorely on contractors building in steel under the survey of Lloyd's Register. The steel had to be tested in the ship-builder's yard, and any that was found unsatisfactory had to be removed to the steel works whence it came. Mr. Denny pointed out the objections to

this procedure, and suggested that a Lloyd's surveyor should be placed at the steel works to test material before delivery. His views met with general approval, and his suggestion was adopted within a few months.

In 1881 Mr. Denny read a paper at the Iron and Steel Institute on the economical aspect of the question,* entering into careful comparisons of the cost of building in iron and steel respectively. The general position he maintained was that the extra cost of steel per ton is more than counterbalanced by the saving in the weight of the structure and the additional cargo it can carry. This view was controverted by some at the time, but the reduction in the price of steel relatively to iron has now put the matter beyond all question.

On both aspects of the question Mr. Denny reiterated his views in his evidence before the Royal Commission on Loss of Life at Sea in 1885. Comparing iron and steel as to safety, he then said: "What you have to dread in iron as compared with steel is not giving way under sea strains, but giving way in collisions and cases of stranding. That is what you have to dread from iron, and what can only be overcome by the use of steel. The difference between the finest iron that is made and the worst is a mere bagatelle compared with the difference between the finest iron that is made and the steel ordinarily used in building."

In connection with the introduction of steel Mr. Denny feared that a prejudice might arise against it from bad work misinterpreted into faults in the material. In this view he insisted much on the need

* "On the Economical Advantages of Steel in Ship-building."

for careful study of structural defects, or what he called the "morbid anatomy" of ships. He held this to be an important subject of study in relation to ship-building in any material, but especially in steel, the finer material demanding finer and more careful work. The subject is referred to more than once in his correspondence with Mr. Martell, Chief Surveyor at Lloyd's Register. In a letter dated 24th April, 1884, he wrote:—

"In construction I am convinced many changes have been made which have been caused by the misinterpretation of defects. In very many cases they are defined as structural when they are really due to slovenly work. We need a system of diagnosis of defects created and taught as a portion of the science of naval architecture. This part of our science is grossly empirical, and we shall have no really improved construction till there is as systematic a morbid anatomy in naval architecture as there is in medicine."

In a letter dated 30th July of the same year he returns to the subject, and writes in these terms:—

"We are having many inquiries from north-east coast builders as to steel ship-building, and I can see they are at last moving to it. I dread the result, however, for unless they can at once raise their workmanship to the level required by steel, we shall be having reports of weak butts and increase of scantlings instead of a diagnosis putting its finger on bad workmanship. I do not dread this from you or your colleagues at headquarters, but I do dread it from your outpost surveyors. They will argue that if workmanship which did in iron won't do in steel, then the steel scantlings are wrong, instead of seeing that the thinner the material the more perfect must be the work. I am quite sure you will do the steel justice, but I dread the committee being shaken at the reports which will come in at first. Forgive me for this digression; but the matter is so much at my heart, I could not help it. Our friend John has the same fears on this point. We both, however, believe that in your hands the issue will be sure, and all the more so that one can anticipate the future in this matter and be prepared for it. It is the little details in steel work that need constant and personal care: butts, the attachment of frames and reverse frames, all rivetting, and the counter sinks in the thinned plates. The heel in steel steamers really needs tap rivets. We learnt all this by painful experience."

In taking part in a discussion on a paper read in 1886 by his partner Mr. John Ward before the Institution of Naval Architects on "The Present Aspects of Mild Steel for Ship-building," Mr. Denny, referring to a case mentioned by Mr. Martell of a steamer which when placed in dry dock was found to have had her butts tight, and yet showed inside of these evidences of having been leaky at sea, said :—

"I wish very much that cases of this kind might in the future be so treated as to preserve permanent pictorial records of them for this Institution to examine. I have on more than one occasion pointed out here that there is no department of naval architecture in which we are so deficient as in the study of the morbid anatomy of vessel structures. If we had as good an atlas of the defects which occur in the skins of ships as we have of the diseases which afflict the skins of human beings, we might make some sure progress in our remedies ; but we have still to wait for a systematic and scientific treatment of this subject. It is indeed a very extraordinary thing that among all the papers which have been contributed to this Institution we have not one dealing with the structural defects and attempting to classify them properly."

In connection with this topic it is interesting to note that Mr. Archibald Denny, under his brother's inspiration, wound up his professional training by going to Liverpool to study structural defects in ships. In a memorandum for his guidance dated 1882 Mr. William wrote thus: "You will keep in mind that the principal purpose for which you are sent to Liverpool is to study what may be called the morbid anatomy of ship-building, *i.e.*, all the defects which are likely to show themselves in the structure of sea-going steamers. It is presumed that Liverpool during the winter months will afford you by far the best opportunity for such studies, especially when they are conducted under the counsel of Lloyd's surveyors. You will make a

point of seeing all the large Atlantic steamers in dock, also any heavy cargo-carriers which you may come across, and studying any defects in butts and in other portions of the structure. You will of course carry out your studies on these points in as unobtrusive a manner as possible, remembering that the purpose for which you are sent to Liverpool is to improve your knowledge and experience, and not for criticism or disparagement of any other ship-builder's work."

The subject of *stability* assumed a place of great prominence throughout the ship-building world after the disaster of the capsizing of the *Daphne* in 1883. Then all ship-builders, even the most advanced, learnt a lesson as to the necessity of paying more attention than they had done to the stability of a vessel in the launching condition. But before that event the mind of Mr. Denny had been much occupied with problems connected with this important subject; and here, as in all departments of inquiry, his interest was not purely, or even chiefly, theoretical, but, above all, practical. In 1880 he started the practice of determining by experiment the centre of gravity for each ship built by his firm, so reducing to system what had previously been done only occasionally by mercantile ship-builders, and following the course that had been pursued for many years by the Admiralty in connection with war-ships. At first the determination was made only for the light condition of the vessel, *i.e.*, with finished hull and machinery on board, but without coal or cargo. In the following year Mr. Denny extended the system to the condition in which the

vessel was launched, with most of the iron work finished, other work on the hull about half finished, and the machinery almost wholly wanting.

The subject of stability, though of vast practical moment, is of too abstruse a nature, I fear, for a layman like myself fully to understand, or to explain successfully to fellow-laymen. It bristles with technical terms, such as "centre," "metacentre," and the like. All have some rudimentary idea what the centre of gravity means, but I suspect the notions of most men outside the ship-building world respecting the other kind of centre are of the haziest description. It may be enough by way of definition to say that the "metacentre" is the point in a ship which corresponds approximately to the point of suspension of a pendulum, or the point* through which the upward pressure of the water, tending to right an inclined ship, acts. When the centre of gravity and the metacentre are both known for a given condition of loading and draught of water, the distance between them is the metacentric height, which is the measure of what is known as the initial stability, *i.e.*, stability for very small angles of heel imposed on the ship. To find the readiest and surest way of getting at the metacentre was the general aim of a paper read by Mr. Denny before the Institution of Naval Architects in 1882. Its title is so technical that I must relegate it to a footnote,† but its purpose is one with which we can all sympathise; for whoever assists in simplifying and making more accurate calculations

* Not necessarily a fixed point for varying inclinations.

† "On the Reduction of Transverse and Longitudinal Metacentric Curves to Ratio Curves."

ultimately affecting human life is a benefactor to his species. This observation applies with increased force to another paper read by Mr. Denny before the same Institution in April of 1884, whose title is equally abstruse,* and its subject too abstract for any but experts fully to comprehend. The phrase "cross curves of stability" may be a very expressive one for those who know what it refers to, but I confess it suggests very little meaning to my mind. I understand this much, however: that you do not know all you need to know about a ship's stability unless you know how it will behave in different states of loading and draught, and at different angles of inclination. When you have got that knowledge, you can represent it graphically in curves of stability, a separate curve for each important state of draught. But the calculation of these curves is, it seems, a very laborious business, insomuch that men are tempted to go through it perfunctorily or to neglect it altogether. Obviously any means of abridging the time and labour necessary for gaining the required information ought to be welcome. Such abridgment will tend to make the practice of ascertaining thoroughly all that relates to a ship's stability more common; and all can see that it is very much to be desired that it should become common, for that will mean building and sending to sea ships destined to live, instead of capsizing through some lack of stability.

To facilitate calculations of all that relates to a ship's

* "On Cross Curves of Stability, their Uses, and a Method of constructing them obviating the Necessity for the Usual Correction for the Differences of the Wedges of Immersion and Emersion."

stability was the aim of Mr. Denny's paper on "Cross Curves." These cross curves were an idea of his own; and the title, whatever its merit or demerit, belongs to him. It seems that the originality which he can claim in this connection must be confined to Britain. A Frenchman had worked on the same fundamental ideas as early as 1864, viz., M. Reéché, head of the Ecole d'Application du Génie Maritime. Unaware of what had been done in France, Mr. Denny's mind had been stimulated to original thought on the subject by the inquiry regarding the *Daphne*. The opening sentences of his paper reveal the genesis of the new idea: "Shortly after the *Daphne* inquiry it occurred to me that, as stability curves were required for at least four draughts of each steamer, it would be well if some method of obtaining these curves could be found which would facilitate their construction. The four conditions of draught required under ordinary circumstances are—the launching condition; the condition of the steamers completely finished, but without any weights of cargo, coals, or stores on board; the fully loaded condition with coals in bunkers; and the last-named condition with the coals consumed. If, in addition to the stability curves in the four above conditions, a stability curve were calculated intermediate in draught between the finished condition of the steamer and the loaded condition with the coal consumed, five points would be obtained at each angle, one for each of these different draughts of water, by means of which a cross curve of stability could be produced." *

* It may interest professional readers of this memoir to give here Mr. Denny's explanation of what he meant by cross curves in a "note"

For the working out of this original idea, and especially for the method of constructing cross curves, Mr. Denny was indebted to members of his scientific staff; and he was careful to acknowledge the fact in his paper. He was the last man in the world to appropriate the thoughts of other men and give them out as his own, even when those to whom they belonged were persons in his own employ. Messrs. H. Fellows and Couwenberg were both at work on

appended to the title, as given in a letter to Mr. Holmes, the Secretary of the Institution of Naval Architects. On the 31st October, 1883, he wrote to Mr. Holmes as follows:—

“I enclose with this the title and short description of a paper on stability I purpose reading before the Institution on the occasion of its next meeting. Will you kindly note and acknowledge receipt of enclosure.”

The enclosure was as follows:—

“LEVEN SHIP-YARD, DUMBARTON,
“ Oct. 31st, 1883.

“On Cross Curves of Stability, their Uses, and a Method of constructing them obviating the Necessity for the Usual Correction of the Differences of the Wedges of Immersion and Emersion.”

“Note on above title:—

“Ordinary stability curves are constructed at one draught or displacement, and have the length of the righting arm varying with the angle of inclination. The cross curves I propose will be each at a given and invariable angle, and have the length of the righting arm varying with the draught or displacement. It is evident that with such cross curves in number sufficient to cover angles at intervals of ten, fifteen, and twenty degrees, and each ranging throughout all the draughts or displacements from the launched to the loaded condition, ordinary stability curves at any draught, and with any height of centre of gravity, can be easily obtained, and with great rapidity. Indeed, I propose by means of these curves to make the same step for curves of righting arm as was made for displacement and metacentric data when calculations at one or more draughts were replaced by displacement and metacentric curves. The method of producing these cross curves introduced by my firm is also novel in so far that it dispenses with all correction for the differences of the wedges of immersion and emersion.”

“WILLIAM DENNY.”

these curves, and are both named in the paper, the place of honour being given to Mr. Fellows, concerning whom it is stated that he had "the honour of first working out such cross curves of stability, and also of inventing the method by which they could be produced with at least one half of the labour involved in constructing them from curves of stability obtained in the ordinary manner."

In the discussion which followed Mr. Denny again made acknowledgments of his obligations to his assistants in terms so characteristically generous that I feel I ought here to insert them. Speaking on the point of originality, he said: "What I did wish to claim in the paper was the originality of these two methods of Mr. Couwenberg and Mr. Fellows, in so far as these gentlemen were concerned. I am able to guarantee for them that these methods were worked out independently by them, with no suggestion from any other person, that they are the fruit of their own brains; and I may say this to the Institution, because it is an advisable thing that in this Institution we should not only discuss technical questions, but questions of *morale*, in the treatment of a staff. The principle on which my firm act with their staff is this: that every particle of credit which belongs to a member of our staff in doing any original work is put to his credit, and carefully kept to his credit. I think he must recognise more and more who has the honour to preside, as I have, over an extremely able staff, that he is presiding over gentlemen in many points of greater capacity than himself, and that he has to deal with them, not as with servants, but as with equals and friends."

It is obviously important to bring the practical applications of stability calculations to the knowledge of owners and commanders of vessels. In what form that can best be done is a question for careful consideration. Directions meant for the use of captains ought evidently to be as simple as possible. In 1884 Mr. William Denny introduced the practice of preparing for each steamer built by his firm a "Technical Qualities Book," to be put into the hands of the owner, containing general notes on the technical qualities of ships, such as dead weight capability, speed and power, stability, and special notes respecting the qualities of the particular steamer. How far the information thus furnished is appreciated or used, or found helpful, I am not able to state, but the practice of preparing such digests is continued by the firm, and in April of last year Mr. Archibald Denny read a paper before the Institution of Naval Architects * in which he explained the kind of information supplied by his firm to the owners of steamers they build, and unfolded a simplified method of proving the stability of a steamer before she leaves port. This method has actually been used by captains and found of great value.

The problem of stability in the case of mercantile steamers is very much complicated by the question of stowage. This was a subject which for some years occupied much of Mr. Denny's attention. He collected information on it with the view of embodying the results of his inquiries in a paper.† Pressure

* "On the Practical Application of Stability Calculations."

† In the spring of 1882 Mr. Denny sent Mr. Procter, one of his staff, to London to collect information in regard to stowage of different kinds

of work preventing him from carrying out his intention, he handed over his materials to Mr. F. P. Purvis, who read a paper on the subject before the Institution of Naval Architects in 1885. In the discussion which followed Mr. Denny said:—

“The largeness of the subject may deter members from dealing with it and carrying it further. It is thorny with details which are continually varying. The naval architects' data form the very smallest part, the information which has to be obtained from the stevedore and the ship-owner by far the most difficult part, of such work. . . . Ship-builders who are interested in their business should throw themselves into much closer relationship with the shipowners for whom they build, and with the stevedore and the practical men who handle their ships. It is only by means of practical information obtained from such men that we can hope to advance the art of ship-building from the regions of theory into those of practical success.”

Mr. Denny believed in frank intercommunication between all parties connected with the shipping interest with a view to mutual benefit. He desired information from shipowners for his own guidance as a ship-builder, and he deemed it his duty as a ship-builder to communicate to owners any information he possessed which might materially affect their interest. In this spirit he on one occasion prepared and sent to the owners a special report concerning a certain steamer built by his firm in accordance with specifications which the firm deemed incompatible with the requirements of stability. The report condemned particularly the narrow breadth of the vessel in relation to its depth, and carefully pointed out what steps would be necessary in the working of it to guard against the effects of what he deemed an

of cargo, furnishing him with elaborate written instructions. One of the points Mr. Procter was directed to inquire into was the effect of cargoes on stability.

enormous error in conception and design. The report closed with these sentences : " We have taken some pains to lay these matters before you because we feel that, as the builders of the C——, and as having originally objected to her dimensions, we have some claim to speak upon the point of her stability. We have done so, as we have spoken in the past, frankly and to the point ; and we hope you will receive our remarks with the consideration which we think we have a right to claim for them." The reply was a " very bare letter of acknowledgment."

Mr. Denny was firmly convinced that the commercial interests of owners were compromised by such disregard of stability in the design of ships as that exposed in the above-mentioned report. He had expressed the opinion decidedly a year before the report was written in a discussion on a paper read before the Institution of Naval Architects on the stability of certain steamers, pointing out that in the case of cargo-carrying steamers defective stability meant waste of time in loading and unloading, and the necessity of carrying unprofitable cargo—dead-weight cargo low down for the sake of stability. In a correspondence shortly after with the writer of the paper he reverted to the subject, and expressed himself in terms indicative of deep conviction and strong feeling. " I am resolved," he writes in one letter, " to pursue the subject, and raise public attention by submitting instances from my own experience of anomalous results. It is absurd to conduct scientific investigations and experiments in naval architecture and to leave them so powerless and fruitless as to induce the rule-of-thumb world to suppose such

pursuits are merely dilettante amusements. Even at the risk of offending one powerful company, it is worth while demonstrating to shipowners that science and skill in naval architecture are in the more complex types of steamers simply correlatives of money-earning power." In another letter he remarks that the true friends of ship-owning companies are not builders who assent to everything, but those who warn them of mistakes which are certain to render their steamers antiquated before their time.

One cannot but admire the high spirit of one who was ready to brave the displeasure of powerful ship-owning companies, with all that it might involve, out of regard to truth and the general interest of the community. This spirit is not too common in the commercial world, but it is of more value to the nation than material wealth.

I may fitly close this account of Mr. Denny's work in connection with stability by recording the generous encouragement given by him to Mr. Heck, the inventor of the "stability balance," by which the elaborate calculations necessary in most previous methods of dealing with stability are superseded. Mr. Denny, as was to be expected, took much interest in the invention, invited Mr. Heck to take up his residence at Dumbarton while engaged in constructing necessary apparatus, which he was generously permitted to do at the expense of the firm, and treated him throughout with the utmost consideration and sympathy.

CHAPTER VII.

REFORMS AND CONFLICTS IN CONSTRUCTION.

THE reforming, progressive spirit of William Denny, having at its command an inexhaustible store of energy, made itself felt in all directions, and on the whole beneficently, usefully. For he was not a man of a merely restless temper, opinionative, crotchety. His was the initiative of a well-instructed man who had sagacity to see where defects lay, and courage to point them out and seek to get them removed at all hazards; and his action has been largely justified by results. He was incapable of the ignoble policy of shunning the arduous career of a reformer from purely prudential considerations. He could not reconcile himself to the servile task of building ships in accordance with the ignorant prejudices of owners or the antiquated rules of controlling bodies by the commercial consideration that the probable reward of worldly wisdom was abundant orders and large profits. For a ship-builder capable of playing that part he had great contempt. He aspired, for his own part, to a higher position than that of a mere mechanic, or manufacturer of ships acting under the dictation of despotic managers of shipping companies. Addressing a meeting of the Court of the Worshipful Company of Shipwrights

in 1882, when his main contributions to naval architecture had been made, he defined the true position of the ship-builder to owners in these terms:—

“ I feel sure that the wise shipowner of the future, instead of coming to his builder with the meagre list of technical requirements which he has, perhaps wrongly, determined, will submit to him instead the conditions of his trade, and draw upon him for fuller, better, and more successful advice. We are bound, if we render ourselves worthy of it, to occupy the position of professional advisers, instead of that of mere manufacturers. The world needs professional advice quite as much regarding ships as regarding bridges, docks, and railways; and if we can only realise and uphold the dignity of our craft by a large, rich, and broad-minded training, we shall receive from it, not only tangible rewards, but that professional honour which should be of greater value to us.”

It is the destiny of pioneers to come into more or less rude collision with the conservatism of institutions and interests. Against the progressive impulses of the reformer, against everything new in thought or action, there is a law—the law of established usage and of vested interests which would be imperilled by change. It was inevitable therefore that there should be a controversial or fighting element in the life of a man like William Denny. But his controversies were always without bitterness on his side, and, except in a single instance, on both sides. He was a chivalrous foeman, who hit hard, but in good-temper and with never-failing courtesy, and taking blows with more pleasure than he gave them.

The matters to be dealt with in this chapter bear chiefly on Mr. Denny's relations with the Board of Trade and Lloyd's Register, the two great controlling powers which in different ways exercise an almost despotic sway over ship-building. In the following pages I shall have occasion to notice the

chief instances in which he became a critic of their rules or came into collision with their authority, and the general views which he entertained regarding their influence. But before entering on that subject I may notice briefly an important improvement in the system of local examinations in naval architecture which he was the means of effecting.

To these South Kensington local examinations Mr. Denny attached great importance. He saw in them the principal means of influencing the education of the greater number of future naval architects who were not in circumstances to avail themselves of the higher education provided by the Royal Naval College at Greenwich. He held that "if we are to educate the majority of our rising naval architects, we must bring the necessary education to their doors, and enable them to obtain it concurrently with their everyday work." But while valuing the local examinations as supplying the needful stimulus to self-culture under the guidance of local teachers, he held that as actually conducted they were seriously defective, chiefly in two ways: by obliging students to waste time on antiquated subjects, and by failing to give sufficient prominence to subjects of fundamental importance in the present state of ship-building. To these defects accordingly he directed attention in a paper "on Local Education in Naval Architecture" read before the Institution of Naval Architects in April of 1881, in which he advocated that questions in wooden or composite ship-building should be omitted or made optional, and that a larger number of questions should be set on such subjects as construction in iron and steel,

the strength of rivetted joints, the nature of iron and steel, their manufacture, and the tests generally required of them, the theory of naval architecture and the calculations connected with it. In the discussion which followed Mr. Denny's views met with almost unqualified approbation. Lord Ravensworth, the President, summing up, said: "I am perfectly sure that no one will leave this room to-night and entertain the idea that he has been listening to the case of *Denny v. Baskcomb*" (the examiner). "It is the case of public opinion *versus* the present system of examination at South Kensington. That has been the question; and it has been discussed with very great ability, and in my humble judgment with very great public utility. I have no doubt whatever that this discussion will produce good fruit." It did produce the fruit desired by the writer of the paper: modifications of the examinations in the directions indicated.

Mr. Denny's chief encounter with the Board of Trade had reference to an important improvement in the construction of steamers which his firm were the first practically to introduce: the principle of cellular double bottoms.* The question involved was whether the internal capacity of the ship for tonnage should be measured from the top of the actual water-ballast tank or from an imaginary floor which would have existed had the ship been built on

* "Although the bracket system of double bottoms, now so common, had its origin in the yard of Austin and Hunter, Sunderland, aided by some of Lloyd's experienced men, the system was taken up with such intelligence and energy by Mr." (W.) "Denny that he has come to be identified with it" (Mr. N. Dunlop in a paper to the Philosophical Society, Glasgow, on "Ancient and Modern Ships").

the ordinary method. It was a question of vital importance, because the double bottom is an admirable provision for safety, giving the ship an inner skin when the outer one is injured or broken; and owners would have been tempted to forego this advantage had this system of double bottom been penalised by the intermediate space being included in the tonnage. This attempt therefore Mr. Denny resolved to resist to the uttermost; and, rather than submit to what he regarded as an unjust and mischievous arrangement, he advised his firm to raise an action in the Court of Session against the Board, believing that they were exceeding their legal powers, whereupon the Board judiciously succumbed.*

This experience was not calculated to foster in Mr. Denny's mind a high estimate of the supervision over ship-builders which the Board of Trade claimed the right to exercise in the public interest. He had another experience of their paternal government earlier in the same year in a matter of much less importance, which, however, sufficed to provoke him into writing a paper exposing the injurious effect of their interference, and animadverting freely on their incapacity as then constituted to exercise the despotic control to which they seemed to aspire. In this paper, read before the Institution of Engineers and Ship-builders in Scotland in 1878,† he called on

* The views of the professional advisers of the Board of Trade are given in the Report of the Royal Commission on Measurement of Tonnage (Appendix 47). Their opinion was, the Board had no case. For Mr. Denny's view on the question *vide* his remarks on paper read before the Institution of Naval Architects by Mr. White on "The Revision of the Tonnage Laws" in 1882.

† "On the Late Action of the Board of Trade with regard to Storm Valves."

mercantile ship-builders to "do their utmost to restrain the system of paternal government now being originated in London for all who are engaged in the construction and equipment of ships," and asked the pointed question: "Are we to be gradually mastered by a department devoted to obstruction and meddling, and the best efforts of which can only result in an elaborate and rigid codification, or are we to advance, as in the past, by individual energy and ability?" He boldly asserted that the Board of Trade as then (and still) constituted was not competent for the task it took on itself, and would never be till it had become a representative body composed in equal proportions of ship-owners, ship-builders, and engineers. He held that if control over a trade is to be exercised with due regard to its progress, that control should be drawn from the trade itself, just as surely as an Imperial Government must be drawn from its subjects if it is to rule and progress at the same time. "This cannot be disputed," he argued, "unless we assume that the trade is one of evil influence in its nature, or so full of unscrupulous men that no righteous voice can be drawn from it." He further asserted that the Board of Trade as actually constituted did not make use of the official experience and talent it had at its command, things being done in its name contrary to the known opinions of its most capable advisers, on whose advice or authority no one could tell, the truth probably being that the Board of Trade meant practically some unknown permanent official. It roused his indignation to think of a nameless, possibly ill-informed, clerk of a department giving law to men who "origin-

ated and formed iron ship construction and advanced it to prosperity before the centralisation now going on in London was ever dreamt of." In this attitude of rebellion against the dominion of permanent officialism Mr. Denny had the sympathy of ship-builders generally, and indeed of all connected with the shipping interest. Mr. Wilson Mills Roche, of Sunderland, spoke for a wide constituency when, in his evidence before the Royal Commission on Loss of Life at Sea in 1886, he said: "It may appear a small matter, but in my opinion the Board of Trade has suffered much in public estimation because of its name, at least so far as the Marine Department is concerned. The communications which are sent to shipowners and others from Whitehall, and which refer to 'the full consideration of the Board' or 'the careful and anxious deliberation of the Board,' have such an appearance of collective and responsible wisdom that it comes as a shock to find that the decision arrived at is, after all, simply the opinion of one or more permanent officials."

In his own evidence before the same Commission Mr. Denny reiterated the views which he had expressed eight years before in the paper above referred to. He then said:—

"I very much prefer both the staff of the Admiralty and the staff of Lloyd's to the staff of the Board of Trade. My reasons for this are that the technical staff of the Board of Trade, in so far as it has to do with naval architecture, does not command professional esteem in the country in the same way as the staffs of the Admiralty and Lloyd's do. . . . My second objection to the staff of the Board of Trade is that it is not, through the public life of the technical institutions of the country, in touch with mercantile ship-builders as the staffs of Lloyd's Register and the Admiralty are. It is consequently removed from the necessity of replying to criticism. My third objection is that even if the Board of

Trade staff met the two foregoing objections, it would still be deficient for want of such a board of control as gives power and popularity to the staff of our two registries."

He went on to advocate the appointment of a representative board drawn from the interests controlled, containing representatives of the shipowners, underwriters, ship-builders, marine engineers, sailors, and officers' institutions:—

"I consider that such a board would have effective control over practices which should be repressed; and we have confirmation for such a belief in our experience of the action of the committees of the registration societies, which has steadily tended to improve both the structure and the workmanship in iron and steel steamers. The staff of the Board of Trade as at present constituted has to encounter very serious difficulties. They are in such isolation that they are unable to have a true appreciation on the one hand of the continual variations in the types, dimensions, and arrangements of steamers; and on the other hand, they do not keep abreast with the changes, the progress, and the improvements in that science of naval architecture which is more and more tending to guide practice, to explain difficulties, and to avoid dangers. Unless one is in the heart of all this flux of types, dimensions, and arrangements, and of the changes in the science of naval architecture, it is certain that more mischief than good is likely to come from interference in it. Control in such a condition of things must be drawn from the elements to be controlled; otherwise all attempts at control will depreciate themselves through their failures, or through producing quite unnecessary inconvenience and irritation."

It is a poor institution that has no apologists. The Board of Trade found an influential apologist in Mr. Chamberlain, who, in his speech in the House of Commons on May 19th, 1884, on moving the second reading of a Bill to provide for greater security of life and property at sea, referring to the attitude of shipowners towards the Board of Trade, of which he was then President, used these words: "They object to the administration of the Board of Trade; they criticise it; they denounce it. Well, I must

say I have followed very attentively their criticisms ; and I have come to the conclusion that there is nothing on earth which would satisfy them, except that there should be a tribunal formed wholly of ship-owners, and that they should be the sole arbiters in all questions in which they are concerned." Whether any or many shipowners advocated the appointment of so one-sided a tribunal as that I do not know, but it will be observed that Mr. Denny's proposal of a representative board was of a very different character ; and a passing sneer in a parliamentary speech was hardly the way to dispose of the views of a man like him, so thoroughly competent, and so utterly superior to all suspicion of being actuated by a narrow regard to selfish interest. By the time he made that speech Mr. Chamberlain had had an opportunity of hearing very fully Mr. Denny's views. Mr. Denny had been favoured with an interview by the President of the Board of Trade in November, 1883, having been introduced to him by Mr. (now Sir Bernhard) Samuelson, M.P. In that interview Mr. Denny had, as he expressed it, the fullest opportunity of saying his say ; and the gist of what he said was that the technical question was the key to the position, and the fundamental need good technical advice, without which the best administrative skill and energy would exhaust themselves in vain. From letters written by Mr. Denny about the time the Merchant Shipping Bill was before the House of Commons, he appears to have been of opinion that Mr. Chamberlain had made a mistake with the Bill in consequence of the bad advice he had got from the department of which he was the head. In Mr.

Chamberlain's judgment dealing with facts on which he had special information, or upon which he had been well advised, he had considerable confidence; but he deemed the permanent staff of the Board of Trade hardly competent to deal wisely with shipping matters. "He has plenty of force," he wrote in one letter, "but in this case it has passed along wrong conductors." So that in Mr. Denny's opinion the Board of Trade exercised an injurious influence, not merely in harassing ship-builders, but in misleading legislators.

It will have been observed that in the passage quoted from Mr. Denny's evidence before the Royal Commission he compared the Board of Trade with Lloyd's Register to the disadvantage of the former. Sometimes he combined the two together and made them the subject of a common complaint. Thus in one of his letters to Mr. R. Duncan he writes half humorously, half in sad earnest:—

"My main quarrel with Lloyd's is that, possessing a scientific department of a costly nature, they do nothing but object to every practical effort to put things right. . . . The skill that should be turned to producing improvement is squandered in showing that any improvement is dangerous and impossible. I am afraid in this country we are rapidly losing the secret of our old success, which was individual boldness and resources of ingenuity. We are becoming rapidly a vast flock of sheep administered from London by the tender and paternal cares of the good shepherds of the Board of Trade and Lloyd's. I think it worth while—and so do many more—to struggle against this, and one scheme for helping this struggle is of my father's institution. His wish is to found a yearly scholarship from the Clyde to the Royal School of Naval Architecture, with the condition that each winner must work on Clyde (anywhere) five years after his return. Such a scheme, besides being generous and right, would pour into Clyde precisely the high technical skill required to fight Government departments and large corporations who buy up such skill for the purpose of by its means fixing their power more firmly."

The belligerent tone of these sentences, written in the beginning of 1878, is unmistakable; and I shall now proceed to inform the reader what was the main subject on which Mr. Denny was at war with the authorities at Lloyd's Register. But before entering on that controversial territory, it is due to all parties to state that any differences of opinion existing between him and these authorities were compatible, not merely with mutual respect, but even with cordial relations of friendship. For Mr. Martell, the Chief Surveyor at Lloyd's, Mr. Denny entertained a sincere esteem, which finds frequent expression in his letters; and Mr. Martell in turn speaks of the letters from Mr. Denny in his possession as showing the earnestness of his character in all he undertook, and his largeness of mind, and generosity in judging of men.

In his very first paper to the Institution of Naval Architects Mr. Denny took up the position of a critic towards Lloyd's. It was on "Lloyd's Numerals," and was read at Glasgow in the autumn session of 1877. In the spring session of the same year he had taken part in several discussions, but his first remarks bearing on Lloyd's Register were made in the discussion on Mr. Froude's paper "On the Wave-making Resistance of Ships." Thanking Mr. Barnaby and his assistants at the Admiralty for the service they had rendered to the mercantile marine in enabling Mr. Froude to make such experiments, he said:—

"I think we too often neglect such thanks; and we forget that at this present moment, when the science of construction, or the art of construction as I should rather call it, of iron ships is being absorbed by one or two great bodies laying down rules for it, and thereby to a great extent

extinguishing the independent ability of individual ship-builders, the Admiralty are pushing forward in the way of developing new forms of construction and bringing forward new ideas. . . . I think we should not fail to remember that, and also to remember that, with regard to this particular subject, the Admiralty by enabling Mr. Froude to make these experiments have distinctly taken the lead in the investigation of ship resistance."

In illustration of the unsatisfactory way in which Lloyd's rules acted, he referred to a vessel built by his own firm which realised rather less speed than he expected, and said:—

"I made an investigation of this case, taking Mr. Froude's researches as my guide; and I found that a foot of increase in breadth upon each side of that vessel would have been of the utmost benefit in producing, not only twelve and a half, but twelve and three-quarter knots. Now I wish to point out to you what one effect of that additional foot on each side of the vessel would have been. It would have been that Lloyd's in this vessel of unchanged length, thus increased in breadth alone, would have increased the scantlings* to such an extent that the whole benefit would have been swept away."

Mr. Denny had by this time become convinced that Lloyd's rules for the construction of iron vessels practically strangled everything like scientific improvement in design. That he was not alone in this conviction, and but expressed the feeling uppermost in the minds of the first scientific authorities on naval architecture, though it had not hitherto found voice, appeared from the remarks made on the same occasion by Mr. (now Sir Nathaniel) Barnaby, then Chief Constructor of the British Navy, and Mr. (now Sir Edward) Reed, his immediate predecessor. Mr. Barnaby said: "I am delighted that we have Mr. Denny and those like him, who are thoroughly

* "Scantlings" is the technical name for the dimensions, and especially the thickness, of the different portions of which a ship is composed.

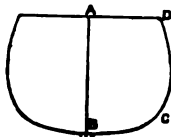
competent and ready to put into practice the things which Mr. Froude is bringing before us. I have not the least doubt that Lloyd's surveyors and the Board of Trade will immediately follow them as soon as they see their way in this matter. We shall see that their rules will be made to conform to that which is proved to be necessary for the proper progress of the science of naval architecture." Mr. Reed remarked: "I must say it is very gratifying to hear what has passed this morning, and particularly the remarks of Mr. Denny and those which have just fallen from my friend Mr. Barnaby. . . . Reference has been made by Mr. Denny to the influence which the great societies such as Lloyd's undoubtedly exert in checking the early application of these scientific discoveries. Now I draw an inference from that. The inference is that Lloyd's will have to move a little faster along the path which they have already commenced to travel. Lloyd's have already introduced officers of very high scientific attainments into their body of surveyors, and they will have to introduce more and to watch more closely over their proceedings. There is also a further fact: that Lloyd's a long time ago did recognise the great principle, which only requires extension in its carrying out, that they would not fetter the action of ship-builders by the mere brutal application of their rules as they stand, but would take into consideration any and every special design which was submitted to them, although that design did not conform in all particulars to their rules."

Thus encouraged, Mr. Denny, with the sanguine audacity of youth, announced his intention of giving

Mr. Martell an opportunity of considering some objections he had to the rules at the autumn session. The result was the paper on "Lloyd's Numerals" above alluded to.* In this paper he pointed out that these numerals tended to increase the scantlings of ships when such increase was not required, and proposed a new basis for fixing scantlings. Going back on the remarks he had made at a previous meeting, he insisted on the point that by action of the numerals any increase of the midship section even when no change is made either in the weight or in the length of the ship is liable to be taxed by a needlessly heavy scantling. "The shipowner" sees and says "that a greater breadth entails on him purely by its increase, and without reference to other features in the ship, a greater weight of hull, costing a greater first cost, and diminishing dead weight capacity at the same time; he therefore would not build broader ships than he was compelled to by pure necessity."

Giving Lloyd's committee credit for having no intention to favour undesirable types of ships, while maintaining that such was the actual effect of their existing rules, he invited them to consider and adopt

* "Numerals" are conventional figures used by Lloyd's to represent the sizes of vessels dealt with, and fix the "scantlings," or dimensions, of all the parts. For each vessel two numerals are used. The "transverse"



numeral, got by obtaining from the greatest section of the vessel the sum of the lengths A B, B C, C D, D A, determines the scantlings of the frames or ribs and other parts, especially those in a direction across the ship. The "longitudinal" numeral, got by multiplying the transverse numeral by the length of the vessel, determines the scantlings, especially the thickness, of the parts placed lengthwise in the ship, the most important being the shell or outside plating and the deck plating.

a system of numerals of such a nature as would remove all unfairness. Such a scheme he declared himself ready to propose, and he proceeded forthwith to announce it in these terms: "I propose that both the longitudinal and transverse numerals should be multiples of the displacement." That is to say, his contention was that no basis for scantlings could be satisfactory which did not introduce the weight of the vessel at her load draught into the numerals.* For such numerals he claimed as a merit that they would recognise a wide variety of ships, and upon a sound basis, at the same time taking a definite pledge from the shipowner for the fulfilment of Lloyd's requirements. "They would impose upon him simply the choice of and adherence to a fixed displacement mark, and they would concede to a very great variety of types the liberality of treatment due to different work which Lloyd's have attempted to give to one type in the spar-deck class. There can be no doubt," Mr. Denny went on to say, "that we are on the verge of a fresher and more liberal consideration of the forms of vessels, both with regard to speed and to other qualities. Mr. Froude's paper on 'Useful Displacement,' read before this Institution in 1874, marks a fresh departure in the thought about these things; and I trust Lloyd's will not longer adhere to numerals which oppose and limit a justifiable choice in the forms and types of ships to be built. I am sure any one who will

* On Mr. Denny's system the transverse numeral would be the existing one multiplied by the displacement and divided by some convenient constant number, and the longitudinal would be $\frac{\text{length} \times \text{displacement}}$.

carefully study Mr. Froude's paper and then turn to Lloyd's numerals will easily see the wide difference between the spirit of the two. . . . So great a society must surely possess the ambition to lead, and not to hamper, fair, honest, and legitimate enterprise in the art of ship-building. At present their rules are in antagonism to much possible improvement, and they will remain so until some very decided change in the direction I have intimated is made."

To the uninstructed layman Lloyd's numerals are very mysterious entities, but all can understand and appreciate the importance of the practical issue raised: freedom for improvement in design within safe limits, unhampered by arbitrary rules; and all can sympathise with the ardent young ship-builder bent on progress following in the wake of science, and groaning under the strangulation of individual thought and action in the boa-constrictor coils of the omnipotent register society. And as matters still remain as they were, and many professional men feel very keenly on the subject, I hope readers will bear with me if I go a little further into it.

In the discussion which followed the reading of Mr. Denny's paper Mr. Martell and Mr. John, as the chief technical and scientific advisers of Lloyd's Register, stood on the defensive, and maintained that no change, at least in the direction indicated by Mr. Denny, would be any improvement on the system then still in force. Replying on a paper read by himself at the same time, Mr. John referred to the proposed displacement basis, and said: "I do not think it will work, for the reason that there is nothing definite about it. Either Lloyd's must fix

load-line and get a definite displacement, and that must be a hard-and-fast load-line, or else if it is not the correct load-line for the ship—and Mr. Denny suggests it need not be—then it is a fictitious load-line, and therefore a fictitious basis for scantlings. In dealing with these questions of scantlings, there are three parties to be considered, if not more, viz., the ship-builder and the shipowner, as well as the classification societies; and I would ask, How many shipowners in this country know the displacement of their ships or care about the displacement? They care for the carrying capacity of their ships, but they do not care for the displacement, and frequently in arranging with the builder it is the case that they stipulate for certain dimensions. They stipulate for certain carrying capacity; and if they were also to stipulate, as Mr. Denny suggests, for displacement, they would tie their own hands, and have no hold whatever over the builder to ensure having their primary object—viz., carrying capacity—fulfilled.”

Mr. Denny not having the right of reply to these strictures at that time, resolved to do so in another paper on the same subject at the next meeting of the Institution; and the result was a paper on “Lightened Scantlings,” read in 1878, in which he discussed Mr. John’s objections in detail. Having referred to a vague impression that displacement numerals would proceed on some *à priori* principle, which would thicken the plating of a large steamer beyond all reason, and thin the plating of a small steamer beyond all safety, as an obvious mistake, he proceeded to deal with the objection that a displace-

ment basis might be a fictitious basis. "This," he said, "may mean that an owner might, for the purpose of getting heavier scantlings, put the displacement mark at a point he never intended to load to. If he did this, he would do no harm (to any but himself). If the objection meant, however, that he would attempt to load to such a draught, . . . he might be safely left to the care of the authorities at the port, who would very quickly enlighten his clever obtuseness."

On the alleged ignorance of shipowners as to displacement Mr. Denny remarked: "My experience does not confirm this. May we not assume that even the dullest owner knows the meaning of dead weight capacity, and that this knowledge will enable him to understand fairly well any contract he may desire to make for a ship? The necessity for understanding displacement and for working out the different conflicting elements in connection with it may then be safely left with the ship-builder, whose interest would very soon sharpen his wits to a very fine appreciation of the problems he had in hand."

It has to be remembered that Mr. John's criticisms and Mr. Denny's replies were anterior by six or seven years to the labours of the Load-line Committee, and were made under the uncertainties as to the load-line ruling at the time.

As a general result the paper on "Lightened Scantlings" showed that in the three classes recognised by Lloyd's there existed a difference of scantlings corresponding to the different load displacements considered suitable for these different classes; in other words, the principle of a displace-

ment basis was virtually allowed as between class and class.

Messrs. Martell and John were again on the defensive, criticising all the suggestions of the paper adversely. Mr. Denny in replying wound up a vigorous retort courteous thus: "The fact is, gentlemen, Lloyd's numerals will sooner or later have to be changed or modified; if they are not, you will see improved numerals in some other society: the Bureau Veritas or the Liverpool underwriters. It is quite impossible for Lloyd's to stand still. The numerals are wrong, whatever Mr. John or Mr. Martell may say; and I am prepared to meet and discuss them further with them at any time they please."

Time passed without any change in Lloyd's rules, but Mr. Denny never missed an opportunity of pointing out their defects and urging reform. In the discussion on a paper by Mr. Martell, read before the Institution of Naval Architects in 1880, on "The Causes of Unseaworthiness in Merchant Steamers," he said:—

"Mr. Scott Russell asked if there were not over and above the tonnage laws some other empirical points which might induce vessels to be built too narrow or too deep; and I am very sorry, and I am sure Mr. Martell will pardon me, that, following upon his most admirable paper, I am obliged to refer to the rules of his own society as being a case in point. Some years ago I drew the attention of this Institution to certain faults which seemed to me to be very apparent in Lloyd's numerals. These faults consisted in this: that, while we were thoroughly agreed that the breadth, and depth, and girth of a steamer ought to rule her transverse scantlings, we had not the same agreement in thinking that these elements ought to be involved in deciding the question of her longitudinal scantlings; that is, the thickness of her skin and stringers. Now Lloyd's rules, as they at present stand, do bring in these points; they do militate against the increase of breadth, and they do militate against the increase

of depth—they tax both of them. It is quite true that by certain precautions taken by Lloyd's with regard to the limitations of the depth and breadth something has been done to remedy this, but not sufficient; and I hope to live to see the day when Lloyd's society will in this matter improve their rules. I know it will be a matter of much difficulty to work out a new basis, but I do not think that that society should adhere to a basis which contains in itself a disapprobation of requirements which Mr. Martell, very properly, wishes to see satisfied."

Some weighty words on the subject of Lloyd's rules fell from Mr. Denny's lips in 1886, the year in which he took his last public share in the work of the Institution of Naval Architects. In a discussion on a paper on "A Strain Indicator for Use at Sea" by Mr. Stromeyer, Mr. Ramage had remarked that, as Lloyd's Register were mainly responsible for the scantlings and rules for ship construction, such investigations were properly their province, and not the ship-builder's. The remark had called up Mr. John Inglis, jun., who said: "I beg to differ entirely from Mr. Ramage, as I, for one, am not yet prepared to completely efface myself as a ship-builder and put myself under the paternal care of Lloyd's committee, much as I respect the gentlemen who compose that body." Mr. Denny then rose and said:—

"I think the point Mr. Inglis has raised is one of the very highest importance. It would be deplorable if the ship-builders of this country allowed their intelligence and enterprise to be paralysed by the supremacy of Lloyd's. Mr. Ramage's remarks indicate a tendency in that direction, a tendency which I hope, from one quarter or another, will sooner or later receive a check. . . . There is no doubt construction is falling more and more absolutely into the hands of Lloyd's, and that there is a very serious danger to progress in construction in this very large department of naval architecture falling so absolutely into the hands of one body. These remarks have no reference to Mr. Stromeyer's paper, but only to the point raised by Mr. Ramage. We in this Institution have the spirit of our profession sufficiently at heart to recognise a good gift from whatever source it comes; and we shall all agree that, although Lloyd's may have,

and must have, a dangerous tendency from their very organisation to become dogmatic and absolute, the danger is somewhat lessened by the presence on their staff of several young and enterprising naval architects."

When Mr. Denny spoke these words, the Liverpool Underwriters' Registry had been absorbed by Lloyd's Register, whereby the latter became practically absolute in ship construction in Britain. The influence of this then recent event can be traced in the tone of his remarks. His last public utterance on professional topics in the Institution in whose proceedings he had for nine years taken so prominent and distinguished a part took the form of an appeal to his friend Mr. Martell to use his influence in the right direction. In a discussion on a paper by Mr. Read on "The Strength of Bulkheads" he said: "I would further suggest to my good friend Mr. Martell, whom I have often criticised in the past, and whom I daresay I shall often criticise in the future, what a debt of gratitude constructors would owe him, and what a feeling of confidence they would have in Lloyd's, if every now and again some investigation were brought out by means of which the structures of steamers could be lightened. It is a mistake to suppose that our one possible line of advance must involve increase of structural weight. There is a great line of progress in the direction of lightening the structure which I think Lloyd's are a little apt to neglect. I believe, with the able staff my friend has at his command, it would be as easy for him to adopt this line of investigation as the other."

To the foregoing account of Mr. Denny's opinions on Lloyd's rules I may here append some words of

Mr. Robert Duncan, through whose kind aid chiefly I have been enabled to give it. He speaks strongly, some may think too strongly; but he has vindicated his right to speak by his own able advocacy of Mr. Denny's views on a recent occasion.*

"Nine years before," writes Mr. Duncan, "Mr. Denny began his work in the Institution of Naval Architects by impressing upon Lloyd's Register the defects in their rules and the necessity for improvement and modification in them to admit of 'lightened scantlings.' His last words are practically a pleading with them to the same effect. Years of disappointment in this direction had satisfied him that Lloyd's Register is not to be moved by any considerations or suggestions from without, however reasonable, scientifically or practically just, and necessary, unless backed by powerful public opinion, which they find themselves unable to withstand. That public opinion only once—through the success of the Liverpool Underwriters' Registry—compelled Lloyds very reluctantly to lighten scantlings, much to the advantage of the shipowners, for whose and the underwriters' benefit Lloyd's Register professedly exists. That danger past, Lloyd's Register rested content; and in their absorption of the Liverpool Registry in 1885 Mr. Denny saw the end of all his hopes of making

* *Vide* "Address on the Classification of Shipping delivered to the Clyde Sailing and Steamship Owners' Association at Glasgow" 19th December, 1887, by Mr. Robert Duncan. In this address Mr. Duncan advocates reform of the constitution of Lloyd's committee by the admission of ship-builders, at present excluded, and by a larger representation of Scottish shipowners. This he thinks the most likely way to reach reform of the rules by the adoption of a displacement basis for scantlings. This movement is making steady progress.

any improvement upon Lloyd's Register or rules through the influence of existing rival registries. Hence his altered tone, his warning protest against ship-builders allowing their intelligence and enterprise to be paralysed by the supremacy of Lloyd's, and his almost pathetic appeal, with his last public utterance, to Lloyd's Register to give some consideration to the opinions of constructors in modifying and lightening scantlings. All of no use. They heeded not his voice when living, powerful as it was; and they will heed it less now that he is dead, unless it be backed, as we hope it will, by a public sentiment on his native river which, great and powerful as Lloyd's Register now is, they may find it difficult to withstand."

The last words spoken by Mr. Denny at the Institution of Naval Architects—in proposing a vote of thanks to the Society of Arts for the use of their hall for the meetings of the Institution—were these:—

"Any one who has entered this hall as I did, a youngster, who has acquired years and experience in it, who has given and taken blows in it, and felt the delight of life in its contests, a life consisting of more than patting each other on the back, must have an affection for it. I am sure anyway Mr. Martell has. We must feel that in this hall, with its colossal pictures, offering an alternative of interest and charm to occasional dull papers, with the associations which have clustered about it, the Society of Arts has given us something far more than any mere loan for a year could convey. Therefore in returning thanks to that Society we should do so, not only for this year, but for a past record of years that have added a charm to the Institution over which you, my lord, so ably preside."

These are the words of one who has a good conscience. He has carried on for years a warfare with a formidable foe with unfailing courtesy and a truly

chivalrous spirit, and no utterance of his has left behind it any unpleasant feeling.

At the commencement of this chapter I indicated that there was one exception to the statement that all the controversies in which Mr. Denny was engaged were conducted without bitterness on all sides. In alluding now to that solitary exception, I do so with reluctance, and with no intention to go into the merits of the controversy, but simply with the view of illustrating the zeal of William Denny for the honour of his master, William Froude, and his desire to do justice even to an opponent by whom, as he thought, that honour was impugned. The question was one of priority or originality in the method of obtaining the initial friction from progressive speed trials. Mr. Mansel, a well-known ship-builder on the Clyde, having lighted by accident, years after they were spoken, on certain words of Mr. Denny uttered in the discussion on the paper by Mr. Froude read before the Institution of Naval Architects on the 7th April, 1876, formed the impression that they contained a charge of plagiarism against himself. He took the statements in reference to himself as amounting to this: "R. Mansel, taking advantage of a private communication to him of a discovery of Dr. Froude, had devised another means of representing the same idea, and proffered it to Mr. William Denny as his own discovery." Feeling aggrieved, he made a public complaint, to which Mr. Denny replied by reading a paper before the Institution of Engineers and Ship-builders in Scotland on 23rd December, 1884, in which he repudiated the intention of bringing a charge of plagiarism against Mr.

Mansel. All that the general public need to know of the quarrel is contained in three letters which here follow.* The first is from a friend to Mr. Denny acknowledging receipt of his paper and counselling peace; the second is a reply by Mr. Denny, expressing his appreciation of his friend's irenic counsels, and stating that he has already acted on his advice by anticipation in a letter to Mr. Mansel, a copy of it being enclosed; the third is that letter to Mr. Mansel.

"25th December, 1884.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have duly received copy of the paper read by you at the Institution here on Tuesday evening, for which I am much obliged, and which I shall look into. First, I think it is to be regretted that our two leading men in all that concerns the art of ship-building should not have been able to arrange a slight misunderstanding without coming before the public in this way. I received Mansel's circular letter, and he called on me at the same time. I expressed the same opinion to him, but he seemed to feel it much, and had by that time taken the first step. It was too old a story to revive, and a private chat would have put the whole to rights. The way he came to know of it was in this way. He became a member of the Institution of Naval Architects only within the last few years; and I had lent him several volumes of the Transactions, and in 1876 number he came upon the paper, or rather your remarks on Mr. Froude's paper, which had altogether escaped my notice. I am quite sure that you entertain sentiments of esteem for each other, and would not knowingly do one another harm. Your paper is mildly expressed,

* Those who desire further information will find full particulars in the paper as reprinted from the Transactions. An appendix gives all the documents involved in the controversy. Among these is a translation of a chapter from M. Reché's "Cours de Mécanique," in which, according to Mr. Mansel, Froude's discoveries were anticipated. Mr. Denny introduced this chapter into his pamphlet because Mr. Mansel had admitted to him that he had never read it, and others who had referred to it seemed to be in the same case. This I learn from a letter in my possession by Mr. Denny to M. Chaudoye, Ministère de la Marine, Paris, asking him to get a proof of the translation revised by his staff. Mr. Denny's words are: "Curiously enough he" (Mr. Mansel) "admitted to me that he had never read it; and this seems to have been very much the case with all who have referred to it."

and I think the sooner wounds are healed the better. Let both draw it mild. I will likely see Mansel soon, and will advise in the same way. Wishing you a happy Christmas and a prosperous new year,

"I am, etc.,

"DAVID ROWAN.

"WILLIAM DENNY, Esq."

To which Mr. Denny thus replied :—

"26/12/84.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I am just now in receipt of your note of yesterday. From enclosed copy of note, which I addressed to Mansel on the 24th inst., you will see my wishes in this matter are very much your own : that it shall finish with the least possible pain to him. Had he written me about it originally instead of circulating his pamphlet, he would have been spared the annoyance of a public discussion. As it was, there was no other way open for me to clear matters up but the way which I selected. My paper was very much stronger in the original scroll, but I eliminated every bitterness it showed, and confined it carefully to three points : (1) the personal matter between Mansel and myself ; (2) his unintentional misrepresentation of Froude ; and (3) his theory of the straight lines, a most erroneous piece of work, which has led him wrong and wasted his fine abilities for nearly ten years. Regarding myself I felt little, but regarding Froude I felt very strongly. My indebtedness to him is enormous. He first really taught and encouraged me, and these things made me feel keenly the unreality and injustice of the victory over him assumed by Mansel in his 'Letter of Reclamation.' It was against this feeling and its mastering me I had principally to guard myself. I am glad to see from your note I have succeeded fairly in this.

"With all good wishes of the season,

"Believe me, etc.,

"WILLIAM DENNY.

"DAVID ROWAN, Esq."

Mr. Denny's letter to Mr. Mansel was in these terms :—

"24/12/84.

"MY DEAR SIR,—At the Institution last night I observed you passed round some papers which I understood bore on the question of priority as to the determination of initial friction.

"Will you kindly forward them or copies of them to me ? What I said in my paper about the pleasure I would find in acknowledging myself mistaken was not a figure of speech. All I have said and written upon this matter has been said and written, under correction, from the

facts open to my knowledge. Should there be others hitherto not within my knowledge which would prove my convictions to have been wrong, I shall willingly acknowledge my error. Whatever differences of opinion there may be between you and me, there is one strong bond of fellowship. We both wish well to the science on which our profession should be built, and we both firmly believe in the imperative need of science in our business. We have both tried to make others feel these truths, but my share in this difficult task has been small and easy compared with yours. I have rowed with the stream, and as yet but for a short time. You have spent a lifetime in an almost solitary struggle for science in ship-building, pulling hard against the heavy tide of prejudice and ignorance. These are grounds, not only for fellowship, but on my part for deference to you.

"Please send me also a note as to your original determination of the five pounds of initial friction.

"With kind regards,

"Believe me, etc.,

"WILLIAM DENNY.

"B. MANSEL, Esq."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE EXPERIMENTAL TANK.

IN the year 1883 there was opened in Leven ship-yard an *experimental tank* constructed for the purpose of experimenting upon models of ships and ascertaining from them the resistance of the ships at various speeds and other matters of importance connected with the problem of propulsion. As the apparatus contrived for these ends is one of the most interesting developments connected with modern efforts for the advancement of naval architecture, it seems fitting that some account should here be given of its history, use, and value. The subject may appropriately be introduced in the biography of William Denny, as it was due to his influence that a tank was erected at Dumbarton; and the tank belonging to his firm is the only one in the world in the possession of a private firm of ship-builders. The existence of that tank, indeed, may be pointed to as an evidence that we have to do in this Life with the story of a man altogether remarkable for the wide range of his ideas and for his professional enthusiasm.

While honour is due to William Denny, still greater honour is due to William Froude. He was the father of the experimental tank, and to his

genius is due the system of experimental research on models. The beginnings of the interesting story take us back as far as 1867. In that year, at Kingswear, in Devonshire, Mr. Froude, who had for some years previously turned his attention to the subject of experiments on the resistance of models of ships, obtained some very striking results from experiments on models towed from a steam launch lent him for the purpose by Mr. G. P. Bidder. In 1868 Mr. (now Sir Edward) Reed, the Chief Constructor of the Navy, who had been present at some of the experiments, and afterwards received a full report of them from Mr. Froude, intimated his readiness to support a proposal on Mr. Froude's part to gratuitously conduct experiments for the Admiralty at the expense of the Government, on the method eventually employed at Torquay; and such a proposal was accordingly submitted by Mr. Froude in December of that year. In the meantime the British Association at their 1868 meeting, as indicated in a previous chapter, had appointed a committee to report on the state of existing knowledge on the stability, propulsion, and sea-going qualities of ships, and as to the application which it might be desirable to make to her Majesty's Government on these subjects. At the meeting in 1869 the committee reported in favour of authorizing a deputation to apply to the Admiralty to provide in the summer of 1870 for sets of experiments with one or more steamships of considerable size: one set of experiments to determine the force at different speeds required to tow the ship astern of another, the force being measured by a self-recording traction dynamometer; another set

of experiments to be made with the same ship propelled by her own engines, and with a dynamometer interposed between the engines and the propeller. Mr. Froude, as already stated, signed the report with a dissentient rider. In this rider he contended—" (1) that experiments on the resistances of models of rational size, when rationally dealt with, by no means deserve the distrust with which they are usually regarded, but, on the contrary, can be relied on as truly representing the resistances of the ships of which they are the models; and (2) that in order properly to open up the question so great a variety of forms ought to be tried that it would be impossible, alike on the score of time and expenditure, to perform the experiments with full-sized ships; " and further " that, unless the reliability of small-scale experiments is emphatically disproved, it is useless to spend vast sums of money upon full-size trials, which, after all, may be misdirected unless the ground is thoroughly cleared beforehand by exhaustive investigation on a small scale." These contentions he supported by some results of the model experiments above referred to.

The application of the British Association committee presumably told in support of the proposal already submitted by Mr. Froude. At any rate, the latter was accepted in February, 1870. The experimental tank at Torquay was constructed in 1871-2, and experiments were commenced in the spring of 1872.

William Froude died 4th May, 1879. His son, Mr. R. E. Froude, who had been most closely associated with his father during the whole preceding ten

years, was appointed by the Admiralty to superintend the experimental establishment, which was continued at Torquay until 1886, when it was removed to the Haslar Gunboat Yard, Gosport, near Portsmouth.

The Admiralty tank is the parent of all others in existence, which are so few in number that they may here be specified. First, the Dutch Government established an experimental tank at Amsterdam, having obtained from Mr. Froude, through the courtesy of the British Admiralty, full information as to his appliances and methods. The Dumbarton tank came next, the erection of which began in 1882, and was completed in the spring of 1883. Through the courtesy of the Admiralty, Mr. R. E. Froude gave the fullest information and advice; and the special knowledge of Mr. F. P. Purvis, who was for some years a member of Mr. W. Froude's staff at Torquay, but at this date was head of the scientific department in Leven Ship-yard, rendered valuable aid in the construction and outfitting of the tank. Again through the courtesy of our Admiralty and the kindness of Mr. R. E. Froude, the Italian Government were last year supplied with the fullest information, and are at present constructing a tank at Spezzia, the appliances for which are being made in this country. Still another experimental establishment exists at Brest, under the control of the French Admiralty. The starting of the work there is as much due as at any of the other establishments to the success of the Torquay tank, but the details have been worked out with more independence than at any of the foregoing.

Since the establishment of the tank at Dumbarton the representatives of the American, Russian, and

German Admiralties have all been in communication with Messrs. Denny with a view to the establishment of Government tanks in those countries; but as yet these communications and similar communications to the British Admiralty have led to no results.

A previous chapter has informed the reader of the impression made on the mind of Mr. Denny by the statements of Mr. Froude as to the value of model experiments, and of the intimate relations which subsequently sprang up between the two men. Mr. Denny had masters from whom he received inspiration in all departments of thought: in literature, science, morals, religion. His master in science applied to ship-building was William Froude, of Torquay. One of his many letters to that gentleman, dated 14th August, 1878, concludes with this sentence: "Without compliment and with only truth I can say you have made my views on design." The experimental tank in Leven ship-yard may be regarded as a tribute of respect from a disciple to a master, a monumental expression of William Denny's esteem for William Froude, of his faith in his scientific genius, and of his devotion to that method of research which his genius had inaugurated. The first letter of the Froude correspondence, quoted in a previous chapter, expressed the earnest desire of the writer to witness the experiments which were being carried on at Torquay. He afterwards showed his interest in these experiments in a practical way by supplying materials for carrying them on. Thus in 1875 he offered to send to Mr. Froude the lines of the steamship *Mer kara*, built at Leven ship-yard, to enable him to make a model of the ship and obtain results

for comparison with those already obtained by progressive trials of the ship. With the concurrence of the Admiralty, the offer was accepted; and the *Merkara* is the first other than Government ship for which such comparison was obtained. The results were embodied in the two papers read by Mr. Froude in 1876 before the Institution of Naval Architects.

In 1877, in a discussion on a third paper by Mr. Froude read before the same Institution on "The Wave-making Resistance of Ships," Mr. Denny took occasion to express publicly his interest in these model experiments and his sense of their great practical importance. He said:—

"I now wish to put before you some reasons why practical ship-builders should turn to these papers of Mr. Froude and attempt to get what they can from them; and it is needful to do this, because I have heard it again and again said by ship-builders, "Cui bono? What good is all this that Mr. Froude is doing?" It is mere theory. I have told them it is not, and that Mr. Froude's work is purely experimental, and more purely experimental than their speed trials or mine. I will give them three instances. . . . With such instances before them, the attention of mercantile naval architects should be easily called to the fact that all Mr. Froude's experiments bear strongly and directly on our work; and unless we follow them thoroughly and follow them accurately, and with an anxious spirit, we shall not succeed as we ought in taking the lead of those countries interested in ship-building."

It is not to be wondered at that one having such a keen appreciation of the experiments which Mr. Froude was carrying on at Torquay should desire himself to become a fellow-worker at the earliest opportunity. The extensions of Leven ship-yard, commenced in 1881, brought the opportunity. At that time the erection of an experimental tank became a subject of serious consideration to Mr. William Denny. He had become convinced that

the expenditure involved in the construction and maintenance of such a tank would be justified by its utility. The result was that the present Dumbarton tank, the only one either in existence or in contemplation under private control, was devised, constructed, and equipped.

Such in brief is the history of the experimental tank in general, and of the Dumbarton tank in particular. I trust it is sufficiently interesting to create a desire for a description of the tank and its appliances, and of the general aim of the experiments carried on in it.

The Dumbarton tank is three hundred feet long, twenty-two feet broad, and contains water nine feet deep. Rails are suspended above the tank from end to end; and along these rails a carriage or carriages are drawn at any required speed by an endless rope, passing round a pulley at each end, and wound either one way or the other by a small stationary engine. For determining resistance the form of the part of the ship acted on by the water alone requires to be represented in a model; the decks and upper portions may be either absent or fashioned as most suitable to the circumstances of experimenting. The models are made hollow and ballasted to whatever draught is required. Mr. Froude's plan has been followed of casting the models in solid paraffin, distinguished from other paraffins by its being solid at natural temperatures of the air, but melting at a temperature very little above these. The models are generally about twelve feet long and from one to two and a half feet broad, and their weight, including ballast, from one hundred to two thousand pounds.

The model to be experimented upon floats freely in the water, and is, so to speak, harnessed below one of the carriages running on the suspended railway, and in connection with carriage and model there is an apparatus to measure delicately and accurately the speed of motion and the force which is being applied to the model in order to make it maintain the speed; that is, the force necessary to overcome the resistance of the speed.

The force or resistance is measured by the extension of a spiral spring, of which one end is attached to the carriage, and the other receives the pull due to the resistance of the model. Each experiment made is for one particular speed, and the force measured is the resistance of the model at that particular speed. By taking a number of experiments full knowledge can be obtained of the resistance of the model at any required speeds under any given condition of loading, which can be extended to other conditions of loading, so that full information as to resistance may be obtained for any given model.

The interpretation of results of model experiments in their application to ships similar to the models is closely associated with the name of William Froude, to whom it may fairly be said that we owe what has become known as the "Theory of Comparison," by which this interpretation is effected. The theory had indeed been already enunciated by Reéché, but existed only as a scarce-known and unfruitful academic proposition until its independent discovery and demonstration by Mr. Froude, and the stress laid on it by him as the basis of model experiments, brought it into prominence. This theory shows that for every speed

of a model there is a speed of a ship at which, and at which alone, comparison of resistance can be made, this being the speed at which similar waves are generated. This speed of ship is related to speed of model as the square root of the length or other dimension ; so that for a model twelve feet long and ship three hundred feet, or twenty-five times as long, comparison must be made at speeds for ship five times as great as the corresponding speeds of the model. The comparison of resistances at the speeds so related is in proportion to the bulk, or rather weight, of ship and model respectively, subject to a correction depending on the quality of surfaces and on the absolute size of the surfaces of model and ship exposed to the water.

Model experiments thus interpreted give for the ships represented the relation between resistance and speed, *i.e.*, the force which, if applied in a simple way, such as by means of a tow-line, is just sufficient to maintain the speed. For comparative purposes it may not be necessary to convert the force into power required to be exerted by the engine, it being approximately correct to assume that of two forms both designed to fulfil the same conditions the one which would require the least force to tow it at the necessary speed would also require the least engine-power to drive it at that speed. But first at Torquay and afterwards at all other tanks the forces simply required to tow a ship have not been considered to give sufficient information ; and the further question has been investigated of how much these forces have to be increased when the propeller, either screw or paddle-wheel, is acting on the water in the near neighbourhood of the ship. The effect of the action

of the propeller is not only to propel, but to add to the resistance. The effect of the action of the screw was a part of the tank work to which Mr. Denny looked forward with interest, but difficulties in the way of starting screw experiments were encountered, and as yet no such experiments have been made at Dumbarton.* The question of trying the effect of paddle-wheels upon the resistance of the boat did not arise with Mr. Denny, but it has since arisen and been successfully dealt with by Mr. Archibald Denny, who has succeeded his brother in the direction of the tank work.

From this brief statement it may be seen that the tank serves two main purposes: (1) the comparing of form with form for the purpose of ascertaining which form is best suited to obtaining speed with small power; (2) the obtaining of a fair approximation to the total power required by any form representing a ship either in existence or in design. Besides these there are many other lines of inquiry to which the tank may be and has been made subservient, which need not here be particularised.

Since the tank was opened some twenty thousand experiments have been made on models of ships previously built and tried on the measured mile, or of ships in process of design, or of ideal ships conceived for the purposes of experiment.

It remains now to make some remarks on the utility of such an establishment as that whereof a brief description has been given in the foregoing paragraphs. There are two questions involved here:

* Such experiments have been made by Mr. R. E. Froude. See papers read by him before the Institution of Naval Architects in 1883 and 1886.

Is the experimental tank in general of real value, and is such a tank a necessary or desirable part of the equipment of a private ship-building yard? Among those who would unhesitatingly answer the first question in the affirmative there is difference of opinion as to the second. In the opinion of Mr. R. E. Froude, the existence of the Admiralty tank has done a good deal in one way to diminish the utility of any other tank, it having been an understood thing at the time of the Torquay experiments that the results, so far as they were of general scientific interest, were to be made public, an understanding which has not been grudgingly interpreted. In his opinion, by far the most valuable part of the information derived by the Admiralty from the experimental works has been of this general character, and has been shared by them with the general public. Others have advocated the establishment of common or public tanks for the benefit of particular districts, as necessary and at the same time sufficient to meet the wants of local ship-builders. Thus Mr. (now Sir William) Pearce in a lecture delivered in 1881 in connection with the Glasgow Naval Exhibition advocated the establishment of a tank accessible to Clyde ship-builders and engineers; and Mr. Jenkins, Professor of Naval Architecture in the university of Glasgow, indicated a similar view in addressing his students in 1887, and again in July, 1888, at the meetings of the Institution of Naval Architects in Glasgow. Mr. W. H. White, Chief Constructor of the Navy, in a paper read before the North-east Coast Institution of Engineers and Ship-builders in December, 1884, spoke of the great advantage to the district which would

result from the founding of a local experimental tank similar to that at Torquay.

On the subject of public tanks, one for each district, Mr. Denny had a very decided opinion. In his paper on Mansel and Froude referred to in last chapter he expressed his views on tank experiments and on public tanks in these terms:—

“If it is correct that the analysis of indicated horse-power is practically hopeless without some definite knowledge of the resistance of the vessel, it is apparent that without the help of an experimental tank real progress in the direction of effective analysis is impossible. The only substitute I know for tank experiments, but one useless for purposes of individual prediction, would be the towing of the full-sized steamers at the various speeds on the measured mile ; but, except in rare cases, the expense of such a method of investigation would be enormous, and beyond the financial powers of any individuals or firms, however willing those individuals or firms might be to spend money upon such investigation. I am therefore convinced that experimental tanks will become common in the future. My own firm could very easily employ two tanks instead of one ; and we are at the present moment, by means of log propellers and improvements in the towing machinery, attempting to increase the experimental output by at least 50 per cent. I do not believe a public experimental tank has much chance of success, for over and above the elements of jealousy and distrust which would be pretty sure to enter into its use, there is the difficulty that unless each individual can command, not only the special item of information he requires, but practically the resultant of all the information obtained in the tank, the single item of information is of very little use to him. In this respect an experimental tank entirely differs from a chain-testing house, or such establishments for general testing purposes as are conducted by Mr. Kirkaldy and Professor Kennedy.”

More recently Mr. Denny's brother, Mr. Archibald Denny, expressed a very similar view. Speaking on Professor Jenkins's paper read at the Glasgow meeting of the Institution of Naval Architects on the 25th of July of this year, in reference to the proposal for a co-operative tank, he said that, “from the nature of such a tank, the superintendent could only

give the member bare results, and could in no way advise one as to how his model might be improved without prejudicing the other members, besides which a tank would only be of real use to any one who could command the whole of the data; and hence a co-operative tank could only be of indirect advantage to the co-operators, and even then only to a limited extent."

On the importance to ship-building in the future of the inquiries carried on in experimental tanks, whether public or private, Mr. Denny expressed his opinion with much emphasis in correspondence with Mr. F. T. Bowles, of the Naval Advisory Board, Washington, in reference to a proposal to establish a tank in connection with the United States Admiralty. The principal communication bears date 26th March, 1884, in which, after some remarks on the question of expense, the writer expresses his views on the question of utility in these terms:—

"As to the uses of the tank and its value, a very brief statement will suffice to put my views before you. I think in the future it will be simply impossible to deal with all the various types and new departures that are certain to be made to meet the exigencies of the varying water borne traffic of the world without such a thing. I suppose we have—and you will remember it—the largest and most carefully analysed mass of speed and power data in existence clear of the English Admiralty, and of higher value than that in the possession of the English Admiralty, from its being almost entirely the records of progressive trials. Yet, with all this data, we constantly find ourselves confronted by problems which we cannot safely undertake to solve without the tank. In war-ships such problems must be very numerous, and I should fancy that their solution at the present moment must be in many cases for your department only a jump in the dark. But the tank is even of more use than simply for the purpose of predicting the speed and power of new types of steamers. I think it will be found to have an equally high value in enabling us ultimately to get closely down upon the efficiencies of engines and propellers. We already find that our tank is enabling us to do most

useful work in this way, and to check and explain some discrepancies in trials which otherwise would remain mere puzzles. When we have the propeller truck, we hope to get still more closely down upon this section of the speed and power problem and to unravel many things which at the present moment seem hopeless complexities. The truth is that of all the problems about a steamship the only one at the present moment incapable of being solved by *a priori* methods in extreme cases is that of speed and power. No ability and no training will enable even the most skilful naval architect to overcome the want of an experimental tank in coping with these questions."

In a second letter, of a less formal character, Mr. Denny expresses himself in terms which show that he was far from sanguine as to the rapid spread of the new apparatus. These sentences occur :—

"In the drawing-office we are gradually embracing the whole bulk of our subject, and from detailed and exact analysis we are gradually rising to the power of a wide and rapid synthesis. At least, this is our goal ; and it comes in sight. A quick and all-round approximation of any new proposal is the only platform from which a professional man can safely start ; and it, again, can only be the outcome of years of laborious investigation, and observation, and experiment. The bulk of our brother-ship-builders, and I suspect pretty nearly all your men, don't yet understand the meaning of this. They will not likely ever accept it on reasonable grounds, but only through the teaching of their commercial books. These are their gospels, and they certainly hold their faith with more fervour than we should hold better belief."

The façade of the Dumbarton tank bears this inscription :—

THIS FAÇADE
OF THE
LEVEN SHIP-YARD EXPERIMENTAL TANK
IS ERECTED
IN MEMORY OF THE LATE
WILLIAM FROUDE, F.R.S., LL.D.,
THE GREATEST OF EXPERIMENTERS AND INVESTIGATORS IN
HYDRODYNAMICS.

Born 29th Nov., 1811 ; died 4th May, 1879.

CHAPTER IX.

ON THE LOAD-LINE COMMITTEE.

FEW subjects connected with shipping matters are of greater importance than the regulation of the loading of cargo-carrying vessels. The public mind was made very familiar with the humane aspect of the question by the Plimsoll agitation, which began with the publication of Mr. Plimsoll's book "Our Seamen" in 1872. All know to what a fever height that agitation rose: how the alleged practice of sending unseaworthy or overloaded ships to sea, to the peril of seamen's lives, became the theme of common talk, supplied preachers with new illustrations of the heartless indifference to human life produced by the love of gain, and even precipitated Parliament into premature legislation. The thing aimed at, however desirable from a humane point of view, is on its technical side an affair of far greater difficulty than most people have any idea of. It can be done with only approximate accuracy by the skill of experts combined with the experience of seafaring men. The question as a subject of serious inquiry is scarcely twenty years old. Up to a recent period the importance of regulating loading had hardly been realised, though instances have been cited of legislative provisions

having that aim centuries ago in different countries, including our own. It is only within the last two or three years that opinion among competent men has become sufficiently ripe and united to make wise and effective regulation of loading practicable.

A most important step towards a solution of the problem such as should meet the ends of justice and mercy without interfering with the free and prosperous development of maritime industry was taken by the Board of Trade, with Mr. Chamberlain at its head, by the appointment of a departmental commission on the load-line, which held its first meeting on the 29th of January, 1884, and continued its inquiries for some eighteen months. This appointment grew out of, and had been rendered necessary by, the work that had been entrusted to the Board of Trade by previous legislation. From the time of the appointment of the Unseaworthy Ships Commission in 1873, which was an outcome of the Plimsoll agitation, the question of overloading occupied the constant attention of the Board. When two years later Parliament conferred on the Board the power of detaining unseaworthy ships, it became their duty to detain ships which appeared to them to be dangerously overladen. In doing this, it was obviously desirable as far as possible to act on some definite principles, and it was the constant endeavour of the Board to arrive at such principles and to procure the co-operation of the shipping interest in so doing.

An effort in this direction was made by the Board in 1875, when they invited the committee of Lloyd's Register Society and the committee of

the Liverpool Underwriters' Registry to assist in forming a committee to consider the question of load-line with the view of fixing elementary principles regarding the freeboard of ships which might guide their officers in performing their statutory duties. A committee accordingly was formed, consisting of three members nominated by the Board and three from each of the two registries; but after holding several meetings it broke up, because the representatives of Lloyd's Register could not agree with the Liverpool representatives upon the elements of the question to be discussed.

In a lecture delivered at the Mansion House, London, entitled "A Review of the History of the Load-line Question," in 1886, Mr. Martell alludes to this early abortive attempt to solve it. He states that the committee met and passed several resolutions, in one of which it was proposed to consider the proportion of surplus buoyancy considered suitable for all vessels, and that, on this resolution being reported to Lloyd's committee by their representatives, the committee were of opinion that "in discussing the proportion of surplus buoyancy suitable for all vessels the Freeboard Committee would be departing from the object of the meeting, and would be entering upon a course that would inevitably result in the fixing of a hard-and-fast load-line; and as they were of opinion that the question was not at that time ripe for solution, they decided to withdraw their representatives from the Committee." Mr. Martell expresses his satisfaction with the action of himself and his colleagues on that occasion, as having been the means, in his judgment, of preventing the premature

fixation of authoritative freeboards, which must have had a disastrous effect on the progress of ship-building and on the maritime industry of the country.

In the meantime, notwithstanding the failure of this early attempt, the Board of Trade had to act; and as their officers required instructions, a set of tables of freeboard were prepared. These tables were not intended to be hard-and-fast rules, nor were they prepared or used as final decisions of the Board. They were not in the first instance even promulgated or published, but were given to the staff as tentative rules, and as points of departure in the application of which to particular cases the officers of the Board were expected to use their own judgment.

But the difficulty inseparable from the exercise of a discretionary power, which has been experienced by the Board of Trade in many instances, soon arose. Complaints were made of the discretionary powers of the Board's officers; and shipowners expressed their desire, not only to know what were the principles on which these officers acted, but to have those principles made definite in their application, so that they might be able to know before loading whether their ships would be detained or not. This was a reasonable demand; and accordingly, though the difficulty of preparing fixed rules of freeboard remained as great as ever, the Board met the wishes of shipowners by issuing the tables above referred to, not meaning them to be taken as final conclusions.

It is evident that the grand mistake was that made by Parliament in laying on the Board of Trade the invidious and difficult task of detaining ships supposed to be unseaworthy from overloading or other causes.

In his speech in the House of Commons on May 19th, 1884, Mr. Chamberlain animadverted on the Act conferring that power, and characterised the Government supervision which it established as a failure. He argued that it could not be other than a failure, because it imposed on the officers of the Board impossible duties, requiring them virtually to be omniscient and omnipresent, exposed the Board to continual liability to lawsuits, and obliged them to lay down rules for the conduct of a most difficult, intricate, and technical business, and practically to undertake duties which could be much better performed by shipowners themselves in the prosecution of their own interest.

The committee of Lloyd's Register, on their side, had for years been earnestly occupied with the same problem. Without entering into a detailed history of their action, it may suffice to state that in August, 1882, shortly after the issue by the Board of Trade of their freeboard rules, they also issued a set of rules and tables relating to the same subject. Before publishing these they had taken the precaution to send them in draft to prominent shipowners and ship-builders throughout the country, their desire being to make them as perfect as possible by means of intelligent criticism and avoid unnecessary injury to shipping.

There were thus two sets of freeboard rules before the country issued by two bodies both possessing and exercising great authority and influence. Obviously this was not a desirable state of things. The mere existence of competing sets of rules supplied a sufficiently urgent motive for an immediate effort at unification. An additional stimulus arose out of the

criticism with which the rules issued by the Board of Trade were received. The two sets of rules were based on different principles. The Board's rules went on the traditional principle of allowing so many inches of freeboard per foot depth of hold. Lloyd's tables were constructed on the principle of "maintaining such a proportion of the total volume of the main structure of vessels out of water as reserve buoyancy as the best attainable experience showed to be necessary." * Objection was taken to the Board's rules, especially by owners of vessels known as the "well"-decked type, who complained that the application of the principle of so many inches per foot depth of hold, with only a trifling deduction for substantial superstructures covering the principal part of the main deck, did them serious injustice.

Grave fault being found with their own rules, and they not being prepared to recognise offhand Lloyd's tables, the Board of Trade felt themselves shut up to the appointment of another departmental committee to consider the subject, in the hope that the second experiment would be more successful than the first, made in 1875. The result was the Load-line Committee appointed in the commencement of 1884.

Of this committee William Denny was a member. There were thirteen members in all, Sir E. J. Reed being the chairman. Certain of the members were nominated by the various institutions. Mr. Denny was nominated directly by the Board of Trade, and, along with Mr. Robert Duncan,† represented the

* *Vide* "Mansion House Lectures for 1886-7," p. 43.

† Mr. Duncan was nominated by the Local Marine Boards of Glasgow and Greenock, the shipowners of the Clyde having complained that they were not directly represented.

Clyde. If he had wanted excuses for declining to serve on the Committee, he might easily have found them in the state of his health and the pressure of his own business. He did not, in fact, immediately accept, but in writing to Sir Thomas H. Farrer, of the Board of Trade, acknowledging his proposed appointment, while expressing his great desire to accept it and requesting Sir Thomas to convey to Mr. Chamberlain his appreciation of the honour he had conferred in selecting him, he requested that he might have one or two days to consider before giving a final answer. One reason for this delay was his desire to know who were to be his colleagues, as he felt that on this would depend whether the Committee was likely to be of any use. Having received the information asked on this point from Sir Thomas Farrer, and being entirely satisfied with the *personnel*, he cordially consented to act, being fully alive to the importance of the work he was taking on hand and minded to spare no pains in taking his own share in the duties and responsibilities of the Committee. Its appointment must have been gratifying to him, as it met in a different way from that which he had contemplated what he had shortly before declared to be a felt want. He had pressed on the officials of the Board of Trade the desirableness of preparing a new set of tables recognising the forms of vessels as well as their dimensions, and submitting them for discussion to some of the public institutions. He had great faith in the beneficial effect of good open English discussion as the best means of arriving at satisfactory results.

It would be out of place here to go at length into

the history of the work done by this committee in the course of the eighteen months during which it held its sittings. A brief popular statement is all that is necessary. The Committee, by the testimony of those competent to judge, consisted of the best men that could be found in the country, and it did its work very thoroughly, taking evidence, visiting the most important ship-building and ship-owning ports in the kingdom, and discussing with those interested in shipping the questions at issue, and after ascertaining the opinions of others devoting much time to discussing the report which ought to be given in.

The Committee was asked by those who appointed it to consider these three questions:—

“1. Whether it is now practicable to frame any general rules concerning freeboard which will prevent dangerous overloading without unduly interfering with trade.

“2. If so, whether any, and which, of the existing tables, with any and what alterations, or any other, and what, tables should be adopted.

“3. How far any such tables can be adopted as fixed rules, and what amount of discretion must be left to the officers who have to see that they are complied with.”

These questions met the situation very exactly, and imposed on the Committee the duty of making very extensive inquiries, and in particular of considering the respective merits of the rival sets of tables.

The Committee at the close of its labours unanimously arrived at the following conclusions, corresponding to the three questions foregoing:—

“ 1. That it is now practicable to frame general rules concerning freeboard which will prevent dangerous overloading without unduly interfering with trade.

“ 2. We have the pleasure to submit herewith tables which we consider should be adopted.

“ 3. That these tables can be adopted, at least for all existing types of cargo vessels, and for some years to come, without the exercise of any other discretion on the part of the officers who have to see that they are complied with than that which concerns the quality and condition of the ship. The freeboards assigned by the tables herewith are suitable for vessels of the highest class in Lloyd's Register or of strength equivalent thereto, and should be increased for ships of inferior strength.”

The tables submitted were accepted both by the Board of Trade and by Lloyd's Register committee as a satisfactory solution of a difficult question. The latter body could have no difficulty in accepting the new rules, for they were their own somewhat modified. The honour of solving the hard problem of the load-line belongs mainly to the experts at Lloyd's, and above all to the Chief Surveyor, Mr. Martell, to whom more than to any one the thanks of the shipping community are due for the present position of the load-line question. After him, thanks are due, by common consent, to Sir E. J. Reed for the manner in which as chairman he succeeded in softening down asperities and minimising friction in the discussions of the Committee. Without his great common-sense and tact, according to Mr. Martell, “they might have sat till Doomsday before

such unanimity in their conclusions had been arrived at."

The tables adopted being those of Lloyd's Register committee amended, the Board of Trade appropriately handed over the duty of administering them to that body. The new rules have been found to work well. Since their adoption freeboards have been assigned to a large number of vessels of all types, at the request of the owners, and generally accepted as satisfactory.

This result is in accordance with Mr. Denny's expectations as expressed at the close of the Load-line Committee's labours. Writing to his friend Mr. Withy, of New Zealand, on the 17th August, 1885, he gave expression to his opinion of the value and effect of its work in these terms:—

"The Load-line Committee, which came to a most satisfactory conclusion the week before last, has also occupied a great deal of my time, but this I do not regret, as I have learned much in connection with its work, and besides I feel that, as one of its members, I had the satisfaction of contributing to a result which I feel sure will be for the advantage of the country, and in particular of the ship-owning interest. We took Lloyd's tables of freeboard as a basis; and amending them in various ways, and adding to them the principle of summer and winter freeboards, we have sent them in along with a unanimous report to the President of the Board of Trade, recommending that such should be the official freeboards of the future. In addition to this, we prepared a rider to our report in which we recommended that the principle of such freeboards should be applied to foreign vessels trading to our home ports or those of our colonies, and further that the application of such freeboards, instead of being carried out by an irresponsible bureaucracy such as now exists at the Board of Trade, should be worked under the control of a responsible and representative body similar to Lloyd's committee. We also recommended that the technical staff of the Board of Trade having to do with shipping should be improved and increased in its efficiency. I think when you see the report and the tables that you will be pleased with them."

This was what Mr. Denny thought of the

Committee's work after it was done. He expressed his opinion as to how the work should be done, before the Committee began its meetings, in a letter to one of its members, dated 21st December, 1883, in these terms :—

“ My idea is that this committee should settle this question empirically on the information as to practice now available to us, in a way similar to Lloyd's, but leaving the following points open : (1) the determination of the surplus buoyancy accurately in the option of the owner, he providing all the necessary drawings upon affidavit ; (2) the quantity of freeboard less than the rules on the owner showing cause accurately, and upon drawings, etc., produced upon affidavit ; and (3) the power of increasing the freeboard of the rules in special cases, the Board's officials being bound to prove their case upon complete data. These are roughly my notions, and I think they would afford the room for progress which must be provided in any empirical rules, however good.”

The firm of Messrs. William Denny and Brothers was one of those to which Lloyd's committee sent their freeboard tables, in the form of a report on the load-line of vessels by their chief surveyor, in order to obtain the benefit of their suggestions. In a letter dated 16th March, 1882, to the secretary of Lloyd's Register, Mr. William Denny went into the subject at length, expressing his satisfaction that the society was attempting to grapple with the question, and indicating what he deemed weak points in the scheme. The letter shows how earnestly he had considered the subject before the appointment of a Load-line Committee was thought of. I quote here the concluding paragraph :—

“ We would recommend that, if rules and tables of the kind now proposed be adopted, they should very frankly be described as empirical, and by no means covering all the exigencies of the case. It would be nothing less than a calamity if the reverence paid to such rules were to lead away practical men from a continued criticism of them, and to bring about the

closing of a subject which we think has only begun to be opened up. In any case we hope your committee will see their way to adding a clause to such rules permitting owners and builders to establish a freeboard accurately for any given steamer ; we mean by proving her sufficiency of strength at the draught intended, her sufficiency of stability at the same draught, and her security both in the upper works, and the outlets and inlets on the lower portion of the hull against foundering. In such a case owners and builders should be called upon to show the position of the centre of gravity of the ship complete and light, the centre of gravity of the stowage capacities, of the bunker coal capacities, and of the capacities for consumable stores, giving weights for each of these items. From this a fair estimate should be produced of the metacentric height fully loaded, and in the same condition with coals and consumable stores consumed. Ultimately some proof of the dynamical stability might be required, but in any case a full statement as to the subdivision of the vessel into watertight compartments should be insisted upon. We believe that from the data that would thus be submitted to your committee and gradually accumulated it would be possible ultimately to construct accurate and scientific rules for freeboard, which would be as much an advance upon the principle of allowing a percentage of surplus buoyancy as that principle is upon the old and altogether empirical one of making the freeboard proportional to the depth of hold."

It is evident that the subject of stability was very closely associated in Mr. Denny's mind with the question of freeboard. It is in accordance with this statement that one of the most prominent pieces of work done by him for the Load-line Committee was the preparation of a report, copiously furnished with illustrative diagrams, on the inclination of the steamship *Fernbrook*, of the well-deck type. This vessel was built by the firm of Mr. William Gray, of Hartlepool, a member of the Committee, who has favoured me with a statement of the circumstances in which the report was prepared, and the object aimed at in its preparation. In a letter dated 2nd July, 1888, Mr. Gray writes: "My first acquaintance with Mr. William Denny began when we met in London some five or six years ago as members of the Load-line

Committee. Mr. Denny and I had previously had some correspondence respecting a certain type of vessel known as the well-deck type, largely owned and built on this coast; and of the stability and general immunity from loss or accident to these vessels Mr. Denny, in common with Mr. Withy and myself, had formed a very favourable opinion. The Load-line Committee visited this port, and my firm had a new steamer of the well-deck type called the *Fernbrook*, about completed; and in order to prove to the Committee the stability of this type of vessel, Mr. Denny kindly sent to Dumbarton for one or two assistants from his drawing-office to come over here and superintend the inclination of the vessel, which proved to be highly satisfactory."

In preparing this report, which was done with great care, Mr. Denny was acting as the champion of the class of steamers on which, in the judgment of their owners, the rules issued by the Board of Trade had pressed with special unfairness. For its preparation he received the thanks of the Load-line Committee, and it was printed for circulation.

It will have been observed that in summarising the work of the Load-line Committee in his letter to Mr. Withy Mr. Denny refers to the principle of summer and winter freeboards as one recognised by the Committee. The distinction between the two seasons has formed an element in the Board of Trade regulations. It was not originally recognised by Lloyd's committee. The adoption of it by the Load-line Committee was to a considerable extent due to Mr. Denny's influence. He took the subject up, and said in effect: "There is something in it.

If Mr. T. Gray* would prepare tables showing the losses of ships for winter and summer respectively, we might see the propriety of modifying the tables to suit the two seasons." Mr. Gray accordingly did prepare such tables; and they showed a surprising difference in the number of losses, reckoning from equinox to equinox. In winter the number jumped up suddenly; after March it as suddenly dropped, the total number of losses in the summer months being less than one-fourth of those happening in winter.

In this instance Mr. Denny may be said to have played the part of mediator. It was not the only instance in which he did so. There was an imminent risk of miscarriage to the whole business which the Load-line Committee had on hand through the preparation of two discrepant reports, one representing the views of the Board of Trade and the other those of the rest of the Committee. Mr. Denny exerted his influence, not without effect, with the representatives of the Board of Trade to secure their consent to the views of the majority, so that the report might be unanimous.

The necessity for distinguishing between summer and winter in tables of freeboards suggests the reflection that the determination of freeboards must be a very complicated business. And such indeed it is. Freeboards to be just, fair, and safe must vary, not only for vessels of diverse type, and of the same type when differing in size, proportions, and form, but even with the seasons and the seas. A vessel

* Mr. Thomas Gray, C.B., of the Marine Department of the Board of Trade, one of the Board's representatives on the Load-line Committee.

must have a higher side out of water in winter than in summer, in a stormy sea, like that of the North Atlantic, than in seas less vexed by tempests. An interesting allusion to the bearing of weather on the question occurs in one of the letters contained in the chapter entitled "Letters to the Children," the fourth in the series. I need not quote here what is given there, but I note with pleasure that the work of the Load-line Committee had its poetic side for William Denny. The dry technical details were relieved now and then by touches of pathos and pity. When the Committee is busy discussing the freeboards required for vessels sailing over the North Atlantic, he thinks of the perils to which sailors are exposed when the wild winds blow in an ocean where the losses of ships are more numerous than anywhere else in the world, and the ocean traffic is densest, and of the battle fought with gales and waves in crossing this stormy ocean in former days by the great heroic Englishmen who founded the United States. For this man is more than a ship-builder. The technical and the humane lie close together in his mind, and he is a master in both. Of the former I fear readers think they have had more than enough. For their consolation I am happy to state that it is nearly done. I have put it all in one place. What follows, after some testimonies of experts to Mr. Denny's merits as a naval architect, belongs mainly to the humanities.

There was no general connection between the Load-line Committee and the Royal Commission on Loss of Life at Sea, whose meetings partly overlapped those of the Committee, but a copy of the Committee's report was forwarded to it for its information, and this

thread of connection may justify a brief reference to the evidence given by Mr. Denny before the Commission. I have already alluded to it in other connections, but some further notice of it at the close of this chapter seems fitting. It made a great impression on all who heard it. Among these was Mr. John Warrack, a member of the Commission, who has given me his recollections in these words: "I met with Mr. Denny only on one occasion, viz., on 26th June, 1885, when he gave evidence before the Royal Commission on Loss of Life at Sea, of which I was a member. I was strongly impressed with the high qualities he showed on that occasion; and as a Scotchman I felt proud of him as a countryman. The evidence was of the most instructive and valuable kind. On all the subjects touched on he spoke from thorough knowledge, and from well-matured thought and judgment. He had an unusual power of clear and accurate expression."

In this evidence Mr. Denny, in simple, direct, dignified language, sketched the progress of the art of ship-building in connection with the question of safety, indicated the great services rendered by Lloyd's Register and by the Admiralty, and explained the reasons why the Board of Trade had failed to exercise a corresponding influence on the humane development of naval architecture. His tone was calm and uncontroversial. Notwithstanding his disputes with Lloyd's, he acknowledged that the registration societies had practically solved the question of the strength of steamers sent on sea voyages, minimising the points in debate by remarking that the desirable improvements consisted in economy of

material and in improved construction, by which vessels somewhat lighter in weight could be made to do the same work. He made generous acknowledgment of the service rendered by Mr. Martell in connection with the question of stability. "Mr. Martell," he said, "the Chief Surveyor of Lloyd's, was the first to point out the dangers from the stability point of view of the dimensions usual a few years ago in the three-decked class of cargo-carriers. Lloyd's Registry have further in granting freeboards made it a practice to thoroughly investigate the stability of any steamer requiring such investigation. The first effect of Mr. Martell's paper was to create very considerable surprise in the minds of most ship-builders. They had not at all realised the dangers of the dimensions to which they were building. Its second effect was very immediate, and the dimensions of this type of steamers were altered and improved as new ones were built. I have seldom known an alteration in practice follow so swiftly upon the scientific demonstration of the faultiness of the practice."

Equally cordial recognition was made of the value of the service rendered by the Admiralty, especially in connection with watertight subdivision. "The Admiralty," Mr. Denny said, "have very greatly improved the calculations and methods appertaining to the science of naval architecture. They have further, by their Admiralty class for mercantile steamers, introduced a much better watertight subdivision of them than previously existed. There has been a greater advance made in the safe watertight subdivision of steamers since the Admiralty intro-

duced this class of theirs than ever was made before. It was extremely difficult to get shipowners to understand the necessity there was for considering this question, because it was mixed up with very difficult calculations of trim, and also with some considerations of stability; but when the Admiralty took up the question and granted this class, the shipowners looked into the matter, and saw the importance of it, and, so far as my experience has gone, they were very willing to be advised to adopt this class. They found it of great advantage, and they admitted that a decided improvement had been introduced. In that case a Government department, the Admiralty, was the means of drawing the attention of shipowners to a very beneficial change. . . . There was no effective control upon the watertight subdivision of steamers before the Admiralty introduced their class. That I think you may accept as a fact. Steamers entering that class have a preference for employment as transports in the carrying of Admiralty goods, and in use as cruisers in time of war. It is a premium; it gives a preference for employment. It is a premium to shipowners to ask a ship-builder to build them a properly subdivided ship."

Mr. Denny's testimony, borne in circumstances of responsibility, to the service rendered by the Admiralty to naval architecture has all the more weight when it is considered that he was by no means an indiscriminate eulogist of that department. He regarded the system of Admiralty contracts as seriously defective. He used to complain of the "tear-down-and-waste-as-you-go" policy resulting from

immaturity in the original conception ; and he thought that the Admiralty, like all other Government departments, needed impregnation by the freer and bolder life moving outside them. With Herbert Spencer, he perceived that the tendency of the times was to increased State control, but he did not sympathise with his way of sitting down and howling at it, which he thought "the act of a very abstract thinker." His notion was that the tendency should be absorbed in a larger and fertile idea, viz., that the direction and control should spring from a representation of the most honourable and intelligent representatives of the interests involved. He wished the Admiralty and the Board of Trade to be assimilated in this respect to Lloyd's committee, which he believed owed its enormous influence to this principle. He hoped that the universal acceptance of the principle was in the future, and the hope made him rejoice. "How ample," he wrote to a friend, "are the opportunities of our modern life ; and under the surface, among the great and real forces, how little prose there is, and how much of the heroic poetry of the 'Nibelungen Lied' and Homer."

CHAPTER X.

PROFESSIONAL CAREER: ESTIMATES OF EXPERTS.

THE foregoing record of Mr. Denny's varied services to naval architecture will, I trust, speak for itself; but as the story has been told by one who has no claim to express an opinion as to the value of these services, I think it proper to present in a supplementary chapter a few estimates by men whose position and professional skill enable them to speak with authority.

I may fitly begin with the opening sentences of the presidential address delivered at the meeting of the Institution of Naval Architects in March, 1887. Lord Ravensworth, who, as President of the Institution, had ample opportunity of becoming acquainted with Mr. Denny's character and talents, on that occasion said:—

“The first duty which devolves upon me is a very sad one. It has reference to the last and only recently introduced paragraph in the report, which announces to us all the loss quite lately of a valued and highly esteemed colleague. It is my duty—a very painful duty, but nevertheless one which I shall not shrink from performing, because it is a real duty—to tell you that the Council of this Institution desires to place on record its sense of the

great loss that the Institution and the country have sustained in the early death of their esteemed and honoured colleague Mr. William Denny. These are expressive words, gentlemen; and I thoroughly believe they express the feelings of every one of us in the loss that we have sustained. We all remember the energy, the ability, and the zeal with which our late friend took his part, his valuable part, in all our discussions; we know how successful he had been in the conduct of a great business; we valued his opinions whenever they were expressed; and we all feel that his loss goes far beyond the limits of this Institution, that it will be deeply felt in his own country, that it will be felt by all those students of naval science to whom he was a brilliant example. I am quite sure, gentlemen, that you will approve of the proposal of the Council that our expression of sympathy and condolence be conveyed to his venerable father, who is a very great personal friend of my own, and his family, upon their great loss."

For what follows I am indebted to Mr. W. H. White, Assistant Controller of the Navy and Director of Naval Construction at the Admiralty:—

"In acceding to the request that I would undertake a brief review and estimate of the professional work done by the late Mr. William Denny, I simply fulfil a duty which is laid upon me by our close friendship, extending over many years. It was my privilege to know much of the aims and objects of the worker, as well as to be intimately acquainted with the outcome of his work; and it is possible for me to speak therefore, not merely of those matters which are already the property of the ship-building

profession, but of others which have not been brought before the public. Perhaps it is scarcely possible for me to avoid altogether the bias which affection tends to give one's estimate of the work of a friend, but it has been my endeavour in the following remarks to be impartial and critical while placing on record my appreciation of the many-sided activity displayed by Mr. Denny and his considerable influence upon the progress of naval architecture in recent years.

“The professional work done by Mr. Denny had a wide range, but chiefly consisted in the *applications of science and of experimental investigation* to the construction and propulsion of ships. Occupied as he was in the conduct of a large business, he found opportunity to become acquainted with the results of the most recent scientific investigations, and to apply these results to practice or to test the correctness of deductions from theory. He strenuously enforced the absolute necessity of scientific modes of procedure in the designing of ships, and in the ascertainment of their actual qualities by experiment and calculation. Numerous experimental inquiries were undertaken and brought to a successful issue; great masses of data for many classes of ships were obtained, systematically recorded, and analysed; noble efforts, leading to notable results, were made in the cause of technical education; and the most generous spirit was consistently displayed towards other members of the profession, both in the publication of valuable information obtained by means of long labour and large expense, and in the assistance rendered to other workers, some of whom but for his help would probably have failed.

“Mr. Denny in his intercourse with friends, and on several occasions in public, regretted the fact that his early education had not been more thoroughly developed on the mathematical side before he became actively engaged in ship-building. This circumstance necessarily imposed limitations upon his power of original research into obscure branches of the theory of naval architecture with which only a highly trained mathematician can hope to grapple. On the other hand, he possessed in a remarkable degree the power of grasping both the principles and the results of original investigations, of crucially testing these results, and of practically applying those which stood the test. Furthermore his active mind more than once suggested new directions for mathematical research to others better furnished than himself with the necessary tools; and these inquiries bore good fruit. No one could possibly have given more handsome and public acknowledgment of any assistance received in the prosecution of his professional work than did Mr. Denny. In fact, his generous nature led him at times into a diminution of his own fair claim to credit; but the weakness was a most amiable one, and his staff of assistants were most devoted to their chief. Possibly the consciousness of what he had lost from the want of specialised education helped to make Mr. Denny an ardent advocate of such education for all who were entering the ship-building profession. It would be out of place for me to refer here to what has been done in this direction at Dumbarton, but of his more public action I must speak. Both elementary and higher technical training for ship-builders received his

warmest support. His action in suggesting the need for reform in the naval architecture classes of the Science and Art Department has borne and will bear good fruit. His paper, read before the Institution of Naval Architects in 1881, on 'Local Education in Naval Architecture,' marks a new departure, and has done much to adapt the official programme of instruction and examination to the needs of private ship-yards and the education of apprentices in the elements of ship-building. The example which he set in encouraging evening study amongst youths and young men engaged in his own ship-yard has been an incentive to similar action in many other establishments.

"While his personal influence was most felt in elementary technical training, he was no less interested in the advancement of the highest professional culture amongst private ship-builders. More than once he warmly opposed the proposal to be content with a limited training which should exclude the more advanced and theoretical branches of naval architecture. During the long period that I was personally responsible for the teaching of naval architecture at the Royal Naval College, Mr. Denny never failed to give us his most cordial support. My pupils were made welcome in his works, and benefited by repeated contributions of valuable data respecting typical merchant ships, a benefit which we were able in some degree to reciprocate by making our class-work cover many thorough investigations for those ships. To his personal influence was also due the entry as a pupil at the college of his brother, Mr. Archibald Denny, who

is now taking a distinguished part in the business of the firm.

“At a later period no one was more actively interested in the development of the special classes in naval architecture at Glasgow University, the foundation of which was due to the munificence of Mrs. John Elder.

“Turning to the consideration of the more important items of professional work with which the name of Mr. William Denny will always be associated, it is natural and proper to put into the first place that section relating to the *propulsion of steamships*. In the face of great difficulties, Mr. Denny initiated and carried out systematic steam trials, on what he termed the *progressive system*. A few isolated trials of that character had been made previously, no doubt, but not in so thorough and systematic a fashion. To the perseverance and ability of Mr. Denny we owe the general establishment of the system, which has received many extensions at other hands, and is now universally recognised as the most valuable means for dealing in general practice with the difficult problems of speed calculation and steamship efficiency. It is of great interest to note that the late Mr. W. Froude was amongst the first to appreciate at its true value this system of progressive trials; and the favourable verdict of that pre-eminent authority has since been generally endorsed, both in this country and abroad. The generosity of behaviour to which I have alluded above was never better displayed by Mr. Denny than it was in placing at the service of others, including possible rivals, great masses of information obtained on progressive trials.

“ An illustration of his remarkable enterprise in the application of scientific methods is to be found in the construction at Dumbarton of the experimental tank for testing the resistances of models of ships, the efficiencies of various kinds of propellers, and other matters of importance affecting the propulsion of ships which could not be dealt with by the trials of ships themselves. This system of experimental research is due entirely to the genius of the late Mr. W. Froude, who was enabled to give effect to it by means of the assistance of the Admiralty. For nearly twenty years past the system has been in full operation for ships of the Royal Navy, and has been productive of the most advantageous and economical results. Mr. William Denny and his partners were convinced that equal benefits to the mercantile marine would result from their adoption of a similar course, and they still enjoy the unique advantage of being the only private firm of ship-builders in the world who possess such an establishment.

“ The important branch of naval architecture relating to the *stability of ships* received considerable attention from Mr. Denny, and formed the subject of valuable papers. His interest naturally centred in the questions relating to the stability of merchant ships of various types and under different circumstances of draught and lading. He was amongst the first private ship-builders who introduced into their practice systematic experimental determinations of the positions of the centres of gravity of ships, thus following an example long established for war-ships. He also did much to extend the calculations of stability at various angles of inclination, varying

draughts of water, and with differing cargoes on board. Under his guidance and inspiration very valuable collections of information were made as the result of experiment and calculation; much greater attention was bestowed upon the conditions of stability in projected designs for new ships. Steps were taken to put into the hands of officers charged with the navigation and working of ships built by his firm, in a form which should be practically useful, information as to matters of fact and rules for controlling loading, coal expenditure, etc., which could not fail to be of the greatest assistance.

“In this section of his work Mr. Denny gave encouragement, not merely to members of his own staff, but to others who applied to him for help in their endeavours to develop new processes of calculation or to bring into a form for practical use deductions from experiment and calculation. For instance, he gave every facility to Dr. Amsler in adapting his father’s remarkable integrating machine to the various processes of ship calculation; and when Mr. Heck devised his very ingenious ‘stability balance,’ Mr. Denny at once assisted him in giving effect to his views and testing the value and correctness of his invention.

“Another field of inquiry in which Mr. Denny sensibly assisted progress is that connected with the *structural arrangements* of ships, the calculations for strengths, and the introduction of improved materials. I need not dwell upon his services in the development of mild steel as a material for ship-building. He was one of the first to follow the lead of the Admiralty and to recommend for merchant ships the new

material, which now promises to replace iron. His belief in mild steel under many conditions of doubt and difficulty such as are unavoidable in the introduction of a new material, his eloquent advocacy of steel, his extended and expensive series of experiments, all exercised a most marked influence; and before various professional societies he demonstrated the advantages to be gained by the change from iron to steel in a manner that could not fail to bring conviction.

“In relation to the structural arrangements and scantlings of merchant ships Mr. Denny also made his influence felt. To him was largely due the rapid development in merchant ships of the cellular system of construction; and the fight which his firm successfully waged respecting the tonnage measurement of ships built on that system is too well known to need description. The construction of many vessels of special type, including a great number of light-draught river steamers, no doubt made considerable demands upon the powers of invention and investigation of Mr. Denny and his staff, and may have led him to the more general study of the problems of structural strength for ships of all classes. Here, as in other branches of naval architecture, he was an earnest advocate of progress and scientific method as against tradition and more or less arbitrary regulations.

“The foregoing remarks cover, I believe, the most important contributions made by Mr. W. Denny to the science and practice of ship-building. They do not nearly exhaust what he did or suggested. His interest in all questions relating to ships and their performances was most keen, and displayed itself in

many ways, but especially in the search for facts. As one illustration out of many that might be given, reference may be made to his observations on the *launching velocities* of ships which were embodied in one of the most valuable of his minor papers read before the Institution of Naval Architects. 'Facts, not opinions,' might well have been taken as his motto in all the professional work he did. In order to ascertain and establish facts, scientific methods of investigation were essential. To make use of the facts when ascertained, scientific procedure was necessary. William Denny was a lover of truth above all things, and did his work in a really scientific spirit. His influence will abide.

“W. H. WHITE.

“May, 1888.”

Mr. Denny was almost as well known in the maritime circles of France as he was in Great Britain, and not less highly esteemed. I have been favoured with the following statement from M. de Bussy, one of the heads of the French Admiralty:—

“The maritime people in France, as well as in England, have deeply felt the loss sustained in the person of Mr. William Denny. Mr. William Denny had not reached his fortieth year. From the age of seventeen he never ceased giving to the numerous scientific institutions of his country proofs of his high scientific and technical capacity. The Literary and Philosophic Society of Dumbarton, the Philosophical Society of Greenock, the Royal Society of Edinburgh, the British Association, the Institution of Engineers and Naval Architects of Scotland,

the Institution of Mechanical Engineers, the Steel and Iron Institute, and, above all, the Institution of Naval Architects are indebted to him for numberless communications of high interest on various technical subjects.

“The chief characteristic of W. Denny, and what made him an accomplished naval architect, was the union of the most extensive scientific learning with an extremely practical mind. He waged in his dockyard a desperate war with unintelligent routine, looking, on the contrary, for the enlightened practice which is ever ready to transform into useful ameliorations for the builder the truths duly established by the learned man. It is this mind which, at a period of transformation such as that which naval construction has gone through for twenty years past, has put the Leven dockyard in the first rank of his country. The adoption of steel for the building of hulls, the lessening of the scantlings and rational fixing of their value, the looking after a new mode of work with new materials, the study of each new type by prolonged trials at progressive speeds, then in later days by essays of models in an experimental tank, are so many proofs in favour of William Denny and of his enlightened method, so safe and fertile in results.

“With generous views, which above all distinguished him, he knew no greater pleasure than that of making public the improvements he had promoted, at considerable expense, in the art of naval architecture. That is why we, who always met from him and in his works the kindest greeting, should fail in our duty in not witnessing to the deep regret

caused by his death in the whole French maritime society.”

The following letter to me is from M. V. Daynard, of the *Compagnie Générale Transatlantique*. M. Daynard is well known to professional men by his studies in the theory of stability. He read an important paper on the subject at the same meeting of the Institution of Naval Architects, in 1884, at which Mr. W. Denny read his paper on “Cross Curves of Stability.” M. Daynard had previously communicated his views to Mr. Denny, and had received from him a most appreciative acknowledgment in a letter dated 23rd October, 1883, of which these are the opening paragraphs :—

“I am very greatly obliged for your beautiful and able ‘*Memoire sur le Tracé de Courbes Nouvelles servant à mesurer la Stabilité des Navires pour tous les Tirants d’Eau et toutes les Inclinaisons.*’

“I think I cannot do better than quote to you the remarks of Mr. F. P. Purvis, the head of our scientific staff, whom I asked to report upon it. He says: ‘A thoroughly exhaustive means of obtaining curves of stability for all draughts of a given ship and most delightful geometrical constructions for shortening work and solving various problems that arise.’

“I am myself delighted with your method, and all the more so that in another way we have been trying here to arrive at the same result.”

M. Daynard writes :—

“PARIS, 26th October, 1887.

“DEAR SIR,—I have the honour to send you the enclosed letter” (above quoted from) “of the regretted Mr. W. Denny.

“That letter has little importance in itself, but it shows how much Mr. Denny interested himself in all that was produced even out of England on questions of naval architecture, whether of a practical or a theoretical nature. I myself, knowing the worth of Mr. Denny, have attached a great value to that letter, in which he estimated so favourably my work on the stability of ships.

“I have not had, properly speaking, any business relations with Mr. W. Denny, but only relations as colleagues in construction and in scientific

studies in naval architecture ; and I have been able to appreciate highly his merit, his qualities of spirit and heart.

“ While I have not had personal business relations with Mr. Denny, I have known in France many persons, representatives of great shipping companies, who had business dealings with him ; and I have found among them a complete unanimity in doing justice to the loyalty and *delicatesses* of the *homme d'affaires* and in regretting his premature loss.”

The statement made by Mr. Alexander Kirk in his opening address to the Institution of Engineers and Ship-builders as to the great value of the system of progressive trials established by Mr. Denny has been quoted in a previous chapter.

The Transactions of the Institution of Naval Architects for 1887 contain a memoir of Mr. William Denny by the secretary, Mr. Holmes, giving a brief summary of the leading events in his professional career. The memoir relates an interesting incident from Mr. Denny's early experiences in the Institution. “ It was in the year 1870 that Mr. Denny first became connected with the Institution of Naval Architects, and in the following year he first joined in our discussions. He has often told the tale, with evident amusement, of how difficult he found it on that occasion to obtain a hearing: how he was three times ordered to sit down, but how he persisted in speaking, and finally succeeded in making himself heard. If Mr. Denny's career were now about to open, instead of unfortunately having closed, he would doubtless not need to complain of a difficulty in obtaining a fair hearing. It was perhaps due to the difficulties which attended his first appearance that his remarks on that occasion were very short, and that he did not again intervene in debate till the year 1876, when the late Mr. Froude read his well-

known paper on 'The Ratio of Effective to Indicated Horse-power as elucidated by Mr. Denny's Measured Mile Trials at Varied Speeds.' At any rate, when in the latter year he again appeared in our discussions, he was listened to with interest and respect, for in the meantime his name had become well known, and his reputation thoroughly established, by the good work which he had been doing in the north."

APPENDIX TO CHAPTERS VI.—X.

I APPEND here the following notes on the professional career of the late William Denny, with titles of his technical contributions :—

1869.—Paper on “The Dimensions of Sea-going Ships.” Dumbarton Literary and Philosophical Society (6th December).

1869-70.—Elected member of Institution of Naval Architects.

1870.—Four technical lectures on “Iron Ship-building” in January and February, attended by some three hundred workmen and apprentices. Prizes were given for the best essays written from notes taken at the lectures.

Commencement of the practice of trials of steamers upon the measured mile.

1871.—Paper on “The Relation of Speed to Power in Steamers.” Dumbarton Literary and Philosophical Society (17th April).

1873.—Lecture on “Ship-building in the Nineteenth Century.” Vale of Leven Mechanics’ Institution (22nd January).

Elected member of Institution of Engineers and Ship-builders in Scotland (February).

1875.—Paper on “The Difficulties of Speed Calculation.” Institution of Engineers and Ship-builders in Scotland (March). This paper is the first of his published technical communications. It obtained for him the marine engineering medal of the Institution.

Paper before British Association at Bristol on "The Trials of Screw Steamships" (August).

Correspondence with the late William Froude, leading up to the latter's papers before the Institution of Naval Architects (April, 1876) on "The Ratio of Indicated to Effective Horse-power as elucidated by Mr. Denny's Measured Mile Trials at Varied Speeds" and on "The Comparative Resistances of Long Ships of Several Types."

"Notes on Speed Calculations, Ordinary Speed Trials, and Progressive Trials" published in *The Engineer's Annual and Almanac for the Year 1876*.

1876.—Elected member of Institution of Civil Engineers.

1877.—Paper on "Lloyd's Numerals." Institution of Naval Architects (August).

1878.—Paper on "Lightened Scantlings." Institution of Naval Architects (April).

Paper on "The Late Action of the Board of Trade with regard to Storm Valves" (19th February).

1879.—Conflict with Board of Trade relative to including contents of cellular double bottoms in measurements for tonnage.

Elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh (3rd February).

Steamship *Rotomahana* finished, the first merchant ocean-going steamer built of mild steel.

1880.—Paper on "Steel in the Ship-building Yard." Institution of Naval Architects (March).

Rearrangement of drawing-office and institution of a staff intended to deal specially with questions on the science of ship-building.

Rearrangement of specification for steamer-building, grouping each department of work by itself (December).

1881.—Paper on “The Economical Advantages of Steel Ship-building.” Iron and Steel Institute (May).

Paper on “Local Education in Naval Architecture.” Institution of Naval Architects (April).

Extension of ship-yard, including establishment of experimental tank.

Elected member of Iron and Steel Institute.

1882.—Watt lecture before the Greenock Philosophical Society on “The Speed and Carrying of Screw Steamers” (20th January).

Elected member of Institution of Mechanical Engineers.

Paper on “The Reduction of Transverse and Longitudinal Metacentric Curves to Ratio Curves,” and paper on “Launching Velocities.” Institution of Naval Architects (March).

1883.—Acceptance of invitation from Mr. Chamberlain to serve on Load-line Committee (17th December).

1884.—Paper on “Cross Curves of Stability.” Institution of Naval Architects (April).

Technical Qualities Books instituted, giving to owners, captains, and others information regarding matters of importance connected with steamers (October).

Paper on “Mr. Mansel’s and the Late Mr. Froude’s Methods of analysing the Results of Progressive Speed Trials.” Institution of Engineers and Ship-builders in Scotland (December).

1885.—Reply to discussion on foregoing paper (February).

1886.—Elected President of the Institution of Engineers and Ship-builders in Scotland (April).

In acknowledging the intimation of his appointment in a letter to the secretary, Mr. W. J. Miller, of date 29th April, 1886, Mr. Denny wrote: “Your

note of yesterday, intimating my unanimous election as President of the Institution, has given me very great pleasure. I very much appreciate and prize the honour conferred on me, and will do my best to discharge its duties properly. Unfortunately it is possible, from my having to leave for the river Plate on business in the beginning of June, I may be unable to deliver my inaugural address at the opening meeting of our next session. Should this occur, I hope the Institution will excuse my inability, and permit me to deliver the address at a succeeding meeting." It is unnecessary to state that Mr. Denny never took the chair.

CHAPTER XI.

FOR THE GOOD OF THE TOWN.

WHILE constantly occupied with the care of a large business and deeply engaged in studies on subjects connected with naval architecture, William Denny was never so busy that he could not find leisure to think of what concerned the welfare of his native town. He loved Dumbarton well. He was not alone in this, for Dumbarton is richer than most Scottish towns in wealthy citizens whose pride it is to have an opportunity of doing her a service. In the common form of beneficence—that of spending money for the public benefit—he could not even be the chief; he was too young a man for that. In that respect he had to be content to follow his father and other well-known and highly esteemed citizens. While he did his part ungrudgingly in connection with subscription lists, he worked in other ways in which he was not a follower, but an originator. He laboured for the good of the town in every way possible—with purse, and still more with brain, tongue, culture, influence. He touched the life of Dumbarton at every possible point: in its religion and its efforts at self-reformation; in the endeavours of its citizens after the improvement of their social condition by co-operation in house-building and in distribution of

the necessaries of life, and by friendly societies; in its charities to the poor; in whatever tended to the culture of the mind and the refinement of manners; even in its amusements. He could not help himself, for he was so popular that every organisation in turn sought the benefit of his assistance. But he did not need to be dragged into anything pertaining to the public interest, nor did he discharge his obligations to a cause by a patronising speech at a public meeting or a guinea subscription to its funds.

He was exceedingly jealous for the honour of the burgh, nor would he allow any man to speak disparaging words of it without instant contradiction. On two occasions he stood forth as the champion of its good name: once against a neighbouring clergyman who had uttered some random remarks on the rude, uncultured manners of Dumbarton; a second time in connection with a statement made in Parliament that Dumbarton was the most drunken town in Scotland. The latter attack he met with a flat contradiction, backed by statistics. To the former he replied by a public vindication in which he pointed out that Dumbarton had really some other good things besides an old neglected castle perched on a rock. The defence called forth from the clerical critic an apology, in acknowledging which Mr. Denny expressed this opinion of Dumbarton: "I admit the town is in some points behind several Continental towns I know and enjoy. Taken, however, on the ground of the character of its population and the promise in them, I am not prepared to admit inferiority in it. There is as much heart of goodness, patience, and hope in this town as in any, and more

than in most. This is mixed, as goodness ever will be in human life, more or less with fault and folly ; but the existence of the goodness and the genuine force of character of the people make me confident that bit by bit improvement is being acquired by the surest of all means : the gradual perception by the people of their own needs."

The estimate might be generous, and slightly tinged with characteristic optimism ; but this is surely a good fault. Better be an optimist, provided you are not blinding yourself to existing evils, taking a hopeful view of your fellow-men and working for their good in a cheerful, buoyant, happy mood, than be a pessimist, entertaining dismal, despairing views of human depravity, which issue either in a policy of heartless neglect, or in efforts at reform guided by a spirit of acid, censorious earnestness which repels, alienates, and hardens rather than wins to goodness. Mr. Denny had no belief in the acetic acid method of curing moral maladies. His watchwords were sympathy, cheerfulness, and hope ; his faith was not in a gospel of denunciation, which contents itself with telling men how bad they are, but in the genial Gospel of Jesus, which finds in the worst a Divine element, whereof it lays hold to lead them on to the life of wisdom.

Some of Mr. Denny's most remarkable efforts and utterances had reference to the highest human interests : religion and morals. These are reserved for future chapters. I notice here his contributions to the well-being of the community amidst which he lived in connection with amusements, charity, friendly societies, and æsthetic culture.

Mr. Denny had little leisure for amusement himself, except such as comes through change of occupation, and possibly no great craving for it; but he did not frown on the amusements of others. He did not share the timidity common among religious people, especially in Scotland, which makes them fight shy of nearly all energetic forms of recreation and practically assume an attitude of prohibition towards the playful or kitten element in human life. He expressed his opinion on this subject in general terms in a letter which he sent to the Provost of Dumbarton on the occasion of the opening of Levensgrove Park, a gift to the town from Mr. John MacMillan and his own father, Mr. Peter Denny. Necessarily absent on business, he could not allow the occasion to pass without expressing his warm interest in it; and this he did in the following terms:—

“LONDON, 29th May, 1835.

“MY DEAR PROVOST BAPTIE,—I greatly regret my inability to be with you to-morrow. Important business keeps me here. I therefore ask you and my fellow-townsmen to excuse my absence, and to be assured that my thoughts and best wishes will be with you in your opening of our new park. I half hoped, in the event of my absence, to be able to send you such news of business as would have cheered the town's workmen. This pleasure has been denied me, but a better fortune will come, and I hope soon.

“For to-morrow I wish you the best of weather and complete success in all those arrangements you and your colleagues have so carefully prepared. The park must be nearly in its full summer beauty. May it rest and freshen many a tired body and weary mind; may it add to the unconscious joys of children, and give riper years more conscious, if rarer, happiness.

“We Scotch people need more sunshine in our lives, but we need even more to lose altogether the suspicion that innocent and abundant happiness in man may be a cause of grief and even anger to his Maker. The donors of our park have not so thought, and we must therefore wish them to possess for many years the sweetest of all rewards: an abundant

joy in the happiness of others. We should be stimulated by their example to make our workaday town a home of goodness, of happiness, and of hope.

"The townspeople will not forget that you yourself first attempted to secure the new park for them, and your own and your colleagues' work in making it what it now is. This and your many other unwearied and successful labours for the town will make your leadership to-morrow peculiarly welcome. You have shown us how the envy and bitterness of party may be annulled by the devotion of a disinterested heart to the common cause.

"Please accept again my warmest wishes for your complete success ; and believe me,

"Yours faithfully,

"WILLIAM DENNY."

Mr. Denny gave effect to the views expressed in this letter by consenting to be the honorary patron of the Dumbarton Football Club, an honour coveted by few. Football is the favourite game in Dumbarton and the Vale of Leven, and the Dumbarton team have gained renown by the victories they have achieved over formidable opponents. The game is of course criticisable from the high moral point of view, and it did not escape criticism in Dumbartonshire. Grave people said it was dangerous, rough, brutal, and brutalising, and therefore ought to be discountenanced ; to all which Mr. Denny listened, bowed respectfully, and took his own course. He discounted the drawbacks real or alleged, voted the game good on the whole, and gave it his hearty encouragement. He was as proud as a schoolboy over the victories of the local team. At a banquet which he gave in celebration of their achievements he declared that the report of one of their signal triumphs had acted on him like medicine when he lay sick. "When a man," he said, "is lying on

his back, nothing is so beneficial for him as to hear of the good fortune and the advancement of his friends." On the same festive occasion he explained the interest he took in the game. "Some of my friends," he said, "have asked me why I think so much of football, why I admire it so much. The reason is simply this: that the life of a town is made up of many parts—of its business, its literature, its art and science, its athletics—and none of them should be neglected. I hope no narrowness of feeling will be allowed in Dumbarton to interfere with the promotion of athletics. While I was absent abroad I read once or twice in our local newspaper a discussion on the question whether football is a good thing for the town or not. Those who think football is not a good thing are, no doubt, good, honest people, who believe they are doing a public service in writing against it. We admire our critics in this matter, and can acknowledge that in many things they have our sympathy; but what we ask of them is to take a larger and heartier view of life than they do, and try to be worthy of their name for goodness and to show a love for all that is innocent, beautiful, and manly in the life we live." What he claimed specially for athletics in general, and for football in particular, was that it had the effect of making manly men. Manliness—"a readiness to meet any emergency frankly and courageously"—he deemed the first requisite in a man, the fundamental part of all true culture. Therefore, while apologising to the good people of Dumbarton out of courtesy, he was not inclined to be timid or half-hearted in his defence of manly sports. He

believed them to be positively good, contributory in no insignificant measure to the moral health of the community.

Whatever abuses the games of the people may be liable to, it cannot be doubted that these would be minimised if men of social position and personal worth associated themselves with the people in their amusements, instead of holding aloof and playing the part of critics with an air of superior virtue. I am reminded here of a conversation I had with a miner on the top of a coach coming out from Yosemite Valley in the summer of 1886. He joined us at one of the stations on the road, and took his seat by my side on the back seat of the coach. His talk was striking, and drew the attention of all the passengers. He spoke of many things, describing the life of the class he belonged to. We touched on religion and the character of Christ. He then made a strange remark, irreverent in word, but not in intention, for he was a Scotchman and a Highlander, and had memories of Scottish piety. It was this: "Jesus Christ would not have got on with miners; He did not know enough of 'poker.'" I know nothing at all of "poker," and I fancy it is a different affair in point of morality from football. But the miner's meaning is clear. He meant that no one could make way with the class he belonged to unless he were as a miner among miners, entering into their ways as far as possible. Now this was the very principle on which Christ acted. It was a principle in which Mr. Denny thoroughly believed.

Mr. Denny's service in the cause of *charity* did not consist so much in giving or collecting money

as in organising and directing benevolence. Nothing is more urgently needed in all our cities and towns. Readiness to give money is common. Nothing easier than to get money for a good cause, and even for a bad one. I have known a worthless scoundrel of a negro induce a West End congregation to empty its pockets for an imaginary college in America for the training of coloured missionaries by a well-told tale, in which the horrors of the African slave trade were pathetically depicted. The difficulty is to give wisely—to the right people in the right way, so as to relieve want, encourage honest poverty, and avoid the demoralising effect of indiscriminate charity, which works much mischief, encouraging laziness, ministering to drunkenness, propagating hypocrites who feign piety, consent to be “converted,” put their souls up to the highest bidder, taking advantage of the rivalries of sects and the zeal of well-meaning people. The cure of these evils is an urgent task, but by no means easy ; for the reformer has to fight with wayward benevolent impulses, impatient of regulation, and with the interested motives of those who covet the power which the exercise of charity brings.

So far as Dumbarton is concerned the problem seems to be solved already. In 1878 Mr. Denny took up the question, acting on a hint in a leading article in the local newspaper on “Giving wisely.” The result of his action was the formation of “The Dumbarton Benevolent Society,” whose objects in its constitution are declared to be—the collection of funds to be applied for the relief of necessitous persons resident in the burgh, especially in the winter and in

times of depressed trade, and without regard to creed or nationality; the prevention of imposition by obtaining correct information as to the necessities of applicants for assistance; and the discouragement of indiscriminate relief-giving.

The capabilities of the Society have occasionally been severely tested, especially in the winters of 1885-6, 1886-7, when dull trade threw a vast number of persons out of work, and thousands of pounds were needed to meet the necessities of the case. The money required was of course found—that may always be counted on in Dumbarton. The committee were told to give relief in a generous, though unostentatious, manner, and assured that whatever amount was necessary per week would be cheerfully provided. All classes in the community and many persons beyond the burgh subscribed to the funds. One-fifth of the whole amount was contributed by the workmen who were fortunate enough to have employment. What is more difficult, through the agency of district committees having charge of sections of the town small enough to make exact knowledge of the facts of every case possible, the money was so administered that, speaking generally, not a single case of destitution was overlooked, attempts at fraud and imposition were defeated, and hundreds of people were kept from being pauperised by asking or receiving aid from the parochial board. Work was provided as far as possible for those who were able to work, that they might preserve their feeling of independence by doing something—were it only breaking metal—for the benefit received. Such as desired to do special acts of kindness did them through the agency of the

Society, so that indiscriminate charity, if not wholly suppressed, was severely restricted.

One can easily see from this experiment what are the conditions of success in such an enterprise. There must be, to begin with, a diffused public spirit, making all ready to give as they are able and as the occasion demands. There must be leaders who can without effort, through the weight and worth of their character, get the whole community to follow them, with perfect confidence in their judgment and integrity. Finally, there must be a determination on the part of those who are entrusted with the management, that benevolent sentiment shall not be divorced from wisdom and common-sense, to the effect of making rogues and "ne'er-do-weels" fare better than honest people. All these conditions seem to exist in Dumbarton. Happy town!

In contributing to the realisation of these requirements, Mr. William Denny was only one of a goodly number. But there was one thing he could do better than any man in the town, lay or clerical, viz., lift the whole business of charity above the mere mechanism of collecting and distributing funds into the lofty region of the spiritual life, where the springs of action take their rise. This he did habitually as he had opportunity, and especially in the address which he delivered as President of the Society at its annual meeting in April, 1886, in which he commented on what he deemed the good features of the Society, and pointed out the benefits which accrued from its work, not merely to the poor, but to those who had taken part in the labour of love. He referred with special emphasis to the fact that the Society "had no paid

officials whatever." Of the workmen's contributions he spoke with admiration :—

"I do not hesitate to say that, instead of being one-fifth of the total amount subscribed, from the point of view of self-sacrifice they ought to bear the ratio value of nine-tenths. Their highest importance to us is their testimony to the willingness of our workmen to help brothers in affliction. They are a proof that in this town there really does exist that spirit of comradeship which is the finest flower of civilisation."

Of the good that comes to a community from hard times and the burden of sympathy with the distressed they impose on the well-to-do, he thus spoke :—

"We do not yet realise the purpose of all the suffering that is in the world, the commercial depression, troubles, and difficulties that afflict us. I have long thought that there is a very silver lining to these clouds : that the black face they bear upon them arises only from our way of looking at them, and from permitting commercial depression, commercial strain and suffering, to harden our hearts and cramp us within the boundaries of our own safety, in disregard of others. Thus met, these times of depression may become terrible, such times as we see in France and Belgium just now, where the blackness of the cloud becomes revolution and riot. But if we interpret these times as being calls upon us to throw away selfishness, to deny ourselves, to put our hand in the hands of those who need our help—to help them willingly, sympathetically, with our hearts as well as our hands,—then we may find that these times of depression and suffering are sent upon us with no angry intent, but with the highest purpose of beneficence. So long as the people of this town continue to interpret times of depression and suffering as they have interpreted them during the past winter, so long will there be for this town prosperity and progress, not merely in external and material business, but in those higher and spiritual forms of life which confer not only material, but a heavenly, happiness upon those who possess them."

If we heard such sentiments from the pulpit, we should consider them exceptionally well expressed, but otherwise a matter of course. It is a different affair to hear them from the lips of a man of business who has the power and the will to translate fine sentiments into noble deeds. Alas! the sentiments

and the deeds are so often divorced, the sentiments coming from the preachers who lack the power to do, and the deeds being either not forthcoming from those who have the power, but not the will, or being performed by dumb, prosaic souls, who can neither feel nor speak as William Denny felt and spoke, and whose actions often proceed from motives which have no value in the kingdom of God, conferring material benefit on receivers of their gifts, but not enriching the spiritual life of the givers.

Of the various *friendly societies* of Dumbarton, seven in all, Mr. Denny became a member, one after the other. He did so by request, and on being assured that his joining the brotherhood would confer a benefit. In connection with the public meetings of these societies, especially of the Ancient Shepherds, he had an opportunity of expressing his views of the value of such institutions. At the annual festival of the "Pride of Leven" Lodge connected with the Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds held in 1880 he spoke thus:—

"There is one point of local interest which strikes me forcibly. You have in this town, including yourselves, seven friendly societies, working harmoniously and effectively for the good of their members. Some of them are, like yourselves, continuous; others are simply of yearly duration and of yearly reconstruction. Whatever their differences, however, they have one common feature; and that is their requirement of an administrative staff of officers to conduct their affairs. This implies—and the implication is worthy of remark—that the workmen of this town of thirteen thousand inhabitants are capable of supplying from their own ranks seven sets of administrators to manage their affairs for them. Here we have a decided answer to those who are sceptical of the fitness of the workmen of this country to take part in its government. It seems to me that men who are steadily engaged year after year in electing and criticising their own administrators are well fitted to elect and criticise their political representatives. And be assured of this: your energies and

independence and your determination to be heard in the councils of your country will not diminish, but rather increase, the dignity, activity, and intelligence of the classes above you ; for no capable or worthy upper class has ever risen, or ever will rise, saving on the foundations of a free, vigorous, and hardy people. Your society is to some extent a secret society ; and as societies embodying that element are rife on the continent of Europe, it is worth while considering the attitude in which your society stands to the Government and the whole people of this country as compared to the attitude in which secret societies stand to their Governments abroad. I need hardly tell you that these societies, mostly Nihilistic or Socialist in a greater or less degree, are a source of terror and distrust, a perpetual element of peril and doubt. Here your increase is a matter of congratulation, inspiring confidence in the Government, because your increase marks the increase of prosperity and good among the workmen of this country. Foreign tyrannies turn secret societies into sources of danger. Here the healthy breath of freedom blows the peril to the winds, and will as long as it exists dissipate every such danger.

“There were also, as you know, friendly societies in the past, the guilds, with which it is possible to compare your present societies, and I think in one point to your advantage ; for the guilds, with all the good they did, were compelled by the necessities of their time to keep up a constant class fight, in addition to their purely benevolent efforts. Time has freed you from that, so that now your whole efforts are devoted to the great fight laid upon all men against sickness, misfortune, and death. You have assumed this vigorously and well ; and you may congratulate yourselves upon the fact that it calls forth no element of bitterness, nor one act of enmity against your fellow-men. By your efforts to be self-reliant and independent you are compelling the respect of the classes above you ; and in doing this you are hastening the day in which the truest dream of a nation can be realised, when its diverse classes may stand before each other clothed each with self-respect, paying and requiring respect. When that time comes, servility on one side and patronage on the other will have equally disappeared ; and the true courtesy which springs from equality of respect will happily have taken their place. Such a change will be more fortunate for the classes above you than for yourselves. For I know of no more degrading and shameful blot upon a great nation than the supercilious rapidity with which the lazy loafers of the castes and coteries of an upper class pass judgment upon the actions and aspirations of the great mass of the people. The lessons your societies teach will efface this blot.

“I only add one word more, and it is of congratulation upon the way in which your society has copied one of the best of the old guild customs in placing itself under the sanction of a great patron. They chose some

good saint or noble martyr. You, in your motto 'Christus noster pastor,' have placed your society under the patronage of the greatest name. You have cast over it a robe of infinite protection, and lodged beneath the shelter we all greatly need. So sheltered, so inspired, you may be assured of its success and its endurance."

Shepherdry was introduced into Scotland in 1868 by David McCulloch, who joined the Order in England, and on his return to Scotland and Dumbarton induced his fellow-workmen to unite in forming a lodge, the "Pride of Leven," which has since become the fruitful mother of a large progeny spread over the country. A movement was set on foot by the members of this lodge to erect a monument to commemorate its opening and to perpetuate the memory of the founder. The monument was erected in Dumbarton Cemetery; and the ceremony of unveiling took place there on the 16th September, 1882. Mr. William Denny performed the ceremony, and in doing so took occasion to declare who are worthy of remembrance. His answer to the question was: "They who have nobly served their fellows." In discoursing on this theme, he gave utterance to one of his favourite ideas: that the washing of the disciples' feet by Jesus was a sacramental symbol which might with better right than some other symbolic acts have been erected into a sacrament—the sacrament of service.

"There are many reasons for which men are admired, some good and some undoubtedly bad. Men are admired because they are sharp, because they are strong, because they are astute, because they are cautious; but I consider that the man who ought to be admired above all others is he who is most heartily serviceable to his fellow-men. When we look back upon the history of the world, we find that there have been two great instincts by which it has been carried on in order and prosperity. These instincts are the ambition of some men to rule and the instinct of almost all men

to obey. There is, however, another instinct growing in the world slowly, but surely, which may be thought to be a combination of the other two : the instinct to serve. This instinct, when fully developed and guided by intelligence, is the most helpful of all ; and in its exercise we have the highest of all possible examples. At the opening of our Christian era, we find the Master of Christianity willingly, and as His last act, filling the office of a servant, and in the washing of His disciples' feet leaving to the future a rite embodying one of the greatest ideas, purposing that men for all time might follow this example and try in some way to be serviceable to their fellow-men. I often wonder that among the sacraments selected by the Protestant and Catholic Churches this rite, not the least noble, should have been neglected and left to one side. It reminds us that the greatest forces in the affairs of the world are the moral forces. They are not always apparent, but they are the most real ; and that they are becoming more prominent in the present day than they have ever been is another great cause of hope for the future. As the moral sense of this country and of all popularly governed countries increases in force, the admiration of mere strength, wealth, and astuteness will give way to the admiration which should be commanded by noble service. It will be found that among the keen personal and national ambitions of the present such appreciation of disinterested service will be the one solvent for the sharpness of our contest."

Standing in the place where the dead lay sleeping, the speaker naturally alluded to the influence which good men exercise after they have left the world. He named some of those who had been useful while living, and who, now buried in the cemetery, still continued to be a power for good among their survivors. Among these were his uncle William, whom he described as "an employer who had called forth liking and affection, and been a cause of pride to his town and district." He himself now lies among the dead worthies, one more added to the number of those who, being dead, yet speak.

Mr. Denny's love for *art* was deep and lasting. It was not a youthful passion which died out in ripe manhood, though as he grew older his taste underwent modification, becoming less severe and

more appreciative of the sensuous element. To the last, however, his preferences were for the pure and simple. The works of Ludwig Richter were among his special favourites, because of the pictures of home life which they contain. He had no exaggerated ideas as to the importance of art as an element in life. He knew that conduct, not art, was the main thing. In one of his letters to his betrothed, in 1873, he wrote: "True culture is a wonderful auxiliary in the conduct of life, but it is only a means, not an end. The primary necessity is to do our day's duty, and work honestly and well. Even enjoyments only gather their sweetness from being attached to some true purpose. We must have that in our united life and support it by our pleasures." In a remarkable address on "Religion in this Life," delivered in 1885, he stated that there was a time when he took a hatred to literature and art because he thought them exclusive things, the enjoyment of the few. At what period he so felt he did not indicate, but there can be little doubt that the aversion referred to was one of the features in the morbid religious experience through which he passed during the period of his apprenticeship. It is a common thing for persons passing through such an experience to contract dislikes to former pursuits and enjoyments, however legitimate. They adopt as the principle of their new life the indiscriminate and passionate renunciation of all that belonged to their old life previous to the time of their spiritual awakening. It is a crude theory, but not unnatural, for men passing through a spiritual crisis have to decide at once how they are to regulate their conduct, and

they naturally adopt a rough-and-ready method of settling all questions. Besides, even innocent enjoyments are often unduly indulged in ; and conscience powerfully stimulated produces a reaction of feeling towards the opposite extreme of ascetic abstinence. In all thoughtful natures time and experience bring the needed correction, and restore balance to the moral judgment. William Denny soon saw that literature and art were not evil things, and that the proper course was to continue to cultivate them, but always for unselfish, elevated ends.

To this principle he faithfully adhered. He early resolved not to be a collector of paintings, but to be content with such copies of the great works as could be obtained by being a subscriber for the publications of the Arundel Society. His ambition was to be able to buy fine pictures for his own town of Dumbarton, that, as he said to a friend, "the workpeople may have a possession in them as well as myself." This dream of his youth he did not live to realise ; but that it was not a transient thought is shown by the fact that many years after he uttered the purpose he presented to the Co-operative Society of Dumbarton upward of twenty engravings of well-known pictures, which he had purchased in Paris, framed in massive solid rosewood frames, to adorn the walls of their hall. At a meeting held in the Hall to present an address to the donor of these pictures Mr. Denny delivered an address the burden of which was just his old idea : art not the luxury of the few, but for the benefit of the many. Art, he said in effect, ought to be democratic, nay must be, else it will not thrive. To quote his own words :—

“The first thing requisite to make great art successful is that the whole influence of the town, district, or country to which art appeals should be on its side, and should appreciate it. When art appeals to one class in society alone, or to a caste or coterie, its doom and its failure is certain. One of the best artists of the present day, Mr. William Morris, has said that if art is not democratic, it is powerless. Many people may think this a paradox, but it is no paradox. It means this: that if the people do not appreciate and encourage art, art will soon dwindle down into small proportions. In the great period of Italian art, the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the small town for which the artist painted appreciated him, and the whole town went to see the pictures; and, as a rule, the pictures were preserved for the town. In proof of what I have stated I may point to the one art which is widely successful in the present day: the art of music. Why is it so successful? Because it is popular; because it is listened to by enormous audiences of every class, and receives their admiration and encouragement. But what do we see in the other arts? We see painting and sculpture studied for a small class, for a few rich and luxurious people; and the consequence is that painting has fallen into the bringing out of small details.

“Great art must be popular, not for the advantage of the people alone—although the advantage of the people is the main purpose in everything—but great art must be popular for its own sake. Healthy art requires two things for its accomplishment and success. It requires honesty and a healthy enthusiasm in its professors, and on the part of those to whom it is addressed a hearty appreciation—an appreciation which means that the arts of painting and sculpture supply a felt want, a sense of enjoyment in their quiet hours. But when art is studied for men who have already more enjoyment than they know what to do with, then it is simply an added superfluity, and becomes undignified and unfruitful.”

We are not surprised to learn that one holding such views desired that the people should have it put within their power, not merely to see good pictures, but to learn the art of making them. This end Mr. Denny sought to accomplish by the establishment of a school of art in Dumbarton, which he had the happiness of seeing carried into effect in 1884. It may appear as if in pursuing this object he had forgotten that he was living, not in Italy, but in Scotland, a land of Puritan traditions, whose people

hardly allow art any place in human life, and are comparatively indifferent to the pleasures it yields ; but artistic genius is not confined to one country. There are youths even in Puritan Scotland with an eye for the beauty of the world and fingers that itch to reproduce it on canvas. Many of them are among the humbler classes ; some of them have risen, in spite of hindrances and the lack of facilities for self-culture, out of obscurity into fame. Is it not well to bring the training needful for the development of such talents within the reach of the poorest in all our centres of population ? If it be uphill work, all the more credit to those who put their hands to it ! Uphill work enough it must appear to be when we consider the imperfect way in which the interests of art are cared for even in some of our largest cities. In his inaugural address at the opening of the Dumbarton School of Art on the 26th November, 1884, Sir Philip Cunliffe Owen referred to the state of matters in Glasgow, " which," he said, " could not make up its mind to get a proper museum built, and had its Corporation galleries, with its valuable collection of pictures, erected over a number of shops." It might be invidious to inquire into the cause of this neglect. Various causes might be suggested. It may be lack of culture, or it may be too wide prevalence of the kind of culture which Mr. Denny in his speech on the occasion above mentioned stigmatised as pharisaical.

" There are men," he said, " whose culture is essentially the culture of the Pharisee, and who employ it, not for the purpose of broadening their sympathy and deepening their affection, but for the purpose of setting themselves on a pedestal, forming little coteries outside the big circle of their fellow-men, and saying to them : ' Look at us.

How much superior we are to you.' Culture of that kind is an abomination. Culture of that kind is the creator of that most devilish of the creations of human society caste. We do not want any fresh caste created. What we want is a society linked together and united. We want our pleasures to be pleasures in which you shall all take pride, and in which you shall all take part. Society, as it is advancing in the present day, is moving in directions which are in many points new to it; and it wants steadying influences, and there could be no influence so steadying as that of a wide, honest, and real culture—a culture which should spread from the most fortunate down to those who were least fortunate, which should form a bond of sympathy between them which would make those who were more fortunate take pride and pleasure in the achievements of those who were less fortunate."

Certainly a good ideal, at any rate, whether practicable or not. Not so impracticable, either, if only a sufficient number of men cherished it, and worked under its inspiration, with a genial, generous enthusiasm. A sufficient number of men of the William Denny type—not a very large number, either—would alter many things for the better in Glasgow and elsewhere.

Mr. Denny lost no opportunity of preaching this doctrine of a culture animated by public spirit, the best people in society cultivated, not for their own sakes, but for the benefit of the many, acting thus as the light, the leaven, and the salt of the earth. A little earlier in the same year, at a meeting of the Dumbarton Philosophical and Literary Society, he expatiated on the same favourite theme:—

"Art and literature are in the world not for useless purposes. All that exists of good, and noble, and great, all that is the fruit of minds having in them the inspiration drawn from Divine sources, is in the world for the purpose of service. If you think for an instant that art, and literature, and science are here only to be the source of vanity to some and of luxury to others, how horribly you distort the truth, how ignobly you put your noblest gifts to use, and how by misuse those gifts are turned to utter fruitlessness. The feeling you ought to have is that the more

you yourselves can appreciate and enjoy these influences, the stronger should be the conviction in your hearts that they are not intended for the few, but for the many."

The speaker of these words was possessed by the great idea, service of others the great law of life; and henceforth he will be found proclaiming it with the fervour of a Hebrew prophet in every possible connection. The next chapter will partly explain the source of this enthusiasm.

Some may wonder that a man of such consuming moral earnestness as Mr. Denny should concern himself so much about art, and shrewdly suspect that had he lived long enough the Puritan element in him would have killed the æsthetic. It is certainly true that a strong sense of the supreme importance of conduct tends to deaden the craving for such enjoyments as art yields. Puritanism and æstheticism are prone to mutual exclusiveness. This is the popular creed, and it is also the creed of some enthusiastic patrons of art. By no one has it been proclaimed with greater emphasis than by Mr. Swinburne, who in his essay on William Blake expresses his views on the subject in these peremptory terms: "Supplant art by all means if you can; root it out; and try to plant in its place something useful or at least safe, which at all events will not impede the noble moral labour and trammel the noble moral life of Puritanism. But, in the name of sense, let us have done with all abject and ludicrous pretence of coupling the two in harness or grafting the one on the other's stock; let us hear no more of the moral mission of earnest art; let us no longer be pestered with the frantic and flatulent assumptions

of quasi-secular clericalism, willing to think the best of all sides, and ready even, with consecrating hand, to lend meritorious art and poetry a timely pat and shove."

Mr. Denny, though neither a clergyman nor a lover of clericalism, quasi-secular or other, believed in a moral mission of art. He expected from it an important moral service both to the working classes, and to the middle, or mercantile, class. What he expected it to do for the former was to breed in them a discontent with the common conditions of life and a desire for better and nobler conditions. Such a discontent he deemed an important factor in social improvement. Speaking at the annual meeting of the School of Art in Helensburgh in February, 1885, he said: "What the people of this country want is to have more noble aspirations. Therefore all who love their country well, and who are now, by social, political, or private effort, trying to remedy its most apparent evils, may be assured that in encouraging the spread of art among the people they are encouraging no trifling pleasure, but the creation of a spirit of aspiration most hopeful for the future. Such a spirit will lead the people increasingly to claim for themselves the joys of a nobler, purer, and brighter life, and will create that impulse forward which is the surest and best guarantee for progress." The service he expected art to render to the middle class was to teach them a self-respect that would keep them from servile imitation of the classes above them, "the privileged and loafing classes." Writing to a friend in New Zealand, Mr. Edward Withy, in 1884, he expressed the opinion that the want of the middle

classes was a broad and fine culture. He thought that, if this want were supplied, there would be "few ignorant conservative plutocrats, and more men seeing the sorrow and disaster of life and thinking hard and praying urgently for true remedies." His hope for the class below the skilled tradesmen, in which the social misery chiefly has its home, lay in the increase of "a cultured working and energetic middle class."

Doubts may legitimately be entertained regarding this gospel of art as a source of social regeneration. But there is no room for doubt that William Denny preached it sincerely and earnestly, not in a spirit of dilettantism. Dilettantism he abhorred. He earnestly warned the students attending the local schools of art against it, exhorting them to painstaking work and faithful, persistent endeavours after excellence. "There is not the slightest hope," he told them, "for the dabbler or the dilettante. Of all the contemptible creatures to be found in this earth it contains none more contemptible than a dabbler or dilettante in art, science, or social philosophy." He pointed to Michael Angelo, with his beetle brows, large, square, prominent cheekbones, straight-cut, hard-pressed mouth, and bruised nose, all proclaiming, "There is no dilettantism here." Finally, to encourage aspiration and thorough work, he offered £70 as a scholarship to enable meritorious students connected with the Dumbarton School of Art to visit Rome, to pursue their studies in that artistic metropolis of the world.

CHAPTER XII.

FEVER, FIRE, AND HINTONISM.

IN the beginning of 1883 Mr. Denny was laid down with an attack of typhoid fever, which, severe at the time, proved serious in its after-effects. Accompanied by Mrs. Denny and other friends, he had been travelling on the Continent for the benefit of his health, which had become impaired by overwork. At a place in the neighbourhood of Rome he and his wife had the misfortune to drink unwholesome water. The result was that both were seized with fever on their return to this country—Mrs. Denny first, her husband shortly after. Leaving her ill in London, he hurried on to Dumbarton to attend to urgent business, returned to London, then came back to Dumbarton, fever-stricken. He lay sick of the fever for some weeks in Helenslee, the home of his youth. When he was recovering, he received the announcement that his own house, “Bellfield,” was destroyed by fire. The news did not affect him so seriously as was feared. He was thankful there had been no loss of life. But he was vexed about the loss of his precious library, containing treasures that could not be replaced, and thought about it at night, though he concealed his feelings as much as possible from his mother and other relatives.

The fever made itself felt chiefly in the head, and seems, as already hinted, to have left permanent evil effects in the constitution or nervous system of the patient. The fact was patent to all who came much in contact with him, and was revealed by a certain amount of irritability, by exhaustion after mental effort in speaking or lecturing, and, above all, by a numbness on one side, of which he complained occasionally to friends, asking them, however, not to mention it to his father, lest it should make him anxious.

That illness in 1883 seems to have formed a crisis, not only in the physical life of the sufferer, but, along with the fire, also in his spiritual life. In the case of a man like William Denny that was to be expected. So apt a learner in all spheres was not likely to come out of the school of affliction without some benefit—some lifting up of the heart in tender, grateful feeling to the Great Power who appoints all that happens in wisdom and love; some intensification of past convictions, if not new convictions formed; some deepening of sympathy with the good; some increase of ardour in the service of humanity, and of concentration of purpose as to the chief end of life; possibly some experience of repentance in reference to past lines of conduct. Accordingly changes in mind, not less than in body, were observable in Mr. Denny from that time forth. Men looking at him coldly from the outside did not deem these changes altogether improvements. They remarked that there was less “fun” in him, a proneness to the exaggeration which sometimes accompanies intense conviction, an earnestness which seemed excessive and morbid.

Sympathetic friends, on the other hand, took note of the moral transfiguration, the elevated tone, the inspired manner, the concentrated interest in the higher concerns of men, remarking that, whereas formerly he would talk by preference of topics connected with literature, art, science, business, etc., now his talk was all of social, moral, and religious subjects.

His past relation to literature supplied Mr. Denny with at least one source of penitent regret. In former years he had devoured, with a quite indiscriminate appetite, French novels, in which he appears to have found his chief relaxation from severe studies. He loved the gaiety and brightness of French novels, and at the time did not think that even the coarsest of them did him any harm, though I think he must even before his illness have contracted a disgust for them, for he consulted Captain Buchanan, of Auchentorlie, an authority on French literature, as to novels not less stimulating, but morally more wholesome. Be that as it may, it is quite certain that after the fever he looked back on the hours spent on the books whose authors drew their inspiration from the Parisian *demi-monde* with disapproval. The fact that among the things consumed by the fire was a large collection of French novels helped to reconcile him to the loss of his library. He told a friend that it saved him the trouble of burning them himself. Possibly regret for the waste of time on such unprofitable, not to say vile, reading had something to do with the zealous interest which in his last years he took in the Purity movement associated with the name of Ellice Hopkins.

Shortly after his recovery, apparently while at Torquay, whither he had gone to recruit, Mr. Denny became acquainted with the writings of James Hinton. This proved to be an event of decisive importance in his history. Of the many authors whose works he read in the course of his life with sympathy and enthusiasm, no one seems to have taken so powerful a hold of his mind and heart. Perhaps this may be accounted for by the consideration that the views advocated by Hinton are of a kind to commend themselves to a man of intensely altruistic spirit, like William Denny, and are stated and defended with a subtlety and eagerness sure to fascinate a mind originally impressionable in an unusual degree, and rendered still more susceptible by recent illness, become, as it were, like dried fuel: ready to catch fire. The fact is, at all events, that with the knowledge of Hinton another fire and fever visited Denny—a fire of enthusiasm for the good of humanity, a fever of life-consuming zeal for “others’ needs.” He himself regarded the new experience as epoch-making in his history. He spoke and wrote of Hinton as his greatest master, represented him as doing for morals what Sir Isaac Newton did for physics, talked to friends as if the influence of his new master had brought about in him a moral revolution, changing him from selfishness to self-devotion, and took pleasure in pointing out the respects in which his conduct had undergone change for the better. Those who knew him intimately both before and after declare that they could discern no such marked change in his thoughts and ways. Doubtless they are right in the main; the confessions

of indebtedness above cited, while perfectly sincere, are to a certain extent the generous exaggerations of a grateful disciple. This may be said without any wish to disparage or minimise the influence of the master. After all due deductions, the influence of Hinton on Denny was undoubtedly great and lasting; perhaps it was even excessive, and to some extent unhealthy.

What chiefly attracted my friend in this powerful writer on ethics was the doctrine that by adopting service of others in love as the great law of life, pleasure and goodness, or duty, hitherto supposed to be incompatible, are reconciled. This doctrine runs through all Hinton's later writings; but it is taught in concise and simple form, put, as it were, in a nutshell, in a tract of twenty small pages entitled "Others' Needs."* I have been told that this tract was the first thing of Hinton's that fell into Denny's hands, picked up by chance in Torquay while recruiting there in 1883. If this be indeed so, what a fruitful soil that small seed fell upon! But whatever be the truth as to this point, it is certain that this tiny pamphlet struck its roots deep into the invalid's mind. He circulated it among his friends by the hundred. To the end of his life he took every opportunity of disseminating Hintonism by means of this publication. The last order he sent his Glasgow bookseller was for four dozen copies of "Others' Needs." The order came from Buenos Ayres, and was dated 8th January, 1887, little more than two months before his death. He went out there on a purely business errand; and the

* Kegan Paul, Trench and Co., London.

business he had on hand was of a difficult, engrossing, and responsible character. Yet, amid work and care which were consuming his energy, he sought to spread in that land the knowledge of what he deemed important truth, with the zeal of an apostle. Alas! before the books arrived he was gone to his eternal rest.

Denny was not so devoted a disciple of Hinton's as to be incapable of criticism, accepting as an oracle every dictum of the master. He assumed an attitude of doubt coupled with earnest appreciation, especially in reference to the posthumous publication "The Law-breaker." The leading idea of this book is that all laws are bad and ought to be broken which in commanding unconditionally certain outward acts sacrifice the true morality of the heart. Christ was the great Law-breaker. He set aside the current ideas of goodness because they made real goodness impossible. Hinton applied the principle, not merely to what our Lord called the "traditions of men," but even to the Decalogue. "How totally false," he says in one place, "is that law 'Thou shalt not kill.' It concedes all wickedness by what it omits, and what it affirms is false. It says, 'You may hate as much as you like, but you may never kill,' while the fact is, you may not hate, but may kill." He is also in rebellion against many of the laws of modern society, notably the law of marriage. The book contains many admirable thoughts with which one can thoroughly sympathise, not a few crude opinions and arbitrary interpretations of texts, and some enigmatical utterances, hinting applications of principles in certain directions, specially in

reference to the relations between the sexes, which would require further development before one could judge of them. Written in unconnected paragraphs, just as they occurred to the writer's mind, it demands a strong interest in the subject to carry the reader through to the end of the volume.

Denny possessed interest sufficient, not only for reading through to the end, but reading with ardour, this strange and to unprepared readers probably offensive book. The opinion he formed of it can be gathered from the following letter to a friend with whom he was wont to exchange sentiments:—

“26/9/84.

“MY DEAR DAWES,—Your note of the 24th I received yesterday, and I am glad to see from it you have ordered Hinton's ‘Law-breaker.’ It is a little troublesome to read, from the very peculiar and generally inverted meaning he attaches to words; but it is a powerful book, and pierces to the very marrow of the most difficult ethical ideas. It seems to me to involve, perhaps not atheism, but anyway the obliteration of the ideas of a Divine Fatherhood and the reduction of our Saviour to the level of genius alone. But I may be doing Hinton injustice in this estimate, as he very frequently uses the method of argument by omission. Anyway the book is powerful, frank, and of such interest that it enchained me till I finished it. One good service it will do is to show thinking people that the ordinary religious idea of ethics as a matter of rewards and punishments is in the highest sense unsound, as indeed involving the transference of the ordinary legal methods required for the regulation of our present society into a sphere to which they must as approximate methods be foreign. Ethics, if there is such a science resting on principles at once universal and eternal, must be something very different from jurisprudence. When you have read the book, let me know your opinion of it.

“Yours very sincerely,

“WILLIAM DENNY.

“E. S. DAWES, ESQ.,

“13, AUSTIN FRIARS, E.C.”

The following extracts from letters to a lady, with whom Mr. Denny occasionally corresponded on the

subject of books, indicate his opinion, not only of "The Law-breaker," but of the value of Hinton's writings generally, as also the connection of ideas with which his name was associated in the writer's mind:—

"3/10/'84.

". . . I have just finished Hinton's 'Law-breaker,' a most extraordinary book, which I both like and detest. There is a fine insight in it, but I cannot accept all or even most of his conclusions. I am reading Erskine of Linlathen's letters, and I am charmed with them. One can hardly fancy our predisruption theology, or postdisruption for that matter also, producing so fine a religious thinker. I don't wonder at Maurice's love and reverence for him."

"22/7/'85.

". . . By this post I send you a book I picked up in Paris which has charmed me greatly: Comte Leon Tolstoi's 'Ma Religion.' It is an echo of the march of the coming Christianity. He is a Russian Hinton, and, you will observe, thinks, with Hinton, that the preferential heaven of the select few, which is now the popular notion, had better be eclipsed until it can shine forth and be like the rain coming down alike upon good and evil, a heaven of hope for all. He himself is, however, utterly indifferent as to his future, a noble trait to my mind, although to many it would, I suppose, be the index of depravity. Like Hinton, his battle is against the delusion of self. In this they are twin spirits. He is more ascetic than Hinton, and in some points rightly so; but he is only more ascetic because the gloom in Russia is great. Please remember when reading the book, its writer leads absolutely the life he describes. Only fancy, in this prudent, careful, bargain-making, and logical age, a man believing in Christ wholly, obeying His commands absolutely, and loving Him with his whole heart, and all this without the bribe of a preferred and exclusive happiness, or any happiness at all in the next world. All orthodox persons must admit that the man is a madman!"

"18/8/'85.

". . . As to Tolstoi's future life, or rather non-existence of it, I can well understand its grating on you. It is not so very unpalatable to me, for an eternal sleep seems vastly preferable to the hideous future of preferential happiness for a select few and endless misery for the many, in which my orthodox friends hope. What a horrible set the select few will be if they ever enjoy one hour's happiness in their new existence, knowing the awful and utterly hopeless misery coexistent with them!

They would be unchristlike with a vengeance, and our Master reigning over such a select few is quite inconceivable.

"The truth is, the Spirit of Christ has gone, as He promised, to Hinton's and Tolstoi's men, in whom His official representatives, with their mechanical dogmatic theology, are certain to fail in recognising His likeness. The one consolation for us is that simultaneously among the best minds and spirits such hideous ideas are dying, and among the rank and file devotion to the good of others and efforts for them are preponderating over the theological conceptions. The spiritual world moves, and towards the truth—that truth which will set it and all of us free. The day will come when a man will think it as strange to wish himself one of a select few in heaven as one of a select few here. When caste dies here, it will die there, for life is of a piece, in spite of all our self-deception."

The lady to whom this letter was written having understood it as expressing unbelief in the life beyond, the writer explained himself in a subsequent letter as follows:—

"25/8/'85.

"... What an amount of misunderstanding! I did not say I wanted an eternal sleep. No man with as keen an enjoyment of life and hope for others and for himself as I have would say that. I said I preferred an eternal sleep to so horrible a conception as the preferential heaven of the orthodox, and still I say so. Better no future life at all than one which continues the worst features of this. As to Buddhism and its extinction of self in order that self may escape from misery, that seems to me a poor ideal compared with Christ's conception and Hinton's ideal of the absorption of self in the service of others and the gaining thereby a full freedom of happiness and hope."

The next fragment contains a general estimate of Hinton's ethical teaching:—

"28/2/'86.

"... I have just finished the Hinton-Haddon correspondence, and have enjoyed it. Hinton's Letter XV., beginning on page 200, contains an excellent rap on the knuckles to F. P. Cobbe's self-sufficiency. Her 'Duties of Women' is well intended, but is as devoid of inspiration as a seltzer-water bottle two days open is devoid of fizz. In this same letter of Hinton's do you note his reference to a 'shifting right,' a true conception, but one that must be incomprehensible to Miss Cobbe? Have

you read Sinnett's 'Esoteric Buddhism'? There are three things in it that recall Hinton and confirm his teaching: (1) that self must be counted out perfectly before the highest truth can be seen; (2) the principle of obscurity, exactly corresponding, only on a larger scale, to Hinton's suppression; (3) the spiral theory of progress. Compare also with Hinton's correction of the premiss Maurice's theory of complementary truth.

"To me Hinton is as great in ethics as Newton was in physics, and I am convinced this will yet be recognised. Ethics as taught by Miss Cobbe and nearly every one else are pure empiricism, and flatly in contradiction with our Lord's teaching and practice. For these two reasons the Cobbe ethics must steadily disintegrate. But Hinton's ethics are revolutionary. Once accepted, they would completely transform life and render the occupation of the politician and the socialist a vacancy. That, however, is what our Lord desired; and it must and shall come. Hinton has done more to make His teaching luminous than all the theologians. Your friend Dr. —, good and large-minded as he is, will yet find that Hinton is something more than a mere *rechauffée* of St. Paul; and I feel sure that sooner or later he will admit this."

Hinton the true interpreter of Christ's ethical teaching; the proclaimer of the great moral law that by making the good of others our chief end the long-standing feud between goodness and pleasure, as exhibited in the history of asceticism, is brought to an end; the advocate of a morality of the heart, ever the same in spirit, but varying in outward expression, a morality which is its own reward, and needs no stimulus from the hopes and fears of a hereafter—such was the man as Denny conceived and revered him. But great as was the master in the esteem of his disciple, he did not fill and satisfy his heart. There was a lack on the religious side. Among the most curious and characteristic passages in "The Law-breaker" are those in which Hinton gives his interpretation of the words of Jesus: "A new commandment I give unto you: that ye love one another." The old commandment was "Love God supremely,

and your neighbour as yourself." The new commandment is "Love one another"—"Love men, dropping out the love of God." That is to say, Christ's last act was to set up a religion of humanity without reference to God, the supposed reason being that by putting duty in the earlier form God's interest is made to eclipse man's, and that the only way to secure that full justice shall be done to the human interest, and even to the Divine rightly understood, is to command love to man alone and say nothing about God. If anything is certain, it is that this was not Christ's meaning. But apart from questions of interpretation, the main matter is, how far is this summing up of religion and duty in the service of man, without distinct or conscious thought of God, satisfactory in principle and wholesome in tendency?

At this point, as it appears to me, the disciple broke away from the master. He substantially accepted the position that the main part of the service of God, without which all other service is vain and unacceptable, is the love of man; but he deemed firm faith in a Divine Father, who makes all things work together for good, an indispensable source of inspiration and strength. His creed, as summed up by himself in an important lecture to be hereafter referred to, contained three fundamental articles—"the Fatherhood of God, the universal brotherhood of man, and the golden link which connects these two together: the life and death of our Lord and Saviour."

The belief in a Power making for righteousness, not a neuter power, but a beneficent, gracious Father, whose goodness exceeds man's at its best, as heaven

is high above the earth, and who in wisdom and love is patiently guiding the destinies of the world towards a blessed goal, always entered as an element into William Denny's religious life; but it appears to have taken a firmer hold of his mind than it ever had before at the time of his illness. He spoke much of religious topics in the following years; and this bright, inspiring faith always came in like a refrain in his conversation. In all circumstances and companies—in the saloon of a steamer on a trial trip to Norway, at table in after-dinner talk, and on the moor walking with a friend—it was sure to be one of his themes. He is present as a guest at an entertainment given by a citizen of Glasgow to the Load-line Committee on the occasion of their visit to that city in prosecution of their inquiries. Beside him sits, as a fellow-guest, Mr. Gerrans, the reporter of the Committee, in whom he has discovered a congenial spirit. What is the subject of his table-talk? Not ships and ship-building and the commerce of the Clyde, as one might have expected. He tells his friend of his illness, and of the clearer vision of the Divine Father he had received through it, and how through the vision of that truth he saw all men as his brethren, and of his purpose henceforth not to live for the accumulation of wealth, but for the benefit of those whose lot was less bright than his own. He is taking a holiday walk in Arran in the autumn of 1883, in the company of a clerical friend. Through that friend we are enabled to listen to the conversation which flows on incessantly. "One fact about it struck me forcibly," writes my correspondent, the Rev. C. W. Frizell, of Dunluce Rectory, County Antrim: "it was a con-

versation different in character from any that before then it was my privilege to hold with William Denny. Hitherto, whenever we had chanced to meet, chiefly topics of interest in the world of literature formed our common meeting ground ; but this day we barely touched the subject of literature at all, except indeed to raise the moral aspect of the question, which he did, I remember, in the complaint that he himself had wasted more time than he had any right to do over a mass of French writing that enervated rather than sustained the soul. But this day we went—and he was of course the leader at every turn—into the more earnest region of religion and social politics ; and, above all, it seemed to me as if he could never say enough on the theme of man's duty to his fellow-man.

“ Taking these lines of our talk in order, I may state first that he came from the Continent full of a fact which had fallen within the range of his observation there, viz., this : how the cultus of St. Ann, the Blessed Virgin's mother, was fast overriding that paid to the Virgin herself. Hence he drew the conclusion that the very causes which once started homage to the Virgin in the bygone history of the Church were now at work again to take such homage from her, as a being too far removed by dogma from human sympathies, in order to give it to a less exalted personage. The failure of the Roman Church to grasp aright the truth concerning the Lord's humanity was thus leading her out into the very wilds of error.

“ This brought us quickly into the discussion of deeper matters. My own opinions on all questions of religious truth had been to a great measure formed by

the influence of Robertson's and Maurice's teaching; and here I found a strong agreement between Mr. Denny's views and mine. Whether he had ever passed through the valley of the shadow of doubt, or whether by the sheer force of earnest thought he had leaped almost at one bound into the light of this broader faith, I could not discover. No hint, at all events, of such a transition stage escaped him."

We know through what struggles at an early time William Denny reached "the broader faith." Mr. Frizell expresses the opinion that at the time this conversation took place he knew little either of Robertson or Maurice. The truth, I believe, is that he knew their writings, at least in part, long before, and after the lapse of years went back to them again, when he got a firmer grasp of the great Christian truth proclaimed by them with exceptional emphasis.

The talk flowed on, touching on many topics: the land nationalisation movement, which had for some time occupied Denny's thoughts in connection with Henry George's book "Progress and Poverty," and with which he had considerable sympathy, though fully alive to the difficulties of the subject; the selfishness of *nouveaux riches*, who as landed proprietors insisted remorselessly on their rights, utterly ignoring their plain duty; the gratifying and cheering manifestations of the opposite spirit of self-sacrifice, which all received their meed of praise, however diverse their nature, *e.g.*, Ritualism and Temperance reform. "Ritualism," he said, "despite its weak side, marks in reality a step in advance. Within its ranks are many noble men, ready to sacrifice their own ease and time for the good of

others. I tell you, these High Church clergy in England, from what I have seen of them, know how to work. This Ritualist movement and the Temperance movement also I look upon as amongst the most hopeful of all the social phenomena appearing around us, for both breathe the same spirit of self-denial, and both seek honestly to lay a healing hand on the sorrows of the world." His thoughts then went homewards to Dumbarton, his desire when his health was fully established to be of greater service in the cause of humanity, his purpose to train his sons to seek their happiness in devotion to that cause, at the mention of which his spirit was stirred to its depths; and swinging himself round towards his companion, who had fallen behind, he looked earnestly at him and said, "'Homo sum, humanum nihil a me alienum puto'—there is no sentence in all literature that rings a truer note than this."

By such impassioned talk, associated in memory with the beauties of earth, sea, and sky, was that Sunday in Arran made for my correspondent, in his own words, a veritable "day of God."

Though not a disciple of Comte, Mr. Denny thought the religion of humanity associated with his name would prove a useful aid to right living for those who had the misfortune to have lost their faith in God. As far back as 1879 I find in his correspondence with literary friends letters expressing a decided preference for Comte as compared with Spencer on the religious side of their teaching. Conceding the superior scientific merits of the English philosopher, he claimed for Comte that he had tried

not unsuccessfully to supply the want of an honest and concrete faith and rule of life for men. He believed that mere science could never satisfy the spiritual nature, and that even in those in whom the old faiths had died out there remained a longing for a noble, disciplined life on a plane above knowledge which would insist on satisfaction; and he respected Comte because he was the first to ask where the satisfaction was to come from, and to offer the loving service of men as the answer, whereas Spencer, deficient in sympathy, seemed scarce to realise that men might still need a religion even after they had become imbued with "synthetic philosophy" and evolutionary science. To this view he permanently adhered; and friends hearing him advocate it, and possibly not fully understanding the scope of his remarks, might easily fall into the mistake of thinking him in religion a Comtist. He was a believer in the religion of humanity only to this extent: that he thought the love of mankind a good thing, whatever men's faith or no faith about God might be, nay not only a good thing, but the essential thing in Christianity, insomuch that every one might be deemed an implicit Christian who earnestly practised it. Was he far wrong in so thinking? What did Christ mean when He said: "Inasmuch as ye did it unto the least of these My brethren, ye did it unto Me"? Anyhow such was William Denny's notion of Christianity. One of his most intimate friends, Mr. Edward Withy, now in New Zealand, giving his recollections of the last days he spent in his company in 1884, sums up his views thus (the words are an echo of Mr. Denny's talk): "Christianity in its

essence unselfishness, as not intended so much to ensure us a happy exit from life as to teach us how to live nobly for the good of others therein; and as aiming to make us valiant soldiers for the help of weaker ones rather than showing us how to escape from its troubles with a whole skin by ourselves; and as not consisting in dreamy and sanctimonious or in gushing, exultant feelings, but in 'patient continuance in well-doing,' so as to forward our Master's kingdom."

It goes without saying that in his conception of Christ the humanity was the thing on which Denny laid chief stress. He did not intrude into the region of dogmatic theology either in a heterodox or in an orthodox interest; but I think he would have agreed, at least substantially, with the opening words of Hinton's "Law-breaker:" "If I believe that Christ is Divine, that is of no moment. We all wish to know what *man* He was." His difficulties in theology were not speculative, but moral. To the Incarnation conceived of as implying God entering into a life of self-sacrifice he would have offered no objection. The death of Christ he refused to regard as a sacrifice to satisfy Divine justice; but he gloried in the Cross as the symbol of self-sacrifice and even of the great spiritual law according to which—as even a Philo knew—the wise and the good are a ransom for the foolish and evil, suffering, it may be, at their hands, yet benefiting them by their sufferings. An election which signified a monopoly of favour and bliss conferred on a few he regarded with abhorrence; but a doctrine of election setting forth the elect as God's pioneers in the regeneration of the

world, as "knights of the Holy Ghost," leading the van of the army which keeps up an incessant warfare against wrong, as the light, leaven, and salt of the earth—the few chosen to the honourable, but arduous, function of being benefactors to the many—such a doctrine, written on many a page of Holy Scripture, he would not have rejected: nay, such a doctrine he himself taught. He was not orthodox in the conventional sense, but neither was he an opinionative heretic. He was simply a man very much in earnest, who tested the value of all opinions by their bearing on conduct, who cared nothing for dogmas ethically barren, and who despised orthodoxies—systems of self-styled right opinion—which allowed their devotees to live wrong, base, mean lives. He was heterodox as the Hebrew prophet was when he said: "I hate, I despise, your feast-days," as all have been of whom the world is not worthy, and whom the religious world has ever been prone to regard as not good enough for it; not so, however, that he could not, in sickness or in health, say or sing: "Jesus, Lover of my soul," or "Rock of ages, cleft for me." To some people it may seem incomprehensible how any man could fervently join in singing such hymns, yet write as William Denny did to his children, crossing the ocean to South America, in 1886, with the constellation of the Southern Cross in his eye suggesting the train of thought: "We all need to learn that the principle of our religion is not one of personal profit or indemnity, which this sacred symbol is falsely supposed to teach, but something rather the reverse: the joy of self-sacrifice for others, not the clever appropriation of others' self-sacrifice."

A man's religious creed, when it is sincere, discovers itself in his endeavours to perform the office of a comforter. In this duty of friendship Mr. Denny was not negligent ; and the letters of sympathy written by him to sorrow-stricken friends which have been preserved in his correspondence are not the least valuable memorials of his beneficent life. One or two samples may here be introduced. To a worthy citizen of Dumbarton on the occasion of his wife's death he thus wrote :—

“ DUMBARTON, 10/9/84.

“ I would have written you before to say how deeply I sympathised with you just now, but I thought that to thus intrude on your grief in its first days would be an unwelcome act. That we all mourn with you I am sure you will believe, for not only have you yourself secured a warm place in the hearts of all in the town who care for the town's good and improvement, but the sweet reputation of your late wife as a devoted mother, and a loving helpmeet, and a true and gentle woman has come abroad among us all. I cannot pretend by any words written or spoken to hope to alleviate the grief of yourself and your children. No sympathy, however true, can do more in such a time than attempt to share some of that grief, and to send you testimony of this. Our griefs and sorrows must have glorious meaning and purpose, if we only understood them as they are intended by the will of the infinite and unchanging love of our great Father. But we cannot know all this, and they are weak and foolish who pretend to know. We can only trust and hope, and believe that every sweet and good human life extinguished here rises above, with sweetness and goodness a thousandfold increased, to watch and pray for those it loses. God teaches by political and social trouble that human life here on earth can only find its peace in love and sympathy with all men. Perhaps death and bereavement here are but the means by which our love and the ties which bind us in it are stretched and strengthened so that they may reach beyond all the spirits here to the great unseen company around and about us of those already departed.

“ But these are only thoughts. The truth remains : all sorrow, like all joy, comes in the purposes of love ; and we can trust this in all our darkness.”

To a lady with whom he became acquainted on the trial trip of the *Mararoa* to Norway in 1885—one

of many friendships formed on that voyage—Mr. Denny wrote two letters of consolation: one on the death of her son, the other on the apprehended death of a clerical friend. In the former occur these sentences:—

“5/10/85.

“I did not know how fresh your grief was when we were on the *Mararoa*, and how keenly you were feeling it. All this I only learnt afterwards; and it made me much regret that, instead of constantly talking to you of my own personal schemes and thoughts, I did not try to convey to you the very sincere and deep sympathy I now feel. In the conviction that there is no purposeless sorrow and no death either useless or hopeless you have true consolation many very good people lack. We who place our hope in the common hope, and rest our faith on God’s perfect Fatherhood, need have no doubt, whatever our narrower friends may say or think. Doubtless at this moment your good son, in a fresher and more buoyant life than we can ever now experience here, is working for others in perfect hope and therefore in great happiness.”

In the other letter, after making some reflections on the value of spiritual companionship “when it is honest, healthy, simple, and free from spiritual selfishness and cant,” the writer proceeds to make these remarks on the Queen as a comforter of the afflicted:—

“30/3/86.

“Have you read the Queen’s letters to Principal Tulloch’s widow and son? I am reading them to my wife. It is fine to see the true sorrowing and sympathising woman breaking out from all the trammels and routine of her high rank and writing as she does. Courts, and kings, and queens are generally very evil in their influence; and so one gets to think of them as always evil. Our Queen has redeemed her order for us by the goodness of her life. She has a very warm place in my Radical heart, and I believe in very many more. The London tradesmen who blame her and the London snobs who join them in their cackle are quite unable to appreciate her worth to the country.”

The foregoing pages may suffice to indicate the religious attitude of Mr. Denny at and after the time

of his fever in 1883. Important materials which exhibit his religious views in relation to particular questions are reserved for another place. The creed he held, measured by the standard of Church orthodoxy, may appear very meagre. I prefer to look at it from a different view-point—to consider how much there is in it when earnestly believed rather than how little. I think what a prominent place the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men held in the teaching of Jesus, what a great thing it is to believe with the whole heart and soul that there is verily a God who exerciseth loving-kindness, judgment, and righteousness in the earth, and taketh a passionate delight in these things and in all men who practise them. Why, if men only believed this one truth as William Denny believed it, it would change the face of the world! Say you: “What a distance between this bald creed and the Westminster Confession or Thirty-nine Articles”? True, but what a distance also between this creed and atheism, whether it be the atheism of the man of science, or the worse atheism of the religionist who swears by the developed creeds of the Churches, and yet by his essential worldliness of spirit declares that there is no true faith in God or fear of God before his eyes! We could do without our developed creeds for a while if we could only get the community thoroughly leavened with this short creed stated in the Scriptures: that God is and that He is the rewarder of them that diligently seek Him. What effect holding this creed might have in the next world need not be here discussed; it certainly would make a great change in this world.

CHAPTER XIII.

PATERFAMILIAS.

THE moral individuality of William Denny appeared as conspicuously in his domestic relations as in any other department of his life. It is unnecessary to say that he was not a negligent father, who allowed his children to grow up wild. He made conscience habitually of parental duty. He was essentially domestic in his enjoyments and inclinations. Home, wife, and children were very dear to him. What a large place these had in his heart may be gathered from this fragment of a letter written to his wife from London in 1884 :—

“LONDON, 13/6/84.

“MY DEAREST LILLIL,— . . . I feel very much at not being with you at Kames to-day. Bright and all as everything is here, it appears nothing to me beside the quiet and happiness of Kames, and your good little dinners, and our evening walks and talks. Life seems more and more to me to have three elements : work and labour, helping others, and home ; and from the last spring all the forces for the other two. Its blessed peace and love form all our strength. Indeed, it seems strange to me that the more I grasp and become equal to the needs and troubles of our complex present life, the more do my own hopes and thoughts become simpler, better, and purer. They gather round the Fatherhood and love of God, our home and children and yourself, and the hopes I believe we both cherish of being able to relieve and alleviate the sorrows and pressure lying on our friends and neighbours and all the toiling and the poor we can reach and help. Indeed, just in proportion as we submit ourselves to these feelings and hopes shall our own love and happiness become assured, passing over all the troubles which may lie before us,

and the inevitable weakness and decay of age, with death to close them all, into that great future where self and selfishness shall cease, consumed by both the love and the anger of God, and where love to each other, love to all others, and a measureless love of God shall be the only forces, and the sources of such strange and undreamed-of happiness as no human tongue can speak nor any human heart and brain imagine."

A keen sense of responsibility for the upbringing of his children finds expression in a letter to Mrs. Denny written a fortnight later :—

" DUMBARTON, 1/7/84.

" . . . Peter Robert and Leon and Caroline and Helen seem more constantly with me now than ever ; and their need for our care and love puts a responsibility on me which, with your love, guards me from evil, and makes me wish to rise step by step in duty and love, that I may be worthy to train them and lead them rightly. How wonderfully the great Father links us one to another by living and sensitive ties, links full of all possibility of happiness and suffering ! One trembles sometimes to think of all this, and whether one should throw oneself heart and soul into such peril of love and suffering, whether it would not be wiser to narrow the heart and soul and lessen the love and hope, so that the risks might be less. But it would not be wise, for we are meant to live greatly, and not meanly, lovingly, and not coldly. Those who live otherwise are shutting the future's golden doors before their faces, and although they may travel quietly and comfortably through this present life, cannot hope to step full-hearted and large-souled upon the threshold of the great future, where self must die and sacrifice and love be the only breath of our new lives. And these lessons spring up from the simple homeliness and love of wife and children ; but I do not find them narrowed to that circle, but overflowing it in the desire to increase true happiness. If we two can so live and love, old age can claim no power over us. We shall grow young in heart and love with the increasing years."

In regard to the training of his children in the languages Mr. Denny continued to cherish the views which we found him advocating before he was married. Mrs. Carmichael, with whom his boys were boarded for some time, thought it undesirable that children should be trained to speak several tongues on an

equal footing, having, as it were, no native tongue. To make an English child learn French, German, and Italian along with English and in the same way—as children learn in the nursery—was, she thought, to bring them up having no grip of good racy thought or style in any language under heaven; and she contended that feeble, slipshod English would be a greater drawback to a boy than a later acquisition of the Continental languages. From these views, however, Mr. Denny dissented. Experience, he wrote in 1886, was in favour of the simultaneous learning of several languages by children. “Almost all Continental children so learn them, and without any detriment to their native tongue. . . . I believe all languages should be learnt as we learn our mother-tongue: by habit and use first and later by theory. This is the Russian method, and no nation speaks the languages of other nations as well as they do. Habit, use, and memory are the implements of childhood. Theory is the implement of ripe years.”

While taking an enlightened interest in all that related to the secular education of his children, Mr. Denny was chiefly concerned about their moral and spiritual nurture. Of this he took charge himself, and with a purity and singleness of aim as rare as it is admirable. Some parents have two chief ends for their children. They desire that they may make the best of both worlds, that they may be “good” and at the same time in a worldly sense successful. The result often is that the children grow up to be religious worldlings, with a varnish of conventional piety on an essentially unchristian character, in which the world’s ambition, pride, and insincerity remain in

unsubdued force. Mr. Denny's aim and *pium desiderium* was that his children might be unworldly in spirit, free from selfishness, snobbishness, caste feeling, untruthfulness, and every unchristian and inhuman affection. For this he prayed, worked, and lived. Visitors to his home took note of the petitions he offered up for his children. His family prayers were in many ways remarkable, especially from 1883 onwards. They were not, like the prayers in books of family devotion, full of artificial phrases, but short, simple, real, for everyday wants, and with no superfluous words. One petition for the children was of frequent recurrence: that they might ever hate and abhor the slightest approach to a lie.

Mr. Denny's correspondence during the last years of his life contains many references to his plans for the moral training of his children, especially of his two boys. Readers may remember that sentence in the letter to Lord Ravensworth written in 1885: "I am trying to teach my two boys that the prime meaning of honour is fulfilled social responsibility, and that to serve the common people well is the highest and at the same time the most Christian honour." This sentiment found ampler expression in a letter written some months later in the same year to Mrs. Campbell, of Tulliechewan, in connection with a correspondence on the subject of the disestablishment of the Scottish Church, which was at that time before the public mind. Mr. Denny advocated Disestablishment chiefly on the ground that everything savouring of caste or invidious preference was contrary to the spirit of Christianity. Mrs. Campbell, taking the other side, sought to invalidate his argument by contending

that the levelling of all social distinctions, at which he seemed to aim, was contrary at once to the teaching of Christ and to the will of Providence. The letter in which she stated these views drew from Mr. Denny the following reply:—

“14/10/85.

“MY DEAR MRS. CAMPBELL,— . . . What I wish you to understand is that my absolute and unquenchable hatred of caste has nothing to do with levelling. There must be heights, mountains if you will (among men and women), of differences in mental, physical, and moral power. I recognise and rejoice in this superb variety of life. But I follow Christ in His inferences from these facts, and say all superiority is intended for service. The greatest are to be the humblest, gentlest servants of the least. Men are to lose all consciousness of their greatness in the evidence of the needs of others.

“Caste is the blasphemy and lie against this truth, the trying to get prominence for the sake of prominence or, worse and baser, the opportunity of looking down on others. Look at the so-called society here, or indeed anywhere, and tell me if these hideous motives are not its mainspring. Why, the very conception of social duty, as concerned in calling on those of the same rank and entertaining them only, is the evidence of the fact. How our Saviour withered with His fiery sarcasm the whole motives and action of such forms of social life. Thank God, there are men like Gordon, Lightfoot of Durham, Stead, Newman, and Manning, and women like Miss Nightingale, Josephine Butler, and Ellice Hopkins, to prove Christ's meaning is still understood.

“My hatred to caste has grown with every year of my life in intensity and extent. It makes the great mass of superior society here a big black blot before my eyes. My compensation is that my love for the great knighthood of service, the chivalry of the *servi servorum Dei*, grows even more. Of that great order I wish my sons to be members; and I urge them to aim at excellence in all things, in order that their service may be excellent. I am more ambitious for them than you think; therefore I dread their being tempted by the shoddy of caste from the suffering and the honour of service. I am asking them to aim high. They will be no levellers of true honour, although I hope they will inherit my hatred of the snob ambitions, the plutocratic ostentation, and the false conceptions of social duty and honour which are the bread of life to the folks here. They are the real levellers and disseminators of revolution. By making society a hideous parody of Christ's conceptions and nicknaming it with His blessed name, they are doing more to create

the revolution which I am afraid must come than Marx, Lassalle, Engelo Schaffle, and the terrible Bakunin all rolled together into one fiery force.

"You mistake me for a leveller, and I am not a leveller. I wish all the variety of life preserved by its submission to Christ's law. I see it imperilled by its mockery of Him. I am a more real conservative than Lord Salisbury."

These may appear strong, even passionate, words, but they cannot be set aside as mere words, for they were followed up by corresponding action. Mr. Denny did try persistently and earnestly to imbue his sons with the sentiments to which in this and other letters he gave expression. He spared no pains to preserve them from the curse of caste feeling, and to inspire them with the noble aim to serve others. One means he employed for this purpose was to introduce into his family a working joiner from the yard, to be a companion to his sons when they returned home from the school in the holidays, teaching them his trade, taking his meals with them, and accompanying them in their walks. He announced his intention to take this step and explained its aim in the following letter to his eldest son :—

"6/8/85.

"MY DEAR PETER ROBERT,— . . . I have a bit of news for you and Leon. Your mother and I have been wondering how we could occupy you in your holidays so that your time might pass both pleasantly and usefully. The result is, we have decided to get a tutor for you, and one of quite a new kind. He is to be a working joiner, one of the good and honest men of whom we have many in the yard. He will give you lessons in joiner-work for so many hours in the forenoon, have his dinner with you, and take you for a long walk in the afternoon. When I see you have learnt well from him, I will allow him to take you to the yard and show you the application of the knowledge you have acquired. In this way you will learn early in your lives and pleasantly some true things about work and working-men. Your mother and I hope the result

will be that you will learn to love both work and the men who work, as you must learn to despise men who do no work, and who only live for the hideous service and pampering of their miserable selves. . . ."

This letter is one of a long series of letters which Mr. Denny wrote to his children, mainly to his sons, when they were absent from home at school, or he was away from home on business errands. They were written at the rate of about one a week, the series commencing in 1883, and continuing, with more or less regularity, till the summer of 1886, when Mr. Denny left for South America, his communications to his children thereafter taking the form of journals relating the story of his voyages across the ocean and up the rivers of the great continent. These letters are Mr. Denny's most important contribution to the moral education of his family. They are a deliberate and systematic attempt to set before his sons the true ideal of life, to make them hate everything false, mean, and vile, and love and practise all that is noble and praiseworthy. Written often when overwhelmed with business engagements, they show how much in earnest he was in the matter. Written to those whom he loved with all a father's solicitude and tenderness, they come straight from the heart, and show the writer's moral convictions exactly as they were. Nothing he ever said or did reveals to our view more truly the spirit of the man. I therefore feel justified in introducing into this memoir a tolerably full selection from these letters, which may be called "A Father's Sermons to his Sons." The texts are varied. Significant incidents in the yard, public events, the death of a good man such as Gordon or Shaftesbury—all are taken advan-

tage of, and the appropriate lesson taught. The sermons are short, the language unconventional, the sentiments weighty. They are possibly better reading for grown-up people than for children. I venture to hope no one will find them dull and unprofitable.

The letters to the boys were at first addressed to them both jointly; afterwards, on the suggestion of Mrs. Carmichael, they were addressed to them separately time about. They were usually written on Sundays.

CHAPTER XIV.

LETTERS TO THE CHILDREN.

1. GENERAL GORDON.

" Sunday evening, 4/5/84.

" . . . Last Sunday I wrote you about General Gordon's refusing all honours and rewards from the Chinese emperor after putting down the Taiping rebellion, on account of the treachery of the Chinese to the Taipings. Since writing you I have read a book just published containing extracts from letters General Gordon wrote from Palestine last year ; and most interesting they were, containing many good and beautiful things about religious life.

" After the suppression of the Taiping rebellion Gordon returned to England, and was sent on duty to Gravesend, a port in the mouth of the Thames, not far from London. There he occupied all his days in military work, and his evenings in caring for the poor, the sick, and the friendless. He made his house their home and hospital, and spent all his spare time and money upon them. He took a special interest in friendless and orphan boys, and taught them to read and write, sending them to sea in vessels, and corresponding with them afterwards. He had a map over his mantelpiece on which he used to stick pins to show the positions of their ships. Nobody was too miserable for General Gordon to care for and protect. In fact, he made himself the servant of the poor ; and that is the very noblest thing any of us can ever do, because Christ said so. The Pope calls himself the servant of the servants of God, and some few popes have reached this great honour, but luxury and power have drawn most of them away from it. General Gordon has attained it, and it is far more on this account than on account of his military genius men love and trust him."

2. ART AND CHIVALRY.

" 22/6/84.

" . . . About the great artists and their works I hope to teach you myself. If you can only learn to enjoy their works without ever affecting such enjoyment for the mean purpose of parade, you will have added an

honest and sweet enjoyment to your lives. At present in Paris there is being exhibited a wonderful collection of pictures by Meissonnier, the greatest of living French painters. I have been to see them twice, and wish I could show them to you—his soldiers and horses, his gentlemen and ladies, and all the fine array he paints. I think he paints smaller pictures than any other painter, and meantime this will be a tack in your memories on which to hang this great painter's name. One of his pictures was not much bigger than a half-crown piece; and yet in it were two complete old gentlemen, sitting on a bench, complete even to the little buckles on their shoes and the joint of their tiny fingers. Their shadows in the afternoon sun were there also, and one little gentleman's face was very earnest telling some serious story, and the other little gentleman's face was smiling incredulously because he did not believe the other little old gentleman's story.

"A great artist can make even so small an incident of interest and fine; and the reason is this: that, however mean men's lives may appear, they are all attached to a plan of untellable sublimity and love. The great artists see this, and reverently show it, because great power to see has been given to them. Other men don't see this, and their work therefore cannot show the golden threads tying our lives and the whole world to one great purpose of love and power. You may not understand all this now, but I hope you will by-and-bye, and by means of it so learn to reverence even the poorest and most miserable men and women that you may wish, as far as you have power, to help and deliver them all. This is the chivalry of the future, and chivalrous I want you both to be. When you return, I expect you to tell me the full meaning of this word 'chivalry' and its origin. It contains a whole history in itself; and as its origin is French, which you both know, you might almost guess it out yourselves."

3. SHIP-BUILDING.

"29/9/'84.

"Your uncle Leslie returns to school this week, but he prefers Helenslee and the yard. He and Mr. Smillie, the electrician, have been great friends. He has been making a steamboat, with real engines, boiler, and paddle-wheels, in Mr. Smillie's workshop. You must learn your lessons very well indeed and read wisely and well if you are to understand sufficient of all these interesting things. Keep in mind there are three things you have to learn if you are to become good ship-builders and engineers:—

"1. All the laws of nature and the facts required for your business.

"2. How to use this knowledge so as to produce ships and engines which will be honest and useful products of your power, and serviceable to the needs of men.

"3. You must learn how to govern and treat the men whom you direct.

"This last is the finest and most difficult knowledge of the three, and

one learns in it till one dies, and even then it is so noble a science and so fine an art in practice, the ablest men feel themselves weak in it.

"It may be I am telling you too early of the work of life, but I don't think so, for the earlier one gets to know the duties of the future the earlier can we train and form ourselves to meet them; and I am most anxious both of you should be real men in your lives, fighting and struggling cheerfully with all their complex difficulties, and because of your strength, and power, and manliness merciful, gentle, and moved by sympathy. To be mere weaklings, however presumptuous and loud, clinging to the fringes of an existence made for you, and not by you, I hope is in neither of your destinies. Life is always hard and difficult to men who are real men; but it is not miserable on this account, but when bravely and kindly met full of gladness and the happy sense of power and work.

"By-and-bye you will understand better all these things. Just now only remember them; and until the time comes for your fully understanding them learn hard, and play hard, and despise all effeminate notions of your being superior either by wealth or position to our patient and good fellow-countrymen the working people."

4. THE NORTH ATLANTIC.

"26/10/'84.

"We are just now, your mother and I, in the dining-room, waiting for our tea, and with a regular gale blowing outside. A wild night it will be for the sailor-men at sea, and they will have need of good steamers and ships to stand the stress of weather in the Bay of Biscay and the North Atlantic. As on Tuesday night I am going up to London to join the reemeeting of the Load-line Committee, I am reminded to tell you something about its work which will make your geography more interesting, and yet betray no secrets which ought to be kept.

"We are trying to fix the draught of water to which all the different kinds of steamers and sailing-ships should be loaded, and I think it very probable we shall arrive at some satisfactory result. But we find one exception which must be made, and it is on account of the winter weather in the North Atlantic. From returns of losses and casualties which have been made up for us, we find that there are far more in proportion of these in the North Atlantic from the beginning of the present month on to the beginning of April than in any other part of the world. Look on your map and see what I mean. We count the North Atlantic from about the latitude of 40° upwards to where the ice stops navigation. This is the stormiest sea in the world. Yet it is across this that summer and winter the greatest number of steamers are continually running, and steamers built for this service must be strong and of the best workmanship. It was across this stormy sea also that the great

Englishmen who founded the United States had to battle their perilous way. In your history you will read about this, and how the 'Pilgrim Fathers,' with their little ship *Mayflower*, made their way across.

"The North Atlantic must therefore remain in your minds both for your geography and your history. If you can, try always to get more than one thing interesting to remember about any name. You will thus remember it far better."

5. PROGRESS, MATERIAL AND MORAL.

"9/11/84.

". . . We are going to build two large paddle steamers for service on the river Irrawaddy, the great river of Burmah. You must look on the map for this. There is much trade between the English portion of Burmah, of which the capital is Rangoon, and native, or Upper, Burmah, of which the capital is Mandalay. These two large steamers are intended for an express service between these two cities. At present the ordinary steamers take from ten to twelve days, because they have to tow heavy cargo barges with them. The two new steamers will run single-handed, and will not take more than five or at the most six days to do the journey. This is what is happening all over the world. Travelling is being quicker done, the voyage from Liverpool to New York taking now a little over seven days where it used to take eleven or twelve. Greater things will yet be done in this way, and speed and comfort yet further increased; and it is well that all this should be so, provided men remember that progress cannot be measured by these things, nor by the increase of knowledge, but by the increased number of men and women and boys and girls in the world freed from the servility to rank and wealth, loving men and women simply as men and women, and trying to serve them for the sake of One who in this world had neither rank nor wealth. The more true, brave, pure, and gentle hearts there are in the world, the more its progress; and there is no other measure of progress. Bigger steamers, longer lines of railway, greater making of wealth, can only be called progress so long as they help the real progress. You will find plenty of foolish and servile people gaping at and admiring the show of progress. I want you boys as you grow up to boldly ask for the proofs of the real progress, and if you don't get them to laugh at and scorn all the ships, railways, wealth and rank progress, the foolish gape at. The whole purpose of your education, if you receive it rightly, is to prevent you being fooled by appearances, and to make you ask for reality in yourselves first, and afterwards in others. Do I lecture you too much? I think so, but it is only because I wish you very early to avoid all snobbishness, meanness, and injustice. Try your best for this, and you will get your mother's love and my own more and more. We both send much of it to you now"

6. THE COURSE OF CIVILISATION.—RIVERS, SEAS, OCEANS.

"7/12/84.

". . . Are you liking geography? You must ask Mrs. Carmichael to explain to you how civilisation made its great advances by three great steps, using water-carriage as its medium.

"We ship-builders have been great civilisers, and our profession shall yet do more for the great cause and for uniting the world.

"Now for the three steps over the waters made by civilisation. A German pointed them out, and called them by the three Greek names—

Potamien.
Thalassien.
Oceanien.

You need not try to remember these hard names till you learn Greek. The three steps in English are—

Rivers.
Seas.
Oceans.

"Now for the explanation. The earliest great civilisation bordering the Mediterranean was the Egyptian, and was until very late in its history confined to the banks of the Nile, one of the longest rivers in the world. In India the earliest civilisation gathered to the banks of the Ganges and the Jumna. In Burmah, where I once travelled, the civilisation is almost entirely confined to the banks of the Irrawaddy. But we have a much nearer illustration in our good old town of Dumbarton. We know from history it is a very, very old town, and existed before the time of our Saviour and the invasion of the Romans. Why? Partly on account of its natural fortress, but principally, I believe, because it was placed at the junction of the two rivers Clyde and Leven. It is easy to see why men should begin moving about in ships on rivers, because the navigation was safer and easier than on the sea, storms never being severe, and the land always in sight to direct them. When men got a little bolder, the inland sea offered them the next step. They could coast along its sides and in stormy or thick weather judge of their nearness to land by soundings. You remember in St. Paul's voyage to Rome they did this. Now the great inland sea is the Mediterranean; and it should be of great interest to you, as it was the cradle from which almost all our civilisation has come. Ask Mrs. Carmichael to explain to you how the Phœnicians from Tyre and Sidon, then the Greeks, and finally the Romans used it as their great highway of commerce and colonisation. So it remained very much till the Middle Ages, when the last great water-step which has made our country, and very nearly made Holland, Spain, and France as great as us, was taken. The crossing of the oceans was a

tremendous stride. It is the keynote of almost all English history since the time of Henry VIII., and of much European history besides. Keep these things in mind as you learn your geography and history. They will form pegs for you to hang many scattered facts on.

"In your next letter you are to tell me the names of the great navigators and discoverers who first crossed the oceans and made the way of civilisation world-wide, instead of the affair of one or at most two or three people.

"Are you wearied of my lecturing? I hope not, for, as I told you before, I am trying to make you my friends and companions; and there is nothing so friendly as sharing our good things, and few good things are so fine and enjoyable as great ideas, which, because of their truth and power, illuminate two thousand years and a world as easily as, and better than, a gaslight does a little room."

7. DEATH OF ALICK WARD.

"22/2/'85.

". . . You will both, I am sure, be very sorry to hear your little friend Alick Ward died yesterday morning, after only a very few days' illness. He died in his mother's arms, and sitting on her knee, very gently and bravely. They told him he was dying and going away from them, but he had no fear. He said he had loved Jesus, and that Jesus loved him, and asked Mr. Watson to sing him some of his hymns. He asked to see his brothers and sisters, and said good-bye to them all. He told Jacky to try and be good and gentle, and he told Georgie not to tease Jacky and make him naughty. He then shook hands with his father, and gave all his little savings in money to his mother. After that, with a few loving words to her, his brave little spirit went away. It does not take a big man to make a hero. Many big men have shrunk and trembled before death, or at the best have been full of fears and doubts about themselves; that is, full of selfishness.

"Your good and brave little companion, trusting to the unfailing and infinite goodness, put self away and gave the last minutes of his gentle life to others. God help us all so to die, having forgotten self. All noble men, boys, and little children die thus: General Gordon at Khartoum trying to save his traitors, General Earle rushing before his men to storm the fort in the pass, and little Alick Ward here, all forgetting self.

"Some day you will learn how much of our modern life is founded on self, and, worst of all, how much of our religion. When you come to know and see this, remember it is a foundation of sand, on which, however much we may build, nothing will long remain, and on which God Himself will build nothing of His own. This is a lesson one can take a lifetime to learn, and still be learning it at the end. There is no better and sweeter lesson, nor any more needed."

8. ALICK WARD'S BURIAL.

"1/3/85.

"They buried him on Tuesday, and I was with them. We all felt very grieved to see his brave little body covered from our sight. His coffin was hidden beneath wreaths and bunches of white flowers, and a cross of white camellias lay at his head.

"The lesson is for all of us that, seeing life is so perilous and short, we should live bravely and unselfishly, trying to fill our lives and our deaths with generosity and love, so that when death comes it may find us no cowards nor unprepared. And the truest preparation is a habit of life and soul formed so steadfastly that death may only be a threshold across which we pass to a better, more energetic, more loving and generous life. I have written you enough about this ; but it is well in all that meets us in life, whether of bright or sad, to look the fact clear in the face, and take our lessons from it gently."

9. SERVING OTHERS.

"3/5/85.

"Your mother has been reading me a very interesting article in the magazine of art entitled *The Home, Arts, and Industries Association*. I am sending you the magazine, and wish you to read the article. The very pretty engravings in it show what can be done in the way of beautiful things by poor people in their own homes. To make beautiful things is in itself a great pleasure, and one we should try to extend as widely as possible. You know in the yard we are trying to do this, and by means of the school of art now founded in the town we hope to do even more. We hope to make the Dumbarton people understand and like beautiful things, and so learn to dislike what is evil and ugly.

"When we get our own house in Dumbarton, we look forward to helping the people all we can ; and we want you boys to assist us in all this. An immense deal can be done, and must be done, for the common people ; and you two boys must fix this idea firmly in your minds. In the future the truly great men will be those who, disregarding the vanities and follies of a useless and even hurtful society of mere wealth and rank, will set their whole hearts on giving pleasure to those who are poor and hope to the miserable. As you read the Gospels you will find this teaching over and over again. Many people (far more than used to be) are now thinking over these things, and some are trying them ; and those who try find that this way of service is the way of happiness and of honour. To give happiness, help, and hope is to become happy.

"To work in the hope of being able to walk in these ways more largely and constantly is to work in the hope of great and sweet life. You boys are in the doorway of new times, and you must train yourselves for them. There are troubles ahead, but none which cannot be dissolved by the

rejection of the vanities of privilege and the acceptance of the sure pleasure of serving others. Your own hopes may be disappointed, but your hope for others will replace them.

"Learn well and become very strong in body and spirit, that you may become very helpful, and through you the world's sorrow be lessened, and its pure joy increased."

10. GOOD NEWS FROM THE YARD.

"PARIS, 5/7/'85.

". . . I have just received most gratifying news from home.* You will remember how often I have written you that you must learn to believe in and love our workmen, instead of, like the vulgar *nouveaux riches* and the ignorant snob society to be found in London, misunderstanding and decrying them.

"We began some time ago at our own risk a large steamer in order to keep our old hands together. The men knew this, and that, not being an order, as likely as not we may lose money on her. Her hull is now ready for rivetting and caulking. Before beginning this work the riveters and caulkers met and agreed among themselves to do the work at a reduction of 10 per cent. on their present reduced rates, and they further offered to give a whole fortnight's work for nothing on her. They are the roughest of our workmen, but could any gentlemen have invented a nobler and more generous courtesy? The act translated into words comes to this: 'Let us your workmen help you and bear with you the risks you have undertaken for us.'

"This is a step to that comradeship and fellowship of men which has been the dream of all good and great men. I hear the other workmen are following these men's example.

"The news has made me very happy, and I am sure it will make you happy also. Our firm in all its history has had no honour conferred on it like this. These rude workmen have bestowed on us such honour as the whole Government of our country could not give. Learn the truth of honour, my boys; and follow it. This is your mother's and my wish for you both."

11. SABBATH-SCHOOL CONVENTION.

"4/10/'85.

". . . For the last three days the Sabbath-school Union has been holding a convention in Dumbarton. I was chairman of their public breakfast yesterday morning, and enjoyed very much addressing them.† It was very pleasant to see so many good people of all the different

* *Vide* Chapter IV., p. 98.

† *Vide* Chapter XVI. for this address.

Churches discussing together the objects and means of their common work. When I was young, as young as you now are, the Churches did not so meet and sympathise, but were jealous of each other, and wasted much valuable energy on very foolish disputes. They are now content to let their disputes go to sleep while they meet each other in friendship and common effort for the good of all the young under their care. I spoke to them about the double fruitfulness of all efforts for good, and how they produced not merely their direct fruits, but seed and fertility for new efforts of fresh kinds. There is a cumulation in goodness, a growth in excess of all our efforts, which is the true ground of hope for the final and complete victory of goodness over evil. The papers will have a report of what I said, which I shall send to you. Mrs. Carmichael will explain my meaning to you.

“How good it is to meet good and self-sacrificing men and women working for the sake of others. The air seems better to breathe in their presence, and all food eaten with them sweeter. No product of art or knowledge is so beautiful as the goodness and kindness, the courage and self-sacrifice, of good men and women.”

12. LORD SHAFTESBURY.

“LONDON, *Sunday*, 11/10/85.

“It always gives me pleasure to lift my pen and write you a letter, and especially when I have something of interest to say. Before beginning let me ask if you received the *Dumbarton Herald* I sent you this week. There were two addresses in it by me, one given at a political meeting, with which you need not trouble yourselves much. The other, given at the Sabbath-school Convention, I wish you to read carefully, as it contains a good many things which I have at last ventured to say publicly. Some of them you will recognise as things we have discussed for some time back in those letters; others will be new to you, and must wait till the coming years teach you their meaning.

“We are living in a strange, unrestful, searching time, full of perplexity, and to many full of painful doubt. In such a time it is well to have lights to guide us inextinguishable and steady. These we shall not find either in present knowledge as ordinarily understood, nor in business as it now is, nor in the present constitution of society.

“The true light streams from the great and ceaselessly working and transforming conceptions of the Fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of men, the union of these two by the life and spirit of our Lord and Saviour, and the permanent power of love and self-sacrifice.

“No books or documents can give adequate expression to these conceptions, nor is it well they should, for they are realities beyond the power of words, and to be known only through work and worship in

common life. All life is their scope, and every section of life which removes itself from their power is doomed to perish or be transformed.

"They are best seen and learnt in the lives of men. Hence the vital import of the lives of our Saviour, of St. Paul, and His other disciples. But the list of lives teaching truth did not close with the last page of the Bible. It continues, and, we may rejoice, lengthens. Charles Borromeo, to whom I referred in my last Saturday's address, was on that list, and many more besides. The first day of this month Lord Shaftesbury died, and added another name and life to the great list enriching the world's treasure of love and true nobleness. His whole life was passed in service, and in a most gallant fight for the oppressed and suffering. Before his time our factories and workshops were full of overworked little children and overworked and weak women. He was told by many men of supposed scientific knowledge that such things must be, that they were in the inherent nature of things and must continue. He brushed all these arguments aside, and answered that the oppression of little children and women must cease, cost what the change might; and to a great extent he accomplished his purpose. The Factory Acts, controlling the powers and whims of unscrupulous and greedy employers, are an enduring monument to Lord Shaftesbury's goodness. Our experience in the yard has shown us how good this legislation is, and how necessary is its further extension. By it the hours of work of young children and women are restricted, and inspectors appointed to see the law carried out. As you grow older you will hear many wiseacres denouncing the Factory Acts. Very often they are absentee employers, who leave their mills and works to the uncontrolled direction of hirelings. Before you admit the views of such persons, wait till the experience of business and the conduct of a great work teach you how much the employer with a heart under his waistcoat needs the help of law and public opinion to enable him to limit the effects of our terribly severe commercial competition on his less thoughtful and less scrupulous rivals.

"But this is only one instance of Lord Shaftesbury's goodness. I cannot tell you of all he did, for his energies and sympathies knew few bounds. He loved much and did much. Make his name one of your memories. Ask Mrs. Carmichael to tell you more about him. I shall send you one of his photos, which you can hang in your room. Write under it the dates of his birth and his death:—

28th April, 1801.

1st October, 1885."

18. PERMANENT CONFERENCE OF EMPLOYERS AND WORKMEN.

"18/10/'85.

"I have just been consulted by the Chairman of the Glasgow Ship-builders and Engineers' Association as to the reorganisation of that

body. It is composed entirely of employers, and was formed for the purpose of resisting the workmen's trades unions. A good many years ago, under the influence of a very wrong prejudice against the men, I proposed a reorganisation of this Association which would have made it a very strong fighting body, with enormous funds to support its decisions.* I misunderstood at the time the necessity there was for the trades unions, because I did not then see that it was only these bodies and their considerable funds which prevented the meaner and needier employers forcing the men's wages down to a mere subsistence limit. The severe commercial competition in our business would have immediately forced the more liberal and stronger employers to follow this lead ; and so wages might have been, as on the Continent, decreased, and hours of work increased to the point at which social revolution begins to grow silently, but terribly. The fact is, I thoroughly misunderstood the essential elements of the great problem I had ventured to take in hand ; and I am telling you all this story to show you how prejudice and lack of sympathy disable us from dealing, not only justly, but even wisely, with the affairs of others.

"The present Chairman of the Employers' Association proposed to take my old scheme as a basis, so I have had to write him telling him all I am now telling you, and praying him to utterly reject my old scheme. Instead of it I have urged him to get the Association reconstructed on the following basis :—

"1. As an electoral body which shall elect a few of the wisest employers to meet with an equal number of the men's delegates and form a permanent conference.

"2. This conference to be presided over by some gentleman of complete independence, chosen both by the workmen and employers.

"3. This conference to deal with all questions between the workmen and their employers, and its decisions to be binding on both.

"I am glad to tell you my friend the Chairman has most heartily approved my suggestions, so that there is now some probability that at Glasgow the hatred of warfare and the jealousy of class prejudices may be replaced by the humanised elements of open and honest discussion, mutual concession, and a desire for justice and fairness. The selected employers and the men's delegates will meet as honourable equals, with all horrid class brutality omitted. I have put all this in a very condensed form, so as not to weary you, and in the hope Mrs. Carmichael will make any obscure points clear to you. It will be a great moral stride for our employers to put aside their false pride and the mean caste feeling which hurts many of them, and to step into a frank equality with their workmen's delegates. It is a very tiny step compared with the great

* *Vide* Chapter V., p. 122.

strides of our blessed Saviour, who for our sakes became a Servant, and as His last act washed His disciples' feet. If He will only help us, we too may come to that, and putting away all hauteur and caste and the wickedness of such things, be content to serve as He did. The great and good Gordon when in England made himself the servant of the ragged and miserable boys about him. His home was their house, and he did more for them than money could have procured for them. I believe he even washed the poor miserable little fellows with his own hands. The angels must have been crowding about him and singing chorus on chorus of triumphant praise when they saw such triumphs of service achieved by a man. I want you boys to be strong, brave, pure, true into the very marrow of your bones, and gentlemen in every thought and action of your lives, in order that you may serve greatly and rise above the sham honours men hunt after so greedily here to the true and constant honours of life. You will have the happiness of heroism if you can reach these aims. Their truth and greatness have only dawned upon me in my matured manhood. May you perceive them earlier and follow them more fully."

14. LONDON RIOTS.—THE UPPER CLASSES AND THE POOR.

"14/2/86.

". . . You would hear of the great riots there were in London. You must not think these were caused by the poor workmen, who are in numbers out of work and starving. They have borne their misery well, wonderfully I think. For there is a sore want of sympathy for them on the part of the wealthy people in London. They button up their pockets, and say they are not responsible for their suffering; at least, that is what the miserable amount collected by the Lord Mayor means. It should have been at least £150,000 by this time, for there are far more than a hundred and fifty men in London who could give £1,000 each without feeling it. But we don't sufficiently feel that the workmen are our brothers, and that their honest needs should command our prompt sympathies and generous help.

"That is the true principle for all true gentlemen; but it is hidden by false and snobbish ideas: the ideas of superiority, for the sake of the individual or the class, instead of superiority for the sake and help of others. You boys must fight these false ideas, which are the real sources of danger in our country, as they were in old France. A country can only be safe against revolution in which Christ's will is carried out, and the best and strongest live, not for themselves or their miserable coteries and caste, but largely and nobly for the sake of the weak and miserable. The upper classes in London are terribly deficient in such ideas, and I am afraid on this account there may be very serious dangers before them. For our Lord, if we will not obey Him when He pleads with us, will

compel us to hear and do. He cares nothing for our caste ambitions and mean desire for vain superiority, or rather He hates and despises such things. His eyes and ears are too full of the miserable and suffering; and so He makes history gently if men will do His will, in fire and blood, and tears if they will not. You must make yourselves helpful to fight against all the false notions which are degrading our upper classes, so you will lead noble lives and help to save your country suffering and darkness.

History is made by God's will; and His will is for the miserable, as we see in Christ's life. He never blamed them, but welcomed them, while He denounced all their superiors who had forgotten their duties to them. Seek these truths in your histories, and you will really learn."

15. IRRAWADDY STEAMERS AND A WORKING-MAN M.P.

"28/2/'86.

". . . In the *Illustrated London News* of yesterday, which I am sending you, there are several of our river steamers shown in connection with the Burmese war. One in particular, the *Pulu*, is very distinct. Almost all the steamers which carried the troops in this expedition were built in the yard, and the bulk of them were planned by myself. We are just going to build two very large ones for the river the same as the *Mindoon*, the steamer which carried Lord Dufferin to and from Mandalay. In some of the *Illustrated London News* I lately sent you must have noticed drawings of the *Thooreah*, the steamer which carried King Theebaw from Mandalay to Rangoon. She is quite peculiar as being the only steamer of the Company having three decks; that is, two flying ones over and above the ordinary maindeck. This steamer was not only built by us, but was entirely designed and planned by myself. I had much trouble in this, as the strains involved were very difficult to predict and provide for. When you return for your holidays, you will see the large new steamers for the Irrawaddy building in the yard.

"I was very glad to get your letter saying you had received the book about St. Louis, and that you were reading it. I must read it myself by-and-bye. He was a great king and a good man, two things very rarely found together.

"By the way, in the *Illustrated London News* look carefully at Mr. Broadhurst's portrait, a fine, manly, sensible face. He is the first working-man who has ever been a minister of the Crown; and many people, I among the number, are rejoicing over his appointment. It is a grand step forward for a nation to make to appoint men to honour without considering either their wealth or rank, but simply on the ground of their worth. Read what it says about him, and see how simple and honest his record is; no boasting of snobbishness in it.

"You, I think, understand that to respect rank and wealth for themselves is the basest snobbishness. Rank and wealth are grounds on which we

demand from their holders the ample fulfilment of all the greatest and noblest duties, giving them in return, according to their response to our demand, either approval, or derision, or contempt. To do more than this towards rank and wealth is to degrade and injure our own souls.

“There is only one thing which has the right to claim our immediate and unquestioning respect; and that is nobility of heart and life, humility and unselfishness combined.”

16. HARD TIMES.—SOCIALISM.—CURE OF DISAFFECTION.

“14/3/86.

“. . . This is a fine, sunny morning; and I think at last the frost and snow are going away. It has been a bitter and weary winter of much depression to all business men, and of bitter suffering to the poor and the unemployed. It will be long remembered. I think one good thing is coming out of it, and that is a greater fellow-feeling in the suffering which such a time brings. I think all except the utterly self-indulgent persons, spoiled by privilege, overwealth, and luxury, have had their hearts softened and enlarged. To many of the ministers in our churches also the time has been beneficial, teaching them that there are root principles in Christianity which go far deeper than their dogmas and theories. If they can learn this truth, the suffering will not have been useless. And the truth consists in a beneficent and all-wide Fatherhood of God, involving a brotherhood of men. We want no more; and it is sufficient to dispose of all arrogant privilege, all purse-pride and insolence of superiority, real or assumed. Let us be comrades until we can become really brothers; and if any one desires to be more, let him not attempt to crawl upwards in snob servility and insolence combined, but let him, as Christ has directed, become the servant of his brothers and comrades. Much of our social suffering flows from the fact that our social life is organised on principles which are diametrically opposed to these, and therefore unchristian and devilish. As you grow older you will learn how the mockery of Christianity characteristic of our present social life not only prevents Christ's teaching bringing into the world all the blessing and happiness it must yet bring, but furnishes substance for the growth of socialism and all revolutionary principles. These dangers our foolish, luxurious, wealthy, and privileged folks think can be argued down. How silly a thought, and how like such folks' thinking. Social errors must be lived down, not argued down. They are caused by a want of nobility in our lives, and not by intellectual mistakes. Their correction lies in flooding life with nobility of soul, tenderness of heart, generosity, devotion, self-sacrifice. That is the abundant life promised by our Saviour, which can heal the whole world. In reading history, try and find these truths. If they do not lie on every page, they can be found beneath every great and helpful movement.”

17. GOOD-BYE: SAILING FOR BUENOS AYRES.

"MELBOURNE HOUSE, DALMUIR,

"Sunday, 13/6/86.

"MY DEAR P. R. AND LEON,—I am writing you both together, as I am leaving to-morrow evening for London on my way to Buenos Ayres; and I wish to bid you both good-bye. It makes both your mother and myself sad to part for so long a time as four months, but the time will pass quickly, and our meeting again will be all the happier for the absence.

"It is curious that in leaving Southampton on Wednesday and running out to sea past Hurst Castle and the Needles I shall be taking so far the same direction as I did now nearly thirty years ago in leaving home the first time for Jersey, where I was at school for four years.

"It will take us a little over three weeks to get to Buenos Ayres, so that it will be nearly two months before you will get another letter from me. You must not on this account forget to write me. One of you will do this alternately every week. My address will be—

'Care of the La Platense Flotilla Company, Limited,
'Buenos Ayres,
'Argentine Republic.'

"Your mother has been helping me to pack my clothes and putting in all kinds of things to make me comfortable on the journey. Indeed, if I took all the good things she wished me to take, I would need another portmanteau.

"The name of the steamer in which I am going out is the *Galileo*. You may see her name reported in the papers as she touches at the different points on her way out. Get Mrs. Carmichael to tell you about the great man whose name the vessel bears, and how he was persecuted by the priests for discovering and announcing a great truth. Give her my own and your mother's kindest regards.

"Addio now for a long time, and much love to you both. You, Leon, must try and please me by being diligent and very polite and gentle to all the ladies in your school. You, P. R., must help Leon. Your mother sends kisses to both of you.

"Your loving father,

"WILLIAM DENNY."

CHAPTER XV.

RELIGION IN THIS LIFE.

THE most elaborate and the most valuable utterance of William Denny on the subject of religion was given in the form of a lecture to the Young Men's Christian Association of Dumbarton on the 7th November, 1885. The subject of the lecture was "Religion in this Life." It was an inaugural address delivered by the lecturer as the newly elected president of the Association. He chose the subject of religion as suitable to the nature of the audience; he spoke of religion in relation to this life, because, as he told his audience, its relationship to the next life was discoursed on every Sunday. He thought it would be profitable for one week-night to look at what religion had done or could do for the present world, for those now in it and for those who should come after. The lecture was only a fragment, it being the speaker's intention to follow it up with a second, continuing the subject and containing applications of the principles enunciated in the first to great social and moral questions. The second lecture was never prepared or delivered, a fact which cannot surprise us when we think how busy Mr. Denny always was with work which could not be put aside. Indeed, when I consider his extra business engagements about this time, not to speak of his ordinary

occupations at Leven ship-yard, I wonder how he found leisure for any non-professional work. But consuming zeal for the higher interests left him no choice. He was as a man who had received a revelation from heaven and must speak. The fire burnt in his bones, and he could not resist the prophetic impulse. A chance of speaking on such themes to any audience was tempting, to young men irresistible.

The drift of the discourse was to enforce the great duty of serving others in love as the chief end and chief good of man, to set forth this as the essence and practical outcome of Christianity as taught by Jesus Christ. It was an echo of the teaching of Hinton, whom the lecturer regarded as the truest interpreter of Christ's ethical doctrines. Reference is made expressly to Hinton more than once in the course of the lecture, and throughout his influence is apparent. It is especially traceable in that part where it is shown that by unselfish service of others the antagonism between goodness and pleasure is brought to an end. But the thoughts of Hinton are expounded with an eloquence, a beauty of language, and a glowing moral enthusiasm all the speaker's own. When we consider that the preparation for this public appearance was merely a few jottings, and that the lecture was literally, what the lecturer called it, "a chat" with his audience, we are amazed at the elevation of tone and the dignified, noble style of expression. We feel as we read at what a high moral level the man must have lived who could talk so, how full his mind must have been of great thoughts, how his "conversation" must have been

habitually in heaven. I do not think my readers will blame me for giving them this discourse at full length. To hear a business man distinguished in his own profession talk to us in this fashion is a rare treat. Indeed, it is given to few in a generation of any profession, not excepting the clerical, to speak so wisely and so well.

Mr. Denny said :—

TWO VIEWS OF THIS LIFE.

“There are two views of this present life—the one hopeless and the other hopeful; and there are many good men and women who believe in the hopelessness. There are also bad men and women equally hopeless, but I am thankful to say there are an increasing number of men and women who believe there is hope for the world; and I am thankful, in reading the Gospels, to be able to draw from them the inference that our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ had hope for this world. I infer this from the spirit in which He preached, and the way in which He promulgated, as I hope shortly to show you, doctrines and principles evidently intended to better it. There is one thing essential about religion, whether we believe it is only for this world or only for the next, or, as you and I believe, for this world and that which is to come; and this is that it must not be a part of life, but must embrace the whole of it. Religion which is only a section of life is better than no religion at all, thank God; but it is not religion in such a form as will bring help to this world or hope for that which is to come. Therefore we shall start with the assumption that religion is that element in life which is intended to dominate and to be superior to every other element in it, physical or intellectual; and we shall insist upon three foundation truths—the Fatherhood of God, the universal brotherhood of man, and the golden link which connects these two together: the life and death of our Lord and Saviour. I think it was Frederick Denison Maurice, that great and loving minister of the English Church, who said that, as there could be no brotherhood without a fatherhood, there could be no fraternity upon earth without a Fatherhood in heaven. The function of such a religion is not only to give a constant direction to the whole of our life, but to give it a constant inspiration, for we want more than direction in life. In the competition of which we have so much, there is competition of doctrines as well as of forces; and we have a science teaching which by some of its professors is held forth in rivalry with such direction and inspiration as sufficient to supply all the needs of life. I

am not going to raise the old discussion of the conflict of religion and science. With the real and indestructible elements of religion there can be no conflict. Science may uproot sections of theology, may change dogmas, and modify opinions about religion ; but it cannot destroy its essential elements. I do not believe any science will destroy the three great truths to which I have already referred. And I believe further, it will be found that wherever science modifies dogma or corrects theology Christ's own words properly understood will be seen to have anticipated the change. Science cannot replace Christ's teaching, because it is only knowledge drawn from experiment or from observations of the past. Christ's teaching is altogether different, and points entirely to the future. Its purpose is to construct a society by means of elements which were non-existent before it. Christianity is not a thing about which we can infer from the past excepting in so far as that past has been constructed by itself. It is the pioneer and hope of the future.

SCIENCE AND RELIGION.

"Take, as an example of the inadequacy of science conceptions to direct and inspire life, one of the latest discovered truths : that of the survival struggle which has been going on in the past among men, and which is now going on with unabated force among plants and animals, or at least with a force only abated by the influence of man. For it is a strange fact that wherever the force of man predominates this struggle for existence among the lower animals is modified, abated, and sometimes completely terminated. This truth as to the struggle for survival corresponds with a condition of society which would encourage a superficial thinker to accept it as universal and eternal, for we happen to live in an age in which competition is sharper and keener in everything (I was going to except war, but I believe we may include it) than has ever been the case in the world before ; and men are very apt on first hearing of the survival of the fittest to conclude that our present condition of life gives force to this truth of science in a measure far beyond the reality. If this doctrine of the survival of the fittest were absolutely true, would it give you and me any inspiration, or would it be any satisfaction for a humanised man of the type which we all wish to see predominant in the world to possess the brute force to crush everybody that opposed him ? Can it be any satisfaction for a man whose heart beats rightly to have the power to humiliate and destroy the weak, or to brutally dominate by mere physical strength or intellectual power ? It cannot be. No such man can be filled with happiness by such a use of his gifts ; and if the best men can despise such brute power, surely even the worst will learn some day or other not to rate it too highly. What the best men see, what Christ and what, thank God, numbers of men, Christian and non-Christian, are seeing in Europe at the present moment, is that

man individually against nature is a helpless unit, more helpless even than many of the beasts of the field. They see that the great truths which have been discovered in past science are not the result of the work of any one man, but the work of many men. They see that the greatest monuments of this world are the work of many hands, and that the noblest achievements in art, Handel's oratorios, are the expression of many voices. They see further that this division of labour, which has so marvellously enhanced human power in its contest with the physical elements, is destined in the future to be, not merely a source of wealth, but a proof of the essential brotherhood of man, and to become one of the greatest resources of a regenerated humanity. They see the close interdependence of man upon man, and they gather from it that human society is not intended to be a battlefield for the victorious strength or better fortune of a few. They believe that it and its needs are greater than the greatest man forming one of its component parts, and that the value which Christ set upon the smallest child is a true value. The greatest man can have no value which will raise him in the estimate of Almighty God beyond the level of his fellow-men, excepting the measure of his service. That is God's measure for strong men, and not the whole of humanity made a pedestal for their glorification. But even were the survival of the fittest theory as true and universal as its more ignorant disciples suppose, humanity as a brotherhood could still rebel, and within the sphere of its own powers, render it false and impotent. Science teachers must count on our inspirations and our aspirations as factors in the problems which concern us. They will reckon without their host if they reckon without these.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF CHRIST'S TEACHING.

"Let us now consider Christ's teaching for this life in its general aspects. Its first characteristic has always struck me as being that of absolute authority. He spake as never man spake. There is no doubt in His statements; there is never any hesitation about the sentences He rings out; they are clear and strong, and whether they meet with our present views or differ from them, they stand there as statements intended to resist the attack of all criticism, the force of all experience, and to be confirmed by the increase of all true knowledge. When Christ spoke so reverently of the Mosaic law, some people fell under the impression He meant the whole of that law to remain permanently in force and effective. We know this was not the case, because it has been very considerably abrogated, and largely by Himself. Recognising this considerable abrogation, we have to ask ourselves what our Saviour really meant when He spoke about this law which He had come not to destroy, but to fulfil, and how He drew the tremendous distinction He did between it and the codes introduced by the Pharisees and their predecessors. What our Lord saw

underlying the Mosaic law was a purpose for men's good. He saw it had been dictated by a love for men, and that, although it might have forms which were peculiar to the times in which it had been dictated, the spirit of it was eternal. Therefore when He appealed to that law He said, I have come to establish it, and what I preach to you is a continuation and a development of it, whereas what the Pharisees have been binding upon you are heavy burdens, having no connection with any principle whatever, and especially without connection with the principle of men's good. That, I believe, was our Lord's meaning with regard to the Mosaic law and the explanation of the importance He attached to it, the facility with which He permitted non-essential portions of it to be abrogated, and the sweeping condemnation with which He attacked the miserable innovations imported into it by the Pharisees.

“ Another striking peculiarity of our Lord's teaching is that He combines thought and action in a completeness never attained before by any teacher. He was no recluse—no dweller in a study sending out from it finely prepared discourses. He was the companion of the common people, moving about among them, doing acts of mercy and kindness, pronouncing righteous judgment upon hypocrites and evil men, speaking the truth He had in His heart, and inspiring men with the inspiration that He had brought from heaven for them. He knew, as no bookworm or system-maker can ever know, the danger of the mere letter. Therefore He constantly warned His disciples, and us by them, to count the letter of less importance than the spirit. Therefore He embodied His most important teaching in parables and symbols. He well knew His disciples, who very often misunderstood what He said, were much less likely to mis-state a parable or symbol than some elaborate theory.

CHRIST CONDEMNED SELF-INTEREST AND PREFERENCE.

“ Having noted these general characteristics of our Lord's teaching, permit me to point out to you that in so far as life in this world is concerned the negative part of His teaching may be summed up in the condemnation of two things: self-interest in the individual and preference in the society. Our Lord knew well enough that in every society one must take account of natural differences of power and ability between man and man. He knew, and provided for that; He did not say, as some foolish persons do, that the safest thing is to crush out the eminent man, and to silence him as a danger. He pointed out the way in which an able man could be best used both for himself and his fellow-men, and this way to which our Lord pointed all ability and superiority was service. He taught that from the beginning to the end of His life; and its last act, the washing of the disciples' feet—a great sacrament too little understood by the world—was meant to show forth and seal the doctrine that the great and strong, the able, the wealthy, and those high in society are only

so privileged by God's grace for the service of the rest. Let us ask ourselves if this is sound teaching for the individual and the society, because teaching of this kind, if it is really right and sound, must be so both for the individual and the society. Now, in so far as selfishness is concerned, we are rightly reminded that our Lord was not the first to discover that selfishness meant misery. Buddha, the great religious reformer of the East, discovered that many hundred years before our Lord appeared on earth. The difference between Buddha and our Lord is not one of discovery, but is a difference of method in dealing with this difficulty—a difference so large that one of the greatest thinkers of this century (Hinton) has said it is immeasurable. Buddha's method of dealing with self was the ascetic method of annihilation. Destroy self, he said, by repressing and denying it; and you will get quit of the misery caused by it. The Stoics had almost a similar method. They said, Acquire a contempt for self and all that concerns it, and you will get quit of its misery. Christ's method was altogether different. He did not think it was good to annihilate self. His method was that self should be used and consumed in service, and His illustrations of this are so many that it sometimes surprises me religious teachers so imperfectly see how much He insisted upon it. In speaking to His disciples on one occasion, He gave them two illustrations of what their lives should be. One was that they should be like candles, giving light to all about them, the other that they should be as salt flavouring a liquid. The ordinary idea is that the only truth intended to be taught here was the necessity of diffusion, but there is something more than diffusion involved in burning a candle and in dissolving salt in water. There are use and consumption involved in these acts. A burning candle will certainly be consumed, and salt thrown into water will be dissolved. Christ meant self to be used for others; Buddha recommended its extinction for the good of self. I believe in the Sacrament of the Supper He intended, with other truth, to teach this also, and to provide in it a symbol to show that He Himself was consumed for others' good, that He Himself was given away for the sake of others.

THE CHRISTIAN CONCEPTION OF LIFE TESTED.

“This conception of life may seem unpalatable at first; but the more you think about it the more you will find it sound, and a conception which will stand any amount of investigation and of experiment. Just look at life and the number of accidents in it, the number of misfortunes from which the most fortunate suffer, the ills and illnesses, and the certain death finally awaiting us all. Can any love of self lessen these things? Can any care of self except that which is legitimate and involved in the good of others make these things less painful? Experience will show you that the more you face those things with a love of self the more

acutely you will feel every one of them, and the more you will live in dread of their happening. If, however, self is being properly used in the service and interest of others, these things will brush by you like the feathers of a bird's wing. Your powers, and those of the strongest, must fall like leaves from autumn trees. As we grow older how are we to meet this diminution of power? If we meet it by a growing love of self, then the awful prospect before us is that of a torment growing with our years, a conflict between increasing and ever-widening desires and a terrible diminution of the powers required to satisfy them. Nothing can be more frightful than the diminution of power to find enjoyment coupled to an ever-increasing desire to enjoy, such as is fostered by a godless and an inhuman egotism. Old age under such conditions must be ridiculous or horrible, or it may be ridiculous and horrible in one. There is no cruelty or crime of which such an old age is incapable. All things point us outward in the experience of life—not only old age, but the families of those of us who are fortunate enough to have them. We find every day, as our children gather round us, our hearts going outwards from ourselves, and that we are better and happier for this. But it is a pitiful thing when the egotism of self is only transformed into the egotism of family; and this road which God has constructed to carry your feelings and mine out from self, this family life which is intended to be the first step in an enormous march forward, is made a wall to stop us. Those who convert family life into this kind of thing commit a blasphemy against the purposes of God, for if family life were to mean only family selfishness, the time would have come for its destruction. But it does not mean that, and I hope Christian men and women will never use this great and blessed gift to form an enlarged circle of selfishness. They must use it as a first exercise in turning the heart outwards, and more and more, as Christ's purposes are understood, teach their children the truth that they are not here for their own glory, nor to receive caste or rank distinctions, but to become bits of an ever-widening circle of humanising and Christianising influences, which shall be arrested by no obstacles, but shall purify and invade our country and the whole world.

WHAT TRUE LIFE IS.

“It is not the things of life that make life; it is life itself—its action, the doing of things. Healthy physical, intellectual, and spiritual energy is life indeed, and not what you and I possess. These might be shut off from us, and we could still worship and work in enjoyment without them. There is a line of poetry I often repeat to myself, because I think it conveys one of Christ's finest truths—‘How good is life, the mere living.’ The mere exercise of function is ample enjoyment; the doing of things that give pleasure to others will yet be found sufficient. One would not want anything else to live for in a world filled with such

action. It would be sufficient happiness. Christ saw men were smothered under the incidents of life ; that they had hidden its real meaning and use ; that, instead of rejoicing in heroic, brave, clean lives, men were crushed down under the abundance of the things they possessed. Their interests were so many, life itself—not only the future life, but this life here—had lost its meaning for them. They had lost the joy, the health, the spontaneity, of true life—the grandest things a man could possess. As He said, ‘ they had lost their own souls.’ We mistake position, rank, wealth, connections, and honours—all incidents—for life. We are in bondage ; and you know how often our Saviour uses the expression, and promises us freedom by the truth. He says the truth shall make you free—the truth about life, the reality of that, shall free you from the bondage of these incidents, shall make all of them take their proper places, and possess their proper proportions. And the truth that shall make us free is the truth of self consumed in the service of others. Does not a healthy soul find most enjoyment in the things which all other souls can enjoy ? Such things are the light of heaven, the presence of children, the songs of birds, the flowers of the spring, the autumn tints, the fresh air, and the sea, all which can be enjoyed by all. There are still some dwellers in towns who cannot enjoy these good things ; but the time will come when all shall, and when our enjoyment of them shall be intensified by the thought that there is no man in the earth but is enjoying them along with us. There was a time when I took a hatred to literature and art, because I thought them exclusive things, because I thought them the enjoyment of a few. I was convinced it was only healthy to enjoy what the many could share. I have since seen with growing gladness the cheap reproductions of art, and art magazines so cheap that there is actually one of them costing a shilling this Christmas with more good engravings in it than you could have got for £5 twenty years ago. Since I have seen these popular and admirable reproductions coming within the reach of all I have felt art an admissible enjoyment.

CHRIST DID NOT RECOGNISE MERIT.

“ There is a favourite measure of the world which our Lord excludes, and that is merit. Our Lord shows it is not from His point of view a permissible measure. He takes the labourers into His vineyard, and He pays the men who wrought an hour in the day the same penny as He pays the men who wrought ten, and in a flock of sheep, of which ninety-and-nine were good enough to stay at home, and one wandered away, the ninety-and-nine did not get one word of praise, and the lost one absorbed all His love and interest ; more than that, He tells us that all the righteousness we can have is as filthy rags. We think these extravagant statements ; but they are not so, because, truly understood, goodness and happiness are synonymous. They are the same things ; and as we are not

in the habit of praising a man who seeks happiness, there is no occasion to praise a man who finds happiness through goodness. Indeed, when the world comes right, people will not be praised or admired for being good. To be good will be looked upon as a perfectly natural thing, and the idea of any person expecting others to praise and admire him for it will be smiled at. But goodness and happiness are not one yet ; and their conflict oscillates through the centuries from asceticism on the one side to riot on the other, and from Puritanism to Stuart licence. This ever-recurring oscillation indicates a beautiful truth laid bare by our Lord. James Hinton, the great thinker to whom I have already referred, devoted almost all his books to this conflict of goodness and happiness, and pointed out that our Lord had solved their conflict. The human heart desires happiness, and, at the same time, righteousness. A most wholesome thing it is to desire happiness. A heart that does not desire happiness is one with which I should be very sorry to have much to do. Happiness is a legitimate and a God-implanted desire, of which men and women need never be ashamed provided they link it to goodness. But the linking of it to goodness is only to be done by using self for others' good. That is what Hinton points out as the sum of our Lord's teaching for this life, and the conditions which are to be perfect conditions here we may assume to be entrance conditions of the life which is to come.

HAPPINESS AND GOODNESS RECONCILED.

"Now it is only by this giving up of self, this rejoicing in life actively employed in service, this conviction that life should be more valuable, more beautiful, more spontaneous, more real, than any of its accidents or incidents, that a solution can be found for the problem of how to enjoy happiness and goodness together. And, I pray you, notice this. Our Lord's promises to His disciples and to those who followed Him are not of praise, or of chief seats, or of great honours, or anything of that kind, the promises we are delighted with, the incidents of life. His promises are an easy yoke in place of the frightful yoke we wear here, a light burden in place of the loads we pile upon our own backs, and, above all, a more abundant life. Think of that. Not this little, mean life that we lead here, that we manage to patch up and make hobble along as best we can, but a life large, abundant, free, spontaneous, a life lived without law, because it is a law unto itself. That is what He promises us. Let all your poets join in songs and epic poetry, your philosophers unite their systems, your painters accumulate their achievements, and your greatest and sweetest musicians pour forth their Divine art in floods of abundant sound ; can they endow you with such a splendour of promise and high power ? Nothing in the world approaches this abundant life. We feel it dimly, and can only guess at the good it is to bring. We neither see nor know its limits, and we cannot tell its forms.

We timidly make experiments in it—and the best only make little bits of experiments—but each such experiment answers, 'It is true.' Indeed, every step in its direction proves to us that this wonderful life, even here in our narrow and miserable conditions, streams in upon us with each trust we put in Him.

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF CHRIST'S TEACHING.

"We have looked at the general and also at the individual features of Christ's teaching. I now want you to look at its social features, and to ask yourselves how His doctrine affects society. There are two doctrines in the world just now—that of the older economists, which, I am glad to say, is being every day more and more modified : that selfishness is salvation ; the other, Christ's teaching, which is perfectly plain : that selfishness is death. Now about the former of these two doctrines—that selfishness is salvation—we have one encouragement in rejecting it : that no great thinkers of the past, however much they may have acted selfishly, ever ventured to formulate such a monstrosity ; and among the great thinkers of this century it has not received a consensus of opinion. Comte, the founder of the Positivists, who, however much he may have erred, held many sound and lofty truths, utterly ignored this theory that selfishness was salvation ; and as for our late good countryman Thomas Carlyle, he derided it and scoffed at it in a right manly manner. I do not say that selfishness has not done a work in the world, but it has been a hodman's work, and this will be found out in the centuries that are to come, when a true measure can be put upon the world's work. When the threads of the past have taken their places, and we know what the warp and the weft of the great tapestry have produced, it will be found out that only the very plain material of the web has been produced by selfishness, while the colour and the genius of design are the product of nobler threads spun from the hearts of passionate and devoted men and women. But even granting that selfishness as a force has done something for the world, we may be perfectly certain that our Lord's statement about it is quite true, and that, if it remains a permanent force and unchanged, it will inevitably produce social dissolution, which is social death. I think it is Carlyle who says that all the great work of the world has had self-sacrifice at the bottom of it. Looking over the fertile fields of Holland, through which he was travelling, he once remarked to a friend that he saw instead of them the armies of suffering and toiling men who had perished with fevers and agues in forming the great dykes and canals which made all their present fertility. But this doctrine of selfishness has not passed unprotested, even in the past. Youth has always as it expanded to its full flower rebelled against it ; and in the Bohemianism of which we think too ill, but with which we all sympathise more or less, it has written its protest largely and boldly. We sympathise with Bohe-

mianism, with all its sins, because of its regardlessness of self—I mean the Bohemianism of youth, and not that foul and unclean product which has no title to so gallant a name: the coldly ingenious and calculating sensuality of maturer and chillier years. The folly of youth which throws itself away, whatever sins it may commit, has this in it which is good and true: that it is a protest against worshipping self, against saving, and coddling, and hoarding life; and we feel and know it is better to see life thus thrown away than selfishly used.

SOCIALIST PROTEST AGAINST SELFISHNESS.

“There are others protesting against this doctrine of selfishness, and prepared to protest against it with very iron remedies—the socialists of the Continent. I shall have something to say in the second part of my remarks about the hopes and projects of these men. I shall therefore only touch upon them here, but would first like you to notice that Christ made very little attempt to alter social forms; and the reason was, He saw very clearly that every social form is the product of the spirit of the country and the time in which it exists. Hence His demand, not for change of form, but for what your chairman referred to so well in his opening remarks: change of spirit. Christ virtually said, It is no good changing the form unless you change the spirit; it is the spirit that makes the form, not the form that makes the spirit. Where the socialists are wrong is in attempting to change the form without changing the spirit. As a result, they would inevitably discover that the form obtained could not possibly be permanent, but would melt under their feet, and by reaction produce worse evils than those they attempted to remedy. But, all the same, although the remedies of the socialists may be wrong, their criticisms upon our present condition of society are right. They contain an immense amount of truth, and are the strongest part of their whole case. But it is not only the socialists who are wrong, but our religious people, who assume the permanence of the present form of society. They think it would do excellently well if it would accept their theology or their particular dogmas. This is not the idea of Christ, however it may be approved by theologians. His idea is that the principles which I have been describing to you should have free course and full power in this world and effect mighty changes—changes which will be as evident in the form of society as in the individuals composing it, for each change of spirit has a social form corresponding to itself, and the history of the past proves this.

PREFERENCE CONDEMNED.

“In the greater part of the past an ignorant selfishness gave to society the marked form of preference, a very few enjoying advantages provided for them by the toil and humiliation of the many. An enlightened

selfishness, which we have had pretty fully developed since the middle of last century, decided that instead of privilege it would be better for everybody to enter into competition with his neighbour. As a result we had for a time, until it became intolerable, the competition of class with class and individual with individual, without any guarantee as to the fairness or equality of the combat, children just old enough to go to school bargaining with employers for wages, and crofters, poor by the force of circumstances they could not control, bargaining for their rents with all-powerful factors. Latterly, and especially in this country, we have had, owing, I believe, to the power of Christianity, a modification of this enlightened selfishness, Christ's teaching making itself evident in a competition modified by control. You have seen great and beneficent examples of this modification in the Factory Acts; and I believe you are going to see as great an example of it in the way in which the crofters of Scotland must be dealt with, and the small tenant farmers also. But do not delude yourselves with the idea that these modifications of selfishness, however well contrived, can be permanent things. If I were to use an Americanism, I should say they put you on a slide on which you cannot have any chance of stopping, but must slide to the end. You must slide on until you accept the principle of self-sacrifice. When it is accepted in its fulness and becomes the inspiration of society—it will not become that of the society to which you and I belong, but when it does become the law of human life, we shall have a new form of society which cannot be sketched out beforehand, but which will produce itself as naturally as good deeds produce themselves from good lives. That new form of society will be such as only to afford scope for loyal and happy co-operation—a genuine brotherhood of all men, the greatest and ablest entering with unbounded joy into the service of the others. That is what we are driving on to, and there is no going back. None of the resources of the past are open to us, and no return to it can save men from the difficulties of the present. God in His mercy has said there shall be no return. Whether you are going on by righteousness and joy or whether you are going on by social revolution, you are going on to the future. Have a firm hold of this truth, and no checks in politics will disappoint you. You will see that all changes in politics, laws, and customs are but the later expression of the inner spirit. They are changes of the second order. But you will value the inner spirit of devotion to others spreading in your time, and by the strength with which it takes hold of the hearts of men and women you will measure true progress. Do not therefore be disturbed by temporary and external changes, but look forward, and set your eye fixedly on the unwavering truth. Set your eye on it as you can on these winter nights set it on the evening star, which no mists and fogs can permanently hide, which its very distance and the serenity of its light make inextinguishable. Be

assured that even if to-night a cloud arises before it, to-morrow night it will appear again unshrouded, as sweet and full of blessing as before."

The lecture on its appearing in print, as was to be expected, attracted much attention. The prevailing sentiment was one of admiration, accompanied in some instances by friendly criticism. Among the critics was Mr. Denny's friend and fellow-ship-builder Mr. Alexander Kirk, of Glasgow, who complained of the vagueness with which at the close of his lecture he had spoken of the future of society when the principle of self-sacrifice should have been generally adopted. The complaint was natural, and yet it is one which might be brought with equal justice against all the outlines of the good time coming contained in the Hebrew prophets. Mr. Kirk's criticism drew from Mr. Denny a reply admitting the charge, and pleading that it was impossible to avoid the fault animadverted on. As this letter is a characteristic contribution to the social question, I give the greater part of it here:—

"7/1/86.

" . . . I start from the assumption that the world is wrong because the spirit of the world is itself wrong, and that all the attempts to remedy the ills from which we suffer by other means than a complete change of this wrong spirit will only prove to be alleviations which will themselves bring other ills in their train. This is the explanation of the failure one by one of all merely political methods to lift the conditions of life to the level of the ideal regarding it which even very commonplace men possess. In my address I pointed out that we seem to be passing through one of three stages in a progress to what must either be a revolutionary crisis, or the acceptance of that principle of unselfishness which can alone save the world from such a disaster. These three stages I indicated roughly as being those of—

" 1. Preference; *i.e.*, giving full scope to the selfish instincts of the few.

" 2. Unlimited competition; *i.e.*, giving full scope to the selfish instincts of all.

"3. A modification of the second condition by different methods of control intended to obviate its heartlessness.

"Both the first and second methods are, in my opinion, exceedingly bad, the first method being not only selfish, but involving the gross injustice of preference. The second method is equally selfish, but has an element of fair play in it, lacking in the first. The third method, which we are now trying, and which some people think permanent, is a mere attempt by negative action to remove the worst effects of selfish competition. The illustrations you give of Government interference and Lloyd's rules are most excellent, as they go to strengthen my position in proving that selfishness is really death in every sense. Competition, which is supposed to be a means of improving men's intelligence, will in the long run, I am convinced, prove to be the very reverse, because all selfish competition tends steadily to become a competition of commercial instincts and of mere wits instead of higher intelligence. You have the evidence of this in that Government control and Lloyd's rules, which, in attempting to restrain the selfish instincts of the unprincipled and unscrupulous, reduce what would otherwise be professional businesses to the level of mere commercial cleverness. You cannot possibly avoid this calamity, for it is a stage in the *reductio ad absurdum* of selfishness through which the world must pass. Indeed, this *reductio ad absurdum* will have to go a great deal further before the world's eyes are fully open to the *impasse* into which they are now driving. There are of course wise-aces who would ask us to return to the principles of preference and privilege, and to seek in them a remedy from our present ills; but so long as there is any shred of morality left in human breasts, the principle of preference is a doomed principle, and what remnants we still have of it are mere survivals of a past which was worse than the present, bad and all as the present may be. So far as I have been enabled to grasp the meaning of our Lord's teaching, it is most thoroughly condemnatory of all preference and privilege. As I pointed out in my address, our Lord clearly intends all ability and superiority to become servants, and not dominators, of the weaker elements in human society. You and I, and all others who are endowed with professional instincts, must just suffer in the development of these great movements. In one sense it is a misfortune to have thus to suffer, but in another sense it is a beneficent proof of the brotherhood and fellowship of humanity. This compels every one of us more and more to suffer in the sufferings of all the others. We are indeed members of one body, however much we may try to shut our eyes to this great truth.

"I am no admirer of State socialism; and I think, if you will re-read my address, you will find in it abundant proof of this statement. I want to see the most ample freedom given to human intelligence and effort and the most ample opportunity to the ablest among men to fulfil the

great functions with which they are endowed. But such things are utterly impossible so long as the atmosphere in which all men live is one of selfishness. Such an atmosphere compels the employment of those negative methods of repression and restraint which are inimical to all true freedom. The freedom and possibilities of the human race are therefore dependent entirely upon its moral elevation, and very, very little upon its merely political, intellectual, technical, or commercial progress. This, I believe, is the meaning which our Lord intended to convey in His statement that 'the truth shall make you free,' the truth being, as I pointed out in my address, the imperative and absolute requirement of self-sacrifice in one and all persons. Our happiness, our hopes, and our freedom are bound up with the increase of this spirit. But what form this spirit may give to the lives of men and human society it is impossible for either you or me to predict. That it will replace negative methods by positive and the savagery of competition by the humanising influence of co-operation and fellowship is quite clear, but it is not given to us who are living in the dimness of the present time to predict the magnificent harvests which will certainly be reaped under such conditions. It is better therefore, I think, to let the vagueness of the future remain vague than to attempt to fill it up with pictures which would be the result of mere dreaming and useless speculation. What we want to do is to change the world's spirit and to have faith in the results of that change. We cannot do without such faith, and our Lord evidently never intended it to be replaced by any more definite impulse. In the meantime of course one must deal with our imperfect conditions as best one can.

"For myself, I find in these conditions three imperative duties:—

"*First*, to help to remove what remnants still exist of those preferences which I consider not only to be grossly unjust, but also to be retarding delusions, tempting men to turn back to them instead of looking forward to the one hope of their deliverance.

"*Second*, to attempt in as far as lies in my power to soften the effects of the present keen competition in so far as it affects those dependent upon me; also to give what help I can to the modification of this competition in general matters in connection with the whole country, even should such modifications be hurtful to my own private interests.

"*Third*, I think it my most imperative duty to point out to all those who will listen to me the delusions of the past and the delusions of the present, and to indicate to them the only real ground for hope in the future.

"I do not know if I have made my line of reasoning quite clear to you. Perhaps I may best sum it up by stating that to me the problem appears to be how to obtain at one and the same time the maximum of individual freedom and development along with the greatest possible good to all humanity. To this problem there can only be one solution, and that is unselfishness. If all men were unselfish and self-sacrificing, you

could practically let them do very much as they pleased, without any restraint whatever. What the Churches have to do is to create this spirit; but what the Churches actually do is, by a system of theology which starts with selfish motives and finishes with mere preference, to teach the very opposite. Sometimes individuals in these Churches, coming under the true influence of Christ's inner teaching, rise superior to their very miserable systems of theology, but this is a less frequent piece of good fortune than one would wish, and the rare result is far too often attributed to the theology, instead of being seen to be a growth in spite of it."

The reflections on the true vocation of the Church with which this letter closes are significant. In the opening sentences of his address to the Young Men's Association Mr. Denny had apologised for speaking of the bearings of religion on this life by remarking that in church they heard of its bearings on the next life every Sunday. There was latent censure in the remark. He meant to hint that, if the Church did her duty, men would hear much more about the bearing of Christian truth on the present world than was commonly the case, and that Christianity would be presented to them, not merely as a Gospel of individual salvation hereafter, but as a Gospel of social salvation here through the adoption of its great root principle of self-sacrifice. What he only hinted in the lecture he plainly said in the foregoing letter. The charge he brings against the Churches is severe, nothing less than that of virtually subverting Christianity by teaching a theology which fosters in the individual selfishness, and throws its influence into the scale in favour of the inhuman principle of preference. The reference probably is to popular notions of the Atonement, and to the doctrine of election conceived as conferring a monopoly of Divine favour, the introduction into the spiritual world of

the principle of "the survival of the fittest and the salvation of the few."

Of what the Churches might do were they only wakened up to a sense of their opportunities and responsibilities Mr. Denny spoke in March, 1885, at the jubilee of the Rev. Dr. Halley, Dumbarton, with whose congregation he had been connected for some years:—

"I believe the Church has a future still to come such as neither it nor its preachers have yet dreamt of. When we look out on life, we are puzzled by the difficulties that surround us, many of them intellectual difficulties. But in any problem which has to do with human life, I pray you, disregard the difficulties. Human life has difficulties, but in it there is the infinite, and the infinite has the power to overcome difficulties and to sweep them from our path. When you look at human life, do not look at its difficulties; look at its needs, its hunger and its thirst. These are the motive powers to impel it forward. In our life, individual and social, are our needs few or unapparent at the present moment? Is it not evident that the same intellect which causes us difficulties and doubts throws a burning light on our misfortunes and our sins, on the social evils and the dangers which surround us? We not only see these difficulties more clearly, but we see how one-sided many of our methods have been in dealing with them. We are waking up at the present moment in social life from a delusion which has held the people of this country for nearly half a century—the delusion that they had only to give human selfishness absolute sway to have a Divine providence in their lives. We are waking up to think that there ought to be many remedies applied which do not depend upon, but thwart and contradict, human selfishness. We are beginning to think that we ought to change those things, and to have more organisation, more legislation, and more control. The pendulum swings from the right hand to the left, and from the left to the right, and back again, so we swing from one opinion to another, but we are not altogether wrong in our opinions, for they are part of the remedy. There ought to be freedom in life, and also control. Both are absolute necessities for wholesome life; but when you have them, you have only got instruments—you have only got weapons put into your hands. You want something more, and that is spiritual life and purpose. Nobility in a nation, we are coming steadily to see, is to be measured by the nobility of the men who compose it, and especially by the nobility of the men who rule and direct it. We are learning the lessons of the lives

which are passing away from us, and of that great life so lately quenched in the far upper reaches of the Nile, that the secret of the solution of human difficulties and troubles lies, not merely in organisation, which is a temporary thing, nor in legislation merely, which must be steadily improved, but in our possessing men with hearts and spirits so noble that they will apply to our difficulties the old and true remedies of the love which shall spread beyond our personal needs, which shall consider every one of our own personal needs in the light of the need of others, and coupled with that the splendid bounty of self-sacrifice. No ingenuity, no legislation, no organisation, can compensate a nation for the defect of noble men. You who are ministers of the Church have in your hands, if you respond to the needs of the time, weapons which will be more powerful than all its doubts. You need not tremble before its doubts. They will fly before you if you respond to the most earnest and noble human needs."

Thoughts of what the Churches might do and were not doing seem to have been much in Mr. Denny's mind at this period, for I find him recurring to the subject in a letter written somewhat later in the same year to the Rev. Alexander Hislop, of Helensburgh, with whose congregation he was connected for some time, while residing in that place. He writes to bid him good-bye on leaving Helensburgh. Assuring him that no minister ever expressed better the desires of his heart and spirit, he thus exhorts him:—

"Go on as you are doing, and be helpful to many others. The help is needed, for to those whose eyes are opened clearly we live in a wild swirl of thought and speculation. Many apparently stable structures will be engulfed, but my trust remains unshaken that all the gracious truth our Saviour came to teach will endure. Dogmatic theology may be stripped to the bones and sent shivering about the world, but the spiritual truth of self-sacrifice and contempt of our own achievements (technically known as 'good works') will emerge as the stimuli of a new life which will have love unbounded for all men and all nations as its atmosphere. Love will engulf caste jealousy, conceit of achievement, cynicism, pride of purse, and every wicked and foul passion now moving in the world. I believe in this; and it makes all life bright, and even my dull times full of hope. Neither you nor I can see this promised land here, but others will, and we can make their happiness ours by working for it."

Mr. Denny was too sympathetic and social in his nature to be capable of throwing the Church overboard because it did not come up to his ideal, discontinuing attendance on its ordinances and regarding its future with indifference. He delighted in social worship; therefore he earnestly desired ecclesiastical reform, especially in the spheres of theology and practical religious life. He believed that reform was urgently needed along two lines. In theology satisfaction must be given to the conscience rather than to the intellect; that is, all that is ethically offensive must be removed even at the sacrifice of logical completeness. In preaching the whole ground of duty must be covered, and the current arbitrary distinction between religious and secular set aside. Such is the drift of a letter he wrote to myself in reply to an invitation to address an association of students holding its annual meeting in the Free Church College, Glasgow. The letter was in these terms:—

“5/11/84.

“ . . . The theology and the practical religious life of the future turn on the hinge of the conscience. If they can turn on this hinge, they will live and grow. If they can't, they will temporarily decline and die, for they cannot really die. Our creeds and catechisms, in the pride of their intellectual form and their love of completeness, have forced on us truth and injustice in a very frequent union. The conscience revolts from this. It will more easily swallow intellectual difficulty than moral difficulty. In fact, it won't swallow the last at all except at the peril of its life. Therefore the new theology will have to choose between intellectual completeness, involving frequent and violent injury to the enlightened conscience, and a humiliation of the intellect with satisfaction of the conscience. The difficulty and peril of this change is the Antinomianism ever ready to spring forth in such changes. Our Lord seems, however, to set little store either by satisfying the intellect or avoiding any kind of peril. As to practical religious life, the present division of common life into secular and religious must terminate, if religion is not to sicken of it;

and this involves the interest of the Church in the methods of business life and a condemnation of much so-called political economy which passes current with religious men. It also involves this : that the conception of social life held by the Church shall not fall below that of Comte and his disciples, or rather that it should rise above this. Satisfy the conscience in theology even if you disregard the intellect, and make the conscience embrace the whole of life. Do this, and our religion of the future will be in no serious peril. Don't do it, and however great organisations may grow and flourish, a worm will gnaw the root of them, cutting off their sap from the soil in which they are planted."

These are solemn words, spoken in sincerity and love by one who was a friend, not a foe. Will the Churches lay them to heart?

About the time when Mr. Denny delivered his address on religion to the young men of Dumbarton he was engaged in a correspondence on the same theme with his sister Maria. The letters he wrote to her show how he applied the principles he taught in the address to the solution of problems arising out of individual religious experience. Some extracts may be useful to others who have the same difficulties to grapple with :—

"12/10/85.

"You are on the right road, but you don't see to what the road leads. Hence your trouble. I suffered from the same myself, and have to thank the large, luminous, and deeply religious sense of Mr. Dawes for my delivery from error. You are right in saying, 'I do see how abominable and unsatisfactory a self-centred life is ;' you are wrong in saying, 'It is difficult to do any little thing without having a satisfied, conscious feeling of having done something nice.' There is no law of God which commands your putting away of the happiness which flows from loving and helping others. Foolish men who have confused happiness with sin make such laws. God, who has created in you and me and all men and women an imperious hunger for happiness, has made no such law ; and to attribute such to Him is to be guilty of blasphemy against the perfect Father. We are to take all happiness that flows from our love and service of others. He intends our hunger for such happiness to grow by its gratification. He purposes to move us to a passion of goodness, a fulness of life and hope. Christ always speaks of deliverance from bondage and of entrance into

more abundant life. It is the meanness, narrowness, bondage, and misery of our present self-worship which He came to break. We have been going on blindly, and He has brought us light. Refuse none of its sweet rays, and they will strengthen your eyes to bear more and more the sunshine of His truth and love. Be anxious for nothing. Above all, don't by a morbid introspection, plausible but utterly false, turn aside from the great and blessed highway on which you have entered. Let the great principle of 'abandoning self' move silently and unconsciously within you. Remember, 'the kingdom of heaven cometh not with observation.' Like all blessed influences—the sunshine, the dew, the soft, fertilising spring rains—it comes almost unnoticed. So do Christ's truths, travestied frightfully although they have been, steal from heart to heart and life to life, making 'the angel-music of the world.'

"And, as Hinton says, 'don't refuse happiness of any kind that does not interfere with the great principle.' Subject to it, take all the gifts and goodness of God gladly like a little child, with the blithest gratitude in your heart. God promises you no narrow, anxious, legalized life. He promises you, and one and all who care to test His goodness, the fullest, freest, most spontaneous and joyous, of lives. Let no false asceticism rob you of this joy. It is your life-blood, that which is to make self-sacrifice in the future, which now seems hard and impossible, light and soft as down. Go on rejoicing. Keep a brave, joyous, and trusting heart."

"31/12/'85.

"Have you read my address to the Young Men's Christian Association? It is, as it must be, an imperfect expression of my thoughts. The main point which I wish you to grasp in it is the idea that the true life must become spontaneous and joyous, but bit by bit. I am afraid you do not quite see the possibility of this, but it is possible if you will look at the working for others as a way of hope for happiness instead of as a duty. There are duties in the world, and stern ones, too, sometimes; but living for others is not one of these: at least, it will not attain so well either your happiness or that of others if it is so pursued.

"I am afraid you make this life a matter of duty and weary yourself in the greatness of your way. Don't do this. Be satisfied if you have the desire to let it work slowly but surely and happily through your life. It will do so if you trust it and the power of a living God who has implanted it in your heart. We must trust enormously to God's impulses, and put aside all conceptions of accumulating merit. All the good works theories are mercenary; and because on this account they enslave life, Christ condemned them out-and-out. What you have to do is to pray and trust, and on no account make any comparisons between yourself and others. It is only permissible to God to do that, and I don't think He wastes time over such useless work. He wants in all of us abundant

spontaneous life, and that we should trust Him completely to produce this as He thinks best. . . . He works slowly, but He works well, and we only mar His efforts when we hurry, and strive, and fret. It took me a terrible time to learn all this. Profit by my experience, and you will suffer less and do more. If you will trust Him, there will arise light on your darkness; and you will be surprised later on unconsciously to find yourself sweeping into the wide, swift current of His will, and swimming in it with hardly an effort. We all splash about dreadfully at first, and we mean well by it; but He knows better, and wishes for us the grand ease of His own efforts."

"12/1/86.

"We all try to mechanise our lives until we get so wearied and done, we have to give it up. You are at this stage, only you seem peculiarly unwilling to give in. . . . You need not be afraid that what you have come through will be lost. It, like all honest though painful effort, will yield its harvest. But to do this it must die, cease to be in its present form of effort in order that it may rise in spontaneous leaf and flower. This is one of the truest of spiritual truths, but we trust it always at first with great difficulty. To let go our whole habits of action, and just trust to the coming in their place of something else, and quite different, is seemingly hard. But you must resolve on this and throw introspection away. As to Robertson of Brighton, he was a good man; but he saw imperfectly. From Hinton you have had better and larger teaching."

CHAPTER XVI.

VIEWS ON MORAL AND SOCIAL QUESTIONS.

CULTURE is often associated with disdain of popular movements for the moral and religious elevation of the people. There is of course much in all such movements that repels persons of fastidious taste, and tempts them to hold coldly aloof. The vulgarity of the Temperance lecturer; the rant, fanaticism, and coarse theology of the average revival preacher; the excitements and extravagances connected with multitudinous enthusiasms—these are all things offensive to men of refined spirit and balanced critical judgment; but wise men may bear with them for the sake of the good that goes along with them.

Such was the attitude of William Denny. He was entirely free from the pharisaic disdain for everything Philistine characteristic of superior people. He sympathised heartily with all that tended to the increase of moral force in the community, and made due allowance for the rudeness of spiritual beginnings. This attitude was especially characteristic of him after 1883. He explained his position to a friend who expressed surprise at the interest he had shown on a recent occasion, to be immediately referred to, in Sabbath-school work. "As to my sympathy," he

wrote, "with Sabbath-school teaching, it is only part of my sympathy with all forms of the growth of moral force among the people. Such growths seem to me to contain within them more possibility of good than all the philosophies and all the social and political theories current. Not that these are useless, for I look on them as good tentatives." The friend to whom he thus wrote was a hearer and admirer of the late Rev. Dr. Service, of Glasgow, author of "Salvation Here and Hereafter," which led Mr. Denny to compare his own views with those of that accomplished divine. "We were," he said, "pretty well at one in our theology; but in judging of the growth of popular moral force we were widely apart. He shrank from its concomitants—its crudeness, rashness, and not infrequent inconsistency. I have always regarded these things as like the velvet on a stag's antlers—substances to be worn off as the organism grew to its perfection and beauty. He lacked, I think, toleration for the rudeness of a moral infancy." The story is told that Denny, on hearing Service on one occasion preaching a sermon in which he severely criticised some phases of popular religion from the superior position of a modern religious philosopher, went to him after the sermon and said: "Dr. Service, I am sorry to find that your toleration is vertical, not horizontal."

Denny's own toleration was of the horizontal type, and it covered a wide area. He was broad in his charity as well as in his theology. His was the breadth of Christian love, not of mere theological liberalism. Any honest cause that meant well, and on the whole did well, was sure of his sympathy;

and he was not easily repelled or alienated by ungenial features. He shared the sentiments expressed by Ellice Hopkins in "Autumn Swallows" in reference to "the revivalists :"—

"Let not fine culture, poesy, art, sweet tones,
Build up about my soothèd sense a world
That is not Thine, and wall me up in dreams.
There, through all rudest speech and gestures mean,
Obscuring sights and harsh fanatic sounds,
Still may I see the Christ in faded vesture,
Nor stand with Greeks and coldly criticise
The mean apparel in whose tarnished hem,
By a Diviner instinct led, the lost,
The sad, the poor, the sinful, find sweet healing."

Or I may say that, with the poet Browning, he would rather worship in the Dissenting meeting-house than doubt in the lecture-room of the Rationalist German professor,

"and join chorus
To Hephzibah tune, without further apology,
The last five verses of the third section
Of the seventeenth hymn of Whitefield's Collection,
To conclude with the doxology."

One of the most beautiful speeches Mr. Denny ever made was delivered at a meeting of the Scottish National Sabbath-school Convention held in October, 1885. His theme was the good that had come out of the Sunday-school, or the moral and social movements that were in affinity and sympathy with that institution. These sympathetic movements he compared to the overtones contained in each audible tone which give to a musical instrument its peculiar *timbre*. As moral overtones of the Sunday-school movement he named in succession the Temperance and Purity movements, the spirit of union among

religious people, and that accumulation of moral energy to which he looked for the solution of social questions. On the principle that all beautiful things should be preserved, I insert the speech here :—

“Those of you who know instrumental music must be aware that in some of the finest instruments the tones struck out from them are more than simple tones, and are accompanied by harmonies and overtones which are often more beautiful than their originals. What is true of music is true of moral life. The simple tones of moral life, the efforts which you and others are making to lift the people of this country, and to train their children to higher and nobler lives, are more largely productive than you think. These efforts are not simple tones, for they all produce overtones. I intend to point out how these grow, and to what purposes they may be turned.

“This Sabbath-school movement is no mushroom growth, for before the time of Robert Raikes, the founder in last century of the movement as it now exists, there were pioneers at work. Indeed, there was an early pioneer in the middle of the sixteenth century, a great and noble man living outside the circle of Protestantism, but following as closely the spirit of our Lord as any man ever did within it. I speak of the Cardinal Archbishop of Milan, Charles Borromeo, who in the famine and plague of that city sacrificed his whole private fortune to the needs of its inhabitants. This man, who lived with the poor and simple, who showed no fear of death, and was the unflinching companion of the plague, was, I believe, the first to institute schools for the teaching of children in religious subjects on Sabbath-days ; and although he was a member of a Church to which we are opposed, we must record our admiration of his memory and our esteem for the services he rendered in initiating your labours. Your Sabbath-school movement in its present form, begun in the end of last century, has been followed by another—the great Temperance movement—and I was much pleased yesterday to hear one of your speakers, Bailie Selkirk, point out how closely united this was coming to be with the Sabbath-schools. The Temperance movement has passed through many changes, and taken many forms ; but while old forms have yielded to new, each new form has been stronger, wider, and larger-hearted than that which preceded it. And the Temperance movement does not end the list, for there is now struggling upwards the great movement initiated and promulgated by, I think, the noblest and bravest woman of the present day—Ellice Hopkins. It has been formulated and headed by one of our greatest scholars and one of our best men, Bishop Lightfoot, of Durham ; and it is now banding men and women together in the resolve that the most degrading and most hopeless

of all slaveries shall cease—the slavery of little children and weak women. But this Purity movement is only an overtone of the preceding movements. It has evolved from them; and without the spiritual power which our Sabbath-schools and our Temperance Societies created and transmitted, I venture to say the movement at the head of which stands the Bishop of Durham would not now exist. Let me ask your sympathies for some who at this moment are suffering in this cause—men and women who, however much they have erred in judgment, have not erred in heart; men and women who, however much they may be legally punished, will be spiritually revered in this country. We remember them, and our sympathies go out to them in the suffering and anxiety they now endure.

“But there are other overtones which rise from these three movements themselves. There is the friendship and comradeship, that power which, breaking down the divisions of sectarianism and the barriers of Churches, has united you here in a common fellowship for good, in a great service for purposes which are common to all the Churches. That comradeship and fellowship, that longing to march shoulder to shoulder in the service of humanity and spiritual life, is spreading and growing. It is drawing to it men and women in all the Churches and from all the lands to a common desire, a common hope, and, I believe, a common faith. You cannot hope too much from it. There is still another overtone. Al your labours, even when they seem most hopeless, and your efforts when they seem most profitless, are creating a great reservoir of moral power and fervour which shall not be wasted, for there is a conservation of energy in the spiritual, as there is a conservation of energy in the physical world. There is no energy lost that is inspired by God, and you who are creating this overtone of moral energy will yet live to see it doing work of which you do not now dream. You will live to see it creating fresh and great movements, as great as the one you are engaged in. You will live to be consoled for every doubt you have had, for every despair you have experienced, and for every sorrow in your work that has touched your heart.

“When we look at the great problems of our social life, apart even from those I have touched upon, we are led to see how much need there is of moral fervour and concentrated force to overcome them. Take as examples the housing of the poor and the hateful division of classes—that miserable disposition there is in so many men to crawl socially upwards only that they may be out of touch with the men below them. There are men in this country who are like flies crawling into an extinguisher: the higher they rise, the more jammed they become. There are thousands of men whose one ambition in life is, not to rise upward spiritually and to spread downwards in large sympathies among the masses of the people, but to rise in the narrowing circles of a caste

society to where the people they call upon shall be fewest in number. They long for positions in which their sympathies shall be restricted, their ideas cramped, and the largeness of their lives diminished to such a point that their soul becomes a microscopical object. You want some spiritual power to restrain these false ambitions ; you want some spiritual power to show men that the upwards of such ambitions is the downwards in the eyes of God. There is only one true rank in this world, the rank of service ; and all ranks devised by men must be admitted or rejected by this test of service. There is no other valid title to esteem or honour except that which is won by following the spirit of our Saviour in the last sacrament of His life—the washing of His disciples' feet. But besides these two problems there is the great labour question, not yet solved nor near solution. I venture to predict that those who believe it will be solved by mechanical thinkers or politicians will find themselves deluded. My experience as an employer has shown me there is no solution of that question except by a growth of fellowship, of companionship, and of sympathy between employer and employed. That is not a growth of intellectualism ; it is a growth of spiritual power. But even if all within this country were well, and we had all these things right, there is still an imminent danger without—the jealousies of nations. Do you think these will be overcome by paper schemes or diplomatic arrangements ? They never will be so overcome. They will only be overcome by the comradeship and fellowship which is uniting you members of different Churches in common labour, extending to them and inspiring them with a sympathy to each other instead of hatred and jealousy of each other.

“ In truth there are problems in the spiritual and social world which are like some of our metals : altogether refractory to low temperatures. They will only melt with great heat, and there is no other possibility of melting them. It is so with these great difficulties. They will not be solved by the coldness of intellectual power, although intellectual power may be a servant, a tool, in the hands of spiritual life. Do we despair ? Are we discouraged because schemes to solve these things fail one after another ? We need not be so. We may be encouraged by their failure, because it indicates that a moral power must solve them, and that nothing short of this will solve them. Indeed, there is no greater proof of a moral Governor of the world than that He will only permit moral remedies to heal the moral evils in life. You may have things to discourage you, but I believe they are only the things of daily experience and the details of life. If you will lift yourselves above them, if you will enter into sympathy with these great movements, if you will have some sympathy with and try to understand the great problems of life, I believe you will find, as I have been trying to show you, that there is more cause for hope than for doubt, and that there is no ground whatever for even the shadow of despair.”

These moral harmonics must have sounded very sweet to the ears of those who heard them. Even now the faint echo of them is very pleasing. They show us the direction in which the speaker's sympathies were running, the causes to which he was prepared to give his moral support: Temperance, Purity, union in religious life, and general social well-being. All these overtones are not equally agreeable to all ears. In reference to some of them some readers may be inclined to think that Denny's enthusiasm of humanity was running to seed, and that he himself was in imminent danger of becoming a man of fads. A fanatic he might become, if by a fanatic is meant a man who has been raised to a white heat of zeal, but a faddist never. Your fad-monger is a man who for slight reasons, often for reasons of his own, attaches himself to causes popular with sections; a weakling imitating, or a crafty schemer simulating, fashionable enthusiasms. Denny could play neither of these parts. He was simple as a child; his motives were pure as the crystal spring; his convictions were both deep and well thought out. On the conduct of a man like him, advocating causes about which opinion is divided, you can put only one of two constructions. You may see in it the excessive enthusiasm of a diseased but noble-minded man, or, if you are in sympathy with his aims, you may see in it a man growing in Christ-likeness, whose outward man may possibly be decaying, but whose inward man is being renewed day by day.

Construe the fact as we may, fact it is that after the crisis of 1883 we find Denny earnestly supporting all the above-named causes. To his interest in

Temperance reform he gave repeated and emphatic expression, backing words by the practice of abstinence, begun, by medical advice, during convalescence from the fever, and continued, except when health demanded the use of stimulants, till the end of his life. The following two letters, written respectively in 1884 and 1885, show the steady growth of his sympathy with this movement and the grounds on which it rested. The earlier letter, addressed to Mr. Robert Duncan, ship-builder, Port Glasgow, an advocate of abstinence, referred to the subject in these terms :—

“ 4/1/84.

“. . . I am steadily drawing to the aims of the great Temperance reformers, and being led to see that for the lapsed and the lapsing we are bound to be our brothers' keeper and to help them to overcome temptations which attack them in their weakest parts, and with a strength unknown to the cynics who sneer at what they call foolish enthusiasm. As to its being impossible to force men from drink, nobody who has, as you and I have, handled hundreds of men, and seen the force and discipline of a well-organised work breaking many of them away from drink, would talk such nonsense. If force can make soldiers out of very indifferent materials sometimes, it can do other things also, and more effectively when a moral, righteous, and loving purpose impels it forward. I have been an abstainer (total) now for a year, and although in no sense pledged, feel a growing attachment to the principle. On it I have made a good recovery from a severe fever, and I feel it every day adds calm and strength to my mental faculties.”

The later letter indicates a more decided attitude. It was written as an expression of sympathy and goodwill in connection with a Band of Hope demonstration, as a substitute for a speech which Mr. Denny had been expected to deliver. There is observable in this letter a striking contrast between the grounds on which the writer rests his support of the Temperance movement and those which at an earlier period made him look on the same

cause with at least a kindly eye. Writing to a friend in 1878 on the subject, he indicated the opinion that *self-discipline* was the most powerful side of Temperance movements. Self-denial he then regarded as an indispensable element in every worthy life. Having referred to the appearance of this element in different times and countries—in the Fakirs of the East, the monks of the Middle Ages, and the Nazarites among the Jews—he went on to say that teetotalism had put disciplined self-denial within the reach of the people, and had thereby done a great public service. At the later period, on the other hand, he discountenanced the ascetic aspect, and emphasised regard to the good of others as the great motive. Hinton's influence is very obvious. The letter was as follows:—

“LEVEN SHIP-YARD, DUMBARTON,
5th September, 1885.

“MY DEAR BAILIE BUCHANAN,— . . . Tell your young friends, and the older friends who are with them, that they will have my best wishes for the success of their demonstration. The Temperance movement is now sweeping into an atmosphere of generous impulse, and from this time forward will, I believe, grow enormously. There must at the present moment be a smaller proportion of total abstainers who are so merely for their own advantage and the benefit of their own health than at any time before; at the same time, I am sure there is a growing majority who are abstaining for the good and the sake of others. Of the arguments which are addressed to audiences called together to discuss these Temperance questions, there are every day fewer appealing to selfish motives and an increasing number founded upon the good of others and the pleasures which are possible to us in self-renunciation for their sake. To abstain for the sake of self and to abstain for the sake of others are two widely different motives, and productive of very different fruits. The former is only an additional form of that selfish prudence which is the highest outcome of the world's shrewdness. The latter is a totally different thing, and the most potent and fruitful of the motives which can move the great masses of humanity. Unlike asceticism,

which is only a better form of selfish prudence having its eyes open to a longer future, self-denial for the sake of others is essentially a way of freedom. It may be hard for many of us to see this, confused as we are by conflicting currents of opinion, and living under conditions often compulsorily at variance with our best beliefs; but nevertheless this is the truth, and sooner or later will, I believe, become the whole world's possession. Self-denial for the sake of others must lead in the long run to a spontaneity and sureness of action foreign to every other form of life. It must lead to a happiness, a hope, and a future almost impossible of conception to our present time. We may, indeed, be thankful that we have among us so many noble men and women willing to prove this truth by displaying an unaffected cheerfulness and happiness in the midst of suffering and contempt endured for the sake of others. If only this great truth could be made evident to the world, and especially to our own country, there would be generated an amount of spiritual force and moral power sufficient to quench even the most hopeless evil, however ancient, and to quell all brutalities, however hideous, born of idleness and overwealth. We have plenty of intellect and plenty of power in our country; but they must, on the part of our people, be made the servants of the noblest impulses and of desires for righteousness and largeness of life. These impulses and desires must be so great and imperative that the ablest men in this country shall be compelled, instead of wasting their forces upon mere word disputes and cynicism and upon caste ambitions of the meanest description, to devote themselves heartily and honestly to the service of the great masses of the people, and especially to those sections of the people whose case is most miserable and hopeless.

“Perhaps I am saying more than all your young friends will be quite able to understand; but there must be many among them who, whether they understand these things or not, do in their lives and within the limits which bound them try to fulfil such brave and gentle duties. This at any rate your children may understand; and they must make their Band of Hope a union based upon hope for others, if it is to have any permanence and any fruitfulness among the fellowships, brotherhoods, and unions which are now so numerous working for the good of man. Let them begin early to hope for others, and they will soon learn to love others. They cannot too soon find out what force there is in this great motive; and they cannot too soon bring to the aid of us who are older, and therefore often less hopeful, than themselves the repeated assurance that the service of others is the fountain of freedom, the way of happiness, and the open door to unquenchable hope. Speak to them plentifully and fearlessly about these things. Children often understand them better than we think. We are too sceptical of their powers. In conclusion, convey to them Mrs. Denny's and my own best wishes for their happiness to-day, and in all days which are to come.

Assure them that our sympathies are with them, and that their welfare and the welfare of the great movement of which they form a part are very dear to us.

“With all good wishes to yourself, believe me, yours very faithfully,
“WILLIAM DENNY.”

The Purity movement received from Mr. Denny earnest, active, persistent support. He circulated the “White Cross” tracts with as much zeal as “Others’ Needs.” The warm terms in which he expressed his admiration of the promoters of the movement in his letter to Mrs. Campbell, of Tulliechewan, and in his Sabbath-school Convention address, will have been noted. In a letter written from London in August, 1885, about the time when the *Pall Mall Gazette* revelations appeared, he remarked to his friend Mr. Hislop, of Helensburgh, that these revelations were “creating a most wholesome revulsion against the grossness of plutocratic and aristocratic vice and uniting the country in the feeling that the harlot needs help and sympathy instead of the men who commit her to bondage and keep her in it. I suspect,” he added, “our Lord was and is of the same opinion.”

He gave ampler expression of his views on this important and delicate subject in a letter addressed to Mrs. Somerville, Honorary Secretary of the Glasgow Union for the Care and Help of Girls and Women, which, like the letter to the Band of Hope demonstration, was a substitute for an address. The letter here follows:—

“MELBOURNE HOUSE, DALMUIR,

“25th January, 1886.

“DEAR MADAM,—The fear I expressed to you in my note last week is realised ; and in spite of every attempt to overcome my hoarseness, it

continues undiminished. I am bitterly disappointed, because this not only prevents my speaking, but even being present, at your meeting to-day. Will you kindly convey to your friends the expression of my regret. Tell them that the chairmanship of your meeting is the highest honour I have ever had offered to me. I am deeply interested in all that concerns the welfare of women and the efforts they are making to raise the lowest levels of their sex. I am thus interested, not only because the pursuit of such an object should command a ringing response from the heart of every manly and honourable man, but because every success you win will become a step in which not only will the members of your sex rise to nobler and sweeter lives, but by which the members of my own sex will find themselves raised to possibilities of braver power and larger lives than they can now imagine. We are a human family, interdependent and linked together by living and unbreakable bonds. There can be no degradation among any of us from which the rest can shut themselves off and escape. We cannot successfully either in our public or in our private lives exclude by the material walls of comfort or the finer or more repulsive walls of pride the evils that welter outside our homes. God, in His profoundest mercy, has so determined the nature of our social life. In equal mercy He made it an iron condition of all slavery that it degraded the slaveowner and his family as much as it crushed the slave, and that where this oppression became a national crime it created national ruin. So it is with the degradation of women and girls. It recoils on those who create it, on those who cynically or silently assent to it as a necessity, and on the whole society in which it exists. It is a miserable blindness which prevents our seeing that our welfare and the welfare of our children are indissolubly linked to the hope of those we call the hopeless. Quench the hope of a class, or even of a suffering few, and you diminish the hopes of all. This is one of God's iron but merciful laws.

“All who think and look beyond the mere comforts of life must be thankful you ladies, and many like you in all parts of the country, are lighting watchfires of hope among the dwellings of the lost and hopeless; that your hands are stretched out to welcome and restore those who hitherto have had few helpers. We rejoice that you are federating your forces for good, and threading our country and the world with the delicate but force-bearing fibres of pity and mercy. Be cheerful and confident, for you will not fail. You are in league with more than your fellow-workers. You are in union with those invisible and merciful hosts which, while destroying and removing evil, send spiritual reinforcement and heartening to every aspiration and effort after the good of others. It is the perception of all this which makes me deeply regret my absence from the first annual meeting of your Union to-day and my inability to convey to you by word of mouth all the good wishes I now send for your success and the success of your allies and confederates. You have

a right glorious cause in hand, and the man or woman who does not wish you God-speed and bless you may well doubt the soundness of their hearts and the reality of their sympathies.

“ I am, etc.,

“ WILLIAM DENNY.”

That intemperance and impurity are real and great social evils is admitted by all good citizens. There is room for difference of opinion among those who seek the good of the commonwealth as to the best means for curing or mitigating these evils and the class of motives to which appeal should chiefly be made by advocates of reform, but there is entire agreement as to the need for reform. There is a much smaller amount of intelligent and decided moral sentiment respecting the third social evil referred to in the “ overtones ” address, which the speaker evidently regarded as not less pernicious and dangerous than the other two ; that is to say, false social ambitions, snobbishness, the feeling of caste, the desire of those who have gained wealth by the sweat of the workman’s brow to rise in society away out of touch and sympathy with the million into the fellowship of the favoured few. It is a matter of opinion among respectable, well-conducted people whether this desire, whose existence and prevalence cannot be denied, be an evil at all. If money will get a man into Parliament, obtain for him a title, procure for him admission into the mansions and even the family circles of the aristocracy, why should he not use the power Providence has put into his hands, and who has any right to object ? What injury does he do to society ? How did a privileged titled order come into existence except by the operation of such ambitions raising a certain number of persons above

the general level? Then, granting that the desire in question is an evil, it is not so easy to say who is guilty of the vice. Your eyes tell you when a man is drunk, but you cannot with such certainty pounce upon a social snob. A man of keen moral discernment may detect the signs of snobbery as easily as he can read in the countenance those of drunkenness or licentiousness, but his judgment lacks backing from average public opinion.

The social evil of vanity and pride was very real, very extensive, and very hateful in William Denny's esteem. Nothing is more remarkable in his character than the frequency and intensity with which he expressed his detestation of the odious vice. His feeling against caste amounted to a passion. It went far beyond what many even of his admirers could sympathise with. To some readers it may seem to indicate a lack of balance in judgment, or a bitterness produced by disagreeable contact with extreme specimens of the plutocrat. Yet his tone in speaking on this subject is only an echo of Carlyle's, and, I may add, of the Hebrew prophet's. All he says concerning the plutocrat and his ways is but a translation into modern dialect of the words of Amos: "Ye that put far away the evil day, and cause the seat of violence to come near; that lie upon beds of ivory, and stretch themselves upon their couches, and eat the lambs out of the flock, and the calves out of the midst of the stall; that chant to the sound of the viol, and invent to themselves instruments of music like David; that drink wine in bowls, and anoint themselves with the chief ointments: but they are not grieved for the affliction of Joseph"

Nay, I make bold to say that William Denny's antipathies were those of Christ. For Christ had His antipathies' as well as His sympathies, intense, passionate, implacable, directed against falsehood, pretence, arrogance, tyranny, inhumanity; and the Christianity that does not share these antipathies or that is ashamed of them is a counterfeit which does not deserve the name.

Perhaps I have already given a sufficient number of specimens of Denny's way of thinking concerning the evil tendencies of wealth; but I will add here one more, extracted from a letter written in 1885 to the Rev. Frederick H. Naylor, who had officiated for the usual period of three years as the Methodist minister at Dumbarton. The facts stated at the commencement of the extract will be noticed in the next chapter:—

“11th August, 1885.

“... I was unanimously invited by the Liberal party in two counties—those of Bute and Dumbartonshire—to be their candidate at the forthcoming elections. I was also invited by our own burgh to allow my name to be put forward for the Kilmarnock district of burghs. But I had to decline all these very kind and flattering invitations, as I have already more work on my hands than I can overtake. Besides, I am beginning to think that there is so much to be done in the social improvement of this country that a man like myself, engaged in active business, may find scope for all his surplus energies in such work. I believe the people of this country need to have set before them examples of moderate expenditure upon self, and of larger expenditure in a happier and unselfish way. The vulgarly ostentatious scale of expenditure which is now the fashion of many wealthy and aristocratic persons is steadily debasing our ideal of life. A useless, extravagant, and absurd luxury is replacing those conditions of simplicity and refinement which are not only the best for a man himself, but the best for those about him. We want a lower scale of personal expenditure, a larger scale of unselfish expenditure, and a greater simplicity and moderation of life in all wealthy and titled persons. Indeed, this, in the present circumstances, is their first and imperative duty. The power acquired by these persons

or bestowed upon them is intended for other purposes than those of absurd, ostentatious, and extravagant self-gratification. Were the scale of expenditure upon self in this country reduced to proper dimensions, we would see young couples in the middle and upper classes induced to enter into early marriages, instead of being compelled to remain in an unnatural and consequently generally a vicious celibacy. As our society is now constituted the healthy and honest union of two young people of moderate means condemns them to sink in the esteem of their friends and neighbours from their inability to vie with them in the present absurd ostentation of expenditure. I am hoping, with my wife's help, to do something both by example and speech for this cause; and I believe, although our aim is unobtrusive and moderate, it is as well worth being striven for as much of the political ambition of the present time."

The closing sentences of this letter point to a purpose to build in Dumbarton a permanent home in place of Bellfield, destroyed by fire. In connection with that purpose, never carried into effect, Mr. Denny cherished, and to intimate friends spoke of, plans for making his house a centre of social culture, as the meeting-place of men like-minded with himself in the desire to live a life of simple comfort, and fruitful of benefit to the community. How one wishes that he had lived to make the experiment!

The man who cherished these thoughts was obviously dead to ordinary ambitions. It almost seems as if he would fain have denuded himself of his social position and, like Count Tolstoi, descended to the rank of the labouring class, and as if the only thing that reconciled him to its retention was the opportunity it put within his reach of more effectually serving those with whom his heart's sympathies lay. Worldly success had no charm for him. He valued it only as a means to ends which worldly men care not for. In his eyes what commonly passes for success was so far from possessing any intrinsic value that it rather seemed to be a source of spiritual danger,

exposing those who attained it to the risk of losing the higher riches of character. He earnestly believed that men gained the world at the risk of losing their souls, not merely in relation to the next world, but in relation to all that is valuable in moral manhood. Therefore, so far from being in the mood to hunt after "success," he was rather disposed to join the noble army of martyrs, the men who are in advance of the fighting line, whose bodies make a bridge for their comrades to march over. In his simplicity he hoped that this mind might become common; but it must always, it is to be feared, be rare—rare as genius and sainthood. It is the few great ones in the kingdom of God who have complete fellowship with Him who, being the greatest, came, not to be ministered unto, but to minister. Little-minded men will always want to rise, and rule, and tyrannise. To think that "the upward of man is the downward of God" and to act accordingly is the part of heroes only.

To these heroic views of life Denny endeavoured to give expression in a lecture on "The Question of Success" which he delivered in Renton in the winter of 1884-5. In the preparation of this lecture he took unusual pains, and after its delivery it seems to have given him more than ordinary satisfaction. In a letter to a friend he characterised it as far and away the best and most thorough bit of work he ever did. In the same letter he makes the important statement: "It is very nearly the creed of my life now and for some years back," which forbids us from regarding this utterance as the embodiment of a new revelation that had dawned on him at the time of the fever, and after his acquaintance with Hinton. The

light may have become brighter then, but it was there before, the guide of his life.

A letter which he wrote to his wife when he was commencing his preparations for this literary effort shows us the spirit in which Denny addressed himself to the task. It is a letter meant for her eyes alone, in which he takes her into his confidence and lets her see his inmost heart. Written on a Sunday, it is pervaded by the sabbatic peace of a spiritual mind :—

“ HELENSLEE, *Sunday, 13/9/84.*

“MY DEAREST LILLIE,—I am much better, but have not gone to church, as I wish to give myself the opportunity of being thoroughly mended. I have just finished my lunch off a basin of white soup and bread, after a walk through the grounds and the new public park. The day is magnificent, and must be very enjoyable at Kames, which makes me the more feel my absence from you and the children. I hope to be with you on Thursday evening.

“I have just been writing down some notes for the lecture I am to give at Renton on ‘The Question of Success.’ You must come and hear it. I am treating success from the dark side, and the evil it produces in men and nations. My own experience has taught me that any kindness, gentleness, generosity, or sympathy I may have acquired—and my acquisitions are small—is due rather to pain, suffering, disappointment, and failure than to success. This seems to me confirmed by history and other lives ; and the fact, I think, furnishes a bright key to much that is dark and sorrowful. There is so much that is brutal in even the best success that one can understand how it is that the greatest Man came entirely without success, choosing to be a Man of sorrows. You see, I am trying to drive a little shaft down into the mine of inexhaustible truth. How blessed it is to feel that beyond the truths of science, hard and dry seen by themselves, there is the great truth open to us all, and yet inexhaustible by us, which can fold all other truths and all our lives within its vast, kind wings, and lift us away from doubt and fear ! How blessed to feel the companionship within these wings, the brotherhood and sisterhood of sickness, weakness, poverty, of feeble men and women and innumerable little children !

“Day by day I feel more and more impelled to abandon pride and vanity in any powers I may have, to treat them as trusts for others and means of service. Day by day I feel the wish growing to become wise,

in the truth, but gentler, kindlier, simpler, more dependent upon that truth, more and more one of the common people: one with them in their weakness, their sufferings, their strivings, and their prayers. My ambition is that we should both fulfil the greatest purposes, and leave each of our children filled more with this ambition than ourselves.

“Don't show this letter to any one. It is for yourself alone. Kiss all the children for me, and tell them how much I love them.

“Very many kisses to yourself, wee woman, from your loving husband,

“WILLIAM DENNY.”

It was Mr. Denny's intention to publish his lecture on “Success” for circulation among his friends. For this purpose he got it printed from the notes of a shorthand-writer taken down during its delivery, and sent half a dozen copies of it in proof to as many individuals for the benefit of their criticism. I had the honour to be one of the six. In returning the proof with suggestions, I wrote a short note expressing my opinion as to the value of the essay, which, as containing the fresh impressions of a first perusal, may be better worth reading than anything I could write now. It was to this effect:—

“GLASGOW, 26th February, 1885.

“DEAR MR. DENNY,—I have carefully read over enclosed proof, and have made some criticisms on margin initialled ‘A. B. B.’ The spirit of the lecture is admirable, and its general drift clear. From the nature of the case, it cannot be equally clear to all. Its doctrine is mystical and unworldly, and the children of this world will not receive it. I do not think I would suggest any material alterations. Let it go out as it is. It bears a stamp of sincerity, conviction, and moral enthusiasm that is of far more value than any mere faultlessness of method or style.

“I would that hundreds of our commercial men were preachers of or believed the doctrine. The mere fact of *your* saying it is a power. From a minister it might appear a professional utterance. From a ship-builder it is a *prophecy*. God bless you, my friend, in your efforts for the lifting up of human minds above money, and food, and raiment to the true, the beautiful, and the good.”

The lecture never was published, business pre-

occupations and possibly the difficulty the lecturer found in getting it into a final literary form satisfactory to himself preventing. The wide margins of the proofs are covered with notes of corrections, modifications and additions of new thoughts crowding into the writer's mind. On this account it is not possible to reproduce the lecture *in extenso* as Mr. Denny would have wished it to appear. Nor need this be a matter of great regret. The important matter is the general drift, the doctrine taught, the spirit of the whole. The text of the lecture is of the less importance that it smells of the lamp more than most of Denny's utterances, the result being a certain stiffness, the absence of that freedom, ease, and fire which gave such a charm to his offhand speeches. The plan of the lecture was simple enough. The lecturer discussed first the effects, good or evil, of success and failure, then the limits of success, and finally the influence which the conclusions arrived at should have upon life and conduct. Among the good effects of success he mentioned the cheerful view of life it enables men to take, the consciousness of power it inspires, and the index of progress, individual or national, it supplies. Over against these good effects, however, he pointed out, have to be set certain very serious evil ones: the bad effects on character, revealing themselves in all forms of success, whether in the accumulation of wealth, in intellectual pursuits, or in the sphere of religion and morals—pride; dogmatism; contempt; intolerance; selfishness; conceit of attainment, blinding to new truth and so barring the way to further progress. To failure, on the other hand, the lecturer ascribed the tendency

to act beneficently on character. Not always, however, or necessarily. Failure, he admitted, might do harm, crushing rather than stimulating to fresh energy, souring the temper, breaking the heart. But its proper normal tendency was to free us from the dominion of delusions, to foster humility, to develop within us the three great reverences—for man, for growing truth, for expanding duty and love.

The lecturer went on to show that success, however signal, could not satisfy the human soul, the reason being that it is necessarily limited, whereas only the infinite can fill the heart. Having demonstrated the limited nature of success in all spheres—in art, in science, in the solution of social problems—he came at length to the application of his discoursé, of which the following are the most important portions :—

“ We have been discussing together success and failure. The question now remains, What result should this discussion have on our lives? and it puts itself in this form: What are the functions of success and failure? We can see both of them are required in the world. If we had always failure, we would lose heart. If we had always success, we would lose head. Success by itself is unwholesome for human life, because it is a finite thing. But it is impossible the finite can satisfy us, because we belong to the infinite; and all these limits in human life, against which we stagger when we think we are approaching success, are limits driving us back from satisfaction with the finite. They are teaching us that not in this nor in that direction shall we find rest, happiness, or peace, but in following the true law of our nature, a law having to do with the infinite. The greatest beauty of spiritual life—I mean real spiritual life, not that lived for the purpose of personal advantage, which is valueless, however it may be praised, but the beauty of the spiritual life of heaven—is that it is limitless. It is free, not bounded either by advantage, or by any item that is finite. Make what spiritual attainment you please free from the evil influence of success, and you will find you have only raised your ideal many times beyond the level of your attainment. You have reached a loftier height, but only to find a purer and

finer air still to be attained, and a wider horizon beneath your feet. It is an expansion so great that, let me rise in passion, in love, and in fidelity to God to the very highest limits, it rises infinitely above them. . . .

“In all this strange life, in all these apparent cross-purposes of success and failure, there must be, if we believe there is a great mind and heart presiding over this universe, some purpose for us all. There must be some lines of cleavage along which we are intended to move, and through which we are to find our true way. I do not think that way is personal advantage, but the education of all of us as a family and together. By education I do not mean the making of human dictionaries and gazetteers. Education means “to draw out”—to draw out the best that is in a man or woman; and great education means, not the stuffing of the mind full of knowledge, but the drawing out into actual performance the sympathies and virtues of the heart and soul. This is the purpose of the Power which rules this world; and it could not be served by giving us, either as individuals, or as citizens, or as members of our race, items of success. These are purposely destroyed, and our lives limited in order that we may be driven, seeing how our lives are limited, to ask in what point they are unlimited.

“There is a point in which our lives are unlimited. They are unlimited in the formation of a noble character. You have never seen anybody attain perfection, and you never will. You have never seen any one, even the best, whom you could say was faultless. You never saw any one whose character was absolutely the image of Christ; and if you have never seen such, then it shows you that in this thing there is an unlimited possibility, unlimited in the sense that, attain what height you may, further and infinitely greater heights will stretch above you. Are we willing to be content to have no definite satisfaction in order that our hearts and minds may be directed to this great and this happily ever-receding purpose—a purpose not for me or for you alone? It is not like self-education, for which a man sacrifices all sympathy with and interest in others. This purpose is for the race as a whole. Do not forget that what we are engaged in is a great battle. There may be some not taking a proper share in that battle, some who are taking a proper share, and others who are taking a noble share; but the battle is going on. Humanity is a great fighting line, which is advancing with sorrow, suffering, pain, and struggle, with men falling in the ranks dead, and with men wounded and maimed. That is going on in the world so that by struggling and by striving, by sympathy and by sorrow for those who are falling, we should be trained in this advancing principle, this great and limitless aim. There are men who, instead of being in the fighting line, are lying in luxury behind it, wondering that the world is so hard to live in for some people—men who forget that, if for a day that line

were to cease to fight, they and their pampered lives would be swept from the face of this world. But, thank God, there are other men who go before the fighting line—men drawn from all classes and ranks, often from the highest. When we read of such lives sacrificed in the forlorn hope before the line, of men rushing before it, not for the pleasure of commanding, but that their bodies may form a bridge across the ditch that others may advance over it, we have confidence in the beauty of human life, and in the purpose that is guiding us through this struggle. We feel that, although our efforts may be poor and weak, we are of a race in which heroes live. In any case there is no better place for a man to be than in this fighting line, none worse or meaner than to lie in sloth and luxury behind it. It cannot be intended that any should so shirk the common duty and the general risk. We may speak of our progress with some pride when there is no man out of that line saving the heroes who go before and lead it, and we may praise our progress when the number of such heroes is great instead of small. Is it not evident that life and its experience shut us in by failure and disappointment and the contemptible fruits of limited success to some truer road than we have all been pursuing? Is it not made abundantly clear to us that we are not to be left in a hoggish enjoyment of comfort and quiet, but are to be impelled forward? Are not the lives of heroes, martyrs, and all devoted men and women, which we admire, and paint, and sing, proofs to us that peril, uncertainty, effort, and self-sacrifice can never be absent from noble lives? Is the purpose of the Maker of this world to increase the number of noble lives or to fill the world with mere comfort? Is it His aim to produce a condition of material life or a temper of the soul? According to your answer will be your hopes. Conceive the forces necessary to produce a temper strong and brave, kind and gentle, cheery and hopeful, submissive and patient, unsoured by adversity, and undecieved by success. Will these forces be the fruits of success alone?

“The sum of all this is that we must accept these limitations of life, without sourness, with cheerfulness of heart and sympathy; that we must accept having set before us as the highest and the best an aim which is infinite and constantly receding, and in which we can never have absolute success. Have any of you ever thought how hard are our Saviour’s commands, how their positive direction as a rule almost always exceeds our possible performance? Why is this? It is because our Saviour was Himself of the infinite, and was not going to place the possible, the facile, a deceiving success, within the hands of men. That is an evidence for His being on the side of the infinite in life. There is much to discourage us; but if we take these views of life, I think we shall find we are fighting on the right side, although in doing so we may be maimed and wounded. It is a fight; therefore the counsel I give you is: Be wary of prizing success, be wary not to overvalue it, be wary

wary of despising failure, be patient, and be pitiful to all men, and, above all, looking to the greatness and the infinite possibilities of the majestic aim before us, be submissive, be brave, be undaunted, and be, even to the end of your lives—although they end in pain and suffering—perpetually hopeful, for others first, for yourselves after them.”

I add no comments on these extracts, but instead append here as a fitting close to the present chapter the letter Denny wrote to me in answer to my brief note to him given on a previous page. The letter gives some information as to his intentions regarding the lecture, and contains some significant remarks on the religion of the successful.

“27/2/’85.

“MY DEAR PROFESSOR BRUCE,—Very many thanks for your kind and appreciative note and the suggestions on my lecture. The latter will get my attention to-night. In the evenings I am carefully revising it and adding some fresh matter to it. As in all these changes I am preserving the extempore tone, I hope to get them made without harming the thing as a whole. I do not wish the element of flux in the lecture to be unnecessarily repellent to any kindly souls, and I wish therefore to show them that even in the ceaseless tides of life there may in the soul be all the calm of the earth silent beneath the midnight stars. Yet we know even at such a time it is whirling round and onward swiftly and ceaselessly. I am further saying a word or two on religion as a luxury. No really good souls now God’s poor put the loftiest element in life to this base use ; but many wealthy religious folks do, making themselves stumbling stones to many better souls who are searching for a Lord and Master and an inspiration to dominate their lives, and not for the addition of fresh comfort to their lives. Religious people puzzle me very much. I believe, if they understood the functions of success and failure better, their lives would be more generous, manly, and kindly and less repulsive. There is a fat satiety about many of them which is appalling.”

CHAPTER XVII.

POLITICAL.

AS we learned from his letter to Mr. Naylor quoted in last chapter, Mr. Denny had no lack of opportunities of entering on a political and parliamentary career had he so chosen. Bute and Dumbarton counties and the town of Dumbarton, belonging to the Kilmarnock group of burghs, vied with each other in inviting him to represent them in the Liberal interest in the General Election of 1885. All were animated by one motive. They felt that with him as their champion they would win triumphantly in fights in which with other men they had suffered defeats or gained doubtful victories. They turned from highly respectable ordinary men to an extraordinary man, a man of genius, enthusiasm, and eloquence, capable of lifting a cause to the height of great principles and of inspiring the people with personal admiration for himself and devotion to the cause which he represented. The triumph of a party in individual constituencies and in the country at large is assured which has at command a sufficient number of men of this type. No party, however liberal or popular its creed, will long thrive which is poor in men of this heroic type. For, after all, hero-worship is a great factor in politics, especially in the politics

of the people. Men are more important than measures. Measures sound well on the hustings; but without the right sort of men they are apt to come to grief in the metropolis, where there are so many influences ever at work tending to detach men in heart from the political programme they pledged themselves to support. Denny was well aware how much the Liberal cause suffered from these corrupting influences. Writing to a gentleman who had been elected to Parliament in 1884 to congratulate him on his success, he used these strong words: "I am sure there will be no ratting with you, no minimising Liberal principles to please the grumblers and snobs of London society. The Liberal party has been cursed with too many who have begun well in the provinces only to be smoothed off by London society into rounded nothings." If this be true, it would appear that the Liberal party has not yet reached the felicity pointed at in the prophetic oracle which gives it as a note of the golden age that "the vile person shall be no more called liberal." If Denny's account of what goes on in London be correct, there must be a good many vile persons calling themselves Liberals—men making a stalking-horse of popular principles to gratify personal ambitions, without a particle of true, honest sympathy with popular rights and aspirations.

The flattering invitations he had received Mr. Denny declined, pleading publicly pressure of business, but in private communications to friends confessing that the trade of the politician was not much in his line. We have seen what he said on the subject in his letter to Mr. Naylor. He expressed himself in similar terms to other correspondents.

Writing to a friend in Java in January, 1886, he thus referred to the matter: "As to standing for Parliament, I got a unanimous invitation to do so from the Liberal party in two counties; but the work I have on my hands here is too great to permit of my devoting myself to a political life. Besides, although a Radical in politics, I am not a politician by nature, and am far more interested in problems of social change than in any political problems. The political problems, indeed, are principally interesting to me as indicating the reality of the social changes which are forcing them to the front." Another letter, written in the autumn of the previous year to his New Zealand friend, Mr. Withy, shows where his heart lies. Long and full of news, it yet contains nothing of politics, but speaks only of social topics: "Your friends the Land Nationalisers are still keeping themselves to the front, and will, I have no doubt, have some members to represent them in the new Parliament. Between the Blue Ribbon Army, the White Cross Army, the Salvation Army, and the Land Nationalisers, there is every symptom that we are entering upon an era in which the aspirations of the great masses of the people will be larger, and nobler, and more impatient of the cynicism and miserably low tone so prevalent at present in great portions of the upper classes. I don't think what is called society in London either understands or appreciates the meaning of all these movements, and the enormous power they are acquiring from the essentially unselfish impulses which are propelling them forward. But it is no new thing for London society to show itself incapable of reading the signs

of the times ; indeed, I think it is hardly conceivable that such a caste will open its eyes and its ears until some kind of explosion awakens it up." And so he continues, passing on to speak of the growth of socialism, and reminding us in all he writes on that and other topics rather of Carlyle than of the professional politician, and making us feel that he would have been almost as much out of his element in the House of Commons as the Chelsea prophet himself.

To prevent misunderstanding, it may be well to explain here that interest in social phenomena did not always mean in Mr. Denny's case acquiescence in particular theories associated with them. He was greatly interested in socialism, but he was not a socialist. In like manner he was greatly interested in the land question and Henry George's book on "Progress and Poverty," but he did not join the ranks of the Land Nationalisers. His position on this question is sufficiently indicated in the following letter :—

22/1/85.

"DEAR SIR,—I am much obliged for the copy of Mr. Denny's book 'The Alpha' which you send me, and thank you very much for the gift you make me of it. I shall read it and the tracts you send me with it with much interest. As to the Land Nationalisation Society, I am with it in so far as it goes for the improvement of the present condition of the land laws, and in so far as it goes for restoring burdens to the landlord which he employed an exceptional position in the legislature to remove. Such reforms would doubtless reduce the selling value of land, and with justice. Where, however, I differ from the Land Nationalisation Society is in its advocacy of taking possession of the land at the termination of two successive lives. This would be in my opinion a very distinct injustice, seeing that the laws of the country have recognised private property in land, as they have recognised it in other things. If the country decides that the laws are wrong in this part, it is an injustice to specially penalise the persons misled by them, while others not one whit better or nobler—it may be even less so—by chancing to invest

in another kind of property sanctioned by law, sit safely. Besides, suppose the State obtains the land, how is it to allot it? There are only two ways: (1) by rack-rents, which exacted by a State would be more crushing than those exacted by an individual, or (2) by some kind of favours which would lead to the worst kind of political corruption. Neither in Dr. Wallace's books nor in any of your papers have I found any solution of this. Miss Taylor when she lectured at Hartlepool could give me no better answer than that it would be worked out in the future. As to our good friend Mr. Withy, I am afraid he will hardly be able in New Zealand to hold to his allegiance to land nationalisation doctrines. He finds his best investment 8 per cent. on mortgages, and he finds no other so secure. But this is simply land-owning in the most effective and secure form. I pointed out this to him before he left, but he did not seem to see the point of my remarks. For myself, I am working away here trying to do my best to help and lift others, and smooth the path of the future for all connected with it in the conduct of a very complex and heavy business. I am aware such labours are little esteemed by those who have less responsibility and more time for speculation. Nevertheless I know the results are produced, and that men's and women's lives are rendered more secure, peaceful, sober, pure, and hopeful. The burden of the competition presses more on my brain, my heart, my nerves, than it does upon their arms; and I am glad it does so. But this burden does press, and must be borne by some one or other. By this post I send you paper with the first of a series of addresses I hope to deliver on the labour question. Hoping you may receive it, and again thanking you for 'The Alpha,'*

"Believe me,

"Yours truly,

"WILLIAM DENNY.

"A. C. SWINTON, Esq.,

MAYBANK, UPPER NORWOOD, S.E."

* At an earlier date Mr. Denny seemed more than half inclined to become a disciple of Henry George. On the 11th December, 1881, he wrote thus to Wigham Richardson, Esq., Neptune Works, Newcastle-on-Tyne:—

"I am just finishing 'Poverty and Progress.' No book has interested me as much for years. I am convinced it will mark an epoch, not only in political economy, but in practical politics. To those interested in rent wholly it will be a 'Sphinx' whose argument must be confuted if they are not to be denounced by it. I have read several of the chapters twice, and always to find a more profound and well-rooted meaning in them. The whole book I shall read again more than once. Many thanks for the newspaper you sent me with the review of the book. Did you write it?"

Mr. Denny's disinclination for a parliamentary political career did not mean ignorance or indifference in reference to political questions. He had a decided position in politics. He studied carefully all the political topics of the day; and on many of them, as occasion offered, he spoke wise, weighty, helpful words, well worthy of preservation. In his mature manhood he was an advanced Liberal. In his teens he had been a Tory, a curious circumstance in the history of such a man. He referred to the fact in a speech which he delivered in 1884, in St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, at a meeting in support of the Franchise Bill, in these terms:—

“When I began my apprenticeship in my father's yard, I was, like many of the young fellows in Glasgow just now, a rabid Tory. I assisted the attempt to return a Tory member to Parliament. I dreaded the working classes, and looked upon them as my natural enemies. I feared them. I said to myself: ‘If they get the power, the employers will certainly be trampled on.’ But the experience I have had in negotiating, especially with the superior class of working-men, has led me to feel that, instead of there being a ground for doubt or fear, there is great and stable ground for confidence in dealing with men so sensible, so self-controlling, so self-respecting, as the great mass of them are. I trust the people because I know them and love them; and the Conservatives may depend upon it that we are not going to confer upon them an injury by the Franchise Bill.”

From Toryism William Denny went over to the opposite extreme of Radicalism. He was a Radical because he was a Christian of the antique type, believing, as few do, the teaching of Christ concerning the dignity of human nature, the brotherhood of man, the duty of the great to serve the weak and of the few to serve the many, instead of clinging selfishly to privilege and preference. The spirit of caste and preference he regarded as essentially anti-

christian, and therefore he gave it no quarter in political affairs or in any other sphere. He looked at all political questions in the light of these cardinal Christian principles ; and hence one finds in his utterances on current topics a freshness of treatment and an elevation of view which he looks for in vain in ordinary political speeches, or even in the debates of Church courts on questions of a politico-ecclesiastical character. How hackneyed and wearisome political speeches can be we all know. These terms are totally inapplicable to any speech William Denny ever made on such themes. He was always original, always suggestive, always reasonable, and always dignified, partly because he was a man of genius, but very specially because he was a man of God, characterised by absolute singleness of mind, as innocent of by-ends as a little child. The pure in heart see God, and many things besides hidden from men of corrupt motives. That was the reason why in politics, as in other regions of thought, Denny was so wise, just, impartial, and therefore so greatly influential over all who heard him.

After these remarks it does not need to be said that Denny was incapable of being a partisan politician, or a politician of the faddist type, whose characteristic it is to push his special hobby reckless of the effect upon the general interests of the party to which he professes to belong. Though a decided Liberal, he could be just and fair to the opposite party ; and he refused to stultify his support of the Liberal cause by headlong devotion to movements in behalf of Temperance, Disestablishment, and the like, with which nevertheless he was in full sympathy. The

former side of his political conduct is well illustrated by the attitude he assumed in connection with the subject of the Redistribution Bill. Friendly negotiations took place between the two political parties in Dumbarton to consider the bearing of the Bill on the burgh. At a joint meeting held in December, 1884, for this purpose Mr. Denny, who presided, pointed out that the intention of the leaders of the Government and the Opposition in framing the Bill was, by means of single-member constituencies, to provide as far as possible for the representation of the different interests of the various populations in the country, and stated that the best thing for local politicians to do was to try and carry out this intention as far as they could, and to avoid all attempts to swamp burgh constituencies by counties, or counties by burgh constituencies. There were different interests represented by burghs and by counties, in so far as the counties were agricultural districts; and he had no fear of the fair representation of each of these different districts in proportion to their population. A zealous clerical politician, disapproving of the position thus taken up, wrote Mr. Denny warning him against playing into the hands of the Tory party, and so brought upon himself the dignified rebuke of a merely partisan Liberalism contained in the following letter. It may be allowed to me as a clergyman to express regret that a member of my own profession should appear to so great disadvantage placed side by side with a layman. But unhappily it is no solitary or rare instance. Clerical politicians are only too apt to take narrow, sectional, parochial views of public questions, and so

to weaken the influence which men like Mr. Denny are very willing to concede to them.

“27th January, /'85.

“DEAR MR.—,—I have delayed answering your note of the 15th inst. till now, because during the last ten days I have been very busy both in the office and with public work outside of it. I am very willing to reply to all criticisms which are made upon my actions or speeches in a spirit of fairness. And I am specially willing to do so in the case of so decided a Liberal as yourself. I do not think you wish to criticise me in any other than a fair way, but from one of the sentences in your letter it looks very like as if you were charging me with playing into the Tories' hands. This is certainly not the case. From my point of view the Liberal party are quite as likely to suffer from the policy you propose as you think they are from mine. I do not, however, on this account charge you with playing into the hands of its opponents. In any case please remember the motion I proposed at our meeting originated in the Liberal Association weeks before we ever thought of having the conference with the Conservatives. I am a believer in proportional representation, so far as that can be obtained without involving such complexities as exist in Mr. Courtney's and Sir John Lubbock's schemes. I believe it is better for all opinions in a country which have any weight and considerable support to get as nearly as possible an expression in proportion to the support given to them. On this account I do not believe it is a wise thing to attempt to obscure or suppress either the Irish vote or the honestly Tory vote. Indeed, it would be better for the country if these votes could by any possibility be collected and given clear representation so as to avoid their confusing the issues in the constituencies, in which they are at present considerable minorities. I believe more Liberal members will lose the chances through the dilution of Liberal constituencies with Irish and Tory votes than would lose seats by these Irish and Tory votes having representation in fair proportion to their numbers.

“So much for the merely party point of view. But looked at altogether clear of party views, I think it advisable that no important opinion of any weight in the country should be left without its proper influence. My experience in business and in life generally has led me to the conclusion that one is far too apt to neglect the opinions and views of single men and of minorities of men. They very often give expressions to ideas and views which are the complements of the more popular and generally acknowledged ones. For example, I think we have very decidedly gained by the political expression of opinion given in Parliament by the Irish party, however much that party may have been in the wrong in their methods of expressing themselves. They have led us to see the wrong in

the land laws of their own country, and have conferred upon this country the great advantage of an education in land questions such as without their help we might have waited another half-century to obtain. Few people will deny that the crofters might have continued for many years longer in a state of semi-servitude had they not had the teaching of the Irish land reformers to open their minds. But this is only a single instance of the value of the opinions of minorities, however unpleasant they may be to majorities. On such grounds I would be prepared to take out manufacturing burghs from every county in Scotland and to give them membership in proportion to their populations. I would give members to the county population left clear of them in proportion to their numbers. And I would further in the case of large cities with several wards, if there were a specially Irish portion of the city, try to make it one of the wards, so that their vote might have its full effect by itself, and without influencing and confusing the elections in the other wards. I believe the result of such arrangements would be that more Liberal members would be sent up to Parliament, and that the members sent there would be more staunch and thorough-going in their Liberalism. I do not believe the new electors in the counties will vote Tory to anything like the extent you seem to fear. Some of them might do so for one election or for two elections; but with all the serious questions as to land, labourers' cottages, crofters, etc., cropping up, they are certain in the long run to find themselves opposed to the landowners, unless the landowners do rightly by them, a change which none of us would regret. But supposing they honestly wished to vote Tory, I entirely fail to see why they should be prevented doing so and giving a practical expression to the opinions they hold. It is not Liberalism, but only despotism, which would attempt to prevent this; and you may be sure that in the long run no good would come of the attempt. As to landlord influence, it is diminishing, and will be yet further greatly diminished. We had a very drastic Bribery Bill passed lately; and with the temper the people are now in, it would not be very difficult to make the use of improper influence by a landlord or an employer an offence punishable with imprisonment. Were there such a law, you would find very few gentlemen caring to risk the chance of a month in prison for even a dozen of votes.

“I note that you consider that the Irish vote in Clydebank would swamp the Liberal, and also that a somewhat similar effect would be produced in Renton, Alexandria, and Bonhill. If this is the case, what are you going to gain from keeping these constituencies in the county excepting a resulting constituency in which a very small number of Liberals will be left face to face with a combination of Tories and Parnellites which will defeat them? As to Dumbarton, the Liberal vote can hold its own against both the Tory and the Parnellite, and have besides something to spare for helping other constituencies. Of course, if the

burghs referred to in the motion I proposed desire to remain in the county, there is an end to the matter; and we certainly would not attempt to carry out any change to which they made plain and clear objections. The motions submitted and passed at the meeting we had in Dumbarton, were alternative motions, any one of which would please us, although we would have been best pleased with the one I proposed. I believe the day will yet come when, if the Tory and Parnellite parties combine in all the burghs and counties in which their combination would give them strong positions, the Liberal party will be very glad to see them as far as possible disentangled from among these constituencies and allowed to give expression to their views apart, in some proportion to their numbers. But experience will show who is right. In any case I hope my difference in opinion on this matter from you and others will not lead to our alienation. It will not on my side, any more than that alienation if it happened would move me to change the views I now express.

“With kindest regards,

“Believe me,

“Yours very truly,

“WILLIAM DENNY.”

The other side of Denny's political character—his constant refusal to subordinate general to particular interests—came very fully out in connection with the subject of the disestablishment of the State Churches. Three things are remarkable in his utterances on this subject: his firm adherence to the Disestablishment principle, his declination to associate himself with those who wished to give the subject undue or exclusive prominence, and the grounds on which he argued the question. The second of these features repeatedly makes its appearance in his correspondence. To solicitations in 1881 from the headquarters of the Disestablishment Association in Edinburgh to assist in forming a branch association in Dumbarton he replied discouraging the project, and stating that, while believing in Disestablishment, he thought the movement to obtain it disproportionate to the value of the object,

at least as compared with the pressing practical wants of the nation, among which he included reform of the land laws, the extension of the county franchise, and a measure of compulsory education for the country districts in England that might lift the agricultural labourer out of the degraded condition in which, in his ignorance, he seemed contented to live. To the late Mr. T. McMicking, of Helensburgh, a zealous advocate of Disestablishment from the Free Church point of view, he wrote in 1882 :—

“I am not disposed to raise the question of Disestablishment either directly or indirectly in this town. Although I am in principle for Disestablishment, I consider the question practically of a minor importance, and one which has been most unwisely pushed in Scotland lately. Many of our staunchest Liberals among the workmen are Establishment men ; and they vote for Mr. Peddie, not because of his special views, but in spite of them and on account of his political consistency and honesty. Any strength the Tories have here has been made for them by Disestablishment advocates, and we don't want that further increased. It has, I am sorry to say, increased lately, but by no help from me. It will be time enough to talk about Disestablishment when parliamentary procedure, the county franchise, and local government and the licensing question have been fairly settled, and some progress made with the land question. I have given you my views frankly because they are ones I hold firmly.”

It might be supposed that these utterances represent a lukewarm state of mind antecedent to 1883, the year in which, as we have seen, Denny's spirit underwent a powerful quickening. But it is not so, for at the close of that year he met renewed applications from the Disestablishment headquarters to bestir himself in favour of the movement by a similar chilling response, writing on 3rd November :—

“The extension of the franchise and a proper redistribution of seats should and must come first. To carry these properly will require all the strength and unanimity of the Liberal party. To raise the Disestablish-

ment question forcibly just now would diminish both our strength and our unanimity. With a wider franchise and a juster distribution of seats, Disestablishment could be secured. In working unreservedly therefore for the two former purposes, we include and assure the latter. In doing otherwise, we shall come off badly in all three."

When these two questions had been settled, Mr. Denny seems to have felt that Disestablishment might at length legitimately come to the front. Accordingly he spoke out very distinctly on the subject in the election contest at the close of the year 1885. At a meeting held on the 7th October in Dumbarton to hear Mr. Caine, M.P., in support of the candidature of Mr. Dick Peddie, he expressed his views in these terms :—

"I support Mr. Dick Peddie because he is a Disestablishment man. I thoroughly disapprove of the principle of State preference in religion. I hold that the State has no business to pick out any particular section or creed of religion in this country and extend to it its special patronage. The effect of such patronage upon a religious body must be to create in that body a feeling of caste, a feeling of distinction, of separateness, and of superiority to the other religious bodies in the country. I am happy to say that the feeling has not been created in Scotland to anything like the same extent as in England. But the feeling exists, and it is one which should not exist in any development of the Christian religion. The Christian religion is essentially one of humility, and not one of distinction by preference from the State, or by preference of any kind except the preference of God. As a consequence of such State preference we see in many Established Church ministers superciliousness, and in many of the Churches outside of the Established Church the feelings which naturally follow superciliousness; viz., dislike, jealousy, and a disposition to resent the false superiority which the State has chosen to confer upon that Church. Any distinction conferred upon religion which does not spring from a spiritual source confuses men's judgments, and hides from those who profess it and those who are taught by its professors the true foundation of its honour. There is no distinction of honour in religion but by that principle of service which our Lord so well illustrated in His daily life when on earth. To import into religion the principle of State preference and State patronage is to distort that beautiful and simple principle which forms

the basis of Christianity and the hope of the world's improvement. It may be argued that the superciliousness which is created by such preference as is granted by the State is not universal. I am glad to say, for the honour of the ministers of the Church of Scotland, it is not. These consequences of their preference are mostly to be found among the weaker members of the ministry. But unfortunately we cannot say they are confined to them, for we have evidence in one of the ablest men of the Established Church that superciliousness is not confined to its weaker brethren. I can safely say there is not in me a single atom of hatred to the Established Church. I respect very many of its ministers, and I respect especially the representatives of that Church whom we have in this town. We who wish to disestablish the Church have no wish to do that body harm, and I do not think our Disestablishment agitation has done it any harm. Since the agitation has become more pronounced there has unquestionably been more life, more liberality in giving, and a wider extension of the Church of Scotland. If therefore the mere fear of Disestablishment has produced such vitality in this Church, and has led it to follow the example of the Churches which are outside of it, may we not hope that Disestablishment itself will produce even greater fruits than these? I have not the slightest fear but that this will be the case. I believe the Established Church, instead of being weakened by Disestablishment, will in all spiritual strength, and in all matters which are essential to it as a Church, be strengthened, be broadened, and be made even a more living source of righteousness and goodness than it now is."

Two months later, on the 2nd December, on the eve of the election, he returned to the subject, and spoke as follows :—

"In this contest the best way of looking at things is to look them in the face, and to ask ourselves upon what principle it turns. There is one on which Mr. Dick Peddie distinctly differs from both his Whig and Tory opponents—the principle that there should be no preference granted over others to any one religious body in this country. I hold that principle, and every day more firmly. The experience of countries in which there are no Established Churches, countries peopled by our own kith and kin, like the United States of America, the Australian colonies, and the colony of New Zealand, clearly proves that spiritual life and power are as real and effective in these countries as in our own, and are accompanied by a far greater amount of kindly common feeling than among us. Only a day or two ago I read a most interesting article by Professor Strong, of Melbourne University, in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, in which, after pointing

out how very markedly the colonies differed from the mother-country in a greatly diminished caste feeling, he speaks of the Churches, and says : ' We of the colonies lavish huge sums, publicly and privately, upon education and educational institutions, because we hold that the best educated should rule, and that every man should have a chance of coming to the front and ruling ; but we find that the effect of equality in religion is that all sects are more tolerant of each other, and are found to work with each other far more than it appears they do in England.' He then goes on to describe how the Presbyterians had built a very handsome church, and how in that same church there worshipped every Sunday, not only the body by whom it had been built, but also Episcopalians and Wesleyans. The strongest desire of my life is not to see privileged classes raised above their neighbours to such an extent that they forget themselves, and sometimes forget their neighbours, but the very reverse, which has been increased by my contact with the working-men of this town since the time I came among them, a boy fresh from school. My strongest desire is to see comradeship and fellowship uniting this whole nation together, and submerging in that most Christian feeling all those artificial distinctions which are things of the past, but which you and I believe are not to be things of the future. I may weary you with repeating it, but I do not think I can say it too often, that the leading principle of the life which is to come for the great societies of this country, and all the other countries in the front rank of progress, is not to be one of privilege and arbitrary distinction. It is to be a principle of brotherhood and fellowship, under which no man shall be arbitrarily raised above his neighbours, but under which his neighbours shall be left free if they choose to honour him. We want this, and we want our moral sense so raised that the one ground upon which we shall call any man better and worthier will be the ground of service. My whole political creed springs from this belief ; I have drawn it from the Christianity which you and I hold in common—that faith for which we all wish a greater and a brighter future. We are not destroyers ; we are builders, struggling to raise a noble structure upon the principles which Christ and His Apostles preached and practised. We are struggling for an equality and fellowship broken only by distinctions of service. These principles alone contain in themselves a certain healing for the sorrows and the difficulties of mankind, and it is on this broad ground I advocate Disestablishment. I believe the result of Disestablishment will not only be a greater spiritual prosperity for the Church which is at present established, but a greater companionship and friendliness between it and all the other Churches. Mr. Gladstone in his last Midlothian speech made a very witty remark, but one with which I do not altogether agree. He said that the Tory party, imitating the pewit, had made the Established Church their fictitious nest in order to prevent those who wished political change from seeing that their real nest was

their own privileges. I would vary the metaphor, and say that the Tory party have made the Established Church their shield. They have made it a shield to cover many privileges which you and I are agreed should be abolished. Our enemy, the principle of unjust preference, lurks behind this shield, which we must remove and devote to more spiritual purposes. I believe the Disestablishment question will grow from this time forward, and that we shall come more and more to see that it is not a question upon which we have a right to sacrifice our convictions. No good will come from sacrificing them, for we are only by so doing permitting this shield to cover other and far more serious abuses. It is our duty, in order to make way for progress, to be clear upon this point."

After animadverting on the tactics of the opposing party, the speaker concluded his speech with this eloquent appeal :—

"Now, gentlemen, looking fairly at all these points, and at the greatness of the struggle that stretches before us, a struggle for something beyond the mere temporary elements of present politics, a struggle for that form and spirit of life which I have tried very faintly to describe to you, what should we do? Shall we give our help and strength to the man who defends privilege in any form, or to the man who says that in Christ's religion, where privilege is a mockery, it shall come to an end? Let us start from true principles. Let us not delude ourselves with the superficial and passing elements of present politics. Let us put our hope far beyond the fate of even this present parliament, and let our aspirations stretch forward to that future which is the only one worth having—a future of comradeship, of fellowship, and of service for those who are fittest to serve. Let us put aside all the fine words that are addressed to us by the defenders of the Establishment preference and of every other form of preference. Basing our political faith upon a firm principle, and laying our hearts open to wide sympathies and to hopes that are the hopes especially of you working-men, let us see that we defend the man who is against preference and privilege, and reject the man who, under whatever specious pretences, comes forward to defend before us that principle of preference which has been the enemy of the human race in the past, and will continue to be its enemy in the future."

It is easy to trace the influence of Hinton's ethics in these speeches on the Church question. In this respect we must recognise a new element in Denny's

views on the subject. The new element appears chiefly in the purely religious ground on which he based his argument against State Churches, and in connection with that in an increased sense of the importance of the question. His argument was directed against Established Churches as they exist in modern times, not as the only Churches tolerated in the countries where they exist, but as Churches favoured and preferred, surrounded by other Churches tolerated, but receiving no favour. He argued: such preference is directly contrary to the spirit of Christianity, and produces on all sides antichristian feelings; in the members of the preferred Church pride, in the members of the other Churches jealousy and a bitter sense of wrong. On this one argument he rested the case, disregarding the reasonings of doctrinaire voluntarism and appeals to statistics, as if a majority, large or small, could turn wrong into right. He thought the argument as good for the House of Commons as for the hustings, and counselled his political friends in the House to place their reliance on it. How strong his faith in its ultimate triumph was may be gathered from the following letter to Mr. W. Jacks, late M.P. for Leith:—

“ DUMBARTON, 6th March, 1886.

“ MY DEAR MR. JACKS,—As to the question of Disestablishment, I can give you no statistics; and I could not possibly get a hold of the ones you ask for. My own impression is that the Disestablishment question argued from the point of view of statistics will degenerate into a bicker, and it is far better in discussing it to keep in view the principle upon which we should broadly decide the question, whether the statistics go one way or another. There are two kinds of preference which ought to be condemned and removed: first, preference given for the fulfilment of no serious duties whatever; and second, preference given for the fulfilment of duties which are fulfilled as well, or it may be better, by

others without such preference. All preferences of the above two kinds should be cleared away. They are essentially unjust, and must lead, as we constantly see, to an obscuration of the sense of real duty, and to an increase of snobbishness on the one side, and of jealousy on the other, among the people affected by them. It is of course true that preferences of the first kind are worse in their nature than preferences of the second kind; and on this ground the Church of Scotland might claim to be let alone until all the other preferences are removed. This, however, is not a sufficient view of the matter, because the preferences of the first kind, being generally given in merely civil affairs, are less harmful and less contradictory of the spirit of these affairs than such preferences as are given to the Church by the Establishment principle are contradictory of the spirit of Christianity. It is quite clear to me that our Lord's views regarding life were contradictory of every form of preference, and especially in religion, of every assertion of superiority by either individuals or sections of the people one over the other. What we see in the Establishment principle is the assertion by the State that one set of Christians are in some official way superior and more valuable to the State than the others. Even if it were proper to make such a distinction between Christians, the State is not the proper body for making the distinction. It is on these broad grounds that I advocate Disestablishment, and they are far surer grounds for such advocacy than any amount of statistics. Statistics can almost always be interpreted in two or three different senses, and quite as often conceal the truth as reveal it. On the other hand, an argument founded upon the broad experience of human life and the effect of unfair preferences both upon the individuals preferred and the ones not preferred is a much more powerful weapon with which to work. It may be less effective at the start with the multitude, and especially with the so-called common-sense multitude of the House of Commons; but that is only because it has a better future before it, and will in the long run make the common-sense of the House of Commons accept it, as it has had to accept numbers of things which in the past it has rejected on their first consideration.

“In any case, if you will allow me to advise you, state clearly your views upon this matter of Disestablishment; and stand by them as a matter of principle, whether they produce you present disadvantage in the House of Commons or future disadvantage with your constituency. It is a thousand times better to be beaten temporarily upon what one holds as a principle than to succeed by any combination of expedients. Such a defeat, should it occur, will almost invariably prove to be the parent of a later and larger success. The spirit of the times is against preference; even last night's minority against the hereditary principle in the House of Lords and Gladstone's speech showed that. The men who at present support preference, whether in State or Church,

will in a few years have been proved to be wrong ; the men who combat it, and take the risks of the combat, will in the same time prove to have been right : and the people, so far as my experience of politics has gone, invariably prefer in the long run to support the man who has stood by his guns unflinchingly through the doubtful times of the struggle. I am quite sure you will choose the unflinching support of principle in preference to any other course ; but I am equally sure you will have plenty of the moderate, wiseacre kind among your constituents who will try their utmost to get you to adopt some middle course. Give them a courteous 'No,' even should they determine to vote against you. In the long run you are sure to win ; at least, that is my wish and hope for you.

“WILLIAM JACKS, Esq., M.P.,

“HOUSE OF COMMONS, LONDON.”

Such were Mr. Denny's views on one of the unsettled questions of the day. They are of such sterling value that the wish naturally arises to know what he thought on other unsettled questions of primary importance, say that of *Home Rule*. I am enabled by the materials in my hands to gratify this natural curiosity very fully in reference to that momentous subject, Denny having delivered his mind thereon both in speech and in writing. But as his "Home Rule" utterances are of considerable length, and it seems desirable in present circumstances to give them in full, I devote to them a separate chapter.

CHAPTER XVIII.

HOME RULE.

THE cause of Home Rule for Ireland, whatever its merits, suffers seriously in popular esteem from one drawback : the dearth of heroism of unmistakable quality among its Irish parliamentary advocates. For hero-worship, as I said in last chapter, is a great factor in politics. It influences powerfully the multitude ; it is not without influence even on those who are but slightly susceptible of popular enthusiasms. We are all more or less prone to judge a cause by its representative men. We think a cause must be a good and noble one which produces a hero such as Garibaldi ; on the other hand, we are apt to infer that it must be a poor cause which gives birth to no really great man. The lack of heroes prevents even the friends of a cause from becoming enthusiastic, and makes many hang back in doubt. How much better the Irish movement would have stood now in public esteem had there been among its native promoters one Garibaldi, or say a few men like William Denny : men always and by force of natural instinct pursuing noble ends, animated by pure, unselfish motives, incapable of seeking the accomplishment of their ends by morally questionable means, transparently truthful, sincere, and single-

hearted, so that when they said they sought such and such an end you could implicitly believe them, and be sure there was nothing reserved. There may be such men among the Irish parliamentary party, but they have not as yet succeeded in impressing the fact on the public mind or in getting themselves generally recognised as such. If there be heroes among them, the sooner it is known the better, for meantime the lack of enthusiasm and of confidence resulting from the prevailing ignorance of the latent heroism is fatal to the cause to which they are devoted. Let them not imagine that it is enough to have captured an English hero in the person of Mr. Gladstone. Ireland, if she is to come to any good, must produce her own heroes.

But it would not be just or fair to make our sympathies turn on the presence or absence of heroism. Perhaps Ireland's incapacity to produce great men, if such be really her unhappy case, may be one of the worst effects of England's misrule, and therefore an additional reason for doing her tardy justice now, by giving her the opportunity of developing heroic qualities by the exercise of responsibility in connection with self-government. In any case a great question, involving grave issues, ought to be looked at on its merits, and not merely through the mists of prejudice. In this worthy manner Mr. Denny endeavoured to deal with the subject of Home Rule for Ireland, as put before the country by Mr. Gladstone's famous Bill of 1886. He expressed his views in regard to that Bill at a meeting of the Dumbarton Liberal Association, of which he was honorary president, held in the Burgh Hall on Tuesday, the

26th April, 1886, for the express purpose of hearing him on the subject. In the speech which he delivered on the occasion he declared himself a supporter of Home Rule, but objected to Mr. Gladstone's Bill chiefly on two grounds: first, that it wholly excluded Ireland from participation in imperial affairs; and, second, that nevertheless it required Ireland to contribute to imperial funds. To the exclusion of Irish members from the House of Commons he did not object, but he held that a federal legislature above the House of Commons ought to be created in which Ireland as well as England should be represented. He spoke as follows:—

“I have thought it well to address you to-night upon this most important subject of the Irish question. I think it is not only the duty of every Liberal association, and indeed of every political association in this country, to discuss this question, but, in so far as these associations have been enabled to make up their minds upon it, that they should declare their views, and thus help the country to arrive at some well-matured decision. Mr. Gladstone, in the Bills which he has brought in, has opponents and supporters. Many of his opponents might be called absolute opponents; that is to say, they altogether object to give Ireland Home Rule, or the control of its own affairs, in any form whatever. On the other hand, many of the supporters of Mr. Gladstone in his desire to give Home Rule to Ireland, while they also have this desire very strongly, are unable to agree with him as to the exact way in which it should be brought about. Now I may tell you frankly, gentlemen, that I am a supporter of Home Rule for Ireland; that I believe the time has come for granting such Home Rule to the Irish people, and that we should, while taking care that the interests of the empire are attended to, and that the interests of the Irish people themselves are attended to in the most thorough manner, see that this Home Rule is granted with some generosity and kindness of feeling, some willingness to make amends for the past—a past it is not pleasant to think upon—and some trust in the Irish people. I have long thought that Home Rule would be a good thing, not merely because it would help to settle much of the discontent in Ireland, but because, if it were rightly gone about, it would enable us to lay the foundation of a great federal Government, which might

embrace more and more the members of the English-speaking race throughout the world.

“But, while I say all this, I regret that I am unable to support the form in which Mr. Gladstone proposes to give Home Rule to Ireland. Mr. Gladstone proposes that the Irish Parliament shall be a parliament altogether separated from the Parliament of Great Britain, and that the Irish members shall have no say whatever in imperial policy, either directly or by representation. He further proposes that the Irish nation shall pay to the imperial funds of this country a sum of money annually which I can call by no other name than that of tribute. Now, gentlemen, we must ask ourselves, Is this arrangement likely to be a permanent one? Is it likely that a nation which has no voice in imperial concerns will be willing to pay a sum of money annually to the country which administers imperial concerns without sooner or later protesting against this arrangement? You very well know that one of the leading axioms of the Liberal party has been that representation should accompany taxation. But if Ireland has no representation in imperial affairs, we shall certainly be offending against that great rule; and I am convinced that so serious an offence against one of the first principles of politics would sooner or later become a Nemesis to us, and bring us into trouble. Therefore I object to any tribute money being taken from Ireland which does not confer upon the Irish nation some voice in the administration of imperial politics. So much for the probability of this arrangement working out successfully. It is well, however, in considering such matters, not merely to consider them from the point of view of probability, arguing as it were *à priori*, but to consider them also from the point of view of experience; and there is no lack of experience of such arrangements. We have at the present moment four great federal Governments in the world—great in the sense of exemplifying the principles of federation. Several, although not all, of them are great in the sense of being Governments of great numbers of people. We have Switzerland, the United States, Germany, and Austria-Hungary. In the three first we have federal legislatures, composed of double chambers, the upper chamber being elected by the Governments of the federated States, and the lower chamber being elected direct by the people of the various States under their ordinary suffrage. In Austria-Hungary we have one chamber, composed of two equal parts: one elected by the Parliament of Hungary and the other by the Parliament of Austria. But we have no instance in the world of any federal arrangement without representation in imperial matters. If we take the step Mr. Gladstone now asks us to take, we will be taking a step which has no precedent in the modern history of the world, and to find a precedent for which we would have to go back to the times of imperial Rome, when very frequently that great State gave to subject States limited rights of self-government, coupled

with the obligation to pay tribute. I am perfectly certain Mr. Gladstone would himself like to go very much further in the way of doing justice and honour to Irishmen than his scheme proposes ; but I believe he has not gone as far as he would have wished, because he was afraid that if he had he would have been unable to carry the whole of the scheme. I hold that in excluding Irish members from the House of Commons Mr. Gladstone has proposed rightly, but that in excluding them from interest in imperial affairs he has made a mistake, and that until we can combine the two aims of giving Irishmen in the future the administration of their own national affairs, in so far as they are domestic, and giving them at the same time an interest and a share in imperial affairs—until we can combine these two things we are not in a position to give Home Rule.

“But it is not impossible for us to combine these two things, if we are willing to take the bold step which lies before us. You are well aware that in the history of nations, as in the history of individuals, there come times when there is an imperative necessity of choice laid upon them that they shall decide what course they shall take, and that upon such decisions depends their prosperity or failure. We have now come to one of these points ; and I hold that, instead of making a fresh precedent in the modern world, as Mr. Gladstone proposes, we must take the step which has been taken by Germany and Austria, in imitation of the Governments of Switzerland and the United States ; and if we wish to give Ireland Home Rule, we must create over the new Irish Parliament which we propose to constitute, and over our present parliament in this country, a federal legislature, composed of one chamber or of two chambers, which shall have federal control over the two parliaments, and which shall have the whole administration of imperial affairs, whether as concerns our foreign and colonial policy or the administration of our navy and army. The step I propose to take is a bold one ; but bold steps, gentlemen, are not always unwise ones. People are far oftener disappointed in this world by taking half-steps when they should take whole ones. The moment we decide to grant the Irish Home Rule we enter upon a federal policy, and nothing could be more unwise than to enter upon such a policy without following the experience of the great nations of the world which have shown how federation should be carried out. Further, if we constituted a federal legislature, we would find the following advantages flow from it. First, Home Rule would become a comparatively easy question, because there would be no difficulty about having the Irish members in the House of Commons. The Irish members would have no more place in the House of Commons under such an arrangement than our members would have in the Irish Parliament. Both parliaments would be domestic parliaments, dealing with the affairs of the nations by which they were elected. They would have nothing whatever to do with imperial affairs, which would be managed by the imperial legislature ; and

it is possible that under such an arrangement the difficulty in connection with Ulster might be overcome. You are well aware that there is a portion of Ireland which does not wish to coalesce with the rest of Ireland in Home Rule. If we had a federal legislature, there would be little difficulty in allowing the two portions of Ireland to act separately, to have each their domestic parliament, and at the same time to grant to each of them representation in the federal legislature. I hope that it may be otherwise, and that Ireland may be dealt with as a whole. There is such a thing as splitting up a country into too many portions, and I merely suggest this as a possibility in the event of its being found impossible to overcome the dislike of Ulster to the arrangement.

“But if we had this federal legislature, we would have other advantages besides facility in dealing with Irish questions. We would have greatly increased efficiency in imperial affairs. These not being mixed up with domestic affairs, and having a legislature elected solely for the purpose of attending to them, would be very much better managed. Our foreign and colonial policy and the administration of our army and navy would then receive the undivided attention of a legislature elected for this express purpose; and by as much as efficiency in administering these affairs would be improved by their separation from domestic affairs, the efficiency of our domestic parliament would also be improved by having its attention confined solely to home questions. If you will just consider the amount of time which is at present consumed in Parliament in discussing Irish questions, in discussing questions of foreign and colonial policy, and questions regarding the administration of the army and navy, you will, I think, see that the devolution of all these questions, in the case of Ireland on an Irish parliament and in the case of imperial questions on a federal legislature, would have the effect of leaving the House of Commons very free to deal with purely domestic questions, and to carry through many of those reforms which we all earnestly desire to see brought to fruit. A federal legislature would have another advantage: it would form a court of appeal for federal questions. Sooner or later there might, and there probably would, arise questions, misunderstandings, between the Parliament of Ireland and the Parliament of this country. In such a case these questions would be settled by this federal legislature, in which both countries would have representation. Then another advantage would be that, having created such a federal legislature, it would be extremely easy in the case of both Scotland and Wales, should they desire it, to grant them Home Rule. And I believe that the day is not so far distant as many people think when we Scotchmen may desire to have some form of Home Rule. There is no doubt at all that on many points our views are very different from the views of Englishmen. If we take, for example, the question of education, there is a marked difference between the views of Englishmen and Scotchmen. We

in this country hold that the best education possible should be put within the reach of every child in the country. We are essentially democratic in our views of education. We do not want to have education as a luxury for the few. We want to have the best education available now, as it has been in the past, for the people of Scotland without any preference. That is only one question of importance in which we might wish to have the management of our own affairs. Wales also, as you may have seen by the papers, has shown a disposition to assert its individuality. For my part, I cannot see that the assertion of such national individuality, so long as it is not accompanied by war, is a disadvantage to the world. We want many experiments tried; in fact, in social life, social science, and social aspiration we are only opening the chapters of human history: and it will need a contribution from not only great numbers of individual men, but it will need a combination of the views and experience of very varied nationalities, before we shall have our experience and knowledge sufficiently enriched to be able to say we have exhausted, or even sounded, many of the social problems that lie before us. Therefore I am a Federalist, not only on account of the present difficulty with the Irish question, but because I see in federation a great hope for the human race by many and varied experiments being tried by men of different traditions and to some extent of different races.

“Then, outside of the nationalities comprised in these British Islands, we have brethren in the colonies who have been showing, during the last two or three years, a desire to draw closer to us. They have found out that they are affected by European politics, that the desires of France to have colonies and of Germany to have colonies, although legitimate enough, may in some cases conflict with their interests; and they have felt that in dealing with such European complications it is necessary to have a voice in European politics. Well, what kind of voice do the colonies at the present moment have in European politics? I can assure you it is a very small one, so small that it has been proposed that a council of the agents-general of the different colonies should be formed for the purpose of advising the Colonial Minister regarding any matters of interest to them. The formation of such a council would be an improvement upon the present state of affairs, but would be altogether inadequate to meet the desires of the colonies in the future. But if we had a federal legislature, such as I propose, we would be in a position, while preventing the colonies from interfering in our domestic affairs, as we would not interfere in theirs, to give them a voice and an interest in imperial affairs proportioned to their interest in the empire. At the present moment it is impossible for us to do that. Now this is not only a question of the colonies, for some day or other we shall have to consider the government of our great dependency India from a very different point of view from what we have in the past considered it. We are educating the people of

that country up to a point at which they must sooner or later desire to have a voice in their own affairs ; and when that day comes, when they express clearly their desire to have that voice in their own affairs, it will be most perilous for us to deny it. It will not be so because of any risk of revolution or rebellion—that we might put down, as we have put it down before—but because of all the dangerous things a free country can do the most dangerous is to hold another country desiring to be free in political bondage. There is a Nemesis following such an action that sooner or later diminishes the freedom of the originally free country. Our federal legislature might, with the practice and experience of receiving one after another of our colonies into its councils, advance so far as to be able, when the time comes, also to receive representatives from India.

“ But if we adopt this great federal principle, we shall do even more than I have been sketching—we shall make another step towards placing ourselves in sympathy with those great countrymen of ours across the waters of the Atlantic—the men of the United States. We shall draw closer to them ; and although it cannot possibly be for us or for our children to see it, the day may yet come when, with the federal principle developed in this country and sympathy growing more and more between it and the United States, the two great branches of our race may finally coalesce. But it would be a poor thing if the whole English-speaking race were to coalesce only that they might form a selfish organisation against the rest of the globe. But I don't believe this possible. I believe that, on the contrary, instead of forming such a selfish organisation, a coalition on federal principles of the English-speaking people throughout the globe would have the result of inducing in the present warlike nations of Europe a desire for an equally peaceful solution of the difficulties which at present crush their peoples to the ground.

“ Now, with all these advantages in federation, I hope that out of the discussions which will arise upon these Bills of Mr. Gladstone this great principle may emerge as the one which will help us to solve our difficulties. I believe, if the country expresses a strong wish for such a radical and thorough solution of the question, Mr. Gladstone is a statesman great enough and sufficiently large-minded to adopt the idea and to put it into force. As I have already said, I believe the only reason why he has not gone the full length of that idea is because he thought the country would not follow him in so complete a change. But if it is impossible for us to get a federal legislature, if the country is not ripe for it, then I, for one, shall give my voice for the Irish members, some of them or all of them, being retained in the House of Commons in addition to Ireland having a parliament, because, whatever happens, we must have a constitutional link depending upon representation between Ireland and this country. In preserving that link, we have the one hope of federation ultimately growing out of it. We have the hope that even the diffi-

culties it may temporarily create would ultimately produce a desire for federation.

“A word or two upon the other part of Mr. Gladstone’s scheme—that for buying out the Irish landlords. I cannot say that upon this part of his proposals my views are at all as clear as they are upon the question of Home Rule. I think taking the Irish landlords overhead twenty years’ purchase is too great a sum to give them. I think this because even the present rents as fixed by the land-courts do not at all represent the depression to which rents will be subject in the future. There is no doubt, owing to the great imports of produce and cattle into this country from all points of the compass, that the tendency will be rather for the prices of produce to decrease and for rents to follow them than for the contrary to happen. That is one reason why I think the twenty years’ purchase on the present basis is too much. But the other reason is a more serious one. Looking to the past history of landlords in Ireland, the great body of them do not deserve twenty years’ purchase. I think one of the most wholesome of all the doctrines being propagated in the present day is the idea of social responsibility—the idea that where a man has great privileges, as a landlord or an employer, or in any other fortunate position in society, that man should, according to all sound moral reasoning, return something to the community in the way of serious social duty. If such men do not form wholesome influences in uniting society, or in some way helping to benefit the community, they are not only cumberers of the ground, but worse, because they tend to become centres of reactionary influence, and disastrous examples likely to be only too readily followed by the unthinking and wealthy youth of the country. Therefore I desire, if the Irish landlords are to be bought up, that a great lesson should in the Act be taught to all the wealthy loafers of this country. There should be differentiation in the purchase; and while twenty years’ purchase might be given to landlords who had lived upon their estates and had acted fairly by their people, that purchase should not be given to absentee landlords, nor to landlords who by the decision of the land-courts had been proved to have been in the habit of rack-renting their tenants. We want to enforce social duty; and we cannot afford to let go such an opportunity of teaching a lesson to persons who disregard it, or who sum up their ideas of it in calling upon each other and entertaining each other, and who call such things the fulfilment of social duty. I do not know if you have seen some articles lately contributed by Mr. Wilfrid Blunt to the *Pall Mall Gazette* upon the experience he has obtained in Ireland in visits of inquiry which he has made voluntarily to some of the landlords’ estates. If you have not read these articles, I would recommend you to do so. They have certainly been a revelation to me as showing that it is possible for men to be charged considerable rents upon ground which was absolutely valueless until they occupied it, cultivated it, and built their

cottages upon it. That is a view of the landlord question which should be taken into account; and I do hope that, by whatever means, if we are to pay this large sum of money to the landlords of Ireland, there may be a differentiation made which will clearly mark out in the opinion of this country those landlords who are worthy from those who are unworthy. But I hesitate, on behalf of my own country, at this proposal to pay out the landlords of Ireland, because, although we have many faults in Scotland, the oppression of the Irish nation has not been one of them. We have had nothing to do as a nation with the founding of landlordism in Ireland. We had nothing to do with the sowing of those seeds of bitterness which have borne such evil fruit. I think therefore that in discussing this the representatives of Scotland in Parliament should make it perfectly clear that the responsibility does not lie upon us, and that, if we accede to the proposal to pay out those landlords, we are doing so as an act of very free grace, an act which must be remembered in the future should it ever happen that we ask for Home Rule for Scotland, and should arrangements have to be made whereby we may get it.

“Some of those who are out-and-out supporters of Mr. Gladstone—that is, some of those who are his worst friends, because they won't tell him what is really in their minds, but who say, ‘Yes,’ to everything he proposes—some of those may think that I have not to-night given Mr. Gladstone the full support he ought to have. I have told you I am not prepared to follow Mr. Gladstone completely in this matter. I believe I am as strong a Home Ruler in heart as he is, but there are certain conditions under which I am prepared to accept Home Rule, and there are other conditions under which I distinctly refuse to accede to it. If we are to have federal government in this country, I am prepared for Home Rule, and a greater amount of it than Mr. Gladstone at present proposes to grant. I therefore hope he will appreciate on the part of many men like myself our willingness to go with him in the great and generous idea he has of making amends to the Irish people for the unkindness and the injustice of the past by granting them the liberty to administer their own domestic affairs. But I hope he will understand, while we sympathise with him and are heartily at one with him in wishing to do this great act of justice, what the differences between him and us really are, and that we cannot—at least, I cannot—afford to sacrifice views which we hold as matters of principle.”

This scheme of federation, with an imperial legislature embracing representatives from all parts of the empire, each part having its own local parliament, Mr. Denny hoped to see taken up and advocated by some responsible statesman. Disappointed

in this hope, he became a more decided supporter of Mr. Gladstone's proposals as containing the only scheme before the country capable of being adapted to federal requirements. On the eve of his departure for South America in June, 1886, he wrote a letter to the secretary of the Dumbarton Liberal Association expressing this view and counselling the members of the Association to adopt and act on it. The letter was in these terms:—

“I regret that, owing to my immediate departure for South America, I shall be unable to take any part in the coming election or to help you in either the choice or the support of a suitable candidate. Such being the case, I trust the Association will permit me through you to address to them a few words supplementary to what I said in the end of April. You will remember I then took up a position of objection to Mr. Gladstone's scheme of Home Rule, on the ground that, instead of being directed by the principle of federation, it was of a tributary, and in imperial affairs of an unrepresentative, character. I approved the granting of the fullest powers to the Irish people for the purposes of domestic self-government through a parliament sitting in Dublin; and I advocated such a concession provided a valid share in the imperial control of foreign and colonial policy, of the army and navy, and of the sources of revenue necessary for their support were granted to Ireland in some federal form. Were there at the present moment any statesman presenting such a programme, I would, in so far as my influence with you may be effective, urge you to support all who rallied round him. But there is no such statesman, and your choice is limited to one between those who are prepared to grant self-government to Ireland and those who refuse her this boon. I include Mr. Chamberlain among the latter, as I gather from his manifesto just issued that, instead of advocating federalism and the great scope which this method would give to Ireland in all matters of domestic legislation, he confines himself to some form of enlarged and aggregated parochialism. Such a proposal will neither satisfy Ireland nor afford her those opportunities to experiment largely and freely in the amelioration of her condition which I hold to be the right of every nation. Nor will Mr. Chamberlain's proposals create any federation of such a nature as to afford openings for the entrance of our colonies into our imperial government. They will, I believe, rather retard and misdirect federal aspirations.

“Under the present circumstances therefore, if my views have any

weight with you, and you will permit me to counsel you, I would recommend you as an association to support Mr. Gladstone's proposals, in the hope that they may be ultimately modified to meet federal requirements, rather than to give countenance to proposals which contain in them no trace of true federalism, and are instinct with a disposition to thwart that aspiration for national domestic initiative and legislation which it is the glory of federalism not merely to permit, but to encourage. We have at least one element of federalism in Mr. Gladstone's proposals—domestic independence for Ireland. We have in Mr. Chamberlain's proposals an untenable *via media*, which will satisfy neither the Federalist nor the Nationalist.

“Hoping that the members of the Association will not consider this expression of my views presumptuous, or as intended to be more than a contribution to their discussion of this great question,

“I am, etc.,

“WILLIAM DENNY.”

The terms in which Mr. Denny in this letter refers to Mr. Chamberlain are not the language of prejudice, but rather of disappointment. He had hoped great things from that statesman. He had had opportunities of meeting him, and had formed a high opinion of his abilities. He was wont to speak of him in public and in private as the most advanced, and one of the ablest leaders of the Liberal party. He cherished great expectations regarding his future. There can be no doubt therefore that, if Mr. Chamberlain had indicated a clear and satisfactory line of policy on the Irish question, he would have received Mr. Denny's hearty support. But such support was not to be obtained from him by any one who, avoiding the heroic path of constructive statesmanship, was content to play the part of a mere critic and relentless opponent of Mr. Gladstone.

Mr. Denny's letters from South America contain, so far as I have observed, only a single allusion to English politics. In a letter to his wife dated 26th

July, 1886, these sentences occur: "I see politics were going hot when you wrote, and that in my views I am pretty well alone in Dumbarton. I see from the telegrams Home Rule is for the present defeated. This, however, will be seen to be merely a temporary check; and the tide will turn in a year or two."

Two years have passed since these words were penned, and the tide has not yet turned. Gladstonian Irish politics are at a discount, and "Unionism" is in the ascendant. What the future will bring it is vain to conjecture. Meantime there are not a few who, as things now stand, are thrown out of the stream of politics altogether, distrusting the Parnellites, distrusting or despising some noisy, self-advertising British supporters and advocates of Mr. Gladstone's policy, yet sensible that the Irish problem urgently demands solution, and convinced that the solution is not to be found in "coercion," however justifiable, or in any scheme which Unionist statesmen have as yet been able to suggest. It may be that ere long opinion will set in in favour of the views advocated by William Denny. It is a significant circumstance that Mr. Parnell has just declared himself in favour of the identical solution of the problem proposed in Mr. Denny's "Home Rule" speech.* By all accounts he is a very shrewd man, and this intimation may be taken as an indication of the way the wind is blowing.

* The above sentence was written on the 11th July, 1888.

CHAPTER XIX.

VISIT TO SOUTH AMERICA.

IN the summer of 1886 Mr. Denny visited Buenos Ayres, sailing from Southampton on the 16th June in the steamship *Galileo*. The importance of the occasion for his voyage to South America, the length of time he spent in the country, the extent of his travels there, and, above all, his lamentable death in that far-off land make it necessary that I should devote a considerable space to this closing part of his life. The interest of the subject in every aspect of it is great, and all that relates to it will be perused with eagerness by all readers on either side of the Atlantic. The country visited is believed to have a great future before it; the name of William Denny and the work done by him during his sojourn there will be associated in the minds of its people with the development of that future. The man is seen in all he did and wrote in the land of the Plate, and the end is pathetic beyond expression.

Mr. Denny's errand was a purely business one. It was connected with the affairs of the La Platense Flotilla Company, which had recently been formed for the purpose of carrying on a goods and passenger traffic upon the river Plate and its principal tributaries: the Uruguay and the Parana. The Company

had originally been a French one. The French Company, *La Platense*, came into existence in 1882. At first its operations were confined to the Parana. They were subsequently extended by a service between Buenos Ayres and Monte Video, and afterwards by services between these two cities and the ports of the Uruguay.

This company had by no means a monopoly of the carrying trade in these South American rivers. It had rivals, the most formidable being another company bearing the name of the *Mensageries Fluviales*, directed, and in great part owned, by M. Saturnino Ribes, a man of ability and energy, well known in the Plate country, of whom, on account of the relations existing between him and Mr. Denny, some mention must be made in these pages. The competition between the two companies was fierce, straining the resources of both. After carrying on operations for three years, the directors of *La Platense* decided to liquidate; and so a French company, having its seat in Paris, was in 1885 transformed into a Scotch company, having its headquarters in Glasgow, with a directorate mainly Scotch, though retaining the names of two French gentlemen who had been members of the original Board. William Denny, who had also been a director in the old Company, remained a director in the new one, his father being the chairman.

When the new Company had got the business and plant of the original French Company fairly into its hands, the directors resolved to send two of their number to the river Plate to assist Mr. Tulloch, the local manager, in arranging its affairs, to obtain

information regarding the requirements of the trade and its future prospects, and, moreover, to endeavour, if possible, to bring the existing competition to an end. The gentlemen selected for this important mission were Mr. John Galloway and Mr. William Denny, who accordingly sailed together for Buenos Ayres at the date above mentioned.

The two friends set out on their mission hoping that their absence from home would not amount to more than a few months. The business on hand, so far especially as negotiating with M. Ribes was concerned, actually turned out to be of a more complex, difficult, and tedious character than could have been anticipated. Shortly after their arrival in Buenos Ayres, however, they received unexpected encouragement by being led to believe that another trading company was willing to enter into negotiations for the sale of their business. This was the Lloyd Argentino Company, which owned a fleet of steamers doing a lucrative carrying trade on the Parana river and its tributary the Paraguay, the chief points in the line being Monte Video, Buenos Ayres, Asuncion, and Concepcion. They at once perceived that the acquisition of this business would be advantageous to the Company they represented, by removing competition with them on the Lower Parana and offering a desirable extension of their trade up the Paraguay. But before entering into negotiations, and with a view to informing themselves as to the whole possibilities of the carrying trade on the Plate and its tributaries, they resolved to sail up the rivers and inspect for themselves the chief centres of trade along their courses. Some six weeks—from the middle of July

to the end of August—were devoted to these voyages of observation.

Mr. Denny kept a journal of these interesting voyages, by aid of which I shall endeavour in another chapter to let readers see something of these great rivers and the countries they water, through his eyes. Meantime I am concerned only with the business aspect of his wanderings, and must content myself with such a brief statement as may make that intelligible.

The two voyagers first sailed up the Uruguay, the main theatre of the competition between their company and its rival. They visited in succession the ports of Palmira; Mercedes, on the Rio Negro, an affluent of the Uruguay; Fray Bentos, seat of the Liebig factory; Gualayguaychu, on another affluent, bearing the same name as this town; Concepcion del Uruguay, important as the future terminus of a railway connecting the two great rivers; Paysandu, a familiar name, seat of MacCall's factory for curing tongues, important also as the limit of navigation for sea-going vessels; and, lastly, Salto, whose name is taken from rapids or falls occurring on the river at this point, which, excepting in times of very high water, prevent direct communication by steamer with the upper reaches. This port at the date of the visit was the highest point reached by the services of the rival companies. It is three hundred and six miles from Buenos Ayres.

The voyage of the two travellers, however, did not terminate here. They desired to arrive at some conclusion regarding the possibilities of the Uruguay above the rapids. Accordingly they made their way as far

up as Uruguayana, in Brazil, travelling first by railway from Concordia as far as Monte Caseros, and thence ascending the river in a small steamer belonging to the railway company. This excursion resulted in the conclusion that, owing to railways in course of construction, the smallness of the traffic, and the interruption of navigation at the rapids, there was no room for the La Platense Company in these upper waters, and that Salto must remain the permanent limit to their operations.

Eleven days after they started on this trip up the Uruguay the travellers returned to Buenos Ayres. After a few days they set out on their second voyage of observation, which was to open up to them the resources of the countries watered by the mighty Parana and the Paraguay. Leaving Buenos Ayres on the 2nd of August in the smallest steamer belonging to the Company, chosen with reference to its lightness of draught, they passed through the Las Palmas branch of the Parana, taking careful note of its capabilities as an exit for light-draught steamers, provided it were properly dredged and kept open throughout the year. Having touched at Puerto Ruiz and visited Gualequay, they found their way by steamer and rail to Rosario, a town of steadily growing importance as a centre from which many railways branch out into the surrounding country. From Rosario they started on their upward voyage in a Lloyd Argentino steamer, reaching the city of Asuncion on the fifth day, and calling on the way at all important points: Parana, Goya, Bella Vista, Corrientes, etc. From Asuncion they made an excursion by rail to the town of Paraguari, forty-five

miles distant, also a second excursion to a lake on the same line, called Ipecarai, whose outlet flows into the river Paraguay, their object being to ascertain the possibility of steam communication between the lake and the river, a project as to which they arrived at an unfavourable conclusion. Having spent a busy week in the neighbourhood of Asuncion, they sailed for Concepcion, two hundred and forty miles higher up the Paraguay, where they reached the limit of their journey and the highest point served by the steamers of the Lloyd Argentino. This town is an important centre of the trade in Paraguayan tea, or yerba.

The result of these voyages on the two great rivers which discharge their vast volumes of water into the inlet of the sea called the Plate river was to impress on the mind of Messrs. Galloway and Denny the conviction that the Parana was commercially, or for the interests of their company, incomparably the more important stream. One point in the contrast appeared to them specially important: the difference as to the extent of purely river navigation. The limit of navigation for oversea vessels on the Uruguay is Paysandu, two hundred and twenty miles from Buenos Ayres. Salto, the virtual limit for purely river navigation, is three hundred and six miles from the same point, so that the extent of river service in which sea-going vessels cannot compete in the case of the Uruguay is only eighty-six miles. On the Parana the limit for sea-going vessels is the town of the same name, which is three hundred and forty-five miles from Buenos Ayres. But there is a good water-way for river steamers as far as Concepcion, which is eleven hundred and seventy-two miles

from Buenos Ayres. This gives eight hundred and twenty-five miles of river service in which sea-going vessels cannot compete, ten times the extent of that on the Uruguay. And Concepcion is not the limit of possible river service, the Paraguay being navigable to a much higher point.

The voyage up the Parana and Paraguay of course removed all possible doubt as to the advantage of acquiring the trade previously carried on by the Lloyd Argentino. To an outsider it might well appear as if with this addition to their business the La Platense Company had every reason to be content, and might even, without any great stretch of magnanimity, have been willing to divide the Plate country between M. Ribes and themselves, leaving him in possession of the Uruguay and reserving the Parana for their own share.

If this policy was not pursued, it was not because it had not been thought of. The La Platense Company was not, like Alexander of Macedon, so ambitious as to be unsatisfied till all the world had been conquered. The Denny family on their side were not of this mood. They had become involved in the affairs of the La Platense by a kind of accident. Their firm had built in 1879 two steamers for the Buenos Ayres and Campana Railway Company. For a reason which need not be stated, the steamers were thrown on their hands. M. Ribes and the French La Platense became competitors for the purchase of the steamers. They were sold to the La Platense, and in connection with the sale William Denny became a shareholder and director. "Hinc illæ lacrymæ."

However reasonable a policy of friendly arrange-

ment may appear to outsiders, the conclusion arrived at by those who understood the situation was that it was not practicable or desirable. It is unnecessary to state or discuss the grounds of this judgment. It is enough to state the fact as one having an important bearing on the personal experiences of William Denny in South America. It meant for him an unexpectedly protracted stay in that country, a great part of the time alone—Mr. Galloway having to return to Scotland in November of 1886—a most trying, severely felt separation from family and friends, excessive work carried on incessantly for months, a heavy burden of responsibility, and all the worry connected with difficult, delicate negotiations between two men whose relations to each other were unhappily not of the most friendly character.

It is not my intention to go at any length into the relations between Mr. Denny and M. Ribes, but from a biographical point of view it is not possible to pass them over altogether. I shall refer to them only so far as is needful to make it appear that they were the source of perplexities and vexations which were not without their bearing on the sad termination of Mr. Denny's life. Another thing will appear from my brief statement, though it is hardly necessary to make a statement for such a purpose for any who knew the man; viz., that in all his transactions with M. Ribes Mr. Denny was true to his honourable and generous nature as it revealed itself in all his dealings with his fellow-men, so that, if possibly there was cause for regrets, there was none for the loss of his good conscience.

The two men had met before, in Paris, in connec-

tion with the affairs of the French La Platense, and had formed certain impressions of each other. M. Ribes had visited Paris in 1885 to negotiate with the Company for the fusioning of the two businesses. Mr. Denny and he were rivals in an effort to secure the trade of the La Platense in the time of its embarrassments. The Scotchman regarded the Frenchman with mingled feelings: with admiration for his energy, but with distrust of his intentions. What he thought of him is sufficiently evinced by a few sentences in a letter to a friend written from Paris on the 30th October, 1885. Referring to the La Platense, he wrote: "They are a body for which Ribes and I are fighting tooth-and-nail, he by ruse and with a tenacity which I cannot help admiring, I with a consistent loyalty, plain openness, and what abilities I can command. I feel sure of winning, because my friends are honourable men. Were they not, the chances would be poor."

With this idea of the man he had to deal with Mr. Denny went to South America in 1886. It is easy to see what a biassing influence such an idea was likely to have on his course of action. He could hardly fail to regard M. Ribes as one with whom the one possibility of negotiating was from a basis of strength and from the impression such a basis would produce on his mind. He was not likely to be in a hurry to meet him or to show any anxiety to enter into negotiations. As a matter of fact, months elapsed before the two parties met. On visiting Salto, the home of M. Ribes, on the voyage up the Uruguay, Mr. Denny had a convenient opportunity of meeting him, of which he did not avail himself.

The fight went on without the combatants coming together till the month of November, 1886, five months after Mr. Denny's arrival in the country, when he received from M. Ribes a message that he desired an interview with him.

On meeting with M. Ribes, Mr. Denny found that he considered himself a deeply injured man. He had grievous complaints to make both against the Company with which he had negotiated in Paris, and against Mr. Denny as one of its directors. He felt grieved because the Company had refused an offer he had made of his business some time before and had started steamers against him in the Uruguay, and charged them with encouraging him to come to Paris in 1885 to negotiate, and then playing him false. Mr. Denny he held responsible in an exaggerated degree for all the sins of the Company, assuming that he had been a director from the first, and that he had been cognisant of all its transactions with himself.

The impression produced on Mr. Denny's mind from the time that his interviews with M. Ribes began, which was in December, 1886, was that M. Ribes had something to complain of in connection with his negotiations with the directors of the La Platense. He did not believe that there had been any bad faith; but he thought there had been regrettable misunderstandings, due to the action of intermediaries. For whatever unintentional wrong had resulted, however, he did not feel able to blame himself, as he had not been a director from the beginning and was not responsible for the strife that took place, and because, if, as alleged, encouragements had been given to M. Ribes in 1885, he had not been made

aware of them. His impression at the time had been that the Board was altogether ignorant of what propositions M. Ribes might make to them on his arrival. In consequence, instead of regarding his offer to fusion the two businesses as a sequel to foregoing negotiations, he looked on it as "a piece of chicane, making a mere pretence to negotiate, instead of a real offer."

As to the merits of the quarrel between M. Ribes and the La Platense Company I am neither able nor called on to judge. What I am concerned to point out is that in the whole matter at issue Mr. Denny's action had been straightforward. And I now further state that when he came to feel that in treating him suspiciously in Paris he might possibly have been doing M. Ribes injustice, in ignorance, his behaviour towards him was characteristically generous. He sought to make amends for former distrust by an attitude of chivalrous confidence. It was a natural, creditable reaction, which it is pleasant now to look back upon; but the subsequent course of events may suggest a doubt whether the outburst of unreserved trust was justified. It is certain, at all events, that as time went on, and negotiations were protracted, Mr. Denny himself felt such a doubt, and reverted to his earlier opinion of the man with whom he had to deal. As early as the beginning of February, 1887, the reaction set in. Writing to his wife on the 5th of that month, he says: "As to my return I am sorry to say I cannot promise you an early date. There is a probability that, instead of getting our adversary M. Ribes to settle with us on some definite and stable basis, we may have still

further trouble with him. This would involve my remaining on here for at least some six months longer." The change is explained by an interview which took place between Mr. Denny and M. Ribes on the 31st January. The interview lasted for upwards of two hours and a half, and for nearly two hours M. Ribes talked of everything but the subject they had met to discuss; then, pulling his hat towards him as if with the intention of going away, at length alluded to the business of the two fleets. In his account of this interview Mr. Denny wrote: "The impression left on my mind was not agreeable."

We are not therefore to conceive of Mr. Denny as continuing from December of 1881 onwards to cherish perfect confidence in his antagonist and sanguine expectations as to the result of his negotiations with him, only to have his eyes rudely opened and his hopes suddenly dashed to the ground by an unsatisfactory communication received on the day of his death, demanding for his fleet a considerably larger sum of money than he thought reasonable or was willing to give. That letter was but a sample of what he had learned to look for. Just a week before he had written to his wife: "I can hardly believe he will make a really feasible offer."* I state this distinctly because the contrary has been assumed to be the case, and a crisis of disappointment suggested as the chief cause of the tragic event of the 17th March.

The solution which William Denny on the eve of his death declared to be alone practicable was at length effected. M. Ribes consented to sell his business at the price Mr. Denny had fixed on as his

* *Vide* Chapter XXI., p. 437.

highest limit. The transaction was completed by Mr. Galloway, who went out a second time to Buenos Ayres for that purpose.

The result is that the greater part of the carrying trade of the Plate river is in the hands of the La Platense Company. A great task and a great responsibility are thereby committed to them. Mr. Denny took a most sanguine view of the prospects both of the Company and of the country. He believed that the steamer trade on those South American rivers would prove to be the greatest prize obtainable in the world in the way of steam navigation, eclipsing even the Irrawaddy enterprise, with which he had been associated from the earliest years of his public life. He based this opinion on the vast progress made by the Argentine Republic in recent years, and the extent to which that progress was drawing towards it the interests and the capital of European financiers. In common with the citizens of the republic, he cherished the hope that the period of revolution was past, and he regarded the great immigration from Europe, amounting in 1885 to a hundred and thirty thousand, as conclusive evidence that the period of peaceful development had arrived. He looked upon the river Plate as the future destination of the greatest portion of European emigration, having regard to its enormous tracts of fertile soil, coupled with a variety of climate which rendered it suitable for every European race.

A trading company in possession of such vast opportunities is exposed to obvious temptations. The La Platense Company will overcome these by putting the interests of their constituents in the first place,

and recognising this as the surest way to promote their own interests as traders. While the memory of William Denny is cherished by them, and his spirit influences their councils, there is everything to hope and nothing to fear.

CHAPTER XX.

THE PLATE RIVER COUNTRY.

MY aim in this chapter is not to give a connected description of the country watered by the river Plate and its tributaries, but merely to present a series of slight sketches which may convey a faint idea of the physical, commercial, and social aspects of that part of the world. My chief sources are the journals which William Denny, during his visit to South America, wrote for the benefit of his children, in continuation of the letters he had been writing to them for a number of years. These journals were not meant for publication, and are written in a plain, familiar style; but they are none the less interesting on that account.

We are on our first voyage of observation up the Uruguay; we have entered its mouth, and are fairly afloat on its broad waters:—

“These waters are yellow with muddy and sandy matter, and if allowed to settle in a glass for an hour, throw down a very marked yellow deposit. This is the earthy deposit from which through thousands of years these rivers have been making and pushing seawards the new flat delta lands which are the wealth of this country, both from their fertility and pasture, and from the facilities their nearly level surface offers for the construction of railways. We anchored for three hours, and went ashore at a place called Palmira Nueva, to distinguish it from the great Palmyra of the past. The good folks in the new Palmira had an idea that their city was bound to be as great an *entrepôt* of commerce

as the old one. Their idea has not been realised ; but they have made all arrangements for it in the laying off of wide and long streets, many of them extending into the surrounding fields.

“The country round about is agricultural as contrasted with pastoral, which is the condition of the greater amount of the land out here. We had a pleasant drive past the farms about it, and saw in the hedges many guinea-pigs running about wild. They had not the pretty colours of our home pets, however, being all rat-coloured.”

We next visit the town of Mercedes, where we learn something of the religious condition of the people :—

“This morning we left the main river, and ran up one of its tributaries, the Rio Negro, to the pretty little town of Mercedes (or Mercy) ; and it is well called so, for the waters of the river are here so impregnated with the medicinal virtues of the plants growing along its edges that crowds of sick folk come here every summer to bathe in them. This is the prettiest town we have yet seen, with nice smooth, well-kept streets and an incomplete but very nice church. The towns in these countries are not overburdened with churches, a population of twelve thousand having rarely more than one. I think, with fourteen thousand people in Dumbarton, we must have at least a dozen. The fact is here unfortunately, the men are giving up their belief in God and His worship in almost any other form than that of Freemasonry ; and the women and children go in little bands by themselves to their worship, without the companionship and sympathy of fathers or grown-up brothers. What a warm, sweet link is thus broken in their home life ! How much we ought to hope and pray that in some simple and loving form all that they have lost may yet return to them again.”

The travellers next visited Fray Bentos, where they saw the great meat factory of Liebig, “where often more than a thousand head of cattle per day are killed and converted into that Liebig’s essence of meat which you must often have seen, if not tasted.” Steaming up the Gualeguay by the light of the full moon, they next visited the town of Gualeguaychu, which is surrounded by many saladeros : “establishments where the cattle are killed and converted into *tasacho*, or salted and dried meat, which is ex-

ported to Brazil for the use of the slaves. This meat does not look very tempting, having the appearance of ill-cured leather. It is dried on great ranges of wood rails placed in fields round the saladeros, and giving them the look at times of vineyards in winter."

We arrive in due course at Concepcion del Uruguay, whose importance in the future development of the country is thus explained:—

"This town acquires its importance, not merely from its size, but because it will be the terminus on the Uruguay of a railway which is to be run to it from the town of Parana, on the river Parana. If you will look at the map, you will at once see how important such a railway must be, not merely as a link between the traffic of these two great rivers, but as a means of opening up the fertile province of Entre Rios (what a good name!), which, with the provinces higher up of Corrientes and Misiones, is included between the two rivers. This land, like the old land included between the Euphrates and Tigris, is very fertile, and easy of access from its flatness to railways. Look at the maps, and you will see that the land between the Euphrates and Tigris is called Mesopotamia (a Greek word signifying 'between the rivers' practically identical with the Spanish name—Entre Rios). Such parallels are of great interest and instruction; and whenever you come across one of them, you must fix it in your mind."

Arriving at the neighbourhood of Salto and Concordia, two towns near each other on opposite sides of the river, Paterfamilias takes occasion to give his children some account of the streets, buildings, and manners of the people:—

"Both towns are characteristic of the countries, Salto the cleaner and neater of the two, Concordia the dirtier and more active. In both, as in most of the other towns here, there are tramways and one-storied houses. Hardly any of the houses have more than one story; and they are very often very pretty, the bedrooms and sitting-rooms being built round open courts called patios, and having vistas through these from the front door, which is generally left full open to the outer world. I like this idea of the folks here, and have had much pleasure from it. They seem quite willing to let the stranger at their doors enjoy all the

beauties of their home which they can show without violating the privacy of their apartments. There are good points in all races, and this is one of the good points of the folks here. Another is their even and equal courtesy. They have the same politeness for the millionaire and for the workman. Fancy! one of our hotel waiters, the chief one, is called Don Juan; and a nice old fellow he is. It is the same as if we called him Mr. John."

We are now to be favoured with an opportunity of seeing a little of the country as it appears from a railroad on the western side of the Uruguay. The run is from Concordia to Monte Caseros. The scenery is not specially interesting; but it forms part of the world there, and deserves at least a passing glance. It is a low, undulating plain, with slight hills and many herds of cattle feeding. For the last two stages we are privileged to look at the country from the locomotive in company with the engine-driver.

"He was an Englishman, and had been long enough in the country to have seen two revolutions. In both of them the railway was interrupted by the combatants lifting the rails. On the first occasion he did not notice the gap in the line until too late, so his engine and train were upset; but he and his fireman got clear by jumping off in time. On the second occasion he was able to pull up in time, and keep the train on the line. All the engines in this country have great big reflector lamps and 'cow-catchers' in front of them. The driver told me he once had to drive through a herd of fifty cattle gathered on the line, and that by going at full speed he not only managed to get through them without any harm to the train, but without killing more than eight out of the fifty. To understand the need of these precautions, you must know that very few of the great fields here are fenced off from the line, so that the cattle can wander on it as much as they like. We had indeed a good instance of this in two cows and a calf which got on the line while I was with the driver on the engine. He whistled to them, and managed to get the two cows away. The calf, however, only stood and stared at us as we rushed down on him. Poor beast, we could do nothing for him; and in less time than it takes me to write this the 'cow-catcher' had caught him, and tossed him away a bleeding and wounded mass. I think he must have died of the blow, for I saw him lying behind us on the embankment a little brown lump without movement or life."

Our traveller has visited Uruguayana, the highest point reached on the voyage up the Uruguay, and is descending the stream from that town to Santa Rosa, on the eastern side, opposite Monte Caseros. He has been obliged to be content with a sailing boat, no steamer being available, for things are in a rude, backward condition up there. He pursues his voyage not under the most favourable conditions for enjoyment, but he endeavours cheerfully to make the most of things as they are.

“ We had a beautiful sail all down the river till sunset, and got a famous idea of its breadth and enormous mass of water. But the banks were uninteresting, for there were no villages, and no scenery, only endless low rows of scrubby bushes and occasional huts, nothing else. So we wearied of it, and were not sorry for the moon to come up and change it all into mystery and beauty. But we wearied of this too, for the night got very cold; and it was difficult to sleep in one's great-coat, with only one blanket over you, and the hard bottom of the boat for a mattress, and your body covered only by a little half-deck forward. Our feet were very cold, and mine woke me so often, I thought of your mother and felt for her.” (It was winter season there in July.)

We have travelled in company with our guide by steamer, rail, and sailing vessel. We are next to have a taste of travelling by diligence. It will be a rough ride, still a variety, and so in its way enjoyable. The journey is from Santa Rosa to Isla de Cabellos, the last station from Salto on the working part of a railway intended to join that town with Santa Rosa. The passengers on the sailing boat have just managed to catch the diligence by a happy chance.

“ We had no breakfast, excepting a loaf of not very sweet bread; but, our spirits being good, we started off very cheerily. We had a drive of about forty-five miles before us, and we did it by noon, or in five hours' time, which was very good work. But to do this we had a team of nine horses in front of us, arranged thus: four next the driver, then three

in front, and before them two, the one to the left being ridden by an outrider, who guided the team and the diligence. And a very necessary guide he was, the road being of the roughest description, and with plenty of hillocks and hollows where an upset was certain without good guidance. The roads here are about four times as wide as the ones at home, but they are utterly unlike them in being quite uncared for. There are no road trustees, and no macadamising. The road runs over the grass; and as soon as one bit gets too much work they shift from it on to a new piece, until it hardens up again. Most of the road was fenced with wooden posts and wire to keep the cattle from wandering. How you would have enjoyed seeing these great herds, and often mixed with or near them small groups of ostriches or deer. The ostriches are grey and much smaller than the Cape ones shown in the zoological gardens of Paris and London. Your mother would get no good feathers off them. We arrived at Isla de Cabellos with our fifth relay of horses, having made four changes on the road."

On arriving at Isla de Cabellos, the travellers were welcomed by English friends resident in that great wilderness, Mr. and Mrs. Henderson and Mr. Frewin, with whom they had the rare pleasure of spending two days of delightful rest after their wanderings.

"It was very pleasant after our wanderings to see an English home again and to feel its comforts in this advanced spot of civilisation. For this is only a railway town, with a few wooden houses and stores, a wooden hotel, and a railway station. Beside these Mr. Henderson's iron house looked a palace. There was no church or hall. In fact, the place was just a bit of what is called the 'Camp' here. And the Camp, which is not a military term here, means the leagues on leagues of uncultivated natural pasture land, with about one house or hut to the square league. You at home can have no idea of the seemingly endless tracts of pasture in the mighty plains of this continent."

Life in such a wilderness, far from friends and the comforts of a settled country, must be somewhat depressing. There are, however, few spots on the earth that do not offer some resources for enjoyment. For those who care for it the camp around Isla de Cabellos affords scope for hunting. Accordingly during the sojourn of the travellers there a hunting

party was made up, the record of which is here given as the last scene from the Uruguay trip. The amount of game taken was insignificant; the real object of quest was the exquisite pleasure of a scamper over the plain through the pure, fresh air.

“This afternoon Mr. Henderson, Mr. Tulloch, a young gentleman called Cutbill, and I went out shooting, each on a horse and each with a gun. Mr. Tulloch and I had breech-loading rifles, and the two others shot-guns. I greatly enjoyed the free, fast ride over the wide pastures, and all the more when we saw some deer in front of us. A buck was grazing alone at some distance from us, with a wire and stake fence between him and us. As they wished me to have the first shot, I got off my horse, leaving him with the others, and crept towards him on my hands and knees, trailing my rifle with me. Fortunately there was a big stake in the fence, which I managed to keep between the buck and me. He once or twice suspected me, but by always lying quiet whenever he looked up I managed to get to the stake and within some sixty yards of him. My first shot missed him, but before he had finished his examination of the stake I had a fresh cartridge in, and my next shot knocked him over, with his feet in the air. We all thought he was heavily hit, and made for him; but no sooner did we get near him than, with a great effort, he got on his feet and made off, I after him for nearly an hour, when I lost his track. I followed him on foot; but he was too fast for me, even wounded as he was. Later in the day Mr. Tulloch met and shot him. Besides this Mr. Tulloch killed another deer, and I a duck. But the real enjoyment was the gallop home with the horses at full pace, and rejoicing to return. They needed no whip. Only one needed to look out for the ant-hills, small, hollow mounds covering holes very dangerous to horses, and apt to break their legs. They are only small on this side of the river, but on the other side we saw them from the railway several feet in height.”

We have left the Uruguay, and are now in the Parana. We suppose ourselves to be at Rosario, ready to start on the voyage up to Paraguay, on board the *Rio Uruguay*, the date 7th August, 1886. Our first extract from the journals shows the company on board, giving us an idea of the elements of which the population is composed, and enables us to look on while they sit at dinner in the saloon.

“ We left Rosario to-day at 4 p.m. in this steamer, which was crowded with goods and passengers, and so much loaded down, the deck was within a foot of the water. As we went up the river we got a fine view of the toska cliffs above the town, crowned with corn mills, grain stores, and shoots and lifts of different kinds employed in unloading the vessels moored close in under the cliffs. We sat down to dinner, as many as the saloon could hold. We were a great mixture: English, Americans, Spaniards, Italians, French, Germans, and a sprinkling of men with a good dash of Indian blood in their sallow cheeks and dark eyes. We get a good deal of native cooking. One of the dishes is called *asado*, or roasts; and the cutting of it would greatly puzzle the cooks at home. Instead of being a thick piece of meat, like our own roasts, it is a strip cut right across the ribs, about two inches broad. Each person gets a bit of rib with half of the flesh between it and the next one, and the flesh above it. It is not a bad dish, although very often tough and hard to eat. *Puchero* is another of their dishes, and is very simple, consisting of pieces of beef and fowl plain boiled, with cabbages, potatoes, and bits of sausages or pork. Very often they give boiled pumpkins with it, which is considered a great addition.

“ Their sweets are mostly marmalade of guava and quince, with cakes. The cooking is not perfection; but as the food is generally wholesome, we get on all right. The dish of honour in the country, which we have not yet tasted, is called ‘*carne con cuero*,’ or beef in the hide. The name describes it. The cow, immediately on being killed, instead of being skinned, is cut up in pieces, hide and all, and roasted in the hide. This is said to give the meat a peculiarly juicy flavour.”

Four days have passed, and we have reached the Paraguay, and as we advance northward we observe that we are passing into a tropical clime.

“ How you four would enjoy to-day! We are now in the river Paraguay, a narrower river than the Parana, but with banks well clothed with beautiful trees and shrubs. Now and again we pass villages on the banks, with orange groves about them, and little, half-naked Paraguayan children playing about. On our right hand is Paraguay, and on our left the Argentine territory of the Gran Chaco, or great Indian forest. A few years ago this was the haunt of the Indians alone, and white men hardly dared to show face in it. Now every month sees it more and more opened up for *estancias*, or cattle farms, timber-cutting, and sugar-cane-growing. We have a number of convicts on board, who are going to the second most northerly station in the Chaco, under the charge of a guard of Argentine soldiers. There these convicts will have to work in improving the country and be made to use their powers for its benefit instead of

for its hurt. But the great interest of the day has been the alligators. We have already seen some hundreds of them and had a great deal of amusement shooting at them with rifles. As they are cruel brutes, attacking children and dogs if they get a chance, we give them little mercy; and two or three of them have gone off with bullets in them. They lie like hogs on the beach until the bullets get too many, when they slip into the water and swim off. They are ugly scaly monsters, like big lizards; and some of the ones we have seen must measure eight or nine feet in length. We have also had a shot at a carpincho, or river pig, a fat, brown, hairy little beast. It is really more like a big guinea-pig than the common pig."

Though in haste to see Asuncion, the capital of Paraguay, we will tarry a moment at a place called Formosa, in the Gran Chaco, not because it is a place of any importance in itself—for it is only a military post—but because of the beautiful view of the river to be got there, and because, being now in the neighbourhood of the Paraguayan republic, our guide takes occasion to introduce us to the Guarani women on board.

"We have just come in to the second most advanced post of the Argentine Government in the Gran Chaco, called Formosa; and as we are discharging a good deal of cargo, I have had a good chance of seeing this bit of the river, which here takes a big bend. Formosa lies in the hollow of the curve, the point on the other side being in Paraguay, and having a collection of small huts on it. I have seen nothing more beautiful on this river than the simultaneous view of these two reaches of the river. From the point come shouts of laughter and music as the country people dance and amuse themselves. Six oxen are swimming the river, three on each side of a long canoe. They are lashed to its sides, and the men in the canoe are forcing them on by throwing water in their faces.

"We have many Guarani women on board. These are the native Indians of Paraguay, and have each two lovely big tresses of black hair down to their waists, and thicker each of them than Caroline's plait. They are pleasant-looking, but not pretty. Your mother would be pleased with them, because they are very clean, with neat white bodices and black shawls of cloth thrown over their heads and round their bodies. They all smoke cigars; and two or three were pointed out to me as being among the best traders on the river, and worth from £500 to £600 each."

The passengers on board the *Rio Uruguay* parted company with the convicts at Formosa. They were not sorry, when they learned that they were a gang of murderers.

We are now within an hour of Asuncion, off the mouth of the Pilcomayo, the boundary between the Argentine and Paraguayan chacos. The run to Asuncion from this point brings into view scenery whose loveliness fills the voyagers with admiration:—

“To our right were high red sandstone banks, crowned with palm and banana and other trees of exquisite foliage, among them one entirely covered with lovely mauve-coloured blossoms. Beyond these cliffs rolled away downs, and uplands, and low hills, covered with palms and sprinkled with groves of limes and oranges. The air was soft and balmy, and full of the odour of the orange blossom and other sweet perfumes. I could hardly realise how beautiful the land was we had come to.”

At length we reach Asuncion, and find that, though it has a fine situation, “it is a melancholy place, full of the wrecks of the ambitious schemes of Lopez.”* Our voyager takes up his quarters in the Hotel Hispano-Americano, formerly the residence of a brother of Lopez, the mention of whose name leads to an outburst of honest execration, which we shall pass over, preferring to accompany our friend on an afternoon ride on the tramway as far as the *recoleta*, or cemetery.

“The drive was a most charming one. Fancy going for fully three miles through groves of palm and orange trees and hedges of the most beautiful creepers and flowers! At the cemetery we found an excellent restaurant, where we got some lemonade from fresh green limes. In the garden of the restaurant we saw abundance of roses in full bloom; orange trees; guava trees; the coffee bush, covered with the berries in different stages of ripeness; and many orchids, all growing in the open air, and this in midwinter. It was the first time I ever saw the coffee plant. The

* “The Cruise of the Falcon,” p. 250.

beans when ripe are very pretty, and the rind has a sweetish taste. But there is little of this, as the coffee beans fill the most of the space. They are exactly the green-greyish things which the unburnt beans are at home. We saw a grove of them as we came along, also a lot of sugarcane. But the oranges, bitter and sweet, and the limes, and the lemons are the greatest charm, and the sweetness of the air. It is positively loaded with perfume, and you cannot resist its charm. Your mother would be perfectly pleased with the sweetness and warmth of the country and the clean, bare-footed, white-dressed women. They almost all wear pure, snow-white things, beautifully embroidered and washed by themselves. I saw them washing them on the river bank to-day, and, after hanging them out to dry, sprinkling them with cold water, just as laundresses do at home. You four would enjoy seeing the great golden oranges lying at the roadsides, fallen from the trees, and only asking to be eaten by you.

"The cemetery was very much like the one in Buenos Ayres, only less gruesome. I noticed the poorer tombs had all black wooden crosses, draped with a piece of white linen prettily embroidered and made in the form of a priest's stole. The richer people are less simple, and make themselves ridiculous by calling their tombs pantheons, a name reserved for the churches in Italy and France which are devoted to the burial and memory of their great men. In returning, we found the tramway very full of the good folks of Asuncion, ladies, gentlemen, and children. One of the ladies, very dark in skin and eyes, sitting opposite me, had so lovely a bouquet of flowers that I asked her permission to smell it. With the most charming courtesy, she not only gave me this, but asked me to take from it the flower that pleased me best. So I chose a little white rose and gave it her back. The woman next me had so dear a little baby, about a year old, that I got her to let me take it a little. It was the loveliest little soul for its age I ever saw, smiled on me, and showed no end of pretty little teeth, and wound up by taking off my hat and putting it on its own head, much to the amusement of my friends. All this I thought very wonderful for its age, but I am sure Caroline and Helen will be still more surprised when I tell them it had earrings on.

"I wish you were all here with me to see these things. They would amuse and interest you. Perhaps some day or other I shall get you all out here to see these countries with me."

This is altogether very sweet and lovely, whether we think of the fruit, and flowers, and scents that perfume the air, or of the humanities and the yearning for wife and children far away which make

the narrator so gentle and kind to Paraguayan mothers and their little ones. The gruesomeness in the cemetery of which he speaks is an allusion to the habit of depositing the coffins so that they can be seen.

Our friend is thinking much of home at this time; and he bids the children tell their mother that he has got for her some fine specimens of Paraguayan lace, which he expects will surprise friends at home for the fineness of the thread and the novelty of the patterns. He has bought them from "two dear old Paraguayan maiden ladies who had worked them themselves," who have evidently taken to the English gentleman, for they show him their garden and their roses, and their old mother, ninety years of age. They also give him a drink of yerba maté; that is, of the Paraguayan tea infused with hot water in a little gourd.

"The top is cut off; and through the hole thus made the yerba, o tea, a greenish-looking powder mixed with little bits of the stalks, is poured in until the vessel is half filled. Then the bombilia, or silver sucking-tube, with its draining boss pierced with holes at the lower end, is introduced into the maté, or gourd, filled up with hot water, and generally a little sugar. You can then begin sucking the yerba from the tube. The taste of this Paraguayan tea is an acquired one, as it is bitter and unlike our tea. I have got to like it very much, and intend bringing some home, with maté and bombilias."

We will now visit the market-place:—

"We were at the market this morning very early. Almost all its business of buying and selling is done by women, generally sitting on their heels, a common position here, as in the East. Most of them had only very small quantities of their goods before them; but these were very various, including tobacco, yerba, sweets of various kinds, cheese, and tallow-dip candles. Among the fruits were bananas, limes, oranges, and sweet limes and mamonus (?), a curious yellow, melon-like fruit off a pale tree. Among the vegetables were butter-beans, a kind of haricot, only

much more delicate, and mandioca root, and sweet potatoes. The mandioca is a curious waxy-looking vegetable, like a long parsnip when it is cooked. From it and cheese the natives make a kind of bread called *chipa*.

"All the churches here have colonnades right from end to end on both sides outside. Like the houses, they require them for the heat."

We next take a railway excursion to Paraguari, a distance of forty-five miles. We have reached a station called Patiño-cué, from which we get a fine view of the lake Ipecarai.

"We are running through a valley bordered by low hills, well wooded to their tops. The lake lies to our left in the middle of the valley, with a range of hills on its other side. The train runs on through groves of orange and palm trees, the former sparkling with golden fruit among their green leaves, the latter giving the scenery a tropical look, with their feathery tops. But the most beautiful of all the trees was the lapacho, which produces an excellent hard wood. This tree rises to a great height, and generally overtops all the others. Just now there is not a leaf on it; but it is covered with a magnificent load of flowers, mauve-coloured and brilliant, in bunches exactly like those on a rhododendron. I never saw anything so fine. Miles off one of these trees will mark itself out like a great flower among the others. But it was not only the vegetation that interested us, the men, women, and children being even more interesting. We were constantly running past their villages, composed of mud and wattle and thatched with grass. Some of the smaller children ran almost with no clothes at all, but most of them were dressed in white. A few affectionate mothers had given their boys red ponchos, which made pretty, bright spots among the trees. The poncho is the great-coat and plaid in one of this country. It is an oblong square, with a hole in the middle of it. Ordinarily it is worn as we do a plaid or muffler. When, however, the wearer mounts his horse, or needs to use both hands, he sticks his head through the hole and lets the poncho hang down before and behind, his arms coming out at the sides. Some of these ponchos are made out of vicuña wool undyed, in its natural colours of light yellow and dark brown. Such ponchos are very beautiful and costly. I saw a superb one in the possession of an Argentine lady. Sometimes they cost as much as £100. I can't afford to bring your mother so costly a one, but I shall try and get her a good specimen in vicuña."

The railway journey ended, we have an opportunity of seeing something of the town of Paraguari.

“Paraguari itself, the terminus of the railway, is very interesting ; and as we had nearly three hours before the train started on its return journey, we had time to get breakfast and see it well. It is a scattered place, with two big squares, incompletely surrounded by houses. In one of the squares, the largest, was the market, and in the other the church, a long, low building, with the usual colonnades along its sides, and a square tower. Attached to it was a block of buildings, which I fancy must have been originally the houses of the clergy. They are now used as schools for boys and girls, and a small portion as a barracks for the local guard of soldiers. I saw the children at their lessons, the boys in one set of rooms, taught by masters, and the girls in another, taught by mistresses. There were eighty boys and seventy girls on the roll, but only half of them must have been present. I suspect this town, if not built by the Jesuits themselves, must have been built on their model. They were the original missionaries and civilizers of these districts, and have left their mark behind in many ways, most of all in the term *misiones*, applied to a large portion of the country in the land of the Parana. Jesuits are not in good odour in Europe or at home, on account of their crooked ways of working. All the same, however, as just men and women, we must not forget the noble self-sacrifice they displayed here and in China and Japan, and the good work they did in these countries. They generally built their settlements in squares, putting the church and schools to one side of the square, and the people's houses on the other three sides. Although this is an old-fashioned place, they have a telephone between it and the station, as the latter is a mile off. In Asuncion alone there are a hundred and sixty subscribers to the telephone company, and it goes everywhere.

“We got back to Asuncion at six in the evening, pleased to look forward to to-morrow's rest.”

The following day is Sunday. The travellers attend service in the hotel, conducted by Dr. Wood, the American missionary at Monte Video, who has come up to Asuncion for the purpose of building a church and establishing a Protestant mission. It is the third English service ever held in the place, and the first for twenty years. Dr. Wood is doing good service in various ways, among others in marrying the poor people for nothing, instead of charging seven to ten dollars for the ceremony, like the priests.

In the afternoon Mr. Denny makes a visit to the house of a Scotchman, Dr. Stewart, who is married to a Paraguayan lady. He is much delighted with his quinta, or country house, and garden, and very specially with a particular tree peculiar to Paraguay, which has all its flowers, pretty white ones, like hawthorn, stuck all over its trunk and main branches, but with no flowers on its outer sprigs or among its leaves.

The next day, Monday, 16th August, our friends set out again on a journey on the railway running to Paraguari. They travelled only as far as Patiño-cué, their object being to visit a settlement of Germans called Colonia Bernardino, on the borders of the lake Ipecarai. On the arrival of the train they found a young German sailor waiting for them, who took them across the lake in a sailing boat. They enjoyed the little voyage greatly, and the visit at the end of it to the colonists from Fatherland. It will give us pleasure to read the description of both contained in the journals from which these extracts are taken :—

“ From the lake itself we had lovely views of the valley through which we had come, and up to the curiously shaped mountains round Paraguari. Here and there the bright mauve-coloured lapacho trees burst out from the other trees singly or in masses, while graceful-looking palms lifted their feathery heads above the masses of the forests.

“ Our boatman had only been married to a young German woman a week ago by Dr. Wood, and was in great spirits. When we returned, he gave his bride the trip ; and as we made her sit in the stern with him, they did a little love-making to pass the time.

“ The colony itself was a very straggling place, and we were told the best portions were further inland. As, however, this was the head place, and contained the school and the residence of the commissioner, or head man of the colony, we had plenty to interest us. There were besides two restaurants, or rather drinking-houses, in one of which we got our *déjeûner*. Fancy in the heart of South America eating schwartz-brod

and raw schinken in a room whose walls were covered with cheap German coloured prints. After finishing the meal, Mr. Galloway sat down to make a little drawing of the place, and Mr. Tulloch and I went off for a wander through it.

“ We found plenty of wide, unmade roads, but very few houses. In one of these we had a long talk with a German woman and her son of seventeen. He had learnt to speak Spanish, but his mother only knew German. Your mother would have laughed at my German talk with the old woman. It pleased her, however; and I got a warm shake of her hand in leaving for the sake of Vaterland. Poor old soul, her husband was lying ill in the hospital at Asuncion; and she had only herself and her boy to depend upon. But she liked the country, and preferred having her son beside her to seeing him forced into military service, as would have happened in Germany.”

Our traveller left Asuncion on the 18th of August, in the little steamer *Misiones*, for a run further up the Paraguay to the town of Concepcion, some two hundred and forty miles distant; and as he sailed away from the city he was struck with its beautiful situation and the picturesque grouping of its buildings. Two days later he arrived at Concepcion, and found it a pretty, widely scattered town situated on the top of a barranca, or cliff, already in possession of a custom-house, and hoping soon to have tramways in the streets. The town derives its importance from the fact that the greatest part of the yerba, or Paraguayan tea, which we have already tasted, passes through it. The people are busy packing it for transport:—

“ We saw great bales of it done up in ox-hides, packed to straining, and as hard as stones from the hides being put on raw and afterwards shrinking in drying. The place smells of yerba. There were men engaged in repacking much of it into smaller canvas bags. These they pack very closely by means of wooden rammers. Sometimes they are made like stars or crescent moons, and decorated with bright colours. Such pretty bags are given as presents. Perhaps I may bring one home along with the matés I have bought.”

Having seen what is worth seeing in the town, we take a ride into the country, and then pay a visit to an Indian encampment :—

“Mr. Tulloch and I in the afternoon got horses and went for a ride out into the country, which we enjoyed greatly as we passed successively through woods and natural pastures, the latter with oxen scattered about in them, the former rich in palm trees, wild creepers, and strange flowers, and many orchids. On our return we crossed the river to an island on which there was an encampment of Indians. They were living under shelter of mere reeds, open on two sides to the air, and without any such clothing as you four have. There were old men and women and young ones, and very few children, one of the latter, a little sickly thing, lying next its mother, its poor thin legs and arms promising but a short and sickly life. They were all very dirty ; and, except one very fine-looking man, I never saw a more degraded-looking lot. They are not improved by their contact with the white man, whose rum is doing much to increase their degradation. They are now becoming very dependent upon Concepcion and other towns for their supplies, and are so rendered every day less dangerous. We saw several of their canoes on the river-bank, rather shapeless-looking troughs, hollowed out of logs of a kind of soft wood. Their great begging of us was for matches, which they prize very highly.”

In the evening our friends went to see a *baile*, or native ball, where they were pleased with the music, consisting of a violin, a harp, and a flute, which they thought good both in air and in time, and with the graceful dancing, free from anything offensive or rude, and with the courteous manners of the people present, who were just the ordinary workers of the town. Next day they left Concepcion, dropping down the river much faster than they came up, though having a good cargo of yerba in the hold. A halt on the way to take in wood gave them an opportunity of seeing a little of the virgin forest into which a short cut had been made to obtain the necessary firewood.

“Mr. Tulloch and I went ashore and took a turn, but we dared not go far for fear of losing our way and being left behind. Besides, the

undergrowth of plants and creepers was so thick, you could not see clearly for more than twenty yards. I never saw such a tangle of palm tree and other trunks, creepers, cacti, and flowers, and such an interlacing of branches overhead. It was the first time I realised the meaning of the words 'tropical forest.' Fancy our finding mistletoe on one of the trees, and some of the crew finding vanilla growing wild in great, fleshy bars, not the thin and withered strips we use for flavouring puddings at home, but pods full of brown juice! The flavour, however, was the same, as also the little black ticks you find in vanilla ices. Enclosed I send your mother a few leaves from the mistletoe, under which you must all four kiss her for me."

Though leaving Concepcion on Saturday morning, the voyagers arrive at Asuncion in time for service on Sunday. This gives us the opportunity of being present at high mass in the cathedral:—

"As soon as we got settled down in our hotel, I went out to the cathedral to see the service of high mass. The nave was crowded with women, the poorer ones sitting or kneeling on a big carpet in the middle, and the wealthier ones sitting on chairs and forms at the sides of the nave. There must have been at least four hundred women present, and, including myself, only some half-dozen men in the aisles. It is the same everywhere in these countries: the women are religious, and the men consider religion a superstition and beneath their notice. How much this condition of affairs must make family life disjointed and deficient in warmth of the truest kind you can hardly yet understand. When the day comes that you get this understanding, I hope it will be from observation, and not from experience.

"By far the greater number of the women in the cathedral had simple black shawls thrown over their heads; and the effect of their kneeling figures thus draped filling the nave in front of the brilliantly lighted altar and the three richly attired priests before it was very fine, atoning for the miserable playing of the organ going on at the other end of the church.

"In the afternoon we attended Dr. Wood's English Protestant service, and the contrast was great in every way between the two. At the latter only a dozen of us were present in the unfurnished room of an ordinary house, and the great majority of us were men. The service itself was simple and impressive, and full of missionary hope for the people here."

Reluctantly bidding good-bye to Asuncion, with its

lagoon harbour and beautiful surroundings, we start on Tuesday, the 24th August, on the return voyage. We have not gone far when we have an opportunity of witnessing something of the orange trade which goes on in the river:—

“ At a little after noon we stopped at Villeta, where we were to load two hundred and fifty thousand oranges (fifty-five tons of weight). How you four would have gloried in the monster heaps of the golden fruit lying on the sand awaiting us. We went alongside the end of a light pier to receive them; and in about five hours some fifty women had put them all on board, carrying them in light baskets on their heads. They worked in a double line, one going with the full baskets on their heads, the other returning empty-handed. All the oranges were piled inside of wire nettings on top of our two largest deck-houses, the women working, some of them on the deck-houses piling them up, and others below handing the baskets up from the pier. The perfume of the fruit is all about the ship, and from the shore comes the perfume of the blossoms in the orange groves. I enclose one as a souvenir for your mother. I picked it from one of the trees.

“ We all got plenty of oranges to eat, and it was great fun to see the various ways of eating them. You know one way already: the one in which I generally prepare oranges for your mother and Caroline, dividing each into halves with four sections and four peel handles, one to each. The Paraguayan way is to cut off the yellow rind, leaving the thick white skin underneath. They then make a hole at the one end, and suck and eat the orange, barring the white rind. There are two reasons for paring off the yellow rind, one good for all oranges, because it prevents the under-skin cracking so easily, the second peculiar to the Paraguayan orange, of which the yellow rind is so acrid that it burns the lips. Another way of eating oranges, known as the Brazilian, is to peel the orange with a very sharp knife till the flesh is laid dripping bare all round, the yellow rind and white skin being both completely removed, then with the same sharp knife, having stuck the orange on a fork like a potato, to cut out the fleshy pieces of the liths, leaving their skins behind. This is the most wasteful way, and requires not only a sharp knife, but a big orange, for success.”

Further down the river, below Corrientes, the steamer on whose deck all these oranges were loaded took in tow a schooner with a cargo of the same fruit.

The steamer and the schooner between them were carrying down to Buenos Ayres a million of oranges. This fact gives us some idea of the extent of the trade.

These Paraguayan sketches, slight and simple as they are, convey to our minds a very pleasing impression of the country and its people: bright skies, picturesque landscapes, the air scented with fruits and flowers, the very forest trees luxuriant with flowers of gorgeous hues. Specially pleasing is the picture of the Paraguayan women: industrious, elegant, courteous, good-tempered, sunny in spirit as their climate. In their praise all writers are agreed. A recent traveller expresses himself in these terms: "Without pretensions to what is called classical beauty, the female type here is very rarely plain, generally pretty, often handsome, occasionally bewitching. Hands and feet are almost universally delicate and small, the general form simply perfect. As to the dispositions that dwell in so excellent an outside, they are worthy of it. A brighter, kinder, truer, more affectionate, more devotedly faithful, girl than the Paraguayan exists nowhere."* That the character of the race is rich in heroic virtue also has been abundantly proved in recent wars. Let us hope that an era of peaceful industry is in store for a land depopulated by the ambition of a tyrant.

* Palgrave's "Ulysses," p. 280.

CHAPTER XXI.

LETTERS FROM SOUTH AMERICA.

THE extracts contained in this chapter are, with a few exceptions, taken from the letters written by Mr. Denny to his wife during his stay in South America. These letters exhibit a fine blending of family affection with religious feeling. They also help us to see how the business on hand is taxing his energies and burdening his mind, making his hair grow grey, and towards the end evidently telling on his health and spirits.

Two brief extracts from letters written just after leaving home, and on the voyage, will form a suitable preface to the series :—

“LONDON, Tuesday, 15/6/’86.

“It quite downed me seeing you so cut up last night, but I made up my mind to keep my heaviness of heart to myself. This morning was very bright, however, and looked to me just like what I would like it to be when I return and when we meet again. The thought of coming home to you again is the one bright point before me. All in between lie duty and work.”

“OFF MADEIRA, 21/6/’86.

“I’m keeping to my promise not to smoke, and am indeed very glad of it. I thought you asked too much at the time, but now I am content. My heart is full of love and trust in you, and of love for our children.”

The letter from which the following extract is taken was written on returning to Buenos Ayres

from the trip up the Uruguay and receiving the first letters from home :—

“BUENOS AYRES, 26/7/'86.

“I cannot tell you how all the talk of the daily home life in your own letter warmed me up and cheered me. I felt as if I were by your side again, with the children about us. We have only been in one really English home since we left; and that was in Isla de Cabellos, above Salto, where Mr. Joseph Henderson and his good wife entertained us for two days. He is engaged in the building of a new line of railway there, and is a very good soul. His wife is as good, and they have two nice boys. . . .

“On Thursday of next week we shall start for Paraguay, a three weeks' tour, during which I shall have no chance of getting any letters from home, and will have to comfort myself with your photographs. These, both the old and the new set of yourself and the children and my mother's Nice photo, are all ranged on my table and looking down on me. I would indeed weary very much without them. . . .

“The work here is harder and more exhausting than at home, but I am standing it well on my total abstinence from wine and smoke.”

How hard work and absence from home increase the relish for Sunday rest and worship the following shows :—

“BUENOS AYRES, *Sunday*, 1/8/'86.

“. . . We are going to church as soon as I get this letter finished, and I cannot tell you how much the hour and a half in it cheers and warms me. It seems to bring me nearer to you and to the children and all the good souls in Dumbarton. To learn to love home and all in it there is nothing like this kind of hard work far away from it. I am thankful to say my health keeps excellent and my spirits good and hopeful. No liquor or tobacco, and very little coffee; in fact, moderation in all things and the memory of the dear ones at home for whom we are working: these are the means of our success which we hope to attain.”

The next letter from which I quote was written after starting on the trip up the Parana, on board the *Areste*, between Gualaguay and San Pedro, in the delta of the Parana. The letter tells of the sweetness of the oranges which come from Paraguay and of the Paraguayan tea, which the women adore, and

how it is made; but what chiefly concerns us is one sentence about the business which has taken the writer to that far-off country:—

“4/8/86.

“. . . As to the business we have in hand, I can only say it is very complex and very difficult; but we have good hopes of pulling it well through, and if we do, it will be something to be proud of.”

A week later, on board the *Rio Uruguay*, he reverts to the subject, and indulges in bright hopes and projects for the future:—

“BETWEEN GOYA AND CORRIENTES, 10/8/86.

“. . . Some day or other we must come out here together after we make our run through the United States, and I get a chance of studying the river navigation and steamers there. I believe there is an enormous future before this country, and that, if we can only manage to secure all we hope to do here, we shall have an affair in hand all of you will be proud of. That hope cheers and brightens me away from you all.”

Our next extract finds the writer returned from the Parana and Paraguay trip. He is discovering gradually that the work is to be tedious, and he finds solace in religious faith:—

“BUENOS AYRES, 5/9/86.

“. . . I was very sorry to have to wire last week that we could not leave for two months yet. I knew how vexed you would be about this, and especially how much you would feel the loneliness in the winter-time, when you most need to be comforted and warmed. But bear a little, wee woman; and the work we shall have accomplished here will, I hope, make amends for all the loneliness. Besides, when we do meet, we shall be all the happier; and I shall try and take you with me in any long future trip. It is very probable I shall have to go to the United States in the spring of next year to study some of the river steamers there. If this comes about, you must try and arrange to go with me and see the novelties of that wonderful land. Some day or other, too, we shall come out here together and see the beauties of Paraguay, and bring the girls with us, travelling leisurely in one of our own steamers through all that is interesting in these very interesting countries. You won't then regret any of the present weariness. Meantime, however, it is for both of us a hardship; but as duty demands it, we shan't grumble. You and the

children are looking at me morning and evening in my bedroom all in a row. . . .

“ We have a delightful Scotch church here, with a fine organ and choir, and a very manly, honest, and good clergyman. Yesterday he preached to us on prayer, a really good sermon, and one which interested me exceedingly because it set out with a train of reasoning which has for long filled my own mind. I cannot tell you how greatly I enjoy my Sundays here, and how often in the services my eyes dim to think of you all at home. It is pure happiness to be lifted out of the hurry and work of the week into Christian sympathy and hope, to feel that we are really under the greatest, holiest, and most loving of fathers, and permitted and encouraged to love all and hope for all without any limit. But it is best of all to think how our home affections and warmth, instead of being purposed to centre us selfishly there, are meant to be a gateway through which we move on to larger love and hope ; and the miracle is, the latter does not make the former less, but more.”

The next letter shows an increasing sense of the absorbing character of the work :—

“ BUENOS AYRES, *Sunday evening, 12/9/86.*

“ . . . I am overburdened with writing, and have just been compelled to wire home for Mr. Reid, my secretary. As there seem to be heavy negotiations ahead of us, he will be a great help to me, and save me much unnecessary trouble. The work here is much heavier and more trying than at home, and there is very little of a holiday about this business. It takes every minute of my time, and I rejoice in the return and quiet of the weekly Sundays. They rest me greatly, and link me ever more closely to you, the children, and home. I cannot tell you how much I think of you all out here ; and so far away everything becomes doubly dear, as well as every one one loves. Indeed, my best strength and inspiration come, after my love for and trust in our eternal and ever-gracious Father in heaven, from my love for you all at Melbourne House and at the old home in Dumbarton. Love is a great force, greater, I am sure, than all others, and the future conqueror of all. I am learning about it.”

Speaking of his work in negotiation and other duties in a letter written some days later, he uses this strong expression : “ It very nearly pinned me with fatigue, and would have done so had I not limited it,” and informs his wife that he is thinner and that

his "paunch" is pretty well gone. Still he assures her that he is well, and can sleep like a top at any time he chooses, and that her anti-tobacco pledge has been a success. "Had I," he writes, "been smoking and taking wine with the constant strain there has been on me for the last two months, I should have broken down. As it is, I feel almost always clear-headed, light, and fit."

Two months later he writes announcing the advent of an unwelcome visitor in Buenos Ayres in the shape of the cholera, and his consequent intention to take up his quarters in Belgrano, a healthy suburb of the city, clubbing with three other friends in a quinta which they have taken jointly. This is to be his residence till the end, and the companions named are to be his close friends.

"BUENOS AYRES, 10/11/86.

". . . As I wrote you in my last letter, I must remain on here until the beginning of January, in order to take over the Lloyd Argentino. On your account I am very sorry for this, and all the more so with the present cholera scare we have here and in Rosario. I don't think there is anything serious in the scare, and personally I am not afraid to face the cholera even if it comes really, but I know what the anxiety will be to you and to my good mother, above all to you two, and to the rest also. You must, however, try and keep from anxiety and help her too, for I do not think there is any real cause for anxiety, and the less so when I tell you I am adding to my habitual temperance every wise precaution that you could wish. Next week Tulloch, Mr. Anderson (of the London and River Plate Bank), a Mr. Dalglish, and I go out to a nice quinta, or country house, with a lovely garden, which we have taken between the four of us at Belgrano, the prettiest and healthiest of the suburbs of Buenos Ayres. From this we shall come into Buenos Ayres for business every day, returning to the quinta every night. We could not be better or more comfortable, and the experience will be useful for the time when we come out together and have to stay two or three months here."

Further on in the same letter we are introduced to an estancia called "Caledonia," owned by Mrs.

McClymont, to whom our friend paid the first of several visits at this time, enjoying congenial rest from the toil of the week from Saturday till Monday :—

“An estancia is a great cattle or sheep farm, with practically no cultivation, but only pasturage. The house, offices, and garden belonging to it are almost invariably enclosed in some thick clump of trees planted by its owner. In this the estancias resemble some of the farms we saw in Normandy, where the farmhouses and orchards are surrounded by tall trees ; and in both cases the purpose is the same : to protect garden or orchard from the strong winds which tend to blow very fiercely over flat countries. Here the *pampero*, or southerly wind, is the roughest. But it is healthy and cleansing, and we have to thank it for improving the condition of this city's health just now.”

A letter written a few days later announces a return by way of precaution to the use of wine :—

“BUENOS AYRES, 14/11/86.

“... As a precaution I have taken back to red wine for my *déjeuner* and dinner, and this with Mr. Galloway's approval. Sometimes I felt rather done up with the work and strain there is here. I find this moderate stimulant is helping me greatly, so I am sure you also will approve of it.”

The next extract informs us of a still further delayed return, and refers in serious terms to the responsibilities and prospects of the work. The flitting to Belgrano has taken place.

“27/11/86.

“... I am sorry I cannot hold out any hope to you of my leaving this before the middle of January. The work and responsibilities I have in hand are too great to be left incomplete in any point. Well done, they will be a monument ; ill done, they would be very much the reverse. I have never had, and may possibly never have again, such great issues in my hands. I feel their magnitude ; but I don't fear, because a better guidance has been so far granted to me by the Giver of all real kindnesses than I ever anticipated, and because all those I love at home have put a trust in me which is in itself a sufficient honour. You will find me changed when I return, but not, I hope, for the worse, excepting only in my greyer beard.

“I shifted out to our quinta at Belgrano yesterday evening. What a

pleasure it was this morning to wake up among the rustling of leaves, the singing of birds, and the sweet smell of the flowers, instead of among the street smells and sounds of Buenos Ayres! The cholera seems well checked here, and there are now only a few cases daily. This will be good news for you all at home. Here we go about very much as usual, and it is a good thing we do, for fear is a bad friend in epidemics."

We are next to be favoured with a peep into his room in the quinta, where the family photographs immediately catch the eye :—

"BUENOS AYRES, 17/12/'86.

". . . The quinta is delightful now, and the shrubs and flowers superb. In the morning it looks a paradise, and in the evening we are all rejoiced to get home to its quiet and fresh air. My room is very nice; and I have a special little table, on which my mother's, your own, and the children's photos are set out. The only addition I have made to them is a photo on porcelain of some sweet little children in their night-clothes examining their stockings for Christmas presents, which I shall bring home to you. In the meantime it cheers and comforts me here. I think of going down to Mrs. McClymont's this day week to spend Christmas with them at 'Caledonia.' . . .

"It seems an age since I left you at Dalmuir station. Won't I rejoice to be there with you once again, living our simple and homely life! You will, I know, bear patiently my having to wait on here a bit longer. With the work there is to do, I cannot now see my way to leave earlier than the end of February. If M. Ribes gave in and settled up earlier, I could, and would indeed, require to leave earlier. He may do this, but it is not safe to predict too much about him."

The following expresses more distinctly Mr. Denny's view of election than any other utterance of his I have come across :—

"BUENOS AYRES, 22/12/'86.

". . . I have no fear of the cholera myself, the best protection against it; and besides I am in every way well situated for avoiding it. We shall, yet, I believe, meet to love each other better than ever before, and to look back upon our long separation as a dull interval, only making the rest of our lives sweeter to ourselves and more helpful to all about us. It is well to suffer, in order that we may sympathise, and learn the wants of the poor souls round us. It is all God's kindness in disguise, and best for us. He does everything perfectly well, and has far more in His purpose than our selection for mere comfort and ease. That is a horribly

unjust notion either for this world or for the next. We reject it, preferring to be His links in the great chain of kindness, His implements in the great work of love, rather than to be mere favourites, however comfortable and secure. We are for election, but to service, not to favour."

The letter goes on to mention his sister Maria, who had written him on spiritual matters in a way that gave him much pleasure. The following letter was written in reply to her communication :—

" BUENOS AYRES, 20/12/86.

" MY DEAR MARIA,—I am very busy, and with many things to tax my attention. All the same I cannot resist the pleasure it gives me to write you and say how glad I was to receive your most welcome letter. The Cross of Christ is no longer to you the symbol of a bargain between a vindictive Deity and a self-sacrificing Deity, between the individual and selected soul and the Trinity, but the expression of the great truth of life that self-renunciation, the way of the Cross, is the only pathway in spiritual life, and that not as a duty or a trial, but as the only means of freedom, hope, and joy. People will tell you Buddha taught this, and that all the ascetics have taught the same ; but their teaching was not like Christ's. They wanted to kill self, an impossible feat. He meant the self to be lost in love for others, and devotion to them ; that by the miracle of spiritual life the lost self should return on the great spiral of progress to its old point in the plane, but to such elevation in height that it shines clothed with immortality, and light, and love as with the garments of God's kingdom. This was the joy that was set before Him. This is the unhopd, unexpected joy set before our dim eyes. God help us to attain it, and in this we make no selfish prayer, for so truly is God love that He has made the condition of our progress (as James Hinton so well says) ' others' needs,' no selfish and self-sympathising isolation and introspection, no weary attempts to perfect the self by the self. Thank God, the Cross sweeps all those hardnesses away ; and you in Dumbarton and I in Buenos Ayres, this busy and excited town, can live the life better than any hermit. And we won't shrink from any suffering and anxiety He, in His love, puts before us, knowing that these things and His sweet love bring us into the fellowship of suffering, the world's suffering, little understood and little aided. God is not vindictive in filling the world with suffering. We fancy He is because we misread His purposes, which are twofold :—

" 1. To perfect the noblest souls and make them fit for service by the calls upon them which the sufferings of others make, and by the enlightenment and sympathy born of their own sufferings.

"2. To make all souls draw together for help and comfort in time of trouble.

"The epidemic of cholera which is now in Buenos Ayres seems to me to teach this, if men would only open their hearts to love instead of fear. If you saw how fear creates torment, instead of helpfulness and power, the fruits of love! God is a glorious schoolmaster, but we are the slowest of learners; and the secret of our slowness is that we continually see the vindictive 'Judge-Despot' in Him, instead of the 'Father-God.' All the Old Testament is to me an epic history of the conflict of these two ideas, the prophets revealing the Father and the priests and lawyers clouding His lovely countenance with the black mask of the 'Judge-Despot.' Unfortunately the Apostles themselves were so steeped in the old false notion, and so little understood our Saviour, that unconsciously they yielded to the priests and lawyers, and even the noblest and most generous of them all, the good and large-hearted St. Paul. So it is left for every one of us whose heart is warmed with the inspiration of love to draw the mask away from the Father's face, and to teach all who will listen to us by our lips and lives His love and pity. We must reverence the spirit, and not the letter; and we must teach and live as our great Saviour lived, not in studies and libraries, with overloaded erudition and the crudities of rabid logic, but among men and women the commonest and meanest. We are set here to infect the world with love. That is all our work. The rest, be it knowledge, art, business, power, or what you like, is all of the nature of implements and tools, no more; they never can be more. This was the true foolishness of the Cross to the wise men of the first century, and to all the wise men who have followed them.

"I cannot tell you how much (out here) I love Lelia, our children, yourself, Jenny, Christian, my father and mother, and all at home. At home my life was too easy and comfortable to teach me all God wished me to learn. So He teaches me here among new faces and many duties, and I thank Him for all that has been and yet may come. To me there is no anger in Him, and no bitterness. He is using me, and I wish Him to use me to the end. I have learned that 'in knowledge of Him standeth our eternal life, and that His service is (not only) perfect (but the only) freedom.' So I feel little weariness and hardly any anxiety.

"Draw all the recruits you can to your side. My mother must not be grieved that we differ as to formal theology. It cannot be otherwise. She will yet be content that we love, live, and die in the same God and Saviour. That is all we need.

"WILLIAM DENNY.

"P.S.—What do you think of the following lines from a book of rough ballads by a young Australian stock-rider of the name of Lindsay Gordon? Try and come across them:—

' Question not ; but live and labour
Till yon goal be won,
Helping every feeble neighbour,
Seeking help from none.

' Life is mostly froth and bubble ;
Two things stand like stone :
KINDNESS in another's trouble,
COURAGE in your own.'

The poetry is not very remarkable, but the combined manliness and kindness are very fine and rarer than they should be. Mr. Ravenscroft, a very fine young estancier here, with whom I have become friends, pointed them out to me ; and they have been ringing in my ears ever since. He himself is a type of manly kindness, and one of the finest and pluckiest polo-players in the province. Men are men here, either good or bad, in a way not usual at home. There is less hypocrisy than at home.

“ W D.”

Mr. Denny spent his Christmas at “ Caledonia ” with Mrs. McClymont and her family ; but, notwithstanding all their kindness, his pleasure was spoiled by his forgetting to take with him the photos of his wife and children, so that he was glad to get back to Belgrano. Evidently absence from home is a keenly felt trial. In a letter dated 28th December he speaks of the effect which the separation and the struggle are having on his spirit and character in making him open-eyed to the needs and sorrows of others. The same thought occurs in later letters. Thus in a letter dated 14th January, 1887, he writes : “ I feel my life steadily transforming, under the pressure here and my absence from home, into a life which will be increasingly conducive to all your happiness at home, and increasingly free from the anxieties and worries of my own selfishness. I judge less mercilessly and sympathise more readily than ever I could have learned to do at home.”

In a letter written three days later we find him speaking in pathetic terms of the solace of religion.

He and his companion Mr. Dalglish have ridden on horseback to Flores, another suburb of Buenos Ayres, to attend the morning service there; and this is how he writes of it next day:—

“BUENOS AYRES, 17/1/’87.

“Mr. Dalglish and I attended the service, and felt lightened and cheered by it, both of us throughout the prayers and Psalms thinking of our dear ones at home. How hideous the world would be without a Father-God! His arms embrace us all, you in Scotland and me here, and the children at school. We are all within them, and all those we love as well. I wonder men and women look on religion as a duty or a hardship, a thing to strain and toil over. I think wrong teaching produces this effect. To me true religion appears more and more to be the conclusion of the highest happiness, the wide outlet through which we pass to freedom from the cramped conditions of our hard and selfish lives, the way to a Father whose love is perfect, and in whom alone there is rest and peace. Distance and anxiety melt away before His smile.”

The following sentences in a letter dated 1st February reveal the intense longing of the husband’s and the father’s heart for home, wife, and children:—

“Next door to us at Belgrano there are two sweet little children, girls, one about four and the other about two years of age. They have got to know me, and look out regularly for me every day. Their sweet wee faces help to fill a little the hunger of my heart.”

The next letter reveals a new feature, of a morbid character: anxiety as to ways and means. Of course the fight with M. Ribes involved considerable losses, but not of such an extent as to cause the least embarrassment. The desire to economise indicates that work, and worry, and long absence from home, and the undivided burden of responsibility are beginning to tell injuriously on the nervous system.

“5/2/’87.

“. . . As to my return I am sorry to say I cannot promise you any early date. I am very, very sorry for you, my dear wee wife; but my

duty being here, and an imperative one, I must fulfil it. There is a probability that, instead of getting our adversary M. Ribes to settle with us on some definite and stable basis, we may have still further trouble with him. This would involve my remaining on here for at least six months longer. Under these circumstances, I have been thinking that it would be as well for you at once to give up Melbourne House and stow what things are in it in the yard. We would save the rent and reduce expenditure, and these at present are important items, for every penny less spent at home is a penny more to aid me in defeating our opponent here. You are not to save in any personal comforts, for that would only make me anxious, and impair my powers to fulfil duty here, and delay my return home. I know you will do your utmost to give effect to my wishes in this. Above all, don't tell any one what I now write, excepting my mother and father, to whom you can send this letter. I am writing him as to this, and my wish that until my return your regular home should be Helenslee. You are evidently loved there, and love them in return, and will not only be happy with them, but add to the happiness of the house. . . .

"I wish I could have you out here with me; but at present it is impossible, as I have not the time to give to keeping you company and caring for you, nor for the society duties that would be involved by your being here with me. That will come later, and in the event of our getting matters settled here, perhaps before my return home, and in time for you to go home with me.

"My dear wee woman, I am very sorry to have to write you all this; but I have no choice. I weary for you too; but being here in the middle of conditions which either I must dominate or be dominated by, you will understand my position. The time will come for a new honeymoon, and it will be even better than the first. Meantime we must live on in hope, loving each other all the more warmly for our enforced absence."

From this time forth all the letters reveal an ever-increasing intensity of feeling which could not last long without producing some kind of morbid crisis. Thus in the next in the series, bearing date 9th February, he writes: "I do think God is burning the self out of me; and I do feel the wish more strongly every day to replace it by love to Him, you, all at home, and all I can in any way help or serve. Unconsciously many of my ambitions when I left home were far removed from such a purpose; but He has

rebuked them one by one, and taught me many things I never looked to learn." On the following day, the 10th of February, he wrote two letters to his father, expressing his anxieties as to the future, urging economies in the management of the business, and explaining his reasons for giving up Melbourne House. In these letters he does not lay bare his heart so unreservedly as in the letter written to his wife on the previous day, yet his feelings are revealed with sufficient clearness in these sentences :—

"I wish it were otherwise at present for you, with Christian's illness on your heart, and that the sunlight were unlimited round you. But such things are well ordered, and all in some way needful ; therefore we must accept them, not only patiently, but with a good will. I find only three things perfectly good in life : work, submission, and love. The first we cannot live healthily without ; the second is the only light on the problems of life beyond our interpretation ; and the third, in linking at one and the same time to us a Father-God and a brotherhood of man, is in itself perfectly sufficient. We err often, but we are much forgiven.

"My health, thanks in great part to Anderson's kindness, keeps wonderfully well. The heat is sometimes trying, but has not yet in any way damaged me. Next month, besides, it begins to diminish. Indeed, I have no right to grumble, seeing I am well and learning much."

From these letters, received on the 17th March, the day of his death, Mr. Denny gathered that his son was much in need of encouragement. He therefore sent him this telegram : "Private letter of 10th ult. received. Keep up your pecker." Alas! it arrived a day too late ! The "Christian" referred to in the above extract was a sister, who died a few days after himself. In the letter to his wife dated 22nd February he speaks of the preciousness of the Sundays, bringing rest from "all the worry." "The folks at home," he remarks, "don't know the value of the Sunday. Here we do." He refers again with deep

gratitude to the kindness of his friend Mr. Anderson :
 "What I would have done without Anderson's kindness I don't know. He has supported and encouraged me under many difficulties."

As we enter on the March letters the pathos deepens. The following needs no comment :—

"3/3/'87.

"... I am wondering whether you are just now still in London or at Helenslee, and how you are. A glimpse of you, if only for an hour, would do me good. To get home will be for me, I think, the greatest of joys. To see all the home faces and the workmen's faces will be so welcome to me. The freshness is now off all here, and as the time away from you stretches out I find my pen turns homewards constantly.

"When I return, we must try and get a house in Dumbarton, however small. As the children are at school, it need only have two spare rooms : one for Caroline and Helen and one for P. R. and Leon. Of course if we could get a third spare room *tant mieux*. I, however, will be easily contented, and you, I am sure, also. To me now home life in its simplest form will be enough."

The following day he wrote again in these terms :—

"... My dear wee wife, I am very, very sorry to be away from you so long, and the more so as I see from these last two letters that you are feeling the loneliness of it all as much as myself. I do so long now for simplicity and homeliness of life. I cannot tell you how much, but you will know when I return. Nothing in the world will ever tempt me away from you again, I think."

The next letter from which I quote refers to a proposal which Mrs. Denny, perceiving the yearning of her husband for home, and considering the uncertainty of his return, had made to go out to him :—

"BUENOS AYRES, 10/3/'87.

"... As to your proposal to come out here with Mrs. Tulloch, your making it has given me the greatest pleasure, confirming as it does the warmth and love of your letters. I know your dread of the sea, and can therefore all the more appreciate your readiness to come. All, how-

ever, is so uncertain here, I cannot yet send you an answer. On the 15th inst. M. Ribes, our opponent, has promised to send us through a late agent of his a definite price for his business. This or some other action, or inaction, of his will therefore determine my movements. I can hardly believe he will make a really feasible offer; but if he does, then the back of the troubles here will be broken. I shall in all probability go to you instead of your coming to me. If, however, his action be unsatisfactory, and the struggle between us must go on, then I shall have to wait on here longer. Meantime I can only tell you how much your unconditional offer has gratified and gladdened me. My prayer, however, is to get home to you, for although I do not dislike this country, I weary for home, and you, and the children. But there is still work to be done here which I cannot as yet leave. A great deal of it has been involved in dealing with the jealousies and susceptibilities of men both inside and outside of the Company. Men are more difficult to handle here than at home, and as a consequence one learns more from them."

It will be observed from this extract that Mr. Denny was not counting on a favourable answer from M. Ribes, so that the unsatisfactory communication he received two days after could not have taken him by surprise.

The final letter to Mrs. Denny was written on the 15th March. I give it in full, with the omission of a single paragraph of no importance. Readers will note the self-criticism it contains, another morbid feature.

"BUENOS AYRES, 15/3/87.

"MY DEAREST LILLIL,—It is sometimes a great relief and rest to me, in the midst of all the strain here, to sit down and write a few lines, however few, to you, my dear wee wife. There are no more letters from you since the last I acknowledged, in which you offered to come out to me. As I told you in reply, you must not do this, for I shall try to get a run home, however short, shortly. Besides, the children need you near them far more than I do; and they are our first charge. How I love you and them I now know in this long absence from you. You are present to me very visibly with them, and all the loved ones at home.

"Mr. Tulloch is just now down at Patagones, in the Pomona; but I expect him back on Monday or Tuesday morning. Meantime I have all

the business to attend to here, and it is not small in amount. My health, however, keeps good, thanks to the quinta and its fresh air, and the regular rides I have morning and evening. Only I wish all were finished, and I able to get off home. The *Tagus* goes to-morrow, with some of my friends in her; and I purpose going down to the mole to see them off, although it is always a pain to me to do this. This letter will go with her also.

“We are now getting slowly out of the summer and into the autumn. The days are sometimes warm, but the nights are cooler and longer than they were.

“You remember a nice little note of my mother’s, speaking very lovingly of us both, which you sent me some time ago. I am carrying it always with me, and often read it over to encourage myself in thinking of you both. It is now very long since I have seen you both, and I have only your photos and letters to recall you to me. Give her my warmest love.

“I am just finishing the ‘Mill on the Floss,’ and am much delighted with it, and especially with the character of Tom Tulliver. He is very much what I would like P. R. and Leon to be. But it is almost impossible to make any one like another. They must grow according to their nature, the faith in them, and the circumstances moulding them. All these, I pray, may be well with our children. The faith is the principal element, and it should be one of not living for self. By this alone can constancy in life be obtained, and much pain avoided. But one often deceives one’s self, and supposes progress where it has not been made. I see this much in my own life, and wish often I had thought and read less and done more. In Tom Tulliver’s life there is much action and little speculation, and he seems unconsciously to do the right thing. Philosophy is a poor substitute for life, which at best it can only help to explain.

“Give my love to P. R. and Leon, and tell them to persevere both in their school work and in their games. Give my love and kisses to Caroline and Helen. My best love and very many kisses to yourself, my dear wee woman.

“From your loving husband,

“WILLIAM DENNY.”

A tone of weariness and depression is very audible in this pathetic letter. The dark cloud is descending; even wife and mother are beginning to fade from view. “It is now very long since I have seen you both, and I have only your photos and letters to

recall you to me." Poor brave William Denny! Work, worry, absence from home, hope often deferred, are going to be too much for him.

One letter more, and I close this chapter. It is to "Nancy," who nursed William Denny in his childhood, and whom he now thanks for her kind care of his children, safely sheltered in the old home at Helenslee.

"BUENOS AYRES, 7/3/87.

"MY DEAR NANCY,—I am kept so busy here, I find little time to write to any others than my father and my wife. I must, however, send you some lines, however few, to thank you for all the kindness and care you have been bestowing on our children. My wife has written me much about this; and it gives me much happiness to hear how you, who were so good to myself when in your care very many years ago, have given our children cause to remember you well also. You can hardly understand how out here the news of home comes warmly to the heart, and does one good, especially when it is such news as my wife sends me of yourself and our children.

"I hope you are standing the winter well and enjoying all its indoor comforts. Here we are ending the summer, but I would not give one Scotch winter at home for a dozen such summers. They are too hot and dusty, and they weary one out.

"Tell Beveridge, and Bella, and the coachman I do not forget them, but send to them all by your good self my best wishes for their welfare. Remember me to them and all the others in the house.

"My best wishes to yourself, and my warmest thanks for all your kindness to our children.

"From your old and grateful nursing,

"WILLIAM DENNY."

CHAPTER XXII.

THE END.

I WOULD gladly draw a veil of respectful silence over the tragic event of 17th March, 1887, when William Denny died by his own hand. But the manner of his death is so well known that any attempt at concealment would be futile. The event, however painful, can be referred to with the less hesitation that it has never created any perplexity for those who knew him. The loss of so valuable a life at an early age, and by a self-inflicted stroke, is indeed a great calamity, which shocks and stupefies at the moment of its occurrence, and leaves behind it a permanent mood of sullen refusal to be reconciled. But no one thinks of William Denny's death as a crime, but only as a calamity. Every one who knew him is assured that in his sound senses he could not have taken his own life. He was the last man to do so dastardly and selfish a thing. He never at any time gave countenance to the theory that a man might take away his life when life to his feeling had ceased to be worth living. On the contrary, it is known that he frequently condemned suicide, characterising the man who slunk out of the world that way from his duties and responsibilities as a coward. The fatal deed must therefore be regarded as the act

of one no longer himself, whose reason had begun to give way. In the words of one who knew him long and intimately, "the seemingly dark sunset only indicates to me the terrible nature of his mental sufferings, and does not in the least cloud the confidence that I have long felt about him."

The object of this chapter is not to give minute details of the last day and to renew the grief caused at home and abroad by the sad event and its mournful accompaniments. I have an invincible distaste for sensational effects, and he would be a heartless man who should strive to produce them in such a solemn connection. Tears dry up in course of time, and who would desire to cause the fountain to flow anew by repetition of the harrowing tale? My sole aim is to set the tragic event in its true light for the sake of those who dearly loved the man, that they may not only trust, but know, that the last act was not inconsistent with all that went before in the drama of a noble life, that they may see that, so far from derogating from or throwing doubt on his goodness, it was rather in a sense the result of his goodness.

To those who do not feel the pressure of the moral problem presented by a man acting suddenly out of harmony with his whole antecedents, and who look at matters superficially, the affair is quite simple. To them it is a case of one sound in body and mind making away with himself on a given day because he has got a business disappointment which frustrates his hopes and wounds his pride. He has been engaged for months in a difficult and delicate negotiation. On the 17th of March, 1887, he receives a letter

referring to the business on hand of such a character as to involve prolongation of strife and protracted absence from home. Baffled, chagrined, dispirited, he goes away and buys a pistol, and blows out his brains. This is an incredible theory. Even if it were possible for a man of Mr. Denny's temper, whose spirit rose to difficulties like a ship breasting the waves, to act in such a manner, the alleged cause is not sufficient to account for the effect. Supposing the unsatisfactory communication received from M. Ribes had been altogether unexpected, it is difficult to understand how a man so long accustomed to the rough experiences inseparable from business should have taken it so much to heart. This is virtually acknowledged by Mr. Denny's friend Mr. Anderson, who, in a letter to Mr. Galloway giving an account of the occurrences of the fatal day, wrote: "This letter" (from M. Ribes) "was by no means favourable, and yet hardly calculated to produce the effect it evidently did on Mr. Denny." But, as we already know, the rebuff was not unexpected. In a letter written to his wife on the 5th February Mr. Denny had indicated that, owing to difficulties connected with the negotiations with M. Ribes, he might have to stay in the country for six months; and in another letter, written on the 10th of March, a week before his death, he had said, "I can hardly believe he will make a really feasible offer." When an offer the reverse of feasible did come seven days later, it could not have taken him by surprise, nor could it by itself have produced such a disastrous result. That communication from M. Ribes was not the cause of death; it was only the last straw that broke the

already-overburdened spirit. It was the cause on the surface perceptible to all, and appreciable by such as were ignorant of or unable to estimate the force of causes which lay deeper.

The previous chapter has in some measure prepared the reader for what was coming. The indications of mental depression contained in the extracts from letters there given are indeed too minute to enable one to predict the end ; but in the light of the event we see what these minute symptoms mean, as in the light of them in turn we learn to regard the event in its true character as the outcome of a mental collapse. That unnecessary anxiety about financial matters revealed in the letter to his wife of date 5th February, as also in letters not quoted written at the same time to his father, urging economies in the management of the business, even to the closing of the pet experimental tank ; that longing to live as one of the people in a humble house in Dumbarton ; that vein of self-disparagement accompanying expressions of admiration for the character of Tom Tulliver ; that need for the help of letters and photos to recall wife and mother—what are these things but the gathering shadows of a coming night ? For those on the spot, who did not know what he was writing home, there were other indications of similar import, too unobtrusive to be regarded seriously beforehand, yet seen to be significant now. Mr. Anderson, who, as his comrade in the quinta at Belgrano, had full opportunity of observing him, testifies that during the first fortnight of March Mr. Denny was a good deal worried and constantly preoccupied, and that when his companions

rallied him about it he laughed and said: "You fellows must bear with me; I know I am poor company at present, but until I get this negotiation settled I can think of nothing else." Even people who had no acquaintance with him noticed something peculiar in his manner. One lady spoke to a friend of the far-off look in his fine eyes. Another lady two Sundays before the end, sitting near him in church, had been much attracted by his extreme restlessness, and on making inquiries was told "that was Mr. Denny, the Scotch gentleman." A friend in whose house he spent the evening on the Friday preceding his death reports that on leaving he said that the separation from his family was becoming too much for him, and that, as he foresaw that he would not be able for a considerable time to leave the country, he was thinking of getting his wife out, which the friend thereon strongly recommended him to do.

These indications, as already hinted, were too unobtrusive to create alarm. No one is to be blamed for not putting a grave construction on them, though one can understand the feelings which dictated these words of Mr. Anderson in a letter to Mr. Denny's father: "I feel his loss terribly, and have been tortured with the thought that you might perhaps think we should have noticed that he was giving way." But the truth, without doubt, is that no one of those about Mr. Denny perceived symptoms that he could regard as serious, and that the greater number saw no morbid symptoms at all, even of a minor character, nothing out of the usual course. The ordinary symptoms of derangement seem to have been entirely

absent, and there was much to create the impression that all was well—unabated physical health, sound sleep, good digestion, prompt attention to business, interest in amusements and the usual enjoyments of life. On Tuesday evening, two days before his death, he joined in a game at whist ; and on the morning of the fatal day he interviewed the cook at the quinta, talking in French about the bill of fare for a dinner they were to give to some friends that very evening.

Yet, notwithstanding all these favourable appearances, there was, I cannot but think, mischief at work, discernible to the practised eye of the physician, possibly even to the sensitive, sympathetic eye of woman. But, alas ! no woman was there. No one is to be blamed for that either. It was not expected that the business on hand would require an absence from home of more than three months. When it was discovered that a protracted stay was inevitable, Mrs. Denny was anxious to go out to her husband ; but he negatived the proposal, for reasons with which we are already familiar.

Among the immediate causes of the morbid condition which had such a deplorable termination may be mentioned the loneliness of Mr. Denny's life in South America, the disappointments and worries connected with the business he had on hand, the continuous pressure of heavy responsibilities, the strain of overwork, intense longing for loved ones at home, and possibly the influence of climate acting on a highly nervous temperament, which may account for the unusual number of cases of self-inflicted death in that country. Among all these concurrent causes perhaps the one which wrought most mischief was

home-sickness—*Heimweh*. How acutely and constantly Denny suffered from this malady is apparent from the extracts in last chapter. Two other illustrations may here be given. As far back as the beginning of August, 1886, after returning from the Uruguay trip, he wrote thus in his journal to the children:—

“This forenoon we all went to the Scotch church, and heard a very nice children’s sermon from Mr. Fleming, its minister. We greatly enjoyed joining in the old worship, and singing the old psalms here so far from home. One of the hymns sung was ‘There’s a home for little children.’ I never enjoyed it as much before, but I couldn’t sing it for thinking of you all at home. All four of you and your mother were in my eyes all the time. As you get on and have others to lean on you, instead of having others to shield and shelter you, you will find out how a genuine and loving religion supports and helps the heart. You will find yourselves hungering for more and more of it, and more and more willing to let it guide and bless you.”

In a letter to Mr. Denny’s widowed wife written two months after his death Mr. Anderson relates the following touching incident:—

“I shall never forget our last evening together. We rode out of town, and he was on my horse ‘Bob.’ It was one of the most lovely evenings of the season, and the sun was just setting as we neared home. Rounding the hill by Dr. Alston’s at the entrance to Belgrano, I said, ‘What would you not give, old man, to see your little girl riding out on her pony to meet you?’ His reply I shall never forget; it almost made me repent the remark I had made. He seemed to give vent to all his pent-up feelings. His outburst of love and affection for you all was almost painful. I felt glad that the negotiations were, as they appeared to me, nearly ended, as it was evident

that, feeling as he did, a longer separation would be cruel and hurtful."

But the true causes of the final break-down lie deeper, and carry us back to 1883, and even far beyond. That numbness in one side mentioned in an early chapter, which Mr. Denny felt subsequently to the fever, but which possibly had no essential connection with the fever, was a symptom of incipient decay in the nervous system. That numbness never left him. He complained of it in South America. It was one of several symptoms which had given cause for anxiety to his medical adviser years before his death, as the following letter to his wife, giving an account of a visit to his friend Dr. Maclagan, of London, shows:—

"LONDON, 29/5/1885.

"MY DEAR LELLA,—Maclagan examined me most carefully yesterday, lungs and heart, the spine very minutely, and afterwards my right side, with needle points to test the nervous sensibility. He is satisfied there is no organic mischief, but says my future must be one of less work, less hurry, and less worry. An examination of my water showed the cause of my feelings, a great waste of brain tissue throwing phosphates into the water. Phosphates are the principal elements in brain tissue. He says the nervous wear in me has been very great and must be reduced. The maximum work to be done by me in a year must not exceed ten months, and in that time also my hours and work must be lessened. If care is taken, I shall come all right; but he said in his most serious tones, 'If you break down, it will be a very bad affair and very difficult to pick you up.' He says these feelings down the right side are a warning I must take to heart. I asked him to write you a line or two to let you know his own views. He was exceedingly kind, and calm, and wise. What a comfort it is to be in such a man's hands! I told him to have no fear of telling me all, and that I was prepared to submit to his verdict even if it were hopeless. It was a relief to have hope given so clearly, although with warning. So a fresh discipline opens before me, harder, but, I am sure, better for that reason, than the previous ones. I am to deny myself the full exercise of those mental powers which have been my keenest joy. My life is to be determinedly limited in order

that it may be made more useful and longer. You can help me to bear the discipline and to attain the end. What the discipline means to me I suspect very few men could understand. That it is for my good I am sure. There is no useless suffering anywhere, or of any one. If we are checked in the progress of our intellectual powers, it is only that other and finer ones may have the opportunity to grow and flower. I feel like a child who takes from his father's or mother's hands bitter and sweet with equal confidence. For both of us, it may be, all this means something we have not hoped for yet. Mental effort is only a small part of our work, after all ; and there is much to be done and learnt even outside of it."

The self-restraint prescribed by the doctor Denny made an honest attempt to practise, but withal not very successfully. His enjoyment of intellectual effort was great. As he himself stated in a letter to be quoted presently, it was as hard for him to resist temptations to indulgence in this form as it is for a drunkard to abstain from alcohol ; and as opportunities were constantly presenting themselves, he was a frequent transgressor. One of his many departures from the policy of prudence drew down on him a sterner admonition from his friend and physician than he had received before. On receipt of a paper containing his speech on Home Rule Dr. Maclagan wrote him as follows :—

“ *May 1st, 1886.*

“ MY DEAR DENNY,—Thank you for the paper with your very excellent speech. But why can't you abstain from such unnecessary fuss and work? You should give up politics and public speaking entirely, and spend the time not given to business and its requirements in the quiet of your library, and in pleasant intercourse with your friends. Bear in mind that you are getting into middle life, when matters don't tend to right themselves so readily as in youth, and that even in youth you have had sundry warnings of a kind not to be neglected. What has hitherto affected only nerves of sensation might just as readily affect more important parts of the nervous system. Your wisdom is not to give it the chance. Go in for quiet, not excitement.

Public speaking is to you what whisky is to some folk. Be wise, be warned in time, and think of your wife and bairns. Think also what even partial incapacity would be to you.

“Yours very truly,
“T. J. MACLAGAN.”

This very faithful and sagacious remonstrance drew from the offender the following penitent reply:—

“4/5/86.

“MY DEAR MACLAGAN,—‘Peccavi!’ I deserve all the kindly wiggling you send me. But if you knew how many invitations to speak I have refused, and how only a sense of duty made me speak on the ‘Home Rule’ question, you would absolve me. But I don’t ask you to do this, for I deserve all the warning you send me. Indeed, my side and my throat have both told me that I have transgressed. I am, however, going off for a month’s quiet with Mrs. Denny to Aix-les-Bains. We start on Saturday, and travel right through to Paris, stopping there Monday and arriving at Aix on Tuesday morning. On the 16th June Mr. Galloway and I sail from Southampton for the river Plate, where we go to look into the working of our new company. We shall be from a month to two months there, and the voyage out and home should be very real rest.

“It is very bitter having to limit myself in mental energy—to have to limit one’s self in that which other men are permitted to consider a virtue. But it is right; and I bow to the right, desiring only that my spirit may be made cheerfully willing to follow it. Thank God there are other powers than the exercise of intellectual energy to be aroused and bettered within us. He checks the branches often that the roots may thrive. I know both at Aix and going to the Plate I shall need to learn self-control over my interest in things and my desire to discuss with others. I shall do my best. But I suffer from constant temptation. No drunkard or libertine is more tempted by his passion than I by my desire to enjoy the expenditure of mental energy. Your diagnosis of me is correct, and I must now fight the battle of self-restraint in earnest. I have not yet done so. Your letter I shall keep in my pocket as my mentor. Very many thanks for it and all your constant and true friendship for me. You are one of the very few who form the circle of my oldest and best friends. It is a very special and gracious blessing to have one’s physician so placed.”

The malady of thought then, irrepressible, excessive activity of the brain, was the true fatal enemy of

Denny's life. In the words of Dr. Maclagan in a communication to myself, "that overactivity of the brain it was which ultimately killed him." The mischief had been going on for twenty years, from the dawn of manhood. Superabundant intellectual and moral life had been undermining vital energy and preparing for a premature death. During all these years Denny's brain and heart had been beating a funeral march to the grave. He had been working at high pressure all the time, thinking, writing, speaking, talking, incessantly, always on grave, high themes, scientific, social, religious. And there was no unbending of the bow; the element of relaxation was almost wholly wanting. On this point the statement of Dr. Maclagan, who knew him from boyhood, and was thoroughly conversant with all his ways, is very emphatic. He writes: "We never talked of anything but serious subjects, and these he never tired of discussing. In early days it was scientific subjects, for then I gave the turn to the conversation; in later years he always took the lead, and my desire generally was to get him to talk of lighter subjects. But it was no use: he could not. 'Desipere in loco' had no meaning to him; the Scotch translation of it, 'Weel timed daffin,' provoked a smile, but he was off again at once into the depths of some important question. I never saw him without trying to impress upon him the necessity for more relaxation. Once I even persuaded him to take a shooting somewhere; he did so, I believe, but I don't know whether he shot anything, and he never told me anything about it: indeed, he rather avoided the subject. He went to the Continent,

Italy chiefly, for a holiday ; but he worked hard at art all the time.

“I should say that he was a man of whose work much might be written, but of whose moments of relaxation nothing can be learnt, for the simple reason that he had no such moments. He was my best man at my marriage, danced well, and charmed all the girls ; but to me and to the men (he was only twenty-two then) he talked of the work in which his heart was—ship-building. And it was always the same ; and he was always worth listening to, for he talked well and interestingly on all subjects.”

One who came much into contact with Denny, and heard him talk with his characteristic intensity, not to speak of any other form of mental energy, could not help feeling that the “earthen vessel” must give way ere long. How death was to come was a detail ; the essential fact was that a fire was burning within that must consume him long before he had reached the threescore years and ten. He himself had a presentiment, which he expressed to several friends, that his life would be short ; and as if to excuse himself for living at high pressure, he would say that his life-work must be crowded into a few years. That, however, was not a matter which lay in his power. It was his nature, not his will, that made him do so much in so short a time. The amount of work done was so considerable that we have hardly a right to complain of the shortness of the time. Intense life and longevity are to a certain extent incompatible, but the intensity compensates for the brevity. Though William Denny died at forty, his life was not a mere unfulfilled promise ; he compressed

into these years the work of an ordinary life twice as long. "How seldom," writes Dr. Maclagan, "in the history of the world has the life of a man who died before he reached forty been worth writing. He died before he reached middle life, and yet one cannot say that his life's work was not done."

A thinking machine, which had been working at high pressure without rest for twenty years, could not go on much longer without collapse in some form. But it might have lasted a little longer under favourable circumstances. Unfortunately these were not forthcoming in South America. On the contrary, the conditions under which Mr. Denny spent the last eight months of his life there were such as to precipitate the crisis. He left home for Buenos Ayres with different expectations, fondly hoping that by that visit to a foreign land he should make his escape from the incessant demands made upon him at home, at least for a time, and possibly for ever. He sailed from Southampton saying in his heart: "Farewell for a while to writing, lecturing, and speech-making!" He had said to his physician in so many words: "I will be out of temptation, and I won't begin again." Alas! it is not so easy by a voyage of a few thousand miles to escape from temptation or from ourselves. Work and worry unexpected and excessive awaited the weary fugitive on the far side of the Atlantic. And he took with him his over-active brain, and his eager spirit, and his nimble fingers, and his eloquent tongue. If he wrote no scientific papers or popular lectures, he wrote reports, journals, and letters; if he delivered no speeches, he talked earnestly on favourite themes far on into the

night, to the delight of hearers, but to the distress of friends who perceived how exhausting these efforts were. And so it came to pass that the work, and the worry, and the very recreation wore him out, and brought at length with startling suddenness the fatal catastrophe for which hidden processes of nerve deterioration had been silently preparing during many previous years.

It may seem strange to say it, nevertheless I think, and will venture to suggest, that the very goodness of the man worked, subordinately to the main cause, inimically to his life. One can see, for example, how, after a morbid condition had been brought about by the long-continued overactivity of the brain, that principle of self-sacrifice which was the very essence of Denny's religion might become a source of fatal temptation. The thought might readily suggest itself that he was disqualified from carrying to a successful issue the pending negotiations by the personal relations between himself and the party with whom he was treating. From this it was but a step to the further thought: "I am in the way. My life must be sacrificed to facilitate a settlement and save all whose interests are involved." William Denny in health would not have entertained the evil suggestion; but we can conceive how William Denny, no longer in full possession of his reason, and depressed in spirit, might give it a place in his mind and under a sudden impulse carry it into effect. The last words he wrote home, to be hereafter referred to, contain expressions which seem to show that this is not a gratuitous supposition.

In this way his very religion probably became to

the weary, worn man a dangerous tempter. His virtue, too, became his foe. Had he been a bad or a morally commonplace man, he would have had a better chance. Had he loved his wife and children less, or been more callous and case-hardened in relation to the world; had he been less gentle, trustful, and generous, less dependent on sympathy, less acutely sensitive to the meanness, selfishness, and dishonesty of unworthy persons, his life might have been saved. But how much better to lose life than to save it by such means!

Full particulars regarding Mr. Denny's movements on the fatal day, from his rising at six o'clock in the morning at the quinta to the last scene, were sent home to his relatives by Mr. Anderson and by Mr. Reid, his private secretary. The only fact worth mentioning as possibly having some bearing on the end is that in taking his usual swim at the baths, which he did that morning alone, he made a very bad dive, going too deep and striking either his head or his shoulder, Mr. Anderson could not remember which. His death took place at 4.45 p.m. in his room in the Company's office at Buenos Ayres, where he was alone, his secretary being in the adjoining room. On his writing-table were found three letters: one from the agent of M. Ribes, marked in the corner "Received 2.30 p.m.;" one addressed to his father, mother, wife, and children, dated 2.30 p.m.; and another addressed to his father alone, dated 4.30 p.m.

These two letters, containing the dying man's last messages to his dearly loved ones, it would be a sacrilege to make public. I have seen them, and can truly say that nothing more touching has ever come

under my eye. They show very clearly the deep depression under which the writer was suffering. He complains: "My mind and heart are worn out by the strains put upon them during the last few months," and again, "All is dark round me, saving the memory of all you loved ones at home and one or two genuine friends here." He even questions his sanity all through life, as in his last letter to his wife he had spoken of himself as deceived as to his past goodness, the two morbid feelings together leaving no doubt as to the eclipse of reason at the moment. But through the gloom the spirit of the man, as we have known him, shines with unabated brightness. He sends these characteristic messages: "Tell my partners and the workpeople they are dear to me;" "Tell my sons to live modestly and for others." He is careful to mention with commendation those whom he has found faithful. And he dies in the spirit of self-sacrifice. "My continuance would only increase the difficulties. It is better for you all I go."

With such touching words of farewell passed away from this world William Denny the good, the most beautiful soul I think it has been my privilege to know. Of the grief caused by his death I do not speak, nor of the bitter tears shed at his burial by many in Buenos Ayres, who, after a short acquaintance of a few months, had learned to sincerely esteem and love him, and again at Dumbarton when his remains, brought home from the foreign land, were interred in the family burying-place, amid the lamentations of a whole community that had known him from childhood and the honest, manly sorrow of

workmen who would gladly have saved his life by laying down their own. I will simply say, for the comfort of all who knew him, that he perished not in vain. His life was a sacrifice for the good of humanity in a distant part of the world. Think not of the manner of his death; that is a mere incident. Some die in battle; some by fever in hospital or jungle; some, by the malice of men, on the cross or at the stake; some of the noblest, bereft of reason, by their own hand. William Denny really belongs to the "noble army of martyrs." He is one of the heroic band of whom he spoke in his lecture on "Success"—the men who are in advance of the fighting line, whose bodies make a bridge for their comrades to march over. In that lecture he thanked God for the existence of such men, the *enfants perdus* of humanity. Notwithstanding the mystery that envelops his end, we may thank God for him as one of their number. Cut off, as it appears to us, in the midst of his days, he lived long enough to do a noble work, leaving to young men the example of a model youth, working out as an administrator of labour the lofty ideal of a captain of industry, making important contributions, of recognised and lasting value, to naval architecture, uttering wise, golden words on all questions affecting man's social, moral, and religious well-being, and, above all, exhibiting to a wide circle of friends in his own character a pattern of real goodness, free from cant or pretence, which has helped them to understand what Christ was, and to cherish hope for the future of the human race. "You will never know," wrote one of these friends in Buenos Ayres, "the influence for

good Mr. Denny has had over me. I think of him almost with awe; and looking back on our life during the past few months, it seems as if I had been in personal contact with our Saviour." These are the words, not of a clergyman or of one accustomed to the use of pious phrases or prone to respect those who are addicted to their use, but of one who describes himself as "of a light and careless disposition." He is only one of hundreds who have been similarly impressed by William Denny.

CHAPTER XXIII.

CHARACTERISTICS.

THIS book is to end as it began: with a portrait. I cannot hope to emulate the exquisite artistic skill of M. Jacquet; but I may be able at least to gather into a constellation the principal traits of character that shed their starlike lustre on the foregoing pages, and to preserve in this concluding chapter some significant incidents for which no place has been found elsewhere.

To rare intellectual and moral qualities William Denny united in his person no less remarkable physical attractions. He was a tall, handsome man, with broad shoulders, full chest, manly, dignified carriage, regular and singularly expressive features, in which refinement and strength were combined, the eyes, blue, bright, loving, above all arresting attention. His whole aspect and bearing was winsome, and inspired instant admiration. It gave one a pleasant surprise to find talent, goodness, and beauty, all in a high degree, joined together like three graces in the same individual.

As a business man William Denny had very outstanding characteristics. His idiosyncrasies as they revealed themselves to those about him in the office, though minute, help to give distinctness to his in-

dividuality. I am enabled to give a good photograph of him in his office coat, so to speak, taken by one who for some time acted as his secretary. It belongs to the years 1883-4, when office habits had become well defined. "My recollections," writes Mr. Winter, "of Mr. Denny, apart from what every one in Dumbarton and elsewhere knows of him as a public man, are derived solely from my connection with him in office work. In the conduct of business he was most methodical, and one of the other traits of his character with which I was impressed was the uniform attention he gave to the smallest matters. It was very seldom you failed of a morning to find the 'agenda' for the day lying on his desk ready for him when he came to business. These he always wrote out himself on the previous night. As each matter on the list was in its turn attended to, nothing could exceed the care with which he struck it out. He seemed to put his whole heart and soul into the striking out with his pen of a few words or figures. In doing so, he would place himself, pen in hand, in such a position as would have led most people to believe he was about to write something of the very greatest importance; and after finishing the task he would assume an air of great satisfaction, as if a burden had been taken off his mind. In giving expression to his wishes, he was so exact and detailed in his explanations as to leave no room for dubiety concerning them, and therefore no excuse on the part of any one who might wrongly carry these wishes out.

"His methodical habits extended to everything he took in hand, even to the little bookcase that sat

at his left hand on one end of his office table, and to the placing of his pen on a particular notch of the penholder which sat in front of him. In the small bookcase alluded to he kept his books of reference, and each book he scrupulously kept to the place allotted to it. I have known him to stop short in the middle of a letter he was dictating, and, with a gesture of impatience, rearrange a book that had been carelessly misplaced by some one, and which his eye had at once detected. This characteristic of attaching importance to apparently trivial matters never in him degenerated into querulousness.

“In dictating letters, he would sometimes place one knee on his chair, lean forward on his desk, and watch me on the opposite side of the table, taking down his words in shorthand, perhaps occasionally asking me what certain of my shorthand characters represented. At other times, and especially when dictating anything of a controversial nature, he would rise from his chair, and firmly pace the room.

“His manner of writing was peculiar. It was simply a series of jerks, and he occasionally remarked that writing was painful to him.

“Anything more gentlemanly than the manner in which he treated those around him could not be very easily conceived; and I never came into contact with any one whom I so much respected, and who was so worthy of respect. It has been well remarked that his motto seemed to be ‘thorough.’”

Generosity was a conspicuous feature in the character of William Denny in his business relations. An instance of his generous conduct has already been given in the case of Mr. Heck, the inventor of the

stability balance. Two other examples may here be cited.

Mr. Nathaniel Dunlop, of the Allan line firm, became acquainted with William Denny in connection with the building of the *Buenos Ayrean*, the first steel ship that crossed the Atlantic. He had heard of what Mr. Denny was doing in the way of introducing double bottoms, and went down to see him. He was received with great frankness and shown everything, though he had stated that not business, but curiosity, had brought him. The result was that William Denny got the contract for the new steel steamer. It was the first ship the firm had built for the Allan line for twenty years, owing to misunderstanding. With reference to this fact Mr. Dunlop writes: "To his frank, generous, and open character, which I discovered at my first business interview with him, it was owing that my firm resumed its business relations with his, after many years of estrangement; and the pleasure I experienced in the conduct of the building operations which followed upon that interview is one of the hallowed memories of my business career." It is pleasing to mention that a steamer belonging to this firm was put at the disposal of the family to bring the body of William Denny home from Buenos Ayres.

The other anecdote refers to, and is reported by, Mr. A. Betts Brown, inventor of hydraulic machinery for loading, discharging, steering, and working steamships. Mr. Brown had been trying for years, and in vain, to get a certain shipping company to take up his invention. In despair he called early in 1880 at the office of the Denny firm in London, on the chance

of finding any of them there, and had the good fortune to find William Denny, his father, and Mr. Brock, their partner in the engineering department. He explained his errand, whereupon William's eyes brightened up; and, with his usual enthusiasm, he was for deciding at once to try the new machinery in a steamer they were contracting to build for the British Indian Steam Navigation Company: the *Quetta*. But it was deemed prudent to consult with the owners; and accordingly an interview took place with Mr. Dawes, whom Mr. Brown describes as a "refreshing contrast to any person I had met before in the course of pushing my invention." A prospect of trying the invention was now within sight, though on somewhat hard terms for the inventor, nothing like so hard as had previously been offered by another company, which demanded guarantees as to the success of the invention impossible for any inventor not in possession of a fortune, yet hard enough for a man pushing his way in the world, involving a heavy loss as well as a guarantee to remove the gear if it was not an improvement on the old system. The other members of the Denny firm counselled Mr. Brown to wait for another opportunity. Mr. William alone advised a bold course, and offered from his firm a contribution of one hundred pounds towards reducing the inevitable loss. This decided the matter. The ship was fitted out with the new gear, Mr. William taking as much interest in it as if the invention had been his own, and on its proving a success, and other orders coming in, speaking to his friends in such terms as might have suggested that he had a personal and pecuniary interest in the scheme.

The story has another side. The new machinery, while satisfactory otherwise, had one drawback. The hydraulic lifts went through the decks like large pillars, and obstructed the shipment of cargo. Mr. Brown's generous patron informed him that this arrangement could no longer be tolerated, and in the most peremptory terms required him to get off the decks altogether, giving him three or four days to solve the difficulty. The poor inventor, at his wits' end, naturally expressed the hope that he was not going to be thrown overboard, whereupon followed protestations of friendship not to be forgotten; nevertheless the peremptory requirement, "Get off the decks," was adhered to. Stimulated by the pressure thus put upon him, Brown set his brains to work on his way home from Dumbarton; and before reaching Edinburgh he had found a solution in imitating the example of the sailor in the sinking ship getting up the mast with all his goods and chattels. The new device was to suspend the machinery from the mast, completely clear of the decks. Only those who knew him well can imagine Denny's delight when the problem had been solved; and a part of the credit belongs to him, for it was his intense enthusiasm and restless desire to improve upon everything, however apparently perfect, that supplied the needed stimulus to invention.

The magnanimous action of William Denny in this and other instances reminds one of Barnabas going down to Tarsus to seek Saul and bring him up to Antioch, where he might find the long-sought opportunity of preaching his universal gospel. Such generous promptitude to play the Barnabas part was

but another manifestation of the same quality of character which placed him always in the van of progress in everything relating to his profession. A pioneer himself, he had a fellow-feeling for all pioneers. Original ideas and original men were alike welcome to him.

Denny's business character had its sterner side. The temper which revealed itself in his boyhood, when he thrashed the bullies and liars among his Edinburgh school companions, remained with him in manhood to chastise unmercifully everything bearing the slightest resemblance to commercial dishonesty. If material purchased for the building of a ship stood the test badly, the manufacturers were sure to hear of it in no mealy-mouthed terms. "Two more shell-plates have cracked, one in the most disgraceful and dangerous manner." "Had we no other experience of steel than that afforded us in this steamer, the material would have no more sincere opponents than ourselves." "No more plates of that manufacture!" Away with it! sorry to trouble you, "but a sense of duty to our constituents compels us to do so." Bravo! The recipients of such truculent letters will not thank you for them, but all honest men will clap their hands.

Denny was a literary man as well as a business man; he wrote much and spoke much, and one is curious to know what were his habits in preparing and delivering his addresses and speeches. I am enabled to give information on this point taken from the lips of another of his secretaries. "Regarding the preparation and delivery of speeches and lectures by Mr. Denny" (such is Mr. Reid's statement), "he

had not since I entered his employment written out these previous to delivery, further than a few headings. His usual custom was to write on a small slip of paper three or four principal headings, each with four or five subsidiary ones. The lectures were well thought out immediately before delivery. Several of his smaller speeches were delivered without any previous preparation or notes."

With regard to his manner of delivery Mr. Reid states: "He wanted to train himself for public speaking so that his speed might be reduced (previous to 1884 he spoke very quickly: over a hundred and fifty words per minute) and still be able to 'keep' his audience. For this purpose I reported all his utterances verbatim. A young lad sat beside me always with a chronograph, letting me know the end of every minute, so that I might mark it in my report, and thus be able to inform Mr. Denny as to the speed of every minute separately. He reduced his speed greatly; and as an instance in the delivery of 'Religion in this Life' his speed varied from a hundred and nine words a minute to a hundred and fifty-one, making an average on his hour's speech of a hundred and twenty-four. I was in his employment as private secretary from 13th September, 1884, to 17th March, 1887."

Mr. Denny has himself admitted us behind the scenes as to his habits as a speaker in his address on "Public Speaking" in the Free Church College, Glasgow, in the winter of 1885. The address consisted of a series of hints to men who were to be occupied all their life in speaking to their fellow-men on the subject of religion. Among the chief topics

were "Pace," "Words," "Matter," and "Arrangement." On the first he said:—

"Pace is a very difficult matter, especially for young speakers. They almost all speak much too fast. The fastest pace known is about a hundred and eighty words per minute; and I believe one of the gentlemen who come near this pace is Lord Sherbrooke, better known under his original name of Mr. Robert Lowe. But far short of a hundred and eighty words you may have a pace which is impossible for public speaking. A pace of a hundred and fifty words to the minute is not at all uncommon with young speakers, but it is too fast to allow the speaker to form his sentences with any approach to correctness and clearness, and it is much too fast to permit his audience to grasp what he is saying to them. The pace which you will find the best is one varying from about a hundred to a hundred and ten words to the minute. That pace will secure the attention of almost any audience, if you have got anything to say to them, and can say it in an interesting way. But be very wary of allowing your emotion to quicken your pace. It almost invariably has this tendency, a tendency requiring vigorous restraint."

On the subject of "Words" Mr. Denny's advice to his audience was: "Don't use uncommon words; don't use classical words, if you can at all avoid them; above all, don't use foreign words."

"The words you use in public speaking should be homely to you; their history, their pathos, and their full scope for use should be of the experience of your daily life; and as a good fencer racks his foils ready to hand, and can even in the dark pick from its place unhesitatingly the foil for his special need, so the words you use should stand ranged in the armoury of your memory, slipping from the mind to the lips without delay or error."

As to "Matter" he said:—

"In matter be very careful not to be encyclopædic. An audience does not want to hear a dictionary, nor do they wish to listen to a gazetteer. You can only speak about one or two things well and clearly, and the moment you try to extend your powers beyond these limits you fail. Learn well the limits of public speaking, and be content if you have stimulated one fine impulse and conveyed two sharply defined bits of truth."

In speaking of "Arrangement," he assumed that public speaking was to be extempore, having only the ideas and plan prepared beforehand. He thought this the only true form of the art, "the only form affording that interest, variety, and spontaneous expression which are its charms as compared with writing, reading, or reciting." "To the extempore speaker," he said, "the arrangement of his matter is one half his work. It is his road through a country which would otherwise be to him either a trackless expanse or a place of pitfalls and quagmires." He counselled the preparation of a scheme of arrangement in the form of written notes.

These counsels to students were drawn from the speaker's own experience, and reveal his own method.

Turning now to the personal character of William Denny, I shall follow his counsel to the students and avoid the error, fatal to interest, of being encyclopædic. He had many virtues, too many to enumerate; but he had one above all, the cardinal virtue without which all others are but the external ornaments of a character without true worth, the virtue which makes a man in the Bible sense "perfect"—I mean, enthusiastic devotion to the true, the good, and the fair, in Christ's language to "the kingdom of God." That meant for him the well-being of humanity, more definitely still the well-being of the industrial classes. His great aim in life was to promote the true human interest of the working-man. He believed and hoped the best for the toiling class, and gladly expended effort for their benefit. He could not stand by in silence and hear any man speak evil of them. His friend Mr. Dawes, already

referred to, supplies an interesting illustration : " Some years ago he accompanied me to see the progress of a workmen's club that I was building on my property in Kent. Whilst discussing matters with the builder an old farmer came in, and spoke slightly of what was being done. William Denny, with his habitual earnestness, at once took up the challenge, and tried to convert the old farmer into a more hopeful view of human nature ; and I can see him now standing amongst the bricks and mortar, with his hand on the old farmer's shoulder, warmly advocating the views he held. The old farmer, I remember, remarked : ' When you have had as much to do with labourers as I have, you will change your opinion.' The following week, meeting me, he asked : ' Who was your teetotal friend with you last week ? ' I replied that I was very much amused, in listening to the discussion, to hear his remark that when my friend had had as much to do with labouring men as he had he would change his opinion ; and I then told him that my friend paid as much in labourers' wages in the course of one year as he had done all his life, old as he was. This information created a profound impression upon the old farmer, and I do not think he has ever forgotten it."

Discussions going on anywhere or at any time on the rights and wrongs, sorrows and hopes, of the working classes were an irresistible temptation to Denny, and sucked him in like a vortex. An amusing illustrative incident occurred in Regent's Park, London. He had gone with his brother-in-law, Mr. Arthur Serena, to take a Sunday afternoon walk there. Numbers of people were gathered in small

knots discussing all sorts of subjects. Here a lay preacher was holding forth ; there at a little distance an atheist was denouncing the Church ; in a third crowd politics were the theme. The friends stood for a little at each group, listened, and passed on, till they came to a larger group, where the merits and demerits of socialism were the subject of discussion, the speakers being chiefly foreigners. Denny soon began to feel the fascination ; and when things were said about competition and kindred matters which he deemed mistaken, he first expressed dissent, then was drawn on into discussion, and finally into a speech setting forth his views on the great social question. The crowd rapidly increased ; they listened with admiration to the strange speaker, and the leaders wished to know the name of one in whom they thought they had secured a valuable champion of their cause, till at length his friend was glad to get him away from the scene, loaded with pamphlets and leaflets bearing on socialism. "Wasted words!" we are apt to say. Perhaps so ; but they reveal the speaker's enthusiasm of humanity, and suggest the query, Was it not in just such ways that the Apostles of Christianity propagated the faith ?

The dashing manner in which Denny struck into the discussions of the Socialists in Regent's Park reminds me of a similar incident which occurred in Dumbarton at an earlier period. At the time when his pamphlet on the worth of wages was creating a stir in the minds of trades-unionists one of their lecturers, Mr. Lloyd Jones, appeared on the scene to criticise and demolish it. The first intimation which Denny received of the intended attack was a note

from Jones put into his hands while he sat at dinner on the evening on which the attack was to be made. He immediately rose and set out to the meeting to defend himself to the best of his ability. His reply was as effective as the spirit he displayed was plucky.

Readers will remember what a prominent feature purity was in the character of William Denny. This should hardly be viewed as a distinct virtue from that just mentioned ; it was but a manifestation of enthusiasm for the good of humanity in the form of zeal for the honour of woman. Enough has been said on the subject already, and I mention it here simply to make an opportunity for showing by a single instance how wherever he went Denny carried with him this manly, tender, chivalrous solicitude for the well-being of the softer sex. We have seen how kindly were his thoughts of the women of Paraguay. Letters not yet quoted reveal his intense sympathy with them under the wrongs done to them by the other sex, especially by men of European nationalities. Here is an extract from a letter written on the 17th August, 1886, from the city of Asuncion, the capital of Paraguay :—

“ We have a lot of young fellows with us on this trip, not bad fellows, but thoughtless. One of them seemed to think the women of this country were made of an inferior clay for the use of himself and others like him. I gave him my views on his views pretty straight lately, and told him that while he was with me he would get no countenance for his opinions. I am glad to say that last night one of the young natives of the place gave him such a fright by drawing a revolver on him that he has now got to his senses, and will likely keep within bounds in future.

“ The women here are much to be pitied, poor souls. They get all the burdens to bear, both really and metaphorically. A man would need to be very blind, or very brutish if he were not blind, to even think of adding insult and degradation to the burdens they already carry. There

is one good point about them ; and that is, they do not sell themselves. They have much to bear, but they escape that degradation ; and it makes me indignant to see men trying to introduce it. I have spoken out plainly to our young fellows, and I think with some good result, on this.

“ We met one poor woman the other day with two children, and no one to help her in feeding or bringing them up. The oldest child was of an American, who had been good to her, but died. The youngest child, a baby, was left on her hands by its father, a scum of a German, who had bolted and left her helpless before its birth. It is this kind of brutality, and worse, which makes one wish some men hanged for their baseness. A man cannot with his eyes and heart open travel in these countries without pitying the women. Everything hard comes back upon them.

“ There is a Dr. Wood, an American missionary, who is beginning a good work among the people, which I hope will prosper. The priests are a base, money-grubbing lot ; and the way they encourage morality is by charging the poor creatures from seven to ten dollars for the marriage ceremony, a monstrous sum to ask them to pay. I never saw a baser-looking set than the priests here, and I suspect the Roman Church makes these countries the refuges for all its dishonoured ministers.”

Another thing which showed the intensity of Denny's feelings on this subject was the immense, one might say the extravagant, admiration for any one who, like Mr. Stead, devoted himself to the exposure of wrong done to the female sex. This comes out in a letter written in the beginning of 1886 to the Rev. J. Wallace, of Redcar. The letter breathes the spirit which pervades all his correspondence in those later years, insisting on the spirit of comradeship, protesting against “ the patronising and very-superior-person business going on in this country,” and proclaiming it as the supreme duty of the superior man to make himself serviceable and lovable. It ends with this message to a brother of the editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette* : “ You can tell your friend Mr. Stead that his brother is admired by me as I only admire two or three living men besides.”

Denny's character was heroic, but it was entirely

free from the severity and moroseness often associated with the heroic temper which make close acquaintance with many great men either impossible or disappointing. He was master of the small social virtues as well as of the grand solitary ones, and possessed in an unusual degree those amiable qualities of good-temper, courtesy, and easy frankness which win affection and constitute comradeship. Mr. Martell only expressed the common feeling of all who knew him when, writing to his father on hearing of his illness in 1883, he said: "He is such a thorough good fellow from every point of view that I assure you we all here feel as much as if he were a blood-relative. We not only regard him as a splendid representative of our profession, possessing all the highest qualities entitling him to our confidence, but we respect and esteem him above most men we meet for his broad, generous views and graciousness of manners, which, I assure you in all sincerity, endear him to all he comes in contact with here."

It is not surprising that a man of such varied excellence should inspire enthusiastic attachments. Accordingly nothing can be more striking than the superlative terms in which many of his friends have expressed their admiration for the character of William Denny. Eulogy is apt to be tiresome, and large deductions must be made from the language of friendship; but the words of many correspondents are too specific to be taken as mere complimentary phrases. One calls Denny a "white man" in the fullest sense of the term, recognised as such, in his life and after his death, by all his men-friends. Another, a business man, like the one just quoted,

says: "He in my eyes was the highest perfection of manhood I have ever seen." A third pronounces him "the prince of ship-builders and gentlemen." A French correspondent* writes: "The character of William Denny is one of the most remarkable, and I may add most charming, I have ever met with. It presented so rare a union of quick intelligence, sound judgment, sure memory, with the highest moral qualities: rectitude, loyalty, frankness, benevolence. In the depths of his clear eyes conscience shone." Another French gentleman† testifies that he had everything to inspire sympathy—goodness, intelligence, beauty—but that the most pleasing feature in him was the nobleness of his sentiments, which he characterises as *chivalresque*. "In this age," he remarks, of positivism and realism, when men make a display of the vile and trample the noble under foot, one is happy to meet with a beautiful nature like that of William Denny." M. Achille Hayman, his Paris bookseller, bears witness to his benevolence and sincerity in friendship: "He was truly generous not only in words, but in actions. Thus I myself saw him give to all the poor who abound on the boulevards in winter, and who seemed to come towards him feeling that they had a friend in that energetic and beautiful face. . . . He was good, but not of commonplace goodness. Once you were his friend, it was for ever. So many people call you their dear friend, and do not even know your name." One who became acquainted with him in Buenos Ayres writes: "He was a man of the most chivalrous sense of honour,

* M. Ch. Ledoux, a director of the original French Platense Company.

† M. Jules Barry, ship-broker, Marseilles.

and I have never met another who in so short a space of time made so many friends or earned so much affectionate esteem and regard from a large circle of people who had been previously strangers to him."

Ladies, as was to be expected, vie with gentlemen in sounding Denny's praise. He prized highly the company of good women, and they saw him at his best. One calls him "the most exalted and spiritually-minded man I ever had the privilege of meeting." Another, who knew him well, reports that the two things that aroused his anger more than anything seemed to be the slightest untruth and snobbishness. "His perfect honesty and straightforwardness especially struck me. I remember once remarking to a friend that, if Diogenes had come across William Denny, he might have put out his lantern and retired into his tub." The same lady further writes: "Each time I stayed in his house I left it with an ever-increasing respect and admiration for his character, and I do not remember ever hearing him say or do a thing that decreased that admiration. To me being in his society had the bracing effect on the mind that the moor air has on the body. He had such a firm belief of the ultimate triumph of good over evil."

Denny's character stood the scrutiny even of those who served in the house. Beveridge, the butler at Helenslee, says: "All I am as a man I owe to William Denny. I hung on his words at table. His conversation was a regular education to me." I may here insert a significant anecdote Beveridge related to me. William Denny was preparing to go to the funeral of an old workman, who, having fallen into

drink, had been put into the poorhouse at his expense. Beveridge remarked: "You do not need to be particular in dressing for this funeral." William Denny replied: "That is not my way. I will be as particular in this case as if it were the highest in the land."

All Denny's acquaintances, however, were not enthusiastic admirers. The liking of some was very qualified and moderate. These were men who looked at him from the outside, and lacked the key to his character. They saw in him a good deal to criticise. One who had only business relations with him thought him somewhat arrogant, a sort of battering-ram, mistaking impetuosity for arrogance. He was overbearing as a winter torrent is: by the sheer force of his enthusiasm. Another smiled when the lecture on "Religion in this Life" came into his hands, and remarked: "Is Denny airing his talents on this subject also?" He thought him a non-religious man because his religion was not of the conventional type. Quite a number of persons were struck by what appeared to them glaring inconsistencies. Hopelessly puzzled, one remarked: "He set before himself a very high ideal, almost Christlike; yet he held a very defective creed, and at times talked almost blasphemously. He read a portion of Thomas a Kempis every morning, yet he was at the same time constantly reading sceptical books." Another declared "he was full of contradictions: he denied the Atonement, yet sang fervently evangelical hymns; supported the Purity movement, yet frequented the theatre, which supplies more street women than all other institutions; hated dogmatism, yet was the greatest of dogmatists."

Some went the length of positively disliking, almost hating, the man. If this seem strange to any of his friends, the following report of a conversation I had with one of his most enthusiastic admirers may throw some light on it. Mr. — remarked to me: "William Denny made enemies, but I pity the wretches who were his enemies." I replied: "I don't understand how William Denny could make any honest man an enemy." He rejoined: "Ah, there's the rub; they are not honest." There were men by whom Denny did not expect or want to be loved, whom he did not love or respect, taking no great pains to conceal the fact. He did not love a purse-proud, tuft-hunting, close-fisted religionist. He had a scorn for all pretentious, unreal character, and would not conceal it, cost what it might. The haughty autocrat, who expected all men to cringe to him and do his bidding like slaves, he despised and defied. Such men instinctively knew his feeling towards them, and of course they returned it with interest. We don't think the worse of our friend for making men of these types his enemies. It is the negative test of goodness. Genuine goodness has two witnesses: the praise of the wise and the good and the blame of the foolish and evil-minded. "Woe unto you when all men shall speak well of you!" I make no apology for Denny's dislike of men of the types above indicated. His antipathies were those of Christ. Would that such antipathies were more common among men professing the Christian religion!

William Denny had faults, weaknesses, without doubt. He was impulsive, and therefore somewhat

changeable in his opinions, and now and then rash in action. But this impulsiveness was something more than a fault. If it was a source of mistakes, it was also a source of power. It helped to make Denny an outstanding man, head-and-shoulders above ninety-and-nine unimpulsive men who need no repentance. But to proceed with the enumeration of his shortcomings. He had hobbies also. One of them was the use of gas as fuel for cooking and heating, on which he read a paper before the Philosophical and Literary Society of Dumbarton in 1881. He was a great talker, and was apt to monopolise conversation. He became possessed of an idea, and must speak of it, in season and out of season. He always had something on his mind, so that you could hardly meet him without finding him in a talkative mood. You might have felt bored had his talk not been so uncommon, bright, original, stimulating. He only wanted a listener, and he would talk for half an hour. If you listened till he had exhausted himself, he would then be pleased to hear what you thought. The members of his family were cognisant of his habit, and smiled at it. His brothers would say: "There's Willie at his lecture again." Poor Willie! Is it not pathetic to see this man with thoughts in his heart, as a burning fire shut up in his bones, which will not allow him to be silent? One called him unsympathetically a talking machine: "he turned on the spigot, and the water flowed." Yes, it flowed, and with a great rush, as from a pipe connected with the "main," for Denny's mind was indeed connected with the "main" of eternal truth.

At the worst the habit referred to was but a minor

fault. If the character of the man, on the whole, was really excellent, it is not an unpardonable sin that he talked too much. It is on the religious side that Mr. Denny's character will seem to many most open to criticism. To those who make theological opinion the test of goodness it will appear a puzzle. He seemed so good, so Christian; yet how can a man be either who does not hold the orthodox doctrines? One accustomed to this way of judging declared to me decidedly that William Denny was not a Christian; and on being asked to explain his meaning, he replied that he did not think he (William Denny) believed that Jesus Christ, the Galilean Carpenter, was God Almighty. I do not admit the truth of this statement; there is nothing to justify it in any of his deliberate utterances; but I am prepared to admit that, tested by conventional dogmatic standards, the religious position of William Denny was unsatisfactory. He was not a heretic, but neither was he orthodox. He attached little importance to dogma, and was accustomed to judge all things by moral tests. The spirit of Christ, not His metaphysical relation to Deity, was what he valued. The spirit of self-sacrifice was what he saw in the Cross, Christ teaching us to bear others' burdens. That spirit he believed to be Divine, and endeavoured to put in practice. Tested by the measure in which he made that spirit the law of his life, he was, I make bold to aver, one of the most Christlike men of this age. I apprehend that, instead of calling in question his Christianity on dogmatic grounds, we shall be better occupied in learning a lesson which characters like his force on our attention; viz., that Christian goodness and

sanctity can exist apart from the usual dogmatic accompaniments. Even those may admit this who deem his religious opinions largely erroneous, bowing to the logic of facts, as the Apostolic Church did when, contrary to their Jewish prejudices, they said : "Then hath God also to the Gentiles granted repentance unto life." To others who regard the creed Denny held respecting the Fatherhood of God and the future hope for men as not a thing to be apologised for, but as the true Christian faith, the conspicuous goodness of the man will naturally appear in the light of credentials for his faith. As his biographer, I decide not between the two views. My business is to state facts, not to advocate theories. I cannot consistently with truth give William Denny a certificate of faultless orthodoxy tested by conventional standards. But I am very sure I have seen few better men and better Christians. I accept without reserve the testimony wrung from the heart of an afflicted father : "He was a prince ; he is a king."