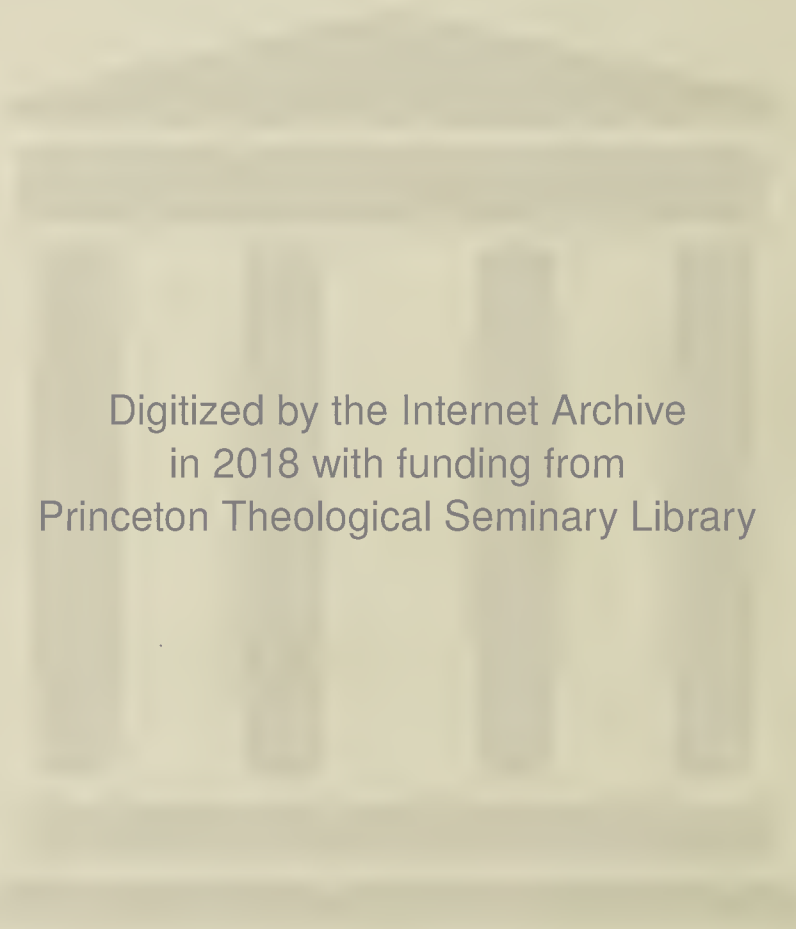

THE

History of Theology

IN

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY,

BY Dr. AUGUSTUS THOLUCK,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF HALLE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN,

BY THE EDITOR.

CONCLUDED FROM VOL. IV. No. 1.

THE

History of Theology,

&c. &c.

II. HISTORY OF THE CONFLICT BETWEEN FAITH AND INFIDELITY.

§ I. *Introductory remarks on faith and infidelity.*

We introduce these remarks with an expression of Goethe, which, if he himself did not fully understand, becomes so much the more important for those, who have learned from personal experience, what faith and infidelity really are. In his "West Oestlicher Divan," page 224, he says, that "the great and deepest theme of the history of the world and of man, is the conflict between faith and unbelief." Those who can fully comprehend these words, will feel their truth. Man finds himself in this world, on an isolated point, he knows not whence he comes, nor whither he goes—he knows nothing but the spot upon which he awoke, and upon which he is soon to close his eyes for ever. Were he not by faith able to rise above himself and this dreary life, he would have nothing to do, but with highminded calmness, to resign all hope of attaining the end, to which his nature prompts him to aspire. As the world and God, time and eternity, annihilation and salvation, are the great conflicting points, upon which human life turns, the ground and centre of the conflict lies in the struggle between faith and unbelief. The contemplation of

this struggle therefore, must either have the tendency to bring us to a more elevated consciousness of the high destiny to which God has called us, or to the expectation of the that bottomless abyss of unconscious existence, which is result of all logical infidelity. Infidelity in its widest sense, is a disposition which leads us to admit nothing as true, which is not the result of our own reasonings or deduction, —faith on the other hand, is that disposition, which, influenced either by an outward or inward necessity, admits as true, what is not merely by logical inference rendered certain. The great question here presents itself, what is the result to which we are led, when we logically pursue the path of skepticism? that is, when we are determined to form a logical system respecting human and divine things with no other guide than speculation. There is something in the heart of man, which leads him to believe, whether he wishes it or not. But there is also something in the fallen nature of man, which prompts to skepticism. And as the evil in our nature (until restored by Christ) prevails over the good, the tendency to unbelief is more powerful than the tendency to faith. Yet the disposition to faith, constantly opposes itself to the contrary disposition. Hence it is that very few pursue their skepticism to its legitimate results, and that there are so few thorough systems of infidelity in the world. For the biblical christian, however, it must ever appear safer and better, that the system should be carried out, instead of being checked in its course, and moulded into a form which floats between heaven and earth, and can neither justify itself at the tribunal of Philosophy, nor that of the Bible. Superficial men content themselves with such a system, which satisfies their more common feelings, but which lulls them into a dangerous security. A system which is throughout consequent, and is prepared to win or lose all, is more worthy of respect, and at the same time safer, as it affords more hope of return, since the ne-

cessity of having something to believe, is too deeply seated in the human heart, to permit us to rest satisfied with the terrible results of consequent skepticism. Schelling, therefore, (see the Preface to the first volume of his philosophical works,) has reason to reproach those with cowardice, who, having raised themselves above external things, and committed themselves to the guidance of speculation, shrink back from the legitimate consequences of such a course. From what has been said, it is evident, that there are various grades of skeptical philosophy, from that which has most thoroughly followed out its principles, to that which is most inconsequent and nearest allied to faith. We can, however, distinguish these systems into two classes, the consequent and inconsequent—the former is Pantheism in its diversified forms, the latter is Deism.

Pantheistical system.

We have proposed the question, what is the result of all logical speculation, when we have resolved to follow no other guide? The speculation which proceeds by deduction, must commence with some first principles or intuitive truths which are supplied by our own consciousness. The point from which it starts is the consciousness of existence. But this is not a consciousness of independent existence, but if an existence depending and grounded upon something else. Hence the speculator in the consciousness of his own existence, is at the same time, conscious of the existence of an original existence *(Urseyn)* upon which his own is founded. First from this consciousness—the consciousness of personal existence including that of the original existence, proceeds the speculation or argument, for to this point all is assumed as intuitively true. As soon as the argumentation is commenced, a dilemma presents itself, which, according as the one or the other side is assumed, decides upon all divine and human things. This dilemma is as follows: first, my

being presents itself as a person, that is, as possessed of self-efficiency; for if it be a person it is self active, having no other ground of its actions than itself; but secondly, I am conscious that my being and actions are dependent and restricted, that the remote ground of my activity, is not in myself, but in the original existence. How can these things be reconciled. If there be an original existence unlimited and independent, which conditions all other existences, there can be no agent out of him which has in itself the last ground of its actions. For if the original existence is the necessary condition, of the actions of other existences, it is the only agent.

Since this original existence is active, and in so far as it is the condition of other existences, it is not a mere lifeless substratum, but is the living active principle in all that is:—and all independent active existence out of the original existence is an impossibility. On the other hand, when I assume as incontrovertible, that my individual personal existence, if I regard every individual as a being, which has in itself the last ground of its actions, is self efficient, then the original existence is not unrestricted, since the individual efficients necessarily limit and restrict the efficiency of the original existence, each after its own way, conditioning its activity. Hence it appears, that the speculator is encountered at the very outset by the riddle of individual personality. If he will neither renounce this personality, nor the illimitableness of God's efficiency, he must either consent to hold both sides of a contradiction, or turn believer, that is, receive something as true which is not the result of speculation or argumentative deduction; but this is inconsistent with the goal which he has placed before himself. The consequent speculator therefore adopts the following course, as he cannot solve the riddle which every man carries in his own bosom—the consciousness of personality, and the illimitable nature of God, he denies hu-

man personality and presents the following view of the subject. Since God cannot be unlimited, if the personality of men be considered real, this personality can only be apparent. The original unlimited existence which pervades the universe, strives through its own activity to become objective to itself, that is to arrive at self-consciousness; the infinite becomes objective to itself, when it reveals itself in the finite, and when this finite revelation is conscious of its unity with the infinite. Hence from the stone to the angel, individuality is merely apparent, being nothing more than the variousmodifications of the infinite first principle. Human individuals realize to the greatest perfection, the effort of the infinite principle to come to a consciousness of itself. Because men through the faculty of thought, feeling or imagination, clearly conceive themselves as manifestations of the infinite. This is the manner in which the consequent speculation endeavours to destroy all individual personality. With the rejection of the personality of the finite existences, is necessarily connected the rejection of the personality of the infinite.—For as the infinite unlimited God, arrives at self-consciousness only through the creation of the finite individual, so it is clear, that if we in any sense ascribe personality to him, it can be only the apparent personality which belongs to the finite individual,—this is his life.—Other consequences equally shocking flow from these principles. If God be the only and universal agent in all being, then is good and evil equally the act of God, and the objective difference between good and evil falls to the ground. The view presented of this subject is as follows: Since the infinite remains inactive, having no self-manifestation, excepting so far as it is manifested in the finite, it follows necessarily that God is limited in the world, that is, is but imperfectly developed. But this limitation is not in itself evil, lying in the very necessity of the infinite, and in the infinite nothing necessary can be evil. Hence all

evil, which is but imperfect developement, is incipient good, for every limitation in the finite by virtue of its unity with the infinite, is virtually removed. If evil be only limitation, it is only negation, and is necessary to the exciting of life, or effort at developing, since if there were no limitation, there could be no progressive pervading of the limited, and all would remain dead. The individual must acknowledge the evil in itself so far, that it must endeavour to remove the limitation, that is, endeavour to render the pervading of the finite by the infinite perfect, but this limitation (evil) is in itself necessary, since without it there could be no developement of life.

This system with its consequences presents undoubtedly a series of regular logical deductions, but it contradicts so entirely the deepest feelings, nay, the very nature of the soul, that only a few at any period have been able to embrace it in all its results. Yet even among the ancients we find regularly constructed pantheistical systems, partly ideal and partly materialistical. The most imposing is that of Xenophanes, and that of the later Platonists. We find also among the heathen some, who although they admitted the truth of these systems, felt their annihilating effect on human life. There is a remarkable passage in the Historia Naturalis of Pliny Lib. II. Cap. 7, where he says—"There, is so much uncertain, in human life, that among all uncertainties, that which is most certain is, that there is nothing certain, and that there is nothing more miserable, than the thing called man. In all his misery his greatest consolation is, that God is not Almighty, since he cannot deprive himself of life, which is the greatest good in this wretched state." This system has also in later times appeared in various forms. When speculation became more thorough and consequent, Pantheism appeared under two shapes, as idealism, and materialism. The latter denying the existence of spirit, refers every thing to matter and its laws. This

system was principally defended by the French academicians, at the close of the last century. The grossest work on this subject is "L'homme Machine;" and the boldest defender of the system the infamous La Mettrie, court physician, and afterwards court-fool to Frederick the Great. The principal forms of the ideal pantheism, are Spinozism and the Nature-Philosophy. By Spinoza the system is but imperfectly presented, the Nature-Philosophers are more thorough and definite. The coarsest advocate of these doctrines is Goerres. In his Mythology of Asia, he speaks with the greatest boldness of the personality, divinity, and morality of the earth.

The other kind of infidelity of which we spoke, was the inconsequent or deism.

The deist assumes the existence of the moral law in the breast of man, the existence of personal deity, and of course the doctrine of providence, a future state of rewards and punishment, and immortality. This system is found in antiquity although held with a very unstable hand, as by Cicero, who properly was a deist. With more precision and beauty by Pindar, Socrates, and Plutarch, who presented the truth in a manner more analogous to Christian deism. It may be asked in what way the Heathen attained this knowledge? We may say that the necessity of such truths, lies so deep in the human heart, that a thorough examination of the human soul, must have led to their discovery and adoption. But it is very doubtful, whether the fallen nature of man, would ever have arrived at this knowledge, if it had not been aided by tradition and history. It is far more probable, from a review of the whole history of the human mind, that although this necessity really exists, man would never, unassisted, have attained to the discovery of these truths. At least the three distinguished men just mentioned, are far from founding their opinions merely upon speculation, they appeal to tradition,—to the fathers—

to earlier revelations of God, which had gradually become corrupted. In modern times deism has assumed a more perfect and better sustained form, and endeavoured to found its claims upon the general reason of man. It maintains that human reason is necessarily led to the above-mentioned truths by mere speculation. If this system did not oppose itself to divine revelation, it would be liable to only one objection. It is perfectly correct in saying, that the necessities of the human heart, lead to the adoption of these truths, and that when these necessities are not suppressed, the feelings of every man will urge their admission. But deism denies the influence of history upon itself, were it not for what it derives from history, it would be nothing, it is ungrateful to Christianity to which it is indebted for all its clearness and stability. It presents itself in opposition to revelation, and pretends to be a system which can justify itself as such, at the bar of truth, and to which philosophy lends its sanction ; whereas the doctrines of revelation, are opposed to reason, and are to be rejected as doctrines to which philosophy does not conduct. As soon as deism takes this ground, it presents itself as a system of philosophy. It will only admit what is within the reach of human reason, what it can by argument establish. In this light it is a system utterly unsatisfactory. We have already seen, that when human reason will admit nothing but what it can comprehend, it is led at the very first step to a riddle which it cannot solve. That speculation, if it will be worthy of the name, is necessarily led to deny the personality and liberty of man. But this, deism as admitting rewards and punishments cannot do. If therefore it be not blind, it must admit, that in reference to all its leading doctrines it stands upon the ground of faith, that it can neither render these doctrines comprehensible, nor support them by logical argument. It must admit, that it adopts, what it cannot defend at the tribunal of speculation, the

personality and liberty of man. The deist believes these truths, merely upon the ground of experience, and can neither explain nor prove them. But if he is obliged in reference to his most important truths, to rely upon experience, and merely *believes* them, he can no longer object to the believer in the Bible, if he, in reference to other facts, appeals also to experience and receives truths which he cannot explain and cannot by speculation support, but which he has experienced in his own heart. The consequence of this is, that we are brought to admit, that a gument is not the only way for attaining a knowledge of the truth. Hence the great Hamann remarks profoundly and truly, in his correspondence with Jacobi, page 19,—"I have repeated it to satiety that it is with the philosophers as with the Jews, neither know what either the Law or Reason is. Reason as the Law, is given for the knowledge of sin and ignorance, and not of grace and truth. The latter must be revealed; they can neither be found out by speculation, nor received from others, nor inherited."—In other words, the object of philosophising can only be to show, that we are thus led to conclusions which pointedly contradict our nature and consciousness, that we are brought into dilemmas, which involve us in inextricable contradictions. Speculation thus brings us to a sense of our ignorance and helplessness, and we are forced to seek some other way for arriving at a knowledge of divine things. This other way is history. In the external history the truths of God, are communicated as facts, in the history of the heart the truth has the testimony of experience, and thus we are brought to believe in revelation.

Section II.

Infidelity in the Romish Church.

Since the existence of Christianity, there has always been infidelity in the world, which the most vigorous church discipline is insufficient to suppress. As the necessities of the human heart, will ever have a tendency to lead men to faith, pride will as constantly lead to infidelity. We have no accurate knowledge of the extent of infidelity in the Romish church, where it must lie concealed. But we can designate two forms in which it has displayed itself. A spirit of profound speculation led to mysticism and through mysticism to pantheism, the spirit of frivolous indifference led to the rejection of the superstitions and the doctrines of the church. To the former class belong John Scotus Erigena, Almarich of Bena, and Denants in the beginning of the 13th century. On the other hand those who rejected what was superstitious, threw away also what was true. Of this we have early examples as Simon of Tournay, 1200, Professor of Paris. Of the same class was the Emperor Frederick I. and the disciples of the Arabian Philosopher Averroes. These latter held private meetings, in which they ridiculed the truths of the Bible. Infidelity greatly increased, at the time of the restoration of letters. In this period many learned men appeared who were either deists or atheists, as for example, the famous Angelus Politianus, who said "I have once read the New Testament Sed nunquam tempus pejus collocavi;" and the Cardinal Bembus, who when he found that the learned Sadoletos was engaged in a commentary on the Romans, said to him "mitte tales nugas, non enim decent verum gravem." Other examples may be seen in the letters of Marsilius Ficinus

who was a disciple of the new Platonic philosophy which led to his embracing Christianity.

Section III.

Of the Infidelity which manifested itself at the time of the Reformation.

The Reformation excited an universal spirit of investigation. Among those who came under the influence of this spirit were many, whose religious feelings were very weak, and who were thus soon led astray. Such as Valentin Gentilis, Servetus, John Campanus, and others. To this class also belong the Socinians, who formed a system essentially different from that of the Gospel. Of many we know nothing, as at this period, it was dangerous to declare such sentiments. Yet in the south of France we find that a regular society of deists was formed, and that many denied even the immortality of the soul. See on this subject the Institutions Chretiennes of Viret 1563. These cases however, are comparatively few, the mass of the Protestants adhered to the faith of the Bible. The first indication of any thing like general infidelity manifested itself in England, in the middle of the 17th century and far more clearly in the middle of the 18th century. From thence it spread to France; even Voltaire availed himself of the English writers, to find objections against Christianity. England and France united to spread the influence to Germany, and Germany spread it to Sweden, Denmark and Russia.

Section IV.

Infidelity in the Protestant church in England.

We must for a moment attend to the circumstances under which it arose, and the situation of the English church in the latter half of the seventeenth century. This period is one of the most important in the whole course of ecclesiastical history. It is a remarkable fact, that in so small a portion of christendom, and in so limited a period, such various forms of opinions arose. This period has never been sufficiently studied; we find here all the doctrines which have ever appeared in the Christian church On the one hand, the greatest latitudinarianism, in theory and practice; on the other, the most bigotted adherence to the Catholic church—the greatest looseness and the most ascetic strictness —separatists and independents who would recognise no church, and those who advocated the strictest alliance between the church and state—profound and learned theologians, theosophers, and mystics, who rejected all theology—the warmest and most active practical christians who scattered blessings around them—and little narrow sects who gave themselves up to every irregularity.

Amidst such discordant elements it is not wonderful, that those who sought the truth, without having any deep feeling on the subject, should be led into infidelity. In no country, was the Reformation so much affected by external circumstances, as in England. This arose partly from the tyrannical authority, with which the houses of Tudor and Stuart forced their opinions upon the people, and partly from the fact, that many who wished to promote the Reformation knew so little of the religion of the heart. Hence when the government changed their opinion, there was a similar change effected in the church—the parties became violent in their hostility to each other and forgot to govern their proceedings

by the rule of the Gospel. Under Elizabeth the parties became more distinct and separated themselves into the three principal classes, Catholics, Episcopalians, and Puritans. The Episcopalians, required the government of the church by bishops—regarded the king as the head of the church—and wished to retain many of the Catholic ceremonies. The Puritans borrowed their principles from the strict Geneva system. They demanded the entire rejection of every thing which could call the Popish church to mind—that the church should be disconnected from the state,—that it should be governed by Presbyters—that the pastors should be chosen by the congregations—that a strict church discipline should be introduced, &c. In many respects they were more ascetic than evangelical, demanding too much external exhibition of piety. As under Mary when the Catholics gained the ascendency—thousands of Protestants bled upon the scaffold, or were left to languish in prison—while the churches were possessed by Catholic clergymen; so under Elizabeth the Episcopal party commenced a similar course of tyranny. Every citizen was obliged to attend church, at least once a month upon the pain of imprisonment. Under Cromwell the Puritans obtained the reins—all worldly amusements were forbidden—the theatres were abolished—the Episcopal ritual was curtailed—in the court and army prayer meetings were introduced, &c. This period of Cromwell's ascendency presents a remarkable spectacle. Cromwell himself manifests in life, such a mixture of religion and hypocrisy, that it is difficult to form a clear idea of his character. It seems clear, that this remarkable man had experienced the grace of God upon his heart. He was in his early youth immoral—reformed and led a pious life—he connected himself with the Puritans—studied diligently the Bible—avoided every thing which could give offence and distinguished himself by his benevolence. When the war broke out, he appeared in public life. As a Puritan, he felt

called upon, to make war upon the king and the Episcopal church. After the execution of the king he became Protector. During this period the form of religion was spread among the people to an unexampled degree—in most cases, however, it was merely form. The soldiers held prayer meetings with Cromwell: when the army took the field, it was always amidst the singing of hymns; and the commanders excited the soldiers by repeating passages from the Bible. Every irregularity was severely punished—every soldier carried his Bible with him. The Episcopal party was given to licentiousness; out of hatred to the Puritans they sung immoral songs in entering battle; indecent plays were every where acted and immodest books circulated. In reference to Cromwell himself, it is true, that after his entrance upon public life, he showed himself very ambitious, but that he was cruel cannot be said. And it should be recollected that his party, feeling themselves bound to act according to the examples given in the Old Testament, acted from a sense of duty "in rooting out the Canaanites," as they expressed it. It is common to ascribe the king's death to Cromwell, but this is not correct, the real author of the king's death was Ireton. Even the enemies of Cromwell bear testimony to the goodness of his life—the court physician of Charles I. and II., says, that "in the court of Cromwell no immoral person was endured." And the venerable Baxter says, "that until he attained to honour, he possessed the pure fear of God." Many of his expressions also are still preserved, which seem to prove his knowledge of religion. But as true piety among the Puritans, was mingled with so many serious errors—piety itself soon sunk into suspicion. Immediately after this puritanical period, one of an entirely different character was introduced. When Cromwell was removed from the stage, his strict laws ceased to operate; and the restoration of Charles II. produced a complete change. Charles was a frivolous, licentious man—of religion he had nothing but

superstitious fear, which led to his turning Catholic; a fact which he was afraid to avow, but which became known after his death. After that, around Cromwell, men had collected who had the Bible ever in their hands, and in their mouths, and the voice of prayer had been heard upon every hand—of a sudden, we find a very different race figuring upon the stage. The licentious part of the nobility formed the court of Charles II.—plays, most of them immoral, and all similar amusements were again introduced. Connected with this, many were secretly inclined to the Catholic faith. The principal personages at the court of Charles, were the Duke of Buckingham, and the profligate Earl of Rochester; the latter, indeed, was converted upon his death-bed and died a Christian.

It was under these circumstances, that the various sects which mark the history of England in this period made their appearances. An account of many of them, may be seen in the work of William Boehme's "Eight Books, upon the Reformation of the Church in England." Altona 1734. The principal of these are the following:—1. The Familists, who maintained that in order to present Christianity in its proper light, all Christians should be reduced to one family: they opposed themselves to all church forms. 2. The Ranters. 3. Antinomians. 4. Müggletonians. 5. Seekers. The Baptists and Quakers also arose in this period. There was also a sect, who professed to be the followers of Jacob Boehme, whose leader was Pordage a physician; and the Angel Brothers, or Philadelphians, who also adopted the mystical doctrines of Boehme—their leader was Johanna Leade. Besides this, there were the Latitudinarians, many of whom embraced Platonic principles and sought to establish Christianity upon this basis. To this class belongs the celebrated Cudworth, whose work, the "Intellectual System," is a treasury of various erudition. The Deists also made their appearance in this age

—of this latter class the first and the most respectable was Lord Herbert, who died 1648. His most important works are :—De Veritate, prout distinguitur a Revelatione, a verisimili, a possibili et a falsa, and De Religione Gentilium. Lord Herbert is acknowledged to have been a man of no common talents—he has a great resemblance to our philosopher Jacobi, and was indeed the Jacobi of his age. He possessed, what was then not very common, an honest heart, and sought the truth with much earnestness. He seems to have been led to his deistical principles, by the bitter contentions of the various sects—the arrogance of the Puritans and the haughtiness of the Catholic and Episcopal clergy. This first excited his doubts upon the subject of Revelation and he investigated the subject in a manner which showed he was desirous of arriving at some firm foundation. He wished in the first place, to ascertain the principle of truth in man—and found upon reflecting upon the nature of the understanding, that it could be no sure means of attaining a knowledge of divine things ; since it was so apt to draw false conclusions and was so easily blinded by the corrupt state of the feelings. He hence assumed as the ground of truth, what he called instinct. There is, he said, a certain instinct in man, which testifies to the truth of certain things, about which it is useless any further to reason. Such truths are :—1. the existence of God ; 2. that man is dependent on God, and is bound to reverence him ; 3. that piety is the harmony of all the human faculties; 4. that there is an essential difference between good and evil; and 5. there is a future state of rewards and punishments. These principles, he said, include all religion; that this is the fact, he maintained, was not only proved by instinct, but by the consensus gentium. In so far as Lord Herbert acknowledges these doctrines, he suffered himself to be led, by that deeply seated feeling of the human heart, which testifies to their truth. He overlooked, however,

the fact, that this feeling is never developed without historical influence; or, in other words that these truths are never discovered or acknowledged beyond the influence of Christianity. He also overlooked the fact, that these doctrines are empty and powerless, as soon as they are conceived in any other manner, than that in which they are presented in the Christian religion. God is only for men a living God, when according to the Gospel, he is regarded as the author of a plan of salvation; and when he has historically (not merely through the understanding) revealed himself to his creatures. The difference between good and evil, cannot be affectingly known, when man is not agreeably to the Christian system, regarded as fallen; and piety, in the proper sense of the term, is only possible, when men without self-righteousness, are willing to be saved by grace. Lord Herbert, therefore, should have acknowledged, that his five truths would remain pure abstractions, unless more definitely presented and confirmed by a revelation,—and this would have led him back to Christianity, to which he was really indebted for these five doctrines.

Charles Blount who died 1697 was one of Lord Herbert's followers. He professed himself a deist, and yet acknowledged that deism could have no authority over men, if it did not rest upon an historical basis in Christianity. He at first directed his attacks against particular points in the Christian religion, upon historical and critical principles, endeavouring particularly to render the authority of the four Evangelists suspicious. He maintained there was but little difference between the history of Christ, and that of Apollonius of Tyana.

The most important deistical writer of this period, was John Toland, who while he brought many acute historical and critical objections against Christianity, was led by his speculating turn of mind to Pantheism. Toland was born in 1671 of Catholic parents. He seems early to

have imbibed an abhorrence of the superstitions of the Catholic church, and soon joined the sect of the Puritans. He went to Holland to pursue his studies, under the celebrated Arminians, Limborch and Clericus. The spirit of inquiry was here awaked in his mind, which does not appear to have been of the purest character; he as the French deists, was mainly influenced by vanity. When he returned to England he appeared as the defender of deism and endeavoured in public societies, coffee houses and other places of general resort, to make proselytes to his opinions. In his 20th year he published his work against the Lutheran Clergy, under the title, "The tribe of Judah." We see that the corruption of the clergy, was one of the causes which led to his hostility to Christianity. His principal work which both from its contents and influence, is deserving of attention, is "Christianity without Mystery," which he published in 1696. This book is written with a great deal of talent, as is confessed by Leibnitz who wrote a refutation of it. The modern Rationalists are neither so acute, nor so original. He attacked few particular points, but rather wished to establish general principles. In the Introduction he speaks of the excommunicating and persecuting spirit of clergy. If, says he, you are opposed to the Catholics, and yet differ in the smallest point from the Lutherans, the latter condemn you; if you are against the Lutherans and yet differ from the Catholics the Catholics condemn you; if you are equally indifferent to both you are sure to be condemned by both. His manner of reasoning is as follows: He first defines what he means by Reason, he understands by it in its wider sense, the understanding, in a more restricted sense, the power of judgment and deduction. He then presents the position, that there can be nothing in Revelation contrary to Reason, which he thus proves, Reason is as much from God as the Revelation can be,—if the one contradicts the other. God

contradicts himself. He maintains also that it is not proper to say, that Reason has been corrupted by the fall, since by the fall we have not lost the power to judge and draw inferences. In this respect reason is not corrupted; it is only so far corrupted as it is blinded by our evil feelings. This reasoning is true or false just as it is explained and applied. If what we decide to be contrary to our reason, falls completely within the reach of our understanding, so that it can be fully comprehended and the contrariety clearly made out, then it is impossible that a revelation can teach it. It cannot be said in a revelation that Jericho is only a day's journey and yet a thousand miles from Jerusalem. But a revelation may contain what it is impossible for us to reconcile with our reason and what apparently contradicts it; as for example, the personality of man and the absoluteness of God, or the free agency of men and the agency and government of God; the understanding would decide that one or the other must be given up, yet both are facts which rest upon own consciousness and experience. The whole difficulty is, that the subject lies beyond our reach, the understanding is not competent to its comprehension. The distinction therefore between what is contrary to reason and what is above it, although it has been much controverted is perfectly just. When I say that certain truths are above reason, I mean that they lie in a region for which the understanding has no organ. But if I say that a thing is contrary to reason, I acknowledge the understanding, as competent to judge of the subject, or in other words as having an organ therefor.

Toland's second position that a revelation can contain no contradictions, rests upon the same ground, if the subject falls within the reach of the understanding and the contradiction be clear, a revelation cannot communicate it. What is a contradiction in this sense, is a *non-ens*, a nothing. But care must be taken to observe whether the subject be

not presented with conditions, which remove it beyond the limits of our experience.

His third position is, that it is a perversion of ideas to say that, what cannot be believed upon grounds furnished by reason, must be believed because it is revealed. He maintained that the revelation contains nothing but the objects of faith, believing them depends upon the grounds which reason can present in their support. The matter is thus, The first point to be ascertained is, whether what presents itself as a revelation, be really from God: is that ascertained, the revelation is not only the object but the ground of faith, since any thing being revealed is obviously the best possible ground for believing it. This work of Toland excited great attention, it was read in England, France, and Germany. No less than fifty refutations of it were published, the best is that by Leibnitz "Annotatiunculæ subitanæ ad Tolandi Librum," 1701; and the interesting work by the same author "Discours sur la conformité de la raison et de la foi"—Toland continued his efforts to promote his doctrines, and published several other not unimportant works. The most interesting is his last in which he acknowledges himself a Pantheist. The title is Pantheisticon, sive formula, celebrandæ sodalitatis Socraticæ, 1720. In this book he presented the pantheistical doctrines in the form of the English Liturgy. An alternate chant is thus given, between a moderator and chorus. Moderator; Pro fanum arcete vulgus. Chorus; clusa tutaque sunt omnia. Moderator; In mundo, omnia sunt unum, unumque est omne in omnibus. Chorus; Quod omne in omnibus Deus est, æternus et immensus, neque genitus neque interiturus."

The next deistical author whom we shall mention, is the well known philosopher Thomas Hobbes, who died 1679. His philosophical system is an entirely peculiar exhibition of the human mind, with which his religious opinions are

only partially connected. He maintained that God and the angels were not spirits, and denied the liberty of man. He acknowledged a revelation and made the well grounded distinction of a two-fold criterion of a communication from God, the one for those to whom the revelation was immediately made, and the other for those to whom, it was by these messengers of God communicated. He maintained as a main point, that a revelation must teach fidelity to the king, which in the time of the Jewish Theocracy was God. At present monarchs are the representatives of Christ, and that those who communicate a revelation must perform miracles. The Scriptures are the conclusion of all revelation, and are the representatives of all the prophets. He was moderate and proper in all he said, in reference to the relation between reason and revelation. Reason he said was not opposed to the Bible, but it must be humble and not presume to penetrate too far. The expression "to bring every thought into subjection to the obedience of Christ," does not mean, that we must renounce the use of reason, but that we must be obedient and not assume authority. The mysteries of faith, he said, might be compared to medicines, which must be taken just as they are, and after they have mingled themselves in the system manifest their power. He also directed his investigations to the criticism and language of the Scriptures. Here however, he is often perfectly arbitrary ; he denied the authenticity of the Pentateuch, of Joshua, Judges and Samuel ; and endeavoured to justify his doubts, by remarks which were not altogether destitute of foundation. His materialism, led him into very gross ideas of the doctrine of inspiration, and that respecting the angels. Denying the existence of spirit, he made the angels nothing more than fine ætherial beings, yet maintained that in all probability they never appeared to men, considering all accounts of their appearance founded upon deceptions of the imagination. Inspi-

ration, he said, could be nothing else than the infusion of a kind of subtle air; when spoken of in reference to the Bible, it must mean a mode of communication analogous to breathing into. The idea of the kingdom of God, is not metaphorical, according to his doctrine, neither is this an invisible kingdom, but kings are the representatives of God, until the coming of Christ. They were also to be regarded as lords of our faith, and authoritative interpreters of Scripture. Miracles, he said were natural events, designed to answer some important purpose. Of the doctrine of redemption he gave much the same representation, as that presented by Grotius. God is a moral governor, men cannot make satisfaction for sins, God can set what price, he sees fit, for our redemption, under the Old Testament he set sacrifices, under the New, Christ and his death. Christians as the subjects of this king must cordially submit to this arrangement. Hobbes properly speaking, made no proselytes, but his materialism, produced for a time considerable effect, the doctrine of human liberty and the existence of spirits were rendered doubtful in the minds of many, and even a species of atheism became to a certain extent, prevalent.

Caspar Lord Shaftesbury died 1773. This man was a fine writer and a polished man of the world; and his manner of reasoning was such as common men of the world usually adopted. Through his talents and popular style of argument, he attained considerable influence; his writings in twenty years, passed through seven editions. They were, as might be expected, principally read by persons of rank, from 1760—80, they were also much circulated in France and Germany. The character of what he has written upon the subject of religion, is such as might be expected from a worldly man, who feared to acknowledge the solemn truths of the Bible, and who wished to reduce theology to the level of all other sciences. His principal works are

his Characteristics, 3 vols.—Miscellaneous Treatises,—and the Moralist. In the first mentioned work there is a treatise on fanaticism, in which his religious views are principally presented. The following circumstance gave occasion to this discourse. There were a number of enthusiasts who went to England from the continent to claim the protection of the government under the persecutions to which they were exposed. They were subject to bodily agitations and extacies. The people turned them into ridicule and made puppets which imitated their motions. Shaftesbury embraced this occasion, to publish his general principle, that ridicule is the best test of truth ; what is really holy and reverend remains such, however much it may be derided ; but what cannot stand this test, can be neither holy nor reverend. This is a principle which to a certain extent is true. Ridicule cannot destroy the respect of a pious man for the truth, but its influence upon worldly men may be entirely different. He appealed to the example of Socrates ; and said that the greatest service ever rendered that philosopher, was the ridicule of Aristophanes ; which only drove away what was extravagant, whilst what was truly excellent, will remain to be held in admiration by all generations. He also maintained that man would never arrive at the truth, if he gave way to melancholy; that cheerfulness was necessary for the discovery and perception of the truth. It was therefore a great perversion, to consider that as truth, which was declared upon a deathbed to be such, when the patient was surrounded by so many circumstances adapted to render him sorrowful. Hence he contended against all abstruse doctrines ; maintaining that plain honest morality and belief in God was all that men need. Revelation and Inspiration are merely fanaticism. Their advocates indeed say that the former is a real influence of God upon the soul, the latter false and pretended, but the expression of both. he said, was so much

the same, that to make the distinction was no easy task. Philosophical speculation, to be properly directed, must always be connected with wit, which produces the greatest excitement. In his Miscellaneous works he speaks of Revealed Religion. He lamented that the Jewish religion was so melancholy. David particularly was a great hypocondriac, yet he loved dancing and music, and introduced them into the service of religion. The Old Testament too contains many pleasant stories, such as that of Jonah. He was even profane enough to apply his witticisms to Jesus Christ. On the whole he thought the heathen religion entitled to the praise of being the most cheerful. It is easy to see, that such frivolity might produce considerable effect, upon a certain class of men, who desire nothing more than to rid themselves of the serious and threatening doctrines of religion.

Anthony Collins, who died 1729, was a man of exemplary life and distinguished by many estimable qualities. His writings which are distinguished by great accuteness, contain much which modern rationalists have brought forward as new; whole sections may be found translated in the modern dogmatical works.—"Priestcraft in Perfection," "An Essay on Freethinking," and "The grounds and reasons of Christianity," are his principal works. In the second work he says, nothing can be true, which cannot stand the test of free investigation, the truth must be impregnable, and that it is only when every man is allowed freely to present his opinions, that we can hope to arrive at the truth, as every man views the subject through a different glass. Skepticism can only be effectually controverted when allowed to present all its objections. In the "Grounds and Reasons" he presents many weighty and important thoughts, his attack was directed to the point in which Christianity is most assailable, although he did not make the most of its advantages. His object was to prove that

Christianity was founded upon Judaism. This, those who admit the Jewish Revelation would of course allow, since Judaism is represented as preparation for Christianity, the Jewish theocracy containing in external rites what is more explicitly taught in the New Testament. Hence those who cannot believe in the Old Testament, must reject the New, if Christianity be nothing but reformed Judaism. Collins however wished to prove that, admitting the authority of the Old Testament, Christianity must be given up, as it rested upon a wrong interpretation and application of the Old Testament prophecies. The predictions of a Messiah cannot be made to refer to Jesus Christ, of whose life no historical circumstance is clearly foretold. The prophecies commonly explained of Christ really refer to other persons, as Isaiah liii, to Jeremiah, Daniel ix 4. to the High Priest Onias. With regard to miracles, he maintained they could never be produced as evidences of the truth of doctrines, such external facts and doctrines were of an entirely different nature, and it was therefore a μεταβασις εἰς ἀλλο γενος when we would argue from one to the other; an objection which Lessing has presented more fully. There is something of truth in this argument, at least we may admit, that the defence of Christianity was at this time rested too exclusively upon miracles and prophecies. Collins however, was entirely wrong in the manner in which he argued about the prophecies of the Old Testament, requiring all the distinctness and precision of historical narration. But it seems to lie in the very nature of prophecy that it should be less plain than history, and it therefore cannot be expected that when God communicated the knowledge of the future he should make it as clear as the present or the past. He was also arbitrary in his interpretation of those predictions, in which the greatest particularity is to be found, as Isaiah liii, and Micah iv. With regard to miracles it may be admitted, that they cannot be produced as evidence of

doctrines, which contain contradictions; but they prove that they who perform them, stand in more immediate connexion with God, and when they are at the same time teachers, their miracles are evidence of the truth of what they communicate.

Thomas Wollaston died 1733. He was a professor in the university of Cambridge, though subsequently displaced from his office. From reading the works of Origen he was led to adopt the opinion, that the miracles of the New Testament were not facts, but merely a symbolical method of teaching some particular truth. This was not in itself absolutely inconsistent with faith in the gospel; but it led him to endeavour to discover historical objections to the account of the miracles; and these objections were employed by others to discredit every thing of a miraculous character in the Bible.

Thomas Morgan who died in 1743, is distinguished as being the most accurate, among the English deists, in the historical and critical objections which he advanced against Christianity. His objections are directed against many particular passages, and he has in many points anticipated the infidels of France and Germany. What he says also of a doctrinal character is not deficient in acuteness, and all his writings are marked by great frankness and openness. He appears to have been led to his skeptical views, by the doctrine, then prevalent in the church of England, that Christianity was susceptible of demonstration, an opinion which in our own and in every age has led to error. He did not recollect that in so far as revelation supposes the existence of faith, it can only through experience be felt to be true, that its best evidence must be sought in the experience of the heart. Morgan in his search for truth was led from one sect to another, he was a Presbyterian preacher, then Arian, then Socinian, then Quaker, then Deist. He called himself a moral philosopher. His attacks were principally directed

against Judaism, which he said was full of deceit and fanaticism, containing very injurious representations of God. Christianity he said was nothing more than sublimated Judaism, containing indeed many excellent moral precepts; but if we compare the incredible portions, with those worthy of credit, the former will be found greatly to predominate. Miracles he said were foolish. His investigation of the account of the Resurrection of Christ is distinguished by extraordinary acuteness. He maintained also that the apostles differed in their doctrines from each other. He was not only open in avowing his opinions, but also offensive, as when he says, that if God condemns all those who cannot believe the miraculous accounts contained in the Bible, he must adopt the prayer, Oh God! why hast thou not created me as stupid as other people, that I also might believe and be saved. And in another place, he says, that revealed religion is a serpent in the bosom of man, which poisons his whole nature.

Infidelity assumed a bolder form, in the celebrated Lord Bolingbroke, secretary of state under Queen Ann. His life, which was that of a libertine is an index to his doctrines. He boasted that he had tasted every pleasure it was possible for him to enjoy; and died as he had lived, cursing religion and those around him. He first published his Letters on the Study and Utility of History, which is in many respects a valuable work. In his third Letter he speaks particularly against the Jewish history. and asserted it was a blasphemy against God, to say that he had inspired the Old Testament. The Pentateuch is as much a romance as Don Quixote, and every page of the Old Testament is full of the most palpable errors. He committed the great mistake, in opposition to his own better knowledge as a historian, of regarding and treating Moses and Aaron precisely as though they had lived and acted under the same circumstances, with men of his own time. In

his "Essays and Fragments" he attacked Christianity from various sides. He made a distinction between Christianity as taught by Paul, and as taught by Christ himself. Many of the doctrines he said were nonsensical; and the doctrine of Redemption, which was the main point in Christianity, was a heathen doctrine. Christ and his apostles were all fanatics. He also attacked the law of marriage as allowing but one wife and not admitting divorce. He seems on the whole to have approached very near to materialistical atheism, denying the moral attributes of God and admitting only his wisdom and power.

We must also mention a tradesman, Thomas Chubb, who entered the lists against Christianity. He was a tallow-chandler, but early obtained considerable knowledge. His writings are far from being unworthy of notice; he attacked many points with adroitness and talent. He agrees most with Morgan, excepting that he more explicitly opposed the morality of the New Testament. He accuses Christianity of favouring fanaticism, and of not inculcating patriotism. He questioned the doctrines of Providence and a future state of retribution. He proceeded at last from deism to materialism. It is from his example obvious to what Deism leads, when it is not checked by a strong sense of morality.

Most of the writers hitherto mentioned directed their attacks principally against the doctrines, rather than the practical part of Christianity. One of the English deists wrote a work, however, in which he endeavoured to turn the practical part of our religion into ridicule; this was Berhard Mandeville, a man of French descent who died in London, after a dissolute life, in 1733. He represented the morality of the New Testament, as so strict, that if followed out, it would necessarily lead to the destruction of the state. The great defect of the Christian system was, that it condemned pride and ambition, which were far more pow-

erful motives to good than religion. In his "Fable of the Bees," he represents a community of bees, which although abounding in vices continued to flourish; for vice itself to continue must have some regard to the interests of the community. The bees suddenly took the notion to bring about a high state of virtue in order to arrive at a still more prosperous condition. The gods heard their prayer, but the state soon went to pieces. The soldiers were disbanded because there was no war, the lawyers were idle because there was no contention, refinement and learning disappeared because there was no ambition." He hence drew the conclusion, that vice is absolutely essential to the good of the state; all that is requisite is, to keep it within certain bounds.

The writers hitherto mentioned, attacked Christianity in detail, or endeavoured to establish some few general principles without attempting to erect a regular system of Deism. This was first effected by Matthew Tindal in his "Christianity as old as the creation," published in 1760; a work which has been called the deistical Bible. Tindal was employed in the service of James II., and became on this account a Catholic. Under William III., he turned Protestant, apparently from conviction. He appears, in general, to have been honest and sincere in his opinions and in his opposition to Christianity. The contents and arrangement of his work are the following: Man needs no outward positive revelation, but if such should be given him, it can contain nothing, but what he has already in his own reason (an idea presented by Kant and Fichte in a different form.) It can contain nothing but a moral system, whatever else it may communicate, must be regarded merely as symbols. He maintained, that God could not wish that men should ever be without religion, or possess only such as was inadequate. If, therefore, we will not charge God with injustice, we must admit, that man has had from the beginning, a religion sufficient

for his purpose. The revelation which is original and universal consists in two truths: first, the existence of God, and second, that we are created not for God's sake, but for our own. This latter truth is adapted to fill us with gratitude to God, and lead us to follow his benevolent example, (a bold conclusion.) If it be asked how we are to attain the happiness which God has led us to desire? I answer, that the happiness of every being consists in its perfection—man is perfect when he lives according to the dictates of reason. If a revelation be communicated, it is impossible that it should demand more than this, since it would be unreasonable and cruel in God to demand more than was requisite to our perfection. If then we admit, that there is a law written upon the heart of man, worthy of confidence, we must either acknowledge, that nothing can be revealed not contained in this law, or maintain that God is mutable and increasing in knowledge. Upon the same ground that the Christian regards the Gospel as the most perfect revelation, must the deist regard the religion of reason, which men have always possessed in the same light. But how can the deist prove, the existence of such a perfect law in the heart of man, when the whole ancient world is filled with superstition and idolatry, and when this religion of reason is to be found no where in existence. The deist borrows all this from Christianity, and cheats his own soul, in thus taking what in itself is meagre and impotent, and leaving all from which it can derive life and power. If a revelation, asks Tindal, should contain new doctrines, how could we have any certainty of their truth? To be of use they must be ascertained as the two original truths mentioned above, but this is impossible when the revelation is external, made in a strange language, admitting of so many different interpretations, and filled with obscurities. Besides these *á priori* principles, Tindal, in the latter part of his work, attacked Christianity more in detail. He endeavoured to show that

the principal personages of the Bible, particularly those mentioned in the Old Testament, are unworthy of respect;—that many of the doctrines and expressions of the Bible (for example, that God hardens the heart) lead to the grossest errors. This work was extensively circulated both in England and Germany, as it was at once logically and mildly written. There appeared an hundred and six refutations of it.

After all these works had been written and published, the tendency to deism was deeply and widely spread among the people; in the church it could not be openly acknowledged, although it was secretly entertained. In Scotland where the discipline was severe, preachers had in many places their private meetings, for discussing deistical opinions. The orthodox theologians did not take the proper course in defending religion and therefore only increased the evil. They either strongly insisted upon the church doctrines, and required a forced acceptance of them, or they endeavoured to effect a reconciliation by softening down the doctrines of the Bible, until little was left worth contending for. This was the case with Teller and Spalding. Lessing compared this class of theologians, to a master of a house who kept railing at a set of thieves, and yet threw out to them all his goods, which they had nothing to do but to carry away.

We have yet to mention one other opposer of Christianity nearer to our own times, a man distinguished for his talents, and interesting to us, as having given occasion to the philosophy of Kant. This is David Hume, equally celebrated as a historian and philosoper. He was first intended for the law; but devoted himself to philosophy and belles lettres. In 1763 he was secretary of the English legation in Paris. From 1769 he lived independently and died in 1776. The most worthy of attention, in a theological view, of his writings, are his Essays in four volumes. Of these two parti-

cularly are deserving of remark, that on the Natural History of Religion, and that on Miracles. Besides these his Dialogues on Natural Religion, which is, perhaps, the most able work ever written on the side of deism.

In his Essay on the Natural History of Religion, the leading idea is that the foundation of all religion must be sought in man himself, and that the result of a careful examination of the subject is, that the essence of religion consists in the admission of God and morality. On these points all nations are agreed, but in respect to the attributes of God and other doctrines, they differ. In the Essay on Miracles he presents the following views, which were afterwards widely adopted in Germany. All faith, he says, rests upon experience, or testimony. The former of these is far surer than the latter, especially when the one contradicts the other. With respect to the miracles of the New Testament, the case is thus: certain persons assert that about eighteen centuries ago, these miracles occurred. It may be admitted that nothing can be urged against the credibility of these witnesses. But my own experience gives me no knowledge of the existence of miracles. I see cause and effect so connected, that within the range of my experience no miracles have occurred, and the experience of 4000 years teaches me the same. It is impossible, therefore, that the testimony of these good people, can stand against my experience and that of 4000 years. We remark merely on the form of this argument. That miracles do not occur every day and come under the experience of every man, lies in the very idea of a miracle, for in the biblical sense, they are events which only occur, when God has a particular purpose to answer for the benefit of men. Hence no one can demand that miracles should constantly take place. In regard to the experience of 4000 years, it is in no way opposed to admission of miracles, for in this period multitudes have testified to their occurrence. The only ques-

tion is, whether the testimony of such persons is historically true. In this objection of Hume, however, there is some truth; that is, that the mind cannot by the testimony of any number of credible witnesses, be absolutely necessitated to believe that a miracle has actually occurred. A certain disposition or state of feeling is necessary to lead us to place our faith in such testimony. But this is not only true in relation to historical testimony in favour of miracles, but to all historical testimony and even in reference to our own experience of external events. For if we had the positive testimony of our senses, in favour of a supernatural event, and yet had no disposition to believe it, it would fail to command our faith. Hence Voltaire declares, that if in clear day light in the view of thousands, and in his own sight, a miracle should occur, he would still be more inclined to doubt the soundness of his senses, than to admit its reality. When the state of the mind is once fixed, it cannot be changed by such external occurrences. Hence, in the scriptures, faith is represented as a virtue. The most important work of Hume, is his Dialogues on Natural Religion; they contain many remarks which later deists have overlooked. His object is to controvert all those who profess to be able, by argument, to establish any religious doctrine whatever—deists as well as Christians. Under the deistical dogmatists he understood, those who maintained that the principles of Natural Religion were susceptible of proof.—Under the Christian, those who founded their doctrines, upon a sense of guilt and the longing after divine communication implanted in our nature. He endeavoured to show, that neither could defend their principles. His conclusion is, that all doctrines on divine things are doubtful—the divine existence may indeed be admitted, but we cannot show how far it is analogous to our own. Providence and immortality can neither be proved nor believed. (What remains of the idea of God after this, is emp-

ty ; and it is indifferent on these principles whether there be a God or not.) Against the deistical dogmatists he objected, that they argued from the order and arrangement of the world for an intelligent author. A conclusion from effect to cause is just. But in arguments of this kind when we draw the conclusion of the existence of similar causes, the effects must be similar. But in the comparison of the world with a piece of human mechanism, the difference of the things compared is immense. When we dive into the depths of nature, we find so much that is wonderful and unaccountable, that we can no longer compare the world with any thing which is the result of human art. The difference is so great, that we should be led to conclude, that the world owed its existence to an author entirely different from the author of any piece of human ingenuity. It may be admitted that the work of God, as to quantity, may be compared to that of man, but not as to quality. In the world we find no dead mechanism, but an ever-living, creating power—so that a man deeply initiated into the mysteries of nature, must admit, that the world is more like a plant or an animal, than a watch or a loom. If this be true, and we argue for like causes, from like effects, we should arrive at the conclusion that the author of the world is an infinite vegitative power. If it be said that this gives no explanation of the intelligence and design manifested by this productive power, it may be answered that when you demand of me, whence from all eternity the intelligence of this productive power is derived, I can demand of you whence comes from eternity the intelligence of God as a personal being It is more natural to rest satisfied with the first conclusion, and admit the intelligence of the world, than to assume the existence of a personal being. In this way Hume showed that speculation instead of leading to theism leads to pantheism.

Against the believing theologian, who takes part in the

dialogue, and who rejoices over the refutation of the deist, Hume says, you see that on the ground of speculation deism is utterly incapable of proof, but maintains that a sense of our miseries must lead us to admit a divine revelation. Here the Deist denies the greatness of human misery, and endeavours in this way to disprove the necessity of a revelation. But Hume admits that the amount of human misery is indeed immense. Think of the outward afflictions of poverty, sickness, and misfortunes of every kind. Of the inward sorrows, of grief, care, and remorse. Think not only of the miseries of man, but of the destruction carried on in the animal and vegetable world. We see every where, a war of all against all. If we suppose a heavenly Being alighted on our world, shown our prisons filled with criminals, hospitals crowded with sick, fields of battle strewn with slain, the sea covered with wrecks, whole regions wasted by disease and famine, who should demand where was all our boasted happiness, and we should show him our societies, theatres, masquerades, &c., would he not mournfully smile, and say we were only showing him the other side of our miseries. All this, says Hume, cannot be denied, but the difficulty is to reconcile all this with the belief in the existence of an Almighty and merciful God. If he be good and Almighty, what prevents his changing this miserable state of his creatures. Verily, he exclaims, the mechanism has much in its favour, and still more the opinion, that if there be a God, he has no perception of either good or evil. Even in this reasoning of Hume there is truth, in so far, as that it is impossible to prove the mercy and love of God from the present state of the world, and it requires no little faith to retain amidst all the sorrows and trials of the present life, our confidence in a benevolent Providence. It is on this account that faith is represented in the Scriptures, as something so

great and noble, and difficult; and he who has gone through the mazes of speculation will learn to estimate its excellence.

Section V.

Infidelity in France.

It is exceedingly interesting to remark, how the diversity of national character has modified the various systems of Infidelity. The Englishman is in his whole disposition practical, with this disposition is connected a desire of certainty and a high appreciation of what is morally good. Hence we remark among the English deists a desire to arrive at some fixed and stable truths, and an avoiding of useless speculations which lead to no solid results, connected with a dread of consequences dangerous to morals. We observe however, a deficiency in depth of speculation, which prevented their arriving at the result of all logical skepticism. The Germans have not the practical disposition of the English. In them feeling and speculation predominate over the will. Hence they seek less in their systems what is useful, not forming their theories to use them, or apply them to common life, but for the sake of having them. The German as the Englishman, seeks for the truth, for something positive and sure, but this arises in the former not so much from a practical disposition, as the desire to have a well constructed theory. Infidelity in Germany therefore has always endeavoured to form itself into a system: and hence, whilst it has deviated more from what is morally and practically important, it has been more logical and consequent than among the English: the Germans have carried both the truth and the falsehood further. Among the French we see much less of a desire to arrive

at any certain and positive results, than among either of the other nations. They permitted themselves to be more influenced by transient circumstances; and were superficial or profound without stopping to consider the consequences. French infidelity never endeavoured to form a system which presented itself as truth. It was more desirous to destroy than to build up for itself. Most of the French Deists had indeed something of a materialistical system, but they did not always bring it forward, and seemed only intent upon destroying the public confidence in existing institutions and received doctrines. We shall therefore have little to say of French systems, but shall regulate our remarks according to the importance of the several works.

At the close of the 17th and commencement of the 18th centuries many irreligious books had been brought into circulation, but these on account of the strict censorship at that time exercised over the press in France, were generally printed in Holland. The most important work was Bayle's Historical and Critical Dictionary. Bayle was an original thinker, as acute on philosophical as he was critical on historical subjects. He attacked the received doctrines of Christianity, and raised doubts upon many historical points which till then had not been questioned upon the continent. His skepticism upon the more thinking class of the public produced considerable effect, so that many persons of distinction applied to Leibnitz to refute his objections. The first completely deistical work proceeded from a female, which is much more systematical than most that followed it. Mary Huber who died in Lyons 1759, is the name of the authoress. In her early life she manifested a strong tendency to inward religion and formed an acquaintance with the writings of the mystics. It was through their influence apparently, that she was led to an indifference respecting the doctrines of Christianity, and to make every thing to turn on the question, whether the soul was in connexion

with God, and fulfilled his commands. The title of her work, which although not distinguished for acuteness, is more methodical than other French works of the kind, is "Lettres diverses sur la Religion Essentielle à l'homme, distingué de ce qui n'est qui'accessive." This lady also made herself remarkable, by holding religious deistical meetings.

The men who had the most decisive and extensive influence in promoting deistical principles not only in France, but also in Germany and Russia, were Voltaire and Rousseau; two very different men; each having his distinct public upon which he operated to the injury of religion. Voltaire was born in 1694. He manifested, as early as his sixteenth year, by the publication of his Œdipus, his hatred against the hierarchy. In various other poetical and prose works he gave full play to his satire against the Catholic church which naturally raised him a great many enemies. In 1725, in consequence of some private disputes, he left France and went over to England. Here he collected the weapons which he afterwards directed against Christianity, principally from the writings of Morgan and Tindal. In 1748 he went to the court of Stanislaus, the deposed king of Poland, and in 1750 was invited to Berlin, by Frederick the Great. After his removal to Berlin, the admiration entertained for him throughout Europe became extravagantly great; as he was looked upon not merely as a writer of distinguished talents, but as the bosom friend of Frederick. His splendid course here, however, was soon ended. Through various instances of misconduct he ruined his character, and lost the confidence of his patron, who could no longer remain blind to his avarice and ambition. He got involved in controversy with Maupertius, the president of the Berlin Society, whom he considered as his rival, and whom he endeavoured, by all manner of cabals, to displace. Neglecting the frequent commands of

the king to put an end to these attempts, and publishing a scandalous satire against Maupertius, which was burnt by the common hangman, he was compelled to leave the country. The circumstances connected with his departure were still more dishonourable. The king had intrusted him with many of his manuscripts which Voltaire carried off with him; probably with a view of selling them at an enormous price to some bookseller. He was however pursued and arrested at Frankford, and not only forced to restore the manuscripts he had purloined, but deprived of the order by which he had been decorated by the king. After this he determined to settle in Geneva. Here he wished to introduce a company of players; but as the severe laws introduced by Calvin, against theatres, were still in force, he was unable to effect his purpose. To remain without a playhouse was to him intolerable; he therefore removed to the little state of Gex, and purchased an estate and gratified his pride by appearing as lord of the manor. He built a church here with the inscription "Deo Voltaire." In his old age, he could not resist the impulse of his vanity, to present himself to the admiration of the public in Paris. His reception was attended by every circumstance of the most extravagant flattery, and he seems literally to have lost his life through the quantity of incense burnt in his praise; a mode of adulation little suited to his weak nerves, and which is thought to have occasioned the illness of which he died in 1778. What Voltaire has written against religion can only appear in its proper light, when viewed in connexion with his character. Very few authors have contrived so completely to tarnish their reputation. In Berlin he manifested the most inordinate ambition, which sought by every device to attain its object. Every one who was not a servile flatterer was in his eyes condemned. With this was connected the most insatiable avarice, which led to every form of dishonesty. He endeavoured upon false representations of

his poverty to secure grants of money from the king, he sold his manuscripts over and over to booksellers, was involved in a law-suit with some Jews whom he attempted to defraud of a large sum. His licentiousness poisons all his writings but is particularly manifested in his "Maid of Orleans." He was besides all this a hypocrite; as soon as he was brought into any danger for his opinions, he professed implicit faith in all the doctrines of the Catholic church. He was accustomed to conclude all discussions on this subject, with the expression, as I confess my ignorance I submit myself entirely to the holy church. In Tournay he subscribed a Catholic confession of Faith, and afterwards published his Questions sur l'Encyclopédie, in which the Christian religion is violently attacked. In such a character, it is evident there could be no honest search after the truth. In regard to philosophy he was a skeptic. In his work "Sur le Philosophe ignorant" he declares himself doubtful of the truth of deism. Providence and immortality he denied, the soul is material, thought mechanical. He acknowledged a God, but one who had nothing to do with the world. He recommended the argument, ab utile et a tuto, saying, it could do no harm if any one chose to believe in a God, and it was at least good for the police. His attacks on revelations are mere rhapsodies. He takes up a particular doctrine, a historical fact, a passage of Scripture, or a portion of ecclesiastical history, and endeavours to present it in the most ridiculous light possible. He not only perverts facts, and makes false quotations, but brings forward passages as contained in the Bible which are no where to be found in it. Having quoted a passage as from the Prophet Habakkuk, a pedantic German scholar once waited on him, and after many apologies for presuming to question the correctness of his quotation, said he was obliged to confess that notwithstanding all his diligence in searching the original and ancient versions, he was unable to find the pas-

sage referred to, Voltaire contented himself with the reply, "Monsieur Abakuk est capable de tout." Citing only the vulgate, he is often led into mistakes, yet his worshippers received without questioning every thing he said. The morality of Epictetus and Cicero he maintains, is absolument la même, with the Christian. He wrote against the Pentateuch without knowing what it was, for he speaks of le livre de Moyse et Josua et le reste du Pentateuque! Ninus and Belus he maintains could never have existed, as Asiatic names never end in *us!* Messiah is a Hebrew word which in Greek is expressed by "χελομενος," what he meant to say is not easy to divine. He often asserted that before the time of Theodosius no respectable heathen became a Christian. He maintained also, that the fabulous Jewish book Toldoth Jeschu, was an authentic source of information respecting Christ and his apostles. His principal writings directed against religion are his, "Candide, L'Evangile de Jour," and "Les Questions sur l'Encyclopédie." The first is a Romance, which contains the history of a man driven about by all manner of misfortunes, and in which the author endeavours to show that the sources of consolation commonly applied to in affliction, are vain and ridiculous. The object of the work is to ridicule the doctrine of a Providence. The writings of Voltaire have been spread even to Siberia, where it is said they are still much read by persons of property. The Governor of Siberia replied to some one, who urged him to take these books out of the hands of the people, that "to us it is not commanded to root out the tares, but to sow the wheat."

Jean Jacques Rousseau born in Geneva, 1712. After a disturbed and unsettled life he died in 1778. Rosseau had as little of a system in his infidelity as Voltaire. In the latter skepticism was the result of vanity and frivolity, in the former of a morbid sensibility which through vanity de-

generated into mere caprice. The leading features of his character were sentimentality and capricious vanity. The former was deeply seated in his nature, and the circumstances in which he was thrown, served to increase it. His education was effeminate, and his youth devoted to reading novels. A particular circumstance excited in him a love of paradox which fed his vanity. The academy of Dijon proposed the question, whether science and civilization were serviceable to morality and human happiness. Rousseau who determined to write on the question first intended to give an affirmative answer, but a friend suggesting that he could never distinguish himself by such an every day reply, decided him to take the opposite side. This paradoxical turn, his vanity led him to retain, and prompted him to advance new and peculiar views both in religion and politics. In the latter he became an advocate for liberty and equality, and in his work "Sur le Contract Social" published the doctrine that the authority of rulers rests only upon the consent of the people. In religion this bent of mind should have led him to come out as the decided enemy of all positive doctrines, but here his sensibility stood in his way, and he felt so much what was elevated in Christianity, that he declared, such was the power and sublimity of the Scriptures, that God only could be their author. But on the other hand, while he allowed that the feelings led to such a conclusion, he maintained that the understanding could not admit a revelation ; and that there were so many contradictions, so much that was incredible in the Bible, as to render the idea that they had been immediately communicated from God, inadmissable. He called his, therefore, an involuntary skepticism. Yet in general he speaks with great reverence of the Bible and of Christ, extolling particularly his mildness and humility. Even if any one, he said, could live and die as Christ did, he could not do it with the same humility. He instituted a compa-

rison between Christ and Leonidas, Epaminondas and Socrates, and adds that if Socrates lived and died like a wise man, Christ lived and died like a God. He maintained that in every religion, we could only admit for truth, which had in its favour the testimony of our own hearts. In his "Lettres de la Montagne," he denied that miracles could be advanced as a proof of Christianity, and says, that Christ himself appealed to his doctrines and not to his miracles, in support of his claims. His principal work is the one on Education, 4 vols. In this work a confession of faith is put into the mouth of a vicar, which expresses Rousseau's own views. His influence was equally injurious with that of Voltaire. The vulgarity of the latter could not affect persons of feeling and worth, but the influence of Rousseau extended over those who had some regard for religion and morality. He presented his doubts in a way which was best adapted to give them effect on such individuals. Constantly professing his willingness to believe if the difficulties could only be taken out of the way. The source of Rousseau's infidelity is clearly to be learned from his character, as he has himself drawn it in his confessions. It is plain that vanity and pride were so predominate in him, that his better feelings could exert but little influence. It is useful to compare the confessions of Rousseau with those of Augustin, as the one teaches us the state of mind, which is suited to the discovery of the truth, and the other that which is inconsistent with its perception.

The writings of these two men had so filled France with infidelity, that even during their lives, numerous authors appeared, who went further than their masters. It became the fashion in the higher circles to ridicule religion, and it was considered a mark of bon ton to laugh at the priests as blockheads and deceivers; and, unfortunately every thing found objectionable in the Catholic system was referred to Christianity itself. The infidel party soon felt themselves

strong enough to attempt to operate upon a larger scale. This was undertaken in a work designed to throw light upon every department of knowledge—the "Encyclopédia Universelle, ou Dictionaire Universelle des Sciences, des Arts, et des Metiers;" an edition of 2000 copies of this was greedily bought up in a single year. The editors were D'Alembert and Diderot; both atheistical skeptics. The former seemed rather inclined to conceal his atheism, and said he merely wished to ascertain the truth and present a fair view of both sides of the question. But the arguments for the truth were stated in the weakest manner possible, those against it in the strongest. Diderot was more open. In his "Pensées Philosophiques," he endeavoured to show, that belief in God's existence was not only feebly supported, but altogether unnecessary, and that it was better not to trouble ourselves about it. He said the same respecting the immortality of the soul, and even of moral truths. The influence of this man was very considerable; and when called to the court of Catherine II. of Russia, he succeeded in poisoning the higher ranks of society with his opinions. He was active in making proselytes, endeavouring to convince those around him, how unhappy the belief in God made man, by keeping him in constant fear of his justice. He did not fully present his system, but materialism lay at its foundation.

Many other works appeared in this period which spoke out without the least reserve. Julian De la Mettrie, a physician, who spent the latter part of his life as wit in the court of Frederick II. was one of those who were the most gross in his materialism. See his "L'homme Machine," and "Traites de la vie heureuse." In the latter (Amsterdam edition vol. i. p. 16.), he says, "L'univers ne sera jamais heureux à moins qu'il ne soit athée:"—but if atheism could be once fully propagated, religion would be destroyed root and branch; nature then inoculated as with a holy princi-

ple would maintain its rights and its purity. Deaf to every other voice, the peaceful mortal would follow no other rule than the dictates of his own nature. This man died as he had lived, like a brute; he killed himself by eating immoderately of a preparation of mushrooms. Frederick II. who had honoured him so when alive, had a very sarcastic epitaph inscribed upon his tomb. The influence of these and other works of a similar character, was to produce throughout France, not only an indifference to religion, but also to morality. The poison descended from the higher to the lower classes, and its progress was far more rapid than in Germany. The result and the acme of these doctrines, is presented in the French Revolution. The rapid progress of infidelity at this period, is not, however, to be exclusively attributed to the influence of these writings. Many other causes combined to produce this effect ; one of the most important of these, was the general immorality which prevailed at the court of Louis XV. and the priesthood endeavouring to uphold religion by mere external means. The political state of France also was such ; there were so many impositions and irregularities that the people became far more interested in politics than in religion. Even before decided hostility was declared against religion, the services of the church had sunk into general contempt. The open war, against all that is holy, commenced in 1793, Christianity was then even in externals disregarded, the Sabbath was abolished ; marriage and baptism as merely civil affairs ; were brought under the cognizance of the magistrates. The storm broke out, particularly in the month of November, when the government determined to plunder the churches to replenish the exhausted resources of the state. This step was in many places hailed with the greatest applause. At this time many of the clergy came forward and solemnly renounced at once religion and their offices. The Bishop of Paris, Gobet, appeared before the bar of the national con-

vention with the clergy of his diocese and made the following declaration: "I have as long as I possessed any influence, used it to promote the love of liberty and equality. The revolution is approaching its conclusion with rapid strides, nothing can now exist but liberty and equality. May my example serve to confirm the authority of these two goddesses. Long live liberty and equality." The President of the convention replied, "The confession, citizen, which you have made, proves that philosophy has made the greatest advances. It is the more worthy of praise as you are the Bishop of the capital, as thus Paris has the triumph of being the first proclaimer of reason." He then saluted him with the kiss of brotherhood and presented him the Jacobin cap. Julien, a Protestant minister from Toulous, then rose and said, "How glorious is it to make such a declaration under the auspices of reason, philosophy, and the constitution. I have, for twenty years, been clothed with the office of a Protestant minister; but I now declare, that I will no longer retain it. Henceforth, the laws shall be my temple—liberty my God—my country my worship—the constitution my gospel." Amidst this despicable insanity, it is delightful to hear the voice of truth, which was yet strong and bold enough to make itself heard. Gregoire, Bishop of Blois, arose in his place and spoke with much effect, until he was forcibly driven from the tribune. "I rise," he said, "because I had a very indistinct idea of what had happened before my arrival. I hear men speak of sacrifices for the country; to these I am accustomed. Of proofs of devotion to the country; these have I given. Is the question of income? I resign it to you. Is the question of religion? That is beyond your power. I hear much about fanaticism and superstition; these have I ever opposed. But if the words be explained, it will be seen that religion itself is intended. As for me, I have received my office neither from you nor from the people: I consent-

ed to bear the burden of a Bishoprick, I was urged to accept it, and now I am urged to lay it aside:—but I bid you defiance; I will remain a Bishop, and scatter blessings around me." The tumult became so great, that he was obliged to desist; and, although he appealed to the liberty of worship, which had been established, he was hurled from the tribune; but was happy enough to escape the fury of the mob. The conduct of the capital was a signal for the provinces; congratulations were received from all quarters, from clergymen who hastened to resign their offices, and pray to be regarded as citizens, and taken into political employment. Something was now to be placed in the room of discarded Christianity; and the convention determined to establish the worship of Reason. A representative of Reason was accordingly selected; (her character may be easily imagined)—the cap of liberty was placed upon her head, a blue mantle was thrown over her shoulder, and her arm rested upon a spear. Thus arrayed, she was introduced, amidst the shouts of the people, into the hall of the convention and placed opposite the President, who addressed her in the following terms:—"Fanaticism is at last departed, and left its place to reason, justice, and truth. The feeble eyes of superstition, could no longer endure the light of the present illumination. We have brought to day an offering into the temple of Reason, not to a soulless idol, but to a woman, who is a master piece of nature. This holy image has inflamed all our hearts, but one wish, but one prayer, is now heard;—no longer any priest, and no longer any other Gods than those which nature gives us." After this, the goddess was placed upon the seat of the President, and received from the secretary the usual salutation amidst the shouts of the Jacobins. The crowd thence proceeded to the church of St. Denis, which was desecrated with songs to liberty and nature. The church received the name of "Temple de la Raison." The rage against religion, became now more open and furious; the

clergy were forced to give up their offices; and if they refused, were sent out of the country. The inscription "Temple de la Raison," was affixed to the churches, and "La mort est un sommeil éternal," to the cemeteries, in various places throughout the country. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, that many Christians in Germany, should think that this was the predicted period of antichrist; for, in no period of history, was the insane opposition to religion, carried to such extravagant lengths. From this time, one enormity and murderous outrage followed another, until the bloody Robespierre stepped forward as the advocate of religion. In the beginning of the year 1794, he proposed to the convention, to acknowledge a supreme Being, and the immortality of the soul; and to appoint festivals in honour of this Being. The convention agreed to the proposition, and made the proclamation, "Le peuple Francais reconnoit dès aujourd'hui un être suprême et l'immortalité de l'ame;" which was posted upon the churches. Thirty six festivals were appointed, which were little else than days devoted to amusement. Among these were the following: the festival of the Supreme Being—of rights and of nature—of the human race—of the hatred of tyrants, &c. On the first celebration of the first mentioned festival which occurred in the spring, Robespierre delivered an inflated discourse in honour of the Supreme Being and a hymn was sung in which the following passage occurs: "To thee, from whom the free Frenchman has derived his existence, does he lift up his voice, proud, if he must obey a king, to have thee for a sovereign." It is the common opinion, that this despot acted the part of a hypocrite in all this business, merely to gain credit with those who still retained some little regard for religion. But it is more probable that he acted from a species of conviction, and had some feeling on the subject. It is possible, that he wished in this way to quiet his conscience, which must constantly

have upbraided him for the multitude of his bloody crimes; and it is known, that in the latter part of his life, he was tormented by remorse, until his ignominious execution closed his career. This deistical worship obtained no consistency, the festivals were merely a kind of theatrical exhibitions. In 1797 the Catholic religion was again introduced, on the condition that the priests should be dependent on the state, and not on the Pope. Many, however, who had imbibed the principles of Rousseau, and had some regard for religion, were unfavourable to the restoration of the Catholic worship. They formed themselves, therefore, into a distinct society, and assumed the name of Theophilanthropists. Their main principles were, love to God and man, and belief in the immortality of the soul. The directory favoured their object, in order to have something to oppose to the Catholics. Their religious service consisted in moral discourses—singing hymns, mostly borrowed from the Psalms; and certain symbolical ceremonies; such as, crowning with wreaths of flowers; presenting fruit on wooden dishes, &c. In 1798 they had ten churches in their possession, and in most of the cities of the provinces, there were societies formed after the model of that existing in Paris. In 1799 the society was in the most flourishing state, but the people found the service so dry and uninteresting, that in 1802, it was almost dissolved. The consuls took from them their church, and they soon entirely disappeared. The deistical worship established in London, by Williams, shared a similar fate. Frederick II. discovered his penetration, when he replied to the Marquis d'Argenson, who wished to establish a worship of the same kind in Potsdam, "that he must take subscriptions for ten years." The Catholic religion regained its ascendency: Bonaparte concluded a concordate with the Pope; and this fanaticism of infidelity passed away as a meteor. The seeds of infidelity, doubtless, still remain; but many of the greatest zealots against reli-

gion, as it is proved by decisive examples, were really converted. Of this number was Julien, the Protestant minister who publicly renounced religion, but before his death, he returned to the faith of the Bible.

Section VI.

History of infidelity in Germany.

The character of infidelity in Germany, and the manner of its developement, is, in a three-fold respect, different from that which it assumed in other countries. In the first place, it was much more consequent; and hence, the German infidels, proceeded more and more to Pantheism, which is the logical result of skeptical speculation.

2. It displayed itself more gradually, and advanced more orderly, step by step, and hence took a deeper hold on the very life of the people. In no country, has infidelity pervaded every department of society, as in some portions of Germany.

3. In other lands, the clergy stood as watchmen and guardians, against the attacks of skepticism; as was the case particularly in Protestant England, where the clergy were found faithful to their trust But Germany saw, what never had been seen before, that those who were appointed to teach and defend the truths of revelation, should step forward to oppose them. On the same grounds, and, in part, with the same tendency, as Lucian and Celsus from among the heathen, attacked Christianity, did many of the German theologians array themselves against the religion of which they were the servants. Most of this class sought, through a regular analysis of the general truths, or ideas of religion, by scientific investigation, to prove the falsity of the doctrines of the Bible. It is clear, that in proportion

as this disposition prevailed among the clergy, must infidelity extend and deepen itself in the hearts of the people. Various circumstances conspired to favour the spread of this skeptical spirit among the German theologians. Of this nature we may notice the following as among the most important :

1. Many circumstances connected with the reign of Frederick the II.—as the residence of so many gay despisers of religion at his court, who extended their influence over most persons of rank in the country ; the great liberty of opinion which Frederick admitted, to an extent which had never before been allowed.

2. The extended admiration of French literature, which produced at this period little else than works ridiculing religion. For even those which did not expressly treat of the subject, yet had a tincture of the reigning spirit. We must mention also the love of the English literature, particularly at the close of the last century. Most of the free thinking works were translated into German ; and although the refutations of these works were also translated ; as translating was the order of the day ; yet, as the Chancellor Pfaff of Tubingen remarked, "these refutations were not of such value, as to compensate for the evil."

3. The influence of a literary periodical work, established in Berlin, conducted by Nicolai, which systematically recommended all works written in opposition to religion, and neglected or condemned those in its favour. This work was commenced in 1765, and increased to 118 volumes. The influence of this work, was far greater than any such review could have at present.

4. The influence of the Philosophy of Wolf, out of which the Popular Philosophy arose. Wolf's Philosophy contained a principle which operated fatally, not only against revelation, but against inward piety. It pretended to

be able to demonstrate the truths of revelation, in a mathematical manner upon principles of Reason, which subjected these truths to the spirit of speculation. It made also the broadest distinction between natural and revealed religion. It did not indeed deny the latter, but it accustomed the people to consider them as different; and as the truths of natural religion were represented as so firmly grounded, many were induced to embrace them as sufficient. It operated also against Christianity, by its cold syllogistical method of reasoning, which tended to destroy every thing that was vital, not merely the religion of the heart, but every finer feeling which was not satisfied with dull abstract forms. It was from this system, as before remarked, the Popular Philosophy arose, which undertook to prove on the principles of Reason, the truths of Natural Religion. Without resting satisfied with the views proposed by Wolf, it turns them all to its advantage. To this school, belong Jerusalem, Garve, Reimarus, Eberhardt, Moses Mendelssohn, &c. The worst thing about this system was that it laid claim to the name of Philosophy, when it was in fact, nothing more than a set of arbitrary opinions. Its defenders who were but weak thinkers, stood in breathless amazement, when Kant and others appeared upon the field. Thus Jacobi, in his latter years, said, when the works of Hegel appeared, that he had been able to understand all other philosophical works, but these were too abstruse for him; and Mendelssohn could not understand Jacobi, nor Garve, Mendelssohn.

The opposition among theologians, to the truths of Revelation, was at first by no means decided; as a first step we must regard the influence of some theological writers who were not themselves enemies of these truths, but prepared the way for their rejection, and without intending it, forged weapons for those who should come after them. The occasion of this lay in the degraded state of theology

in the beginning of the 18th century. Such men as Calvin Melancthon, Chytræus and many others, were profoundly learned, and knew how to employ their learning in the service of theology without weakening their faith in the doctrines of the Bible : their erudition enlarged their views, without injuring either their faith or piety. But the situation of theology, especially in the Lutheran church, at the period referred to, was exceedingly low ; it consisted in little more, than establishing and illustrating the doctrines of the church ; all the main ideas, in the several departments rested upon tradition ; the study of theology was a work of memory ; few giving themselves the trouble to examine, how far the doctrines they had received from their fathers agreed with the sacred Scriptures. Learning, properly speaking, was not wanting, for such men as Calov and Carpzov among the orthodox, and Rambach and Budeus among the Pietists, may be compared with any of the learned men of the present day, and even excelled them; it was not learning therefore, but a scientific spirit that was wanting. The situation of profane literature was much the same, for here also was wanting an independent self-formed character: what was received was transmitted. But about the middle of the preceding century, a new spirit was introduced into this department. In philosophy, Wolf and his disciples excited a new and lively interest, which rapidly spread itself over Germany, and at the same time introduced an entirely different method of treating the subject. In history a new æra was formed by Thomasius, and the various translations of English historical works, increased the interest which he had excited. In Philology a new school was formed by Ernesti, Reiske and others, who adopted a method much superior to that pursued by the philologians of Holland. As all these departments, are more or less connected with Theology, it could not fail, that the impulse should be communicated to it. Several dis-

tinguished men appeared at this period, as Baumgarten in Halle, Ernesti in Leipzig, and John David Michælis in Gœttingen, who pursued with ardour, the study of profane literature, and endeavoured to effect a connexion between this literature and theology, and to enrich the latter with the results of the former, and this was the first step to neology.

It is an interesting and important question, whether this connexion of profane literature with theology has a necessary tendency to neology. That in the Lutheran church it obviously had this tendency, cannot be denied. And some thing of the same kind may be seen in the Reformed Church, especially among the Arminians. But on the other hand, history shows that this is not necessarily the case, Calvin, Melancthon, Chytræus, and Bucerus were profoundly versed in these studies, without manifesting the least tendency to infidelity. Hence it appears that it depends upon the manner of treating the subject, and the way in which profane and sacred literature are united. There is in theology a two-fold element, the one human, the other supernatural, by the one it is connected with every department of human knowledge, and hence an accurate acquaintance with human science must have a salutary influence upon the study of Theology. On the other hand, there is something supernatural, which is to be found in no human science; and which no human science can either explain or illustrate. If therefore the theologian does not know this, by his own living experience; if he be not connected by faith with the invisible world, with him the study of profane literature and its connexion with theology must prove injurious. If a theologian be without faith and without profane literature, as was the case with many of the orthodox party in the Lutheran church, he will deliver Christianity to his successors as he found it, without understanding it himself but a means of blessing to those

who did, as actually occurred among the orthodox. But were he better acquainted with profane literature, he would be led while he retained the earthly part of theology, to endeavour to explain what was supernatural by his profane science; placing human and profane ideas in the place of the divine, and thus his knowledge would prove destructive. This remark is particularly illustrated by the history of Semler. Those therefore, who in the period of which we speak, first connected the study of profane literature with theology, and introduced a scientific spirit into this department, although not avowed enemies to what was supernatural in Christianity, yet knew it not in its depths and thus worked without intending it to remove the very essence of the system

Baumgarten in Halle, who died 1757, was the first who raised a third party in the Lutheran church. He was sincerely subject to the truths of Christianity, but inordinate in his love of human learning, which produced an injurious effect upon his theological views. He operated upon his students and his contemporaries in giving a new tendency to their minds, partly by the introduction of various English theological works, which were of a superficial character and were more or less deistical. He also introduced many English historical works, especially the "Universal History," by Guthrie and Gray, which excited a desire for the study of profane literature among the theologians of Halle, and partly also by adopting the logical demonstrative method of Wolf, insisting upon the most accurate division and subdivision of every subject; a method which he did not confine to the dogmatic, but applied also to exegesis. He exhorted his students to throw off the trammels of tradition and apply their own understandings. Connected with this however, he chilled their hearts, and softened down the genuine Christian doctrines. It is indeed impossible to present these doctrines in such strict logical

forms; divine things are in themselves simple, but they can not by speculation and subtle logic be placed in the light, and every effort to express these peculiar ideas in precise forms stifles their spirit. Many of the students of Baumgarten, were led by his method to a cold, intellectual, but lost the inward, knowledge.

The influence of John August Ernesti, was far more extensive. He was made professor of Leipzig in 1759. Ernesti was a man of profound and extensive learning; he retained his faith in the divine truths, and was very cautious in all his undertakings. He had already made himself so extensively known by his philological works, that those which he published upon theology excited the greater attention and students flocked from all quarters to attend his lectures. His principal object was to make his philological knowledge useful in exegesis, and he applied the same rules to the interpretation of the sacred Scriptures which he had applied to the classics. His most important work is his "Institutio Interpretis Novi Testamenti;" the shortest and most useful compend of Hermeneutics. Before the time of Ernesti, the department of sacred philology had long lain fallow. He was joined in these labours by his colleague, Professor Fischer, who however, went much further. Fischer was the first to apply the new philology to the Lexicography of the New Testament, in his work, "De vitiis Lexicorum Nov. Testam." It was already clearly manifested in these works, particularly those of Fischer, how much evil results from the unenlightened connexion of profane literature with theology. The peculiar Christian ideas, were brought more or less to the standard of mere deistical notions; thus ἀναγεννησις was made to mean, emendatio per Religionem Christianam, the doctrine of the πνευμα ἁγιον went more or less over to the notion of praiseworthy qualities, obtained by divine assistance. It is easy to see how these ideas lead to neology.

Regeneration was with many, merely a reception into a religious community. The phrase ἓν εἶναι (as used by Christ in reference to himself and the Father) was explained of a unity of feeling and will.

John David Michælis, who was the third learned man to whom reference has been made, was appointed Professor in Gœttingen in 1745, and died in 1791. He was the son of the excellent J. P. Michælis of Halle, where he was educated in the society of the pious professors of the University. But (to use his own words) he was too light minded to give himself up to the pietistical spirit which then reigned in Halle. In Gœttingen he freed himself from his early trammels both in respect to doctrine and practice. The principal objects of his attention were, profane history, geography, antiquities, and the oriental languages. He seems not to have had so much religion as Baumgarten or Ernesti, and therefore his manner of treating theology was much more injurious He did not indeed, deny any essential doctrines, but softened them down, made what was internal merely external, much to the detriment of what constitutes the essence of Christianity. Thus to make the opposition between πνευμα and σαρξ, nothing more than the opposition between Reason and Sensuality, must necessarily be destructive in its operation, for if this be all, the Christian religion does not differ from the philosophy of Plato. The grounds also upon which he rested the authority of Christianity were superficial; he said that were it not for the miracles and prophecies he would not believe in the Scriptures, and that he had often read the Bible, but never found the testimonium spiritus sancti. In his writings we remark a great want of delicacy, which was still more observable in lectures which were sometimes disgraced by downright obscenities. The influence and mode of operation of these three men may be best learnt from the following works: that of Baumgarten, from the autobiogra-

phy of Semler; that of Ernesti (and also Fischer) from the autobiography of Bahrdt; that of Michælis from his own life, and from the autobiography of John von Müller, who speaks of the exceedingly improper manner of his lecturing.

Until this period the basis of Christianity, had not been attacked, the main doctrines yet stood firm, although doubts had been here and there excited. The method of treating these subjects was very arbitrary; the manner in which the church had presented the leading doctrines, was laid aside; many of the passages before relied upon in their support were rejected, and the manner of proving them was changed; the arguments being drawn from general deistical principles or profane literature. The most important practical doctrines also were so much explained away, as to lose their nature. The students of these men came out in a spirit essentially different from that of their teachers. Semler was the pupil of Baumgarten, Morus of Ernesti, Koppe and Eichhorn of Michælis, and by them neology was established. Among these founders of neology the most important, and its real author, is Semler, an original thinker, which is what we rarely meet with among the neologists. Semler had been brought up in Halle in contact with vital piety, where he received impressions, which he could never entirely obliterate, and which in his old age revived. Possessed of a very sanguine temperament and, as he complains himself, lightminded, he renounced entirely the party of the pietists, who it must be admitted, were deficient in learning, and defective in the manner in which they defended their doctrines; and connected himself with Baumgarten. It was not the personal character of Baumgarten, which was dry and logical, which formed the attraction for Semler, but his great learning and his fine library to which he gave his friend free access. Semler under these circumstances acquired extensive erudition, and as his

master had freed himself from the form at least in which the church presented the Christian doctrines, Semler went further and adopted opinions entirely new. Baumgarten perceiving the creative talents of this sanguine man, said to him, "theology stands in need of a new Reformation, I am too old to undertake the business; this you must do," and this he did. Semler was first Professor of History in Altdorf, and was thence called as professor of theology to Halle in 1752. With regard to the powers of his mind, it may be said, that they were on the one hand very great, and on the other, very deficient. He had an astonishing memory, and was able at any time, to recall what he had ever learnt. His mind was also acute, when the field of investigation was small, and his imagination active and vivid, which led him easily to form new combinations. But he was deficient in all the qualifications of a Philosopher, as well dialectical, as contemplative, and hence he never formed any system, although he produced a multitude of new thoughts which he neither expanded nor arranged, but cast them out in the greatest disorder. His works are on this account very difficult to read, there is no connexion in the ideas and no logical arrangement. He retained in all his investigations, the fear of God, which, joined with his want of a philosophical spirit, prevented him from seeing whither the principles he adopted naturally led; and when he saw in others the consequences of the course upon which he had entered, he sincerely repented, that he had gone so far. This led to the firm opposition, which he made to Bahrdt, whose conduct gave him real distress. In his latter days, Semler wished to remedy the evils he had occasioned, and published some very singular views by which he endeavoured to reconcile skepticism and adherence to the doctrines of the church. He said there was a public and private religion for the theologian; in public he was not authorised to reject any received doc-

trine, but in private he might believe what he pleased. And when the preacher spoke of the "Son of God," it was no harm if one part of his audience, regarded him as really God, another as merely a man, and a third entertained the Arian doctrine. all this was consistent with unity The revolution which Semler produced, was principally by his exegesis. Ernesti had recommended the principle, that the language and history of the particular period, in which the several sacred books were written, should be applied to their explication. This principle is unquestionably correct, but improperly applied, leads to decided neology. Semler acted upon this principle, and was for explaining every thing from the circumstances of that age, and reducing the general notions of the Bible, to more precise ideas. In this way the leading doctrines of the Scriptures were brought down to mere temporary ideas; and the spirit of the Bible, which should ever attend and give it life, was lost, and it became a book for the age in which it was written. Σαρξ and πνευμα he explained from the peculiar opinions of that period: σαρξ was the narrow notion of the Jews respecting Christianity, against which Paul wrote and contended: πνευμα was a free and liberal idea of Christianity

On this principle he divided the books of the New Testament into those in which the σαρξ predominated, and those in which the πνευμα prevailed. The gospels were written for the σαρκικοι; Paul's Epistles for the γνωστικοι; the Catholic Epistles too united both parties, and the Apocalypse for the Fanatics. In this way he must necessarily lose the proper view of the Bible. In the Epistle to the Romans, he overlooked, what is the main point in the whole discussion, justification by grace, in opposition to that by works; according to him, Paul's object was to combat the narrow views of the Jews, who believed that they alone could be saved; whereas, Paul wished to extend salvation

to the Heathen as well as the Jews. It is plain that if these principles of Semler, when applied to the New Testament were so injurious, they must be much more so when applied to the Old. If the Old Testament is to be explained according to the views entertained of it in the age in which it was written, it must lose its most important meaning. Semler did not hesitate to say, therefore, that it was useless for Christians; that Jesus laid stress upon it, merely because the Jews thought that they had eternal life therein; but Paul has directly attacked it. Only such parts which, on account of their moral excellence, were still valuable, could be of any use to Christians of the present day. Semler was thus brought by his historical criticism, to precisely the same results as the Popular Philosophy. Semler was particularly learned in the patristical and ecclesiastical history; and most of his writings refer to these departments. His skepticism and want of religious experience, are here also clearly displayed. In the history of the Christian doctrines, he could not distinguish the true from the false; and thought every thing was full of contradictions, because he was not able to see the ground of coincidence. His want of religious feeling led him also to condemn Augustin and justify Pelagius, and his view on this subject became every day more general.

There arose a man by the side of Semler, in Halle, who not only united the various scattered neological doubts which he had cast out, but connected with them many of his own arbitrary yet destructive opinions. A man who attacked not only the doctrines of the church, but those of the Bible; and whose life was as injurious as his writings. This was the famous Dr. Bahrdt. His father, a Professor of theology in Leipzig, was a strictly orthodox man. The son manifested from the first, a great degree of light-mindedness, which his father did not properly attempt to correct. He rather sought to conceal, than eradicate the faults of

his son. His education, therefore, produced a very bad effect upon his mind; observing on the one hand, such strict orthodox principles; and, on the other, such a laxity of practice, he got the idea that orthodoxy was altogether an affair of the head, and that the heart was governed by entirely different principles. He was early *Privat Docent* and preacher in Leipzig; but his gross misconduct and licentiousness forced him to resign his office to avoid deposition. He retired to Erfurt where he was made Professor, and continued his abandoned mode of life; thence he removed to Giessen, and from thence to Maschlintz to an institution of Herr von Salis. Thence he went to Türkheim in the territory of the Count of Leiningen, where he was made General Superintendent. It was here he published his New Testament, under the title "Newest Revelation of God," 1779. In his translation, he endeavoured to give a new fashioned dress to every thing; and introduced all the personages speaking and acting, as though they had been Saxons or Prussians living in the year 1779. In his interpretations, whatever was most perverse and unnatural, was sure to be adopted as true. This book produced such a sensation that an imperial order was issued from Vienna, condemning the work, and urging that the author should be displaced. The count of Leiningen consented, and Bahrdt was obliged to remove. He went now to the land of illumination, to Prussia, and applied to the Minister, Von Zedlitz, for employment, who was very willing to secure him a situation. Bahrdt came to Halle, and would probably have been made professor, had not the faculty objected. Semler was particularly active in this affair; making the manner of Bahrdt's life, the ground of his opposition to his appointment. The minister, therefore, only allowed him to read lectures in the Philosophical Faculty. He accordingly announced that he would lecture on rhetoric and declamation; but let it privately be known, that he really

meant to read on Pastoral theology. It is said that 900 persons were assembled in the great auditorium of the university to hear him. His manner was that of a charlatan; he endeavoured to show how the feelings of an audience could be excited; and sought to make the manner of preaching usually adopted ridiculous. These lectures, however, did not bring him in enough money, which was his principal object. The poor man therefore, proposed to read a course of lectures on morals, which citizens as well as students might attend. He succeeded in obtaining a considerable number of hearers—students, citizens, and officers; and endeavoured to exercise his theatrical talents upon this mixed audience. But he soon found this activity too troublesome and too little productive, and, therefore, retired to a farm in the neighbourhood of Halle, and opened a coffee-house, "a course," he said, "his health demanded." Before his death, he was cast into prison in Magdeburg, on account of a comedy which he wrote against the government. He sought by all manner of lies to avoid arrest, but in vain, and died in 1792. With regard to the views of this man we may say, as we said regarding those of Voltaire, that his character renders them undeserving of regard. Even his own description of himself is sufficient to show that he was destitute of principle; but this was made still more apparent by the publication of a collection of his letters. All kinds of deceit were to him equal if he could but gain money. His talents were such, as had they been turned to a good account, might have been made really serviceable; he had particularly the talent of writing in a clear, and easy style, and a creative fancy. His views gradually formed themselves; he said, that when he came to Halle, he had renounced all doctrines contrary to reason, excepting those of inspiration and of divine influence. How he came to discover that these also were unreasonable, he thus describes: "The historical arguments of Semler, and the

philosophical reasoning of Eberhardt had made a great impression on me; it only failed to bring my feelings to reject these doctrines; this was effected by my being laughed at, for holding them; this touched my pride, and I let them go as contrary to reason." He still retained the doctrine of God's existence and the immortal soul. The contents of his writings, so far as they are his own, are of a romantic extravagant character; he endeavours in every way to represent every thing of a miraculous nature recorded in the Bible, as mere natural occurrences. His works, however, from the novel-like style in which they were written, were extensively circulated and read.

The university-theologians of this period after Semler came out, divided themselves into three classes: Some few remained orthodox; others sought to retain the form of the Bible doctrines, but soften down the leading ideas; representing them as unimportant, and turning their chief attention upon the moral portions of the Scriptures; some particular doctrines of the Bible:—few new ideas were advanced by either party. Of those who belonged to the second class we may mention the following as the most distinguished. Noesselt in Halle, died 1807. He had formed himself principally upon the writings of the English theologians; and hence received the tendency, not to attack openly the doctrines of Christianity, but rather to present them in a softer light. In the early part of his life, he had defended these doctrines, in his *Apologie*, but as his faith grew weaker, in the last edition he only published the first part of the work, which contains the general defence of Christianity, feeling no longer any disposition to undertake the defence of the several doctrines.

Morus, successor to Ernesti in Leipzig from the year 1775, died 1792. He also, never decidedly attacked the Christian doctrines; but he endeavoured to show that it was very difficult to establish the details of any of these

doctrines, upon a sure basis; and that, therefore, we need only hold to that which promotes moral improvement. Many of his students, however, rejected the doctrines themselves, of their own accord.

Of those belonging to the third class are: 1. Eichhorn in Goettingen. He published his "Introduction to the Old Testament," 1780; his "Universal Library for Biblical Literature," 1787; his "Introduction to the New Testament," 1804. He carried the principles of Semler fully out, and renounced entirely the orthodox faith. He treated Judaism as a mere human institution, which was no more under the direction of Providence, than all other religions are. Christianity also was a mere local appearance, and all the distinguishing Christian ideas were explained away. He particularly manifested his bold and reckless criticism in his work on the Old Testament.

2. Steinbart of the University of Frankfort on the Oder. Died 1809. He published a work against what he called the "Language of the Schools," by which, however, he understood the doctrines respecting faith, good works conversion, &c. His principal work is his "System of pure philosophy and happiness," 1768. He proceeds upon the plan to which we alluded when speaking of the English theologians; of attempting to reconcile Christianity and natural religion. It is hardly necessary to say, that this was to be effected by bringing the former down to the standard of the latter. He first advanced the idea, in Germany, that there is nothing in Christianity above the reach of reason. In this work, Christ is represented as a mere man; the doctrines of original sin and atonement, as the vain notions of Augustin. 3. The Abbot Henke, of the University of Helmstadt. He obtained extensive influence, as well by the periodical works, which he conducted, as by his "Ecclesiastical History." The titles of the former are, "Magazine for Religion and Philosophy,"

1793–1802. "Magazine for Exegesis and Ecclesiastical History," 6 vols. "Archiv for Modern Ecclesiastical History," and "Eusebea."

4. Gabler, who was a pupil of Eichhorn, was at first settled in Altdorf and afterwards in Jena. His influence was principally maintained by his "New Theological Journal," 1798–1801.

5. Paulus in Heidleberg, whose "Commentary on the New Testament," has been circulated in two large editions. The evil which this work has produced has not arisen so much from the expositions which he gives, for these are so forced and unnatural, that every one can see they are false, as from the low spirit which reigns throughout the work; by which every thing exalted and divine, is reduced to the level of every day occurrences. Paulus published his "Memorabilia," from 1787–1796.

Besides these learned men belonging to the Universities many pastors took part in the work of reforming theology, and obtained an extensive influence. There were particularly many preachers and philosophers in Berlin, whose efficiency in this enterprise, deserves remark. Berlin was at this time the chief seat of the popular philosophers, Mendelssohn, Engel, Sulzer, Nicolai, and others; whose works were every where read and admired: these gentlemen stood in intimate connexion with the then famous preachers Spalding and Teller. There was, indeed, a secret society formed in Berlin, of which not only these philosophers, but also several preachers were members. It was called the "Society for Light and Illumination;" although it had another name taken from the day of the week on which it held its meetings. The author of this society was the Librarian, Biester, whose object was to introduce a new system of religion. Their proceedings, however, were kept in profound secrecy. Spalding and Teller conducted themselves with great caution and prudence; they wished

gradually to prostrate all the positive doctrines of religion, and, therefore, those who came out too boldy and pushed on the work too rapidly were checked and kept within more moderate bounds. They endeavoured to effect their object by making morality the great point; and representing the positive doctrines as of less importance. They substituted new ideas, general deistical notions, in the place of the true biblical ideas, extracting the nerve and essence of the latter. Thus Spalding opposing the doctrine of immediate divine influence; exchanged the important doctrine of the operations of the Holy Spirit, with the dry notion of moral effort for improvement, under the aid of God's Providence. He and Teller both opposed the use of what they called the figurative language of the east, and, therefore, proposed to substitute, for regeneration, the purpose of leading a new life; for sanctification, reformation; for being filled with the Holy Spirit, to live reasonably, &c. Spalding's influence, through his works "Worth of the feelings in Religion," and the "Usefulness of the office of a Minister," was very great.

Teller's Dictionary of the New Testament which has passed through six editions, contains every where, these mere moral ideas, in the place of the true Christian doctrines. Christianity was to be more and more explained away until it ceased to be a doctrinal system, altogether, and became a mere code of morals; men should constantly become more intellectual in their religion; a course in which they could not advance too far, but should not advance too rapidly. We have yet to mention two other clergymen, viz. Lœffler from the year 1785 General Superintendent in Gotha. He published the work of Souveren on the Platonism of the Fathers, and in the discourse which he affixed to it, opposed the doctrines of the Deity of Christ, and the atonement; and Besedow, a zealot in the cause of illumination. He adopted a system of education which

was a flat imitation of that proposed by Rousseau. He did not wish to be regarded as a decided enemy of the positive doctrines of Christianity, but as only desiring to render them agreeable to skeptics. He found thirty-two errors in Christianity, such as the doctrine of the Trinity, the influences of the Holy Spirit, the two-fold nature of Christ, &c. &c.

The Wolfenbüttel Fragmentist. There was for a long time a debate, who the author of this work really was, but Samuel Reimarus Professor in Hamburg, acknowledging himself as the author, on his death-bed, has set the matter at rest. He sent the several papers to Lessing, by whom they were published. The first Fragment, was on the toleration of deists, then followed five on the Old Testament, then those on the Resurrection of Christ, the possibility of a Revelation, and the most shameful of all, that on the object of Christ and his apostles. The author says, Christ wishes to establish an earthly kingdom, but failing in his enterprise made the despairing exclamation on the Cross. Every thing which this author wrote is marked by the most decided spirit of infidelity, which he feared however fully to declare. His arguments therefore are not those of a calm investigator, but of a passionate enemy. He was entirely deficient in the true historical spirit, though in other respects not wanting in talents. Riem, a preacher in Berlin in 1782, but died in Paris 1795 on the theatre of the revolution. He was a fanatical enemy of revealed Religion, which he manifested in an open and profane manner in his "Religion of the Children of Light," Berlin 1789, and in his "Christand Reason," Brunswick 1792.

Among all these authors, with the exception of Semler, there is not one who produced any thing new; we have now, however, to mention two men, who in connexion with Semler, hold the most important rank in the History of this period. The first of these is Lessing, born 1729.

He was originally designed by his father for theology, and for this purpose was sent to Leipzig, to pursue his studies; but taking no interest in the lectures there delivered, he devoted himself to Belles Lettres. He lived privately in Berlin until 1769, then acted as Director of the theatre for some time in Hamburg, and thence removed to Wolfenbüttel as Librarian. Theology was not his profession, but his attention was directed to various subjects, and among others to this. He examined the various systems both of philosophy and theology, but his mind found contentment no where, the doctrines of Spinoza were most to his taste. He was far too skeptical to admit of his believing in revelation, and too much devoted to pleasure, to be capable of a moral investigation : a life of pleasure, he said, was better than a holy end. Yet he had too much head and too much heart, not to see and feel, that real practical Christianity was far more worthy of respect, and far more elevating than the neological systems. Although he had no experience, he was able to respect it, which gives importance to what he says. His most important works are, 1. the Wolfenbüttel Fragmentist of which he was the publisher. His object was to perplex and drive into a corner the orthodox theologians, who were proud of their systems. But he said he should be sorry to have thought, that he had published this work out of enmity to Christianity. The learned theologian might be troubled by it, but not the Christian; the former might be perplexed in seeing his props of Christianity thus shattered, but what has the Christian to do with the hypothesis, and the arguments of the theologian? the Christianity in which he feels himself so happy is still there.

2. His smaller theological Discourses contained in the 7th vol. of his works. In one of these he defends deism in the following manner:

The Christian religion, he said, was the religion which Christ possessed, and this every man should endeavour to attain, although it is difficult to state precisely what it is. He assumed a natural religion, in the same sense, in which we speak of natural rights, but when men come together they must endeavour to agree upon certain points, and thus arises a positive religion in the same way as positive rights. His discourse also on the Moravians is worthy of remark, in which the warm piety of this sect, is cordially approved and defended against the objections of the orthodox Also his discourse "Christianity and Reason" in which Christianity is explained by pantheism.

3. "His work on the Education of the Human Race." This although a small work, is rich in matter. It admits of a two-fold interpretation, in one view it seems to be a refutation of neology, but in another it is an attack on all revealed religion, and an apology for pantheism.

It was then common to urge against Judaism these two objections: first, that it was too particular and confined; and secondly, that it did not contain the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. These objections Lessing answers in a masterly manner, although not altogether on principles which a Christian can adopt. "Judaism," he says, "is to be justified on the ground of God's condescention to human weakness. If God wished to lead men in the way of truth, it was necessary that he should place them under a course of education which implies gradual instruction; and it was always necessary that this course should be restricted to a single and secluded people that the difference between them and others might be apparent. He further remarks, that if Christianity contains the results to which reason leads, it is no proof that it is not a revelation; as in the arithmetic for children, the result is stated before the investigation commences Under these views, however, lies hid a pantheistical system. "The "Collections of Frederick Schlegel,"

contains "Lessing's Thoughts and Opinions;" Leipzig 1804, 3 vols. From this work we give the following leading ideas: He endeavours to show, that it was by no means to the advantage of Christianity, that the Popular Philosophers had reduced it down to the standard of Natural religion, in order to make it acceptable to skeptics. "Formerly," as he remarks, "there was a distinction between theology and philosophy, and each could pursue their course undisturbed: but the philosophers break down the separating wall; and, under pretence of making us reasonable Christians, make us unreasonable philosophers." Leibnitz, he says, was of the opinion, that only to believe Christianity on the ground of reason, was not to believe it at all; and, that the only book which, in the proper sense of the words, ever has, or ever can, be written on the truths of the Bible, is the Bible itself. Lessing, therefore, properly remarks, that it is the province of reason to decide whether the Bible be a revelation or not; but if this be settled in the affirmative, its containing things which we cannot understand, is rather a proof for, than against it. Another of his remarks, equally well founded, is, that faith in the truths of revelation is not to be obtained by the separate examination of the several distinct points, historical and doctrinal;—that no one ever would become a believer in Christianity, if he endeavoured to make every fact and every doctrine certain beyond dispute, before he adopted it as a revelation. So far from this, they only can admit the several points, to whom the holy contents of the entire gospel has commended itself as truth which sheds light upon all the particulars. In this he agrees with Lord Bacon, who compares the defenders of Christianity who act upon the principle referred to, to those who place a candle in every corner of a large hall, instead of hanging a large chandelier in the middle of it, which would shed its light to the darkest recesses. Lessing expresses the same idea in another

form, when he compares the Christian to the confident victor, who, disregarding the frontier fortifications of a land, seizes hold of the country itself; while the theologian is like a timid soldier, who wastes his strength in the boundary, and never sees the land.

The other individual whom we mentioned as ranking with Semler, was Herder, born in Morungen in East Prussia, 1741. Herder was educated under the care of Christian parents, and by a pious clergyman, whose name was Trescho. The impressions made by his early education he never lost; he always endeavoured to defend what had in his youth appeared to him as true and holy. As imagination and feeling were the leading characteristics of his mind, his views of Christianity were rather of a sentimental cast, his knowledge of it was not deep and practical. The austerity of his teacher conspired to render the manner in which he regarded the subject unpleasant to Herder's feelings. In his attendence on the university, he devoted himself particularly to classical literature and belles lettres, with which he connected the study of theology. When we consider the effect of these studies, in connexion with what we have said of his disposition and his early education, we shall be able to explain his future course. His early impressions determined him from the first, to appear as the defender of Christianity, which he really wished to be. But as he was not fully acquainted with what practical Christianity really was; and as he had received a prejudice against austerity, and as the belles lettres had fastened on his affections, his defence never proceeded upon the principles on which our religion either can, or should be, defended. He did not represent Christianity as the only means of salvation, for men sunk in sin and misery; not as the narrow path in which men must walk to secure eternal life; but he endeavoured to recommend it for its beauty and amiability; to present the Scriptures in an attractive light

as "belles lettres" productions: to recommend the sacred personages of the Bible for their moral loveliness. Such a justification as this can never be of much avail. Amidst all the temptations of life, and the difficulties with which our faith is assaulted, we must have some better foundation than this. And Herder is himself an example, how little a faith resting on such grounds can affect the life.

He was called as General Superintendent to Weimar, where he was brought into connexion with the first authors of Germany, and he himself praised and caressed as one of her best poets. The various temptations to vanity and worldly enjoyments, by which he was surrounded, he was unable to withstand. He endeavoured to become less and less offensive to the world, whilst he retained his character as defender of Christianity. But though apparently its defender, he gradually relinguished all its doctrines, by representing all definite ideas upon them as doubtful. Every thing was merged in a magic obscurity, over which he could poeticise at pleasure; but left his readers entirely at a loss to determine what was to be retained and what rejected. Hence Garve said, "his writings were like a distant cloud, which no man could tell, whether it was merely a cloud, or a city involved in obscurity yet filled with inhabitants. In his early writings there is much that is useful, much good feeling, and many correct views. To this class belongs his "Oldest Records of the Human Race," his "Letters on the study of Theology," and his "Remarks on the New Testament, from a newly opened oriental source." His later works on "the Redeemer," and "the Resurrection of Christ," have more or less of the character of obscurity of which we have spoken; in reality they are neological. Of his "Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Man." John Von Müller says, "I find every thing there but Christ, and what is the history of the world without CHRIST."

Section VII.

On the Influence of the New Philosophy.

The philosophy which prevailed until the latter half of the last century, had pretended to be able to present a regular mathematical demonstration, on all the subjects of which it treated. This philosophy of Wolf, although professing to defend Christianity, had been the means of exciting in many minds the spirit of skepticism. Many profound thinkers, striving in a wrong way to attain a knowledge of the truth, were at last brought to the conviction that this knowledge was unattainable. Besides this, Wolf had separated so completely Natural and Revealed Religion, that many of the advocates of his system contented themselves with the former; and this gave rise to what is called the Popular Philosophy.

In the former part of the latter half of the 18th century therefore, the philosophers were divided into those who thought they could demonstrate all the truths of natural and revealed religion, and those who had separated some few leading doctrines which they thought were alone susceptible of demonstration. But a great revolution was at hand; the philosophy of Kant appeared in decided opposition to every thing which had previously passed under that name. Kant was excited by the skepticism of Hume, to investigate the ability of the human powers to attain to a knowledge of invisible things. This was something new, for the German philosophers had been accustomed to speculate, with inquiring whether reason was adequate to the discovery of the truth. The result of Kant's investigations, was, that man was entirely incompetent to the task of attaining to a knowledge of invisible things, and that the demonstrations of Wolf amounted to nothing. He was

not, however, willing entirely to give up metaphysics, and as he could not found a system on demonstration, he attempted to erect one on postula of practical reason. The hinge upon which his system turns; is the *categorical imperative* in man, that is, the consciousness that we should be and do what the moral law requires. This *categorical imperative* cannot be denied as every man carries it in his own bosom. But if this be not self-contradictory, impeling us to an object which does not exist or which cannot be attained, there must be a metaphysics which contains these three truths, the existence of God, the liberty of man, and the immortality of the soul. For if this *imperative* be not deceitful, man must have the power of realizing the object to which it impels, and this is his liberty. But the excellence to which it urges us, is in this world never fully attained, there must, therefore, be a future state in which it may be completely realized. There must also be a governor, who has this excellence in himself, and who can distribute rewards in proportion to virtue, hence a God. Within these limits, and to explain and illustrate these three truths, Kant confined the whole of metaphysics. With regard to this system, it may be remarked that its negative part contains more truth, than its positive portion. He is right in denying the possibility of reason, attaining a knowledge of the infinite; that there is a gulf here over which no bridge can be built; it must be leapt. He should therefore have been led to acknowledge a revelation, which the Christians of that day expected he would do. How this necessarily follows from his principles, is proved in a work entitled "Immanuel a book for Jews and Christians" written by a distinguished statesman. In reference to the positive part, what is new therein is not true, and what is true is not new. The truth is, that the moral feelings of man will, amidst all his doubts urge him to believe in another world, but the peculiar form in which Kant sought to present this

subject is false. His argument is, that if this *imperative* be not self-contradictory there must be a God, human liberty, and immortality; but this *imperative* is not false, therefore these three truths must be admitted. But in this argument, there is a petitio principii. It takes for granted, that the world is created and exists, for a definite object. But this the most consequent philosophical systems deny. They say the idea of an object, is a gross anthropomorphism, that he who proposes an end to himself, must employ means to attain that end, but this implies that the end cannot be *immediately* attained, and therefore that the being who proposes to himself an end or object must be imperfect, in the world therefore no such striving after an end can be admitted, but the working of an absolute necessity. When Kant therefore takes for granted, that the world has an object, he assumes, what was to be proved, the existence of an intelligent personal deity. The form of his argument is hence false. It may further be remarked, that according to Kant's system, these three important doctrines, are made very subordinate, in that they are admitted, not on the ground of their own evidence, but upon the ground of this *categorical imperative.* In this view man becomes a law to himself. God only distributes the amount of happiness which has been merited. Holiness is also presented in a very subordinate light, because according to this manner of conceiving of it, it must receive its happiness from without, which is a false idea of the subject, against which even Socrates, had opposed himself, this is the most deficient point in the system. With regard to the effects produced by the philosophy of Kant, it may be remarked, that they were both salutary and injurious. It prostrated the pride of those who pretended to be able to demonstrate every thing, and it aroused the mind from the drowsiness which had been produced by the Popular Philosophy. Its evil effects were, that a cold frigid spirit was thrown over its

advocates, who employed themselves about dry morality and barren intellect, rejecting all deep feeling as fanaticism; even prayer itself was rejected. Hence all the sciences to which this philosophy extended its influence, lost their vitality, and assumed a pedantic, scholastic, schoolmaster-like aspect. This was especially the case with theology and history. They were only estimated so far, as they solved the problem of the Kantish morals, what was individual and characteristic was not regarded. Christ himself was estimated only for having taught a system of morals analogous to those of Kant. This philosophy spread itself more rapidly than any had ever done before it. Among the theologians its defenders were Staüdlin, Schmidt, and Tieftrunk, although the former at last gave it up. Even those who did not formally adopt the system, were obliged to conform themselves to it, as was the case with the Popular Philosophers in Berlin, Nicolai, Garve, and Mendelssohn, they complained much, that the new philosophy had occasioned so much trouble and difficulty, where every thing was quite clear before. Reinhard although he did not embrace the system of Kant, allowed himself to be so far influenced by it as to introduce many of his principles, in his system of morals. All men however of much feeling, opposed a philosophy which was so dry and scholastic; of this number were particularly Hamann and Herder,—see Kant's "Religion within the limits of pure Reason" and Tieftrunk's "Censure of the doctrines of the Protestant church."

Another crisis in the history of philosophy was at hand. The system which Kant had erected, was destroyed by one of his own pupils (Fichte.) Fichte followed a different path from that pursued by his predecessor. Kant had shown that man was not able to attain to a distinct knowledge of sensible things, that the predictates which we attribute to things arise only from the categories of our own minds,

but what it is without us, which occasions the perception of these attributes or predictates we can not know; it is an unknown power, X. But Fichte proposed the question, that if we know nothing of the essence of things, if they be an unknown X, and their predicates, categories of our own minds, what evidence have we that the things themselves exist? what are they? and how can they come in contact with our minds? His conclusion is, that the external world, the X of Kant has no existence; the qualities alone exist, and these merely as laws of the human mind. The material world is nothing, there is nothing out of ourselves, it is only from the laws of the mind that the world appears to exist. We thus attain an object which all philosophy aims at, the removal of the difference between matter and spirit, as in this view there is no such thing as matter. Fichte's view of the human soul was the following: God the infinite *ens* comes to *existens*, in that he *exists* in the activity of finite thinking spirits, the activity or *thinking* of these finite thinking principles, is the existence of the infinite *ens*. Whence come then the external appearances? If the finite thinking principle was confined entirely within itself, it would merge in the infinite, and become nothing. That this *principle* should have reality and life, it is necessary that it should have an object within itself; hence the infinite thinking principle when it comes to existence, in the finite, places at the same time with the finite thinking principle, a limitation; therefore, this limitation is the apparently existing material world; and hence with every *ego*, there is placed a *non-ego*. The activity and life of every finite thinking principle, of every ego, consists in breaking through this limitation. This occurs in a two-fold manner, first when the human spirit, pervades and thinks through the objects opposed it, so that they pass over into the spirit and become one with it, and secondly, when the thinking principle raises itself above all laws of the

non ego, and lives free according to its own laws. This system of Fichte was more consequent than that of Kant, but it failed to solve the problem; the removal of the difference of matter and spirit; dualism remains in this system as well as in the other. The problem is indeed apparently solved by denying the existence of matter, but the opposition is only removed to the mind itself, where a limitation is placed. This philosophy is in one view a very active living one, but its life is only abstract; as it concerns itself only with abstract thinking, and neglects every other department and faculty of the soul. Its influence was so far beneficial, as it excited, in many, a great degree of mental activity, and in others produced great moral strictness. The evils which it produced were also great. All the material sciences were despised, and importance attributed only to abstract speculations. A degree of freedom also was ascribed to men, which belongs only to God, which excited the greatest self-sufficiency. The most important works on this system are Fichte's "Appeal to the public on the charge made against him of atheism," Jena, 1801. "Instructions for a happy life," Berlin, 1806. In these writings, this philosophy came into more immediate contact with religion, see also "An exhibition of the true character of the nature-philosophy for the improvement of the doctrines of Fichte," Tubingen, 1806.

Schelling followed Fichte, he proposed for his object the actual removing of all opposition between matter and spirit; according to his system, an existence is ascribed as much to the material as the immaterial world; the former being only a different mode of expression or manifestation. The spirit which thinks through these material objects, frees them from their bonds, by freeing the spirit which is in them. In so far however, as the laws of matter are the expressions of the spirit, the latter only finds itself again when it thinks through the matter and appropriates it to

itself. The only object therefore of speculation on the external world, is to come to a full knowledge or consciousness of ourselves; that is, to find without us what we have in ourselves. According to these views, God cannot be regarded as a mere ἓν, since this would be lifeless. If God be living he must have an opposition in himself, the removal of which is his life. Hence the unity of God has ever manifested itself in multitude and variety. The spirit manifested itself in matter, that the variety may reach the unity, and matter be freed and raised to spirit. This is the eternal activity of God. The whole business of philosophy is concerned with this point, the coming of God to self-consciousness.

This philosophy had the effect of spreading through Germany an element different from any which had previously prevailed. It produced a deep feeling and consciousness of a living and infinite principle in the world and in men, in nature and in spirit. It destroyed the lifeless idea of a God, who stood behind the world without having any real unity with it. It aroused men to strive after knowledge, in a deeper and more effectual manner; because it did not employ itself with abstract speculations, but with intuitive views, in this respect it greatly exceeded the Popular Philosophy, or that of Wolf or Kant. Its influence on theology therefore was very great, whilst the Popular Philosophy and that of Kant sought to expunge every thing above the reach of reason, that of Schelling again awakened the feelings for the infinite. Schelling's philosophical works were published together in 1809, including the Treatise on Human Liberty; see also Bruns on the Principle of Divine and Human things, Berlin, 1802. Philosophy and Religion, Tubingen 1804. A monument to the work of Jacobi on Divine things, Tubingen 1812. Controversial works on this subject—Susskind's Examination of the doctrine of Schelling respecting God, the Creation

and Liberty, 1812. Jacobi on Divine things and their Revelation, 1811.

These two philosophers were opposed by a man whose influence was not only great during his life but continues to the present time. This was Frederick Henry Jacobi. He opposed the speculations of Kant as well as those of Fichte and Schelling, he admitted with regard to the latter two, that they were consequent, as well as Spinoza, but the result he could not embrace. He could not prevail on himself to renounce his faith, in human liberty, a personal God, personal immortality, and the objective nature of evil.

He, therefore, opposed to these systems, the inward consciouness we have of divine things, and maintained it was impossible, by speculation, to arrive at a knowledge of these subjects; there must be an immediate and intuitive knowledge of them, whether this intuitive perception be called reason or consciousness. This intuitive feeling teaches us, that there is a God; who stands as *thou* before our *ego*—something different from man. It teaches also the liberty of man; personal immortality and the objective nature of evil. Whilst Jacobi presented these views, he appeared at the same time in hostility against revealed religion. He said, that historical experience was as much mediate as speculalation, and, therefore, history was as unfit as speculation to afford a true knowledge of divine things. Man cannot believe in an eternal free God, by merely hearing a relation concerning him; the ground of this faith must, therefore, lie in the soul itself. These views are principally expressed in the introduction to his work on divine things; in which he appears as the opponent of Claudius.

Jacobi overlooked two important points: first he did not consider that it might be asked him, where faith in his four doctrines, is to be found beyond the limits of Christianity? The whole east is destitute of it—the western philosophy knows

as little about it: only weak echoings of this truth are any where to be heard. Only a few individuals among the most cultivated of mankind, have had an indistinct knowledge of them in any period of the world. Jacobi himself, borrowed them from historical Christianity, though he was ungrateful enough to deny his obligation. He cannot express himself upon this subject, except in terms borrowed from the Bible. It cannot, indeed, be said, that we believe these truths merely because they have been historically communicated to us, but because we are related to God; and this relation, even in our present fallen state is not entirely destroyed, although the fall has blinded and obscured our knowledge; tradition alone, therefore, is not the foundation of our faith, but this feeling of our relation to God. We find no where beyond the influence of the gospel, the humble temper of a servant represented as the ideal of morality. We find no such character as that of the humble Redeemer; we never meet the idea that true greatness consists in poverty of spirit. However strongly a man may believe on the ground of his own consciousness, yet he must admit if God had not revealed himself we should never have arrived at a knowledge of true happiness, and that a revelation was necessary to render these doctrines definite and secure. But Christianity contains something more than these four truths of Jacobi; it contains the plan of redemption: a knowledge of the purposes of God cannot be obtained by intuition, yet here is faith essential. Even admitting, therefore the possibility of learning the truths referred to, from a different source, it does not destroy the necessity of a historical revelation. See the works of Jacobi published by Fleischer, particularly the second volume of his work on "Divine Things."

After philosophy, in connexion with various other causes, had exercised such an influence on theology, a theological system was formed, as the result of all these efforts at illu-

mination. To this system the name of rationalism has been given; a name first applied by Reinhard. The system is, in fact, the same which was previously called deism. This system not only sought to obtain stability for itself, but appeared in decided hostility to Christianity. As to its tenibility, it may be remarked, that the rationalist must either undertake to support his doctrines on the ground of reason and argument, or found them upon feeling. If he takes the first course, he must do it after the method of the philosophy of Wolf; for that alone undertakes to establish in a demonstrative way the doctrines of God, freedom and immortality. But the weakness of this philosophy has long since been proved. If the rationalist gives this up, he must place himself on the foundation of feeling on the principle of Jacobi; and this is the fact with the most of them. When he takes this ground, he loses all right to contend against a believer in the Bible. For he can no longer demand of him, that doctrines which are beyond the reach of reason, should be reduced to its standard and justified before its tribunal. The rationalist must acknowledge, that he cannot do this, for his own doctrines, of the personality of God, human liberty, &c. With the same weapons, therefore, with which he contends against the believer he is attacked by the pantheist, against whom he cannot maintain his ground. The pantheist declares his proofs mere subjective deception, and his doctrines anthropomorphish views. The believer in the Bible, can also object to the rationalist, that his deistical doctrines are drawn from Christianity, although deprived of their glory and power. And further, that his system, excluding the ideas of a revelation, divine government, and redemption, presents a problem which does not admit of solution. The idea of God which rationalism contains, is borrowed from the Bible; but if God really possesses all the attributes here ascribed to him, it would appear necessary that so wise and

good a Being should have a nearer relation to his creatures, and give them some surer guide, in reference to divine things, than human reason; which teaches so many various and inconsistent doctrines, and which beyond the limits of Christianity, has never yet presented the idea of God which Christian deism contains. The rationalist acknowledges the objective nature of morality; but for his certainty on this point he is indebted to revelation, and yet arbitrarily rejects the doctrines of the fall and of redemption through Jesus Christ. In this way he is led into another difficulty: Whence is evil? the rationalist is obliged to refer it to God, that through the struggle between good and evil, the former might be promoted. Whilst the denier of a revelation makes God the author of evil, he gives no explanation of the manner in which evil can be rooted out of the heart of man. His blindness on this point arises from his having no deep and proper knowledge of good or evil. The positive part of rationalism thus consisting of Christian doctrines deprived of their glory and consistency, is equally unsatisfactory for the human heart and human understanding, particularly in reference to the doctrine of evil.

The Rationalist undertakes however, to prove, not only that Christianity is improbable, but that it is contrary to reason and entirely inadmissable. In this effort its weakness is most clearly exposed. It proceeds upon the principle, that God never works without the intervention of secondary causes, and therefore an immediate revelation is impossible. Revelation can only be mediate, and consist in a developement of what already lies in the nature of man. Hence arises the distinction between naturalism and supernaturalism. The former regarding every religious communication as mediate, consisting in the developement of what is in man, the latter maintaining an immediate communication of divine truth, not derive from the human

mind itself. The rationalist assumes, that God at the beginning, formed the world as a machine, with whose powers, having once set them in motion, he never interferes. This view is in the first place false, but admitting its correctness, the conclusion drawn from it by the rationalist, is by no means, necessary. For granting that God does not interfere with the world, it does not follow that he cannot and will not. At most the improbability, but not the impossibility, of an immediate revelation follows from this view.

But the view itself is false ; God is not a mechanist who having finished his work retires behind : the life in the universe cannot be regarded as absolutely distinct from the life of God. God continues and supports the world by a continual creation, for such in fact is preservation. The life of the world is the breath of Jehovah ; its active powers, the working of his omnipresence ; the laws of nature are not therefore fixed once and forever. Augustin says, Lex naturæ is voluntas dei, et miraculum non fit contra naturam, sed contra quam est nota natura. The laws of nature are mere abstractions, which men make from the usual operations of God. It can therefore by no means, be said, that his unusual operations, as in immediate revelations and miracles, are violations of the laws of nature. There is no essential difference between immediate and mediate operations, it is merely the difference between unusual and usual And if God would reveal himself as a living and personal Being, these extraordinary operations of his power are essential, as they contain the proof that nature is not a piece of dead mechanism.

But the rationalist also endeavours to show the improbability of a revelation upon moral principles. He says, it would prove that God had made man imperfect, if later communications and revelations were necessary. But in this objection it is overlooked that man is not now,

as he was originally created. In his primitive state, an immediate revelation might not have been necessary, but in his fallen state, the case is essentially different. The rationalist further demands, why was the revelation not made immediately after the fall, before so many generations had passed away? To this we may answer, that God appears to have determined to conduct and educate the whole race as an individual, and in the idea of education, lies that of gradual progress.

Finally it is objected that the revelation is not universal. In answer to this we may say, that the difficulty presses the deist as much as the Christian, because it affects the doctrine of Providence. The deist makes religion and refinement the greatest blessings of men, but why has God left so many ages and nations destitute of these blessings? If the deist must confess his ignorance upon this point, why may not the Christian? Besides this, Christians themselves are to blame, that the Revelation has not been more extensively spread, why have they only within a few years awoke to the importance of this work? And why do the rationalists of all others, take the least interest in it? It may further be remarked, that the New Testament does not teach, that those who have never heard the Gospel, are (on this account) to be condemned. The apostle says, that God winked at the times of ignorance, that those who sin without law, shall be judged without law. And it may be hoped that as Christ is the only means of salvation, that those, who have not heard the Gospel here, may hear it hereafter. Peter says, that the Saviour communicated the knowledge of his redemption, to those who had died before his appearance.

See in answer to Rœhr's Letters on Rationalism, Zœllich's Lettres on Supernaturalism, 1821; and, see Tittmann on Naturalismus, Supernaturalismus, and Atheismus, Leipzig, 1816.

Bockshammer's Revelation and Theology, Studgart, 1820.

Gleanings.

I. On the Recent Elucidations of early Egyptian History. From *The Quarterly Journal of Science, Literature, and Art.* New Series No. III.

Since the commencement of the present century, the researches of philologists have ascertained that the language of ancient Egypt —the language of the hieroglyphical inscriptions engraven on its ancient temples and monuments, and of the still existing manuscripts of the same period,— differs from the modern Egyptian or Coptic, only in the mixture in the latter of many Greek and Arabian and a smaller portion of Latin words, introduced during the successive dominion of the Greeks, the Romans, and the Arabs, and occasionally substituted for the corresponding native words. The grammatical construction of the language has remained the same at all periods of its employment : and it finally ceased to be a spoken language towards the middle of the seventeenth century, when it was replaced by the Arabian.

In writing their language, the ancient Egyptians employed three different kinds of characters. First, *figurative ;* or representations of the objects themselves. Second, *symbolic ;* or representations of certain physical or material objects, expressing metaphorically, or conventionally, certain ideas ; such as, a people obedient to their king, figured, metaphorically, by a bee ; the universe, conventionally, by a beetle. Third, *phonetic*, or representative of sounds ; that is to say, strictly alphabetical characters. The phonetic signs were also portraits of physical and material objects ; and each stood for the initial sound of the word in the Egyptian language which expressed the object pourtrayed : thus a lion was the sound L. because a lion was called Labo ; and a hand a T, because a hand was called Tot. The form in which these objects were presented, when employed as phonetic characters, was

conventional, and *definite* to distinguish them from the same objects used either figuratively or symbolically; thus, the conventional form of the phonetic T was the hand open and outstretched; in any other form the hand would either be a figurative, or a symbolic sign. The number of distinct characters employed as phonetic signs appears to have been about 120; consequently many were homophones, or having the same signification. The three kinds of characters were used indiscriminately in the same writing, and occasionally in the composition of the same word. The formal Egyptian writing, therefore, such as we see it still existing on the monuments of the country, was a series of portraits of physical and material objects, of which a small proportion had a symbolic meaning, a still smaller proportion a figurative meaning, but the great body were phonetic or alphabetical signs: and to these portraits, sculptured or painted with sufficient fidelity to leave no doubt of the object represented, the name of hieroglyphics, or sacred characters, has been attached from their earliest historic notice.

The manuscripts of the same ancient period make us acquainted with two other forms of writing practised by the ancient Egyptians, both apparently distinct from the hieroglyphic, but which, on careful examination, are found to be its immediate derivatives; every hieroglyphic having its corresponding sign in the *hieratic*, or writing of the priests, in which the funeral ritual, forming a large portion of the manuscripts, are principally composed; and in the *demotic*, called also the *enchorial*, which was employed for all more ordinary and popular usages. The characters of the hieratic are for the most part obvious running imitations, or abridgements of the corresponding hieroglyphics; but in the demotic, which is still further removed from the original type, the derivation is less frequently and less obviously traceable. In the hieratic, fewer figurative or symbolic signs are employed than in the hieroglyphic; their absence being supplied by means of the phonetic or alphabetical characters, the words being spelt instead of figured; and this is still more the case in the dometic, which is, in consequence, almost entirely alphabetical.

After the conversion of the Egyptians to Christianity, the ancient mode of writing their language fell into disuse;

and an alphabet was adopted in substitution, consisting of the twenty-five Greek letters, with six additional signs expressing articulations and aspirations unknown to theGreeks, the characters for which were retained from the demotic. This is the Coptic alphabet, in which the Egyptian appears as a written language in the Coptic books and manuscripts preserved in our libraries; and in which, consequently, the language of the inscriptions on the monuments may be studied.

The original mode in which the language was written having thus fallen into disuse, it happened, at length, that the signification of the characters, and even the nature of the system of writing which they formed, became entirely lost; such notices on the subject as existed in the early historians being either too imperfect, or appearing too vague, to furnish a clue, although frequently and carefully studied for the purpose. The repossession of this knowledge will form, in literary history, one of the most remarkable distinctions, if not the principal, of the age in which we live. It is due primarily to the discovery by the French, during their possession of Egypt, of the since well-known monument called the Rosetta Stone, which, on their defeat and expulsion by the British troops, remained in the hands of the victors, was conveyed to England, and deposited in the British Museum. On this monument the same inscription is repeated in the Greek and in the Egyptian language, being written in the latter both in hieroglyphics and in the demotic or enchorial character. The words Ptolemy and Cleopatra, written in hieroglyphics, and recognized by means of the corresponding Greek of the Rosetta inscription, and by a Greek inscription on the base of an obelisk at Philæ, gave the phonetic characters of the letters which form those words: by their means the names were discovered, in hieroglyphic writing, on other monuments of all the Grecian kings and Grecian queens of Egypt, and of fourteen of the Roman emperors ending with Commodus; and by the comparison of these names one with another, the value of all the phonetic characters was finally ascertained.

The hieroglyphic alphabet thus made out has been subsequently applied to the elucidation of the earlier periods of Egyptian history, particularly in tracing the reigns and the succession of the Pharaohs, those native princes who

governed Egypt at the period of its splendour; when its monarchy was the most powerful among the nations of the earth; its people the most advanced in learning, and in the cultivation of the arts and sciences; and which has left, as its memorials, constructions more nearly approaching to imperishable, than any other of the works of man, which have been the wonder of every succeeding people, and which are now serving to re-establish, at the expiration of above 3000 years, the details of its long-forgotten history. To trace these stupendous monuments of art to their respective founders, and thus to fix, approximatively, at least, the epoch of their first existence, is a consequence of the restoration of the knowledge of the alphabet and the language of the inscriptions engraven on them. We propose to review, briefly as our limits require, the principal and most important facts that have thus recently been made known in regard to those early times; and shall deem ourselves most fortunate if we can impart to our readers but a small portion of the interest which we have ourselves derived in watching their progressive discovery.

The following are the authors to whom we are chiefly indebted for the few particulars we know of early Egyptian history: Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, Grecians, and foreigners in Egypt. Manetho, a native; and Eratosthenes, by birth a Cyrenean, a province bordering on Egypt, both residents. Josephus, a Jew, and Africanus, Eusebius and Syncellus, Christians, Greek authors. Herodotus visited Egypt four centuries and a half before Christ, and within a century after its conquest by the Persians. In his relation of the affairs of the Greeks and Persians, he has introduced incidentally a sketch of the early history of Egypt, such as he learnt it from popular tradition, and from information obtained from the priests. It is, however, merely a sketch, particularly of the earlier times; and is further recorded by Josephus to have been censured by Manetho for its incorrectness. Diodorus is also understood to have visited Egypt about half a century before Christ; and from him we have a similar sketch to that of Herodotus; a record of the names of the most distinguished kings, and for what they were distinguished; but with intervals, of many generations and of uncertain duration, passed without notice. Manetho was a priest of Heliopolis in

Lower Egypt, a city of the first rank amongst the sacred cities of ancient Egypt, and long the resort of foreigners as the seat of learning and knowledge. He lived in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, two centuries and a half before Christ, and wrote, by order of that prince, the history of his own country in the Greek language, translating it, as he states himself, out of the sacred records. His work is, most unfortunately, lost; but the fragments which have been preserved to us, by the writings of Josephus in the first century of the Christian æra, and by the Greek authors above named of the third and fourth centuries, contain matter, which, if entitled to confidence, is of the highest historical value, *viz.*, a chronological list of the successive rulers of Egypt, from the first foundation of monarchy, to Alexander of Macedon, who succeeded the Persians. This list is divided into thirty dynasties, not all of separate families; a memorable reign appearing in some instances to commence a new dynasty, although happening in the regular succession. It originally contained the length of reign as well as the name of every king; but in consequence of successive transcriptions, variations have crept in, and some few omissions also occur in the record, as it has reached us through the medium of different authors. The chronology of Manetho, adopted with confidence by some, and rejected with equal confidence by others,—his name and his information not being even noticed by some of the modern systematic writers on Egyptian history,—has received the most unquestionable and decisive testimony of its general fidelity by the interpretation of the hieroglyphic inscriptions on the existing monuments; so much so, that by the accordance of the facts attested by these monuments with the record of the historian, we have reason to expect the entire restoration of the annals of the Egyptian monarchy antecedent to the Persian conquest, and which, indeed, is already accomplished in part.

Before we pursue this part of our subject, we must conclude our brief review of the original authorities in early Egyptian history by a notice of Eratosthenes. He was keeper of the Alexandrian library in the reign of Ptolemy Evergetes, the successor to Ptolemy Philadelphus, under whose reign Manetho wrote. Amongst the few fragments of his works, which have reached us transmitted through

the Greek historians, is a catalogue of thirty-eight kings of Thebes, commencing with Menes, (who is mentioned by the other authorities also as the first monarch of Egypt,) and occupying by their successive reigns 1055 years. These names are stated to have been compiled from original records existing at Thebes, which city Eratosthenes visited expressly to consult them. The names of the two first kings in his catalogue are the same with the names of the two first kings of the first dynasty of Manetho; but the remainder of the catalogue presents no further accordance, either in the name or in the duration of the reigns.

To return to Manetho:—amongst the monarchs of the original Egyptian race there was one named by him Amenophis, (the eighth king of the eighteenth dynasty,) of whom it is stated, in a note of Manetho's preserved by Syncellus, that he was the Egyptian king whom the Greeks called Memnon. The statue of Memnon at Thebes, celebrated through all antiquity for the melodious sounds which it was said to render at sunrise, is identified in the present day by a multitude of Greek inscriptions; one of which, in particular, records the attestation of Publius Balbinus, who visited the ruins of Thebes in the suite of the empress the wife of Adrian, to his having himself heard the "divine sounds of Memnon or Phamenoph;" which latter name is Amenophis, with the Egyptian masculine article φ prefixed, and omitting the Greek termination. The hieroglyphics carved on the statue, and coeval with its date, had been very carefully copied by the French whilst in possession of Egypt, and were engraved in the splendid work, the *Description de l'Egypte*, to which their researches had given rise. These hieroglyphics contain the alphabetic characters Amnf (being the initial vowel and all the consonants of the name Amenof) enclosed within a ring; a distinction which had been previously observed to take place with the names of the Roman emperors, and of the Grecian kings and queens; and as the rings have hitherto been found to occur in no other instance whatsoever than when containing the names and titles of sovereigns, they are regarded as characteristic signs. It should be remarked, that in the hieroglyphic writing, as in the languages of other eastern nations most nearly connected with Egypt, the vowels are often omitted, and when expressed, have not always a fixed sound. The coincidence of the

reading of the hieroglyphic name with that recorded by Manetho, and with the Greek inscription on the statue itself, was so far confirmatory of Manetho's authority ; it was also highly interesting in the evidence it afforded of the employment of the same hieroglyphic alphabet, that was in after use in the times of the Ptolemies and the Cæsars, even in the very early periods of the Egyptian monarchy ; for the reign of Amenophis was in the dynasty preceding that of Sesostris: it also indicated the further advantage to be gained by the application of the alphabet in decyphering other proper names, distinguished by being inclosed in rings, existing on other statues, and in the more ancient temples generally. Considerable progress had been made in reading these, which in several instances had been found to correspond with the names of the kings of the same and of subsequent dynasties to Amenophis, as given by Manetho, when a most important discovery was made of the existence of a genealogical record, in hieroglyphics, of the titles of thirty-nine kings anterior to Sesostris, chronologically arranged. We have already noticed that the names and *titles* of kings were distinguished by being inclosed in rings ; the ring containing the proper name being accompanied usually by a second, enclosing certain other hieroglyphics, expressing the title by which that particular king was designated ; and it appears probable that the kings of Egypt were distinguished by their titles rather than by their names, since the same name recurs frequently in different individuals, but the titles are all dissimilar; with a single exception amongst the very many that have come under observation, and in which the same title is common to two brothers. The signification of the titles is yet obscure, except that they are of the same general nature as is frequent in the East, such as "Sun of the Universe," &c. ; but for the purpose of individualizing, the sign is to us of the same value as the thing signified ; and as other monuments furnish the *names* in connexion with the *titles*, we are enabled to compare the succession evidenced by the titles with the record of the historian, and thus to test the fidelity of the record. The discovery of this hieroglyphic table was made by Mr. William Banks in 1818, in excavating for the purpose of obtaining an accurate ground-plan of the ruins of Abydus, near Thebes. On a side wall of one of the innermost apartments, hieroglyphics were

sculptured inclosed in rings, ranged symmetrically in three horizontal rows, each row having originally contained twenty rings, of which twelve of the upper row, eighteen of the middle, and fourteen of the lower row, were still remaining, the others having been destroyed by the breaking down of the wall. The hieroglyphics having been copied and lithographed, it was speedily recognised that the rings in the two upper rows consisted of titles only; with the exception of one proper name, the last of the second row, since known to be the name of the king whose title is the last in the succession, and who was the fourth in reign and generation before Sesostris. The third row was recognised to consist of one proper name and one title, each repeated ten times, and alternating with each other: these are since known to be the name and title of Sesostris, to whose reign the construction of the table is with much probability ascribed. The titles in the same row with that of the ancestor of Sesostris and preceding it, have been identified on other monuments, coupled with names which are those of the predecessors of the same king in the list of Manetho.

It would exceed our limits, and it is not our purpose, to trace in detail the successive steps by which the existence of each of the kings of Manetho's list, from the expulsion of the Phœnician shepherds from Lower Egypt, and the consequent union of Upper and Lower Egypt in a single monarchy, to the reign of Sesostris, has been attested by the monuments. Suffice it to say, that the same number of individuals as stated by Manetho, namely, eighteen, filling a space of four centuries, are shown, by the monuments, to have reigned in that interval, and to have borne the same relationship, as well as succession, to each other, as is expressed by the historian: that, of the eighteen names, eight in different parts of the list are read on the monuments identically as in the historical record; and that in regard to the names that are not identical, we have the testimony of Manetho that some amongst the kings, Sesostris, for example, were known by two and even by more names. The table of Abydus appears to have been strictly a genealogical record; a record of generations, in which view it is strictly accordant with the historian.

The period of the Egyptian annals on which this light has been thrown, is precisely that which might have been selected in the whole history of Egypt as the most desirable

for such purpose. Independently of its very high antiquity, it was the period of the greatest splendour and power of the native Egyptian monarchy, and of the highest (Egyptian) cultivation of the arts. The greater part of the more ancient, and by far the most admirable in execution, of the temples, palaces, and statues, which still attest by their ruins their former magnificence, are the work of that age; and the hieroglyphic inscriptions still extant on them, and which, when not defaced by wanton injury, are almost as perfect as when first executed, make known the reigns in which they were respectively constructed, and frequently the purposes for which they were designed. This is in itself no small achievement, when we reflect that these extraordinary remains of ancient art were equally the objects of vague wonderment in the times of the Roman emperors, as they were in those of the generation preceding ourselves; but that they are become to us objects of a more enlightened curiosity, which they promise amply to repay, when the study that has already made known their founders, shall reveal the signification of the hieroglyphic histories, with which the walls of the palaces and temples are covered. Already have we gained some very important facts in regard to the condition, political and otherwise, of the countries adjoining to Egypt at that early period. The monuments of Nubia are covered with hieroglyphics, perfectly similar both in form and disposition to those on the edifices at Thebes; the same elements, the same formulæ, the same language; and the names of the kings who elevated the most ancient amongst them, are those of the princes who constructed the most ancient parts of the palace of Karnac at Thebes. As far as Soleb on the Nile, 100 leagues to the south of Philæ the extreme frontier of Egypt, are found constructions bearing the inscriptions of an Egyptian king; evidencing that, during the period of which we have been treating, Nubia was inhabited by a people having the same language, the same belief, and the same kings as Egypt To the south of Soleb, and for more than 100 leagues in ascending the Nile, in ancient Ethiopia, very recent travellers have discovered the remains of temples, of the same general style of architecture as those of Nubia and Egypt, decorated in the same manner with hieroglyphics representing the same mythology, and analogous to those of Egypt in the titles.and in the mode of repre-

senting the names and titles of the sovereigns. But the proper names of the kings inscribed on the edifices of Ethiopia in phonetic characters, have nothing in common with the proper names of the Egyptian kings in the dynasties of Manetho; nor is one of the Ethiopian names found either on the monuments of Nubia or of Egypt. Thus there was a time when the civilized part of Ethiopia,—Meroe, and the banks of the Nile between Dongola and Meroe,—were inhabited by a people having language, writing, religion, and arts similar to Egypt; but, in political dominion, independent of that country, and ruled by kings of whom it does not appear that any historical record whatsoever has come down to us.

The dates of the expulsion of the Phœnician shepherds from Egypt, and of the reign of Sesostris, in years of the æra of our computation, have been favourite subjects of discussion with chronologists: Archbishop Usher fixed the former of these events in the year B. C. 1825; which would make the commencement of the reign of Sesostris about B. C. 1483. The reign of Sesostris is connected with the early Grecian chronology by the migration of Danaus, brother of Sesostris, who, according to the Parian marbles, arrived in Greece in 1485, which is a very few years earlier than the dates of Usher would assign to that event. M. Champollion Figeac, brother of the M. Champollion to whom the greater part of the discoveries made by the interpretation of hieroglyphics are owing, himself a distinguished chronologist, has assigned the year B. C. 1822 to the expulsion of the Phœnicians, which Usher had placed in 1825: the date of M. Champollion being derived from Manetho's statement, that the Phœnician invasion took place in the 700th year of the Sothiacal period, *viz.*, B. C. 2082, and that their dominion in Egypt continued 260 years. Historical accuracy may make it desirable, that the exact year of the most ancient as well as of more modern events should be determined, if it be possible: but for purposes of general interest, and especially for comparison with the chronology of cotemporary nations, which at that early period is in every case more unsettled than the Egyptian, the period seems sufficiently determined. The date before Christ 1822, pursued downwards through the dynasties of Manetho, conducts with very close approximation to the known period B. C. 525 of the conquest of Egypt by the Persians; and intermediately,

accords very satisfactorily with the dates, according to the Bible chronology, of the conquest of Jerusalem in the reign of Jeroboam by Shishak, king of Egypt, and of Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia and Egypt, who made war against Sennacherib; these are the Sesonchis of Manetho, and Sh.sh.n.k of hieroglyphic inscriptions on a temple at Bubaste, and on one of the courts of the palace at Karnac,—and the Taraeus of Manetho, and T.h.r.k of hieroglyphic inscriptions existing in Ethiopia and in Egypt.*

In respect to the connexion of the events of the Jewish and Egyptian histories, the period between the expulsion of the Phœnicians and the reign of Sesostris possesses a peculiar interest, as being that of the residence of the Israelites in Egypt, and of the Exodus. In the history of Josephus, we have an extract from Manetho, in which this latter event is expressly stated to have taken place under the father of Sesostris, a king whose name, in Manetho's list is Amenophis, (the third of that name,) and on the monuments Ramses. The date which chronologists are generally agreed in assigning to the Exodus is 1491; that of the termination of the reign of Amenophis, according to Champollion, is 1473,

* It appears to us that a slight inaccuracy has crept into the deduction of all the dates in M. Champollion's Chronology subsequent to the expulsion of the shepherds. The date of that event is the foundation of the subsequent dates, and is supposed to have taken place B. C. 1822; after which according to the extract of Manetho in Josephus cited by M. Champollion, Thoutmosis, the king by whom they had been expelled, reigned 25 years and 4 months, followed by the other kings of the eighteenth dynasty, making altogether 342 years and 9 months: (including the 2 years and 2 months additional of Horus, in compliance with the version of the passage in the Armenian text of the Chronicle of Eusebius.) This number, 342 years and 9 months, falling short of the 348 years attributed to the eighteenth dynasty in Eusebius and Syncellus, M. Champollion has suggested that Thoutmosis may have reigned the five years which constitute the difference, before the expulsion of the shepherds, since, according to the record, he did reign, some years before that event, over all the parts of Egypt not possessed by the shepherds. So far, so well: but in such case, the year B. C. 1822, being the epoch of the expulsion of the shepherds, and not of the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty, must surely correspond to the fifth year of the reign of Thoutmosis, and not to the first, as M Champollion makes it. We have hesitated to venture this remark on a matter to which M. Champollion must have given so much attention, believing that mistake in us is much more probable than an accidental inadvertence in him; but we have returned frequently to the consideration, without having been able to satisfy ourselves; and the rectification of our mistake, if it is one, may prevent others falling into the same.

or, if the correction of his chronology which we have suggested in a note be just, 1478 : it is singular that the difference of thirteen years (between 1491 and 1478) should be precisely the duration of a very suspicious interval which Manetho states to have taken place, after Amenophis had gone with his army in pursuit of the Israelites ; and during which interval neither the king nor his army returned to Egypt, but are stated to have been absent in Ethiopia. If the Exodus occurred during the reign of any of the kings of the eighteenth dynasty, it could only have been in the reign of the immediate predecessor of Sesostris ; since his conquests in Phœnicia, and his expeditions against the Assyreans and Medes, must have brought him in contact with the Israelites, had they been then residing in the Holy Land, so as at least to have caused some mention to have been made in their history of the passages of so great a conqueror. But presuming Amenophis, father and predecessor of Sesostris, to have been the Pharaoh of the Exodus, the wandering of the Israelites in the desert for forty of the fifty-five years ascribed to the reign of Sesostris, is a sufficient explanation of his being unnoticed in the Jewish history ; whilst the fact of that nation having been subject to the Egyptians during the reign of Ousirei, commencing 124 years before the death of Amenophis, is attested by the paintings on the wall of one of the chambers of the tomb of that king, discovered by Belzoni, and with which we are so well acquainted by means of the model exhibited in England.

Whilst recalling to recollection the peculiar physiognomy of the Jews pourtrayed in that tomb,—and which is as characteristic of their present physiognomy as if it had been painted in the present age, instead of above 3000 years ago,—the equally well characterized, but very different physiognomy of the Phœnician shepherds, represented on the monuments of the same period, is decisive of the error of Josephus, who imagined the Jews and the Shepherds to be the same people. The Phœnician shepherds, long the inveterate enemy of the Egyptians, form a leading feature as captives, in the representations of the exploits of the monarchs who conducted the warfare against them. These people are always painted with blue eyes and light hair; and it is not a little curious to see assembled on the wall of the same apartment, different races, so distinctly

characterised as the Jew, the Phœnician, the Egyptian, and the Negro; the latter in colour, and in the outline of the features, in painting and in sculpture, precisely as at present ; all, moreover, inhabitants of countries not very distant from each other, and at a period when not more than twelve or thirteen centuries had passed since all these races had descended from a single parent. In the writings which attempt to explain from natural causes the diversity of race amongst mankind, much power has been ascribed to the effects of time and climate : but the facts with which we are now becoming better acquainted than before, do not appear to admit of explanation from those circumstances. It is worthy of notice that the negro, and the light-haired and blue eyed people, the two races who might be deemed at the greatest distance apart amongst the varieties of man, are, equally with the intermediate Egyptians, the descendants of Ham.

Of the succession of kings in Manetho's chronology, from Sesostris to the Persian conquest, a space of nine centuries and a half, about one half the names have been already identified on different monuments : four of the Persian monarchs, subsequent to the conquest, have also been traced in inscriptions in phonetic characters ; their names are written as nearly as can be spelt with our letters, Kamboth, (Cambyses) ; Ntariousch, (Darius) ; Khschearscha, (Xerxes) ; and Artakschessch, (Artaxerxes.)

The ascent by monumental evidence to yet more remote antiquity than the expulsion of the Phœnician shepherds, (B. C 1822), is not altogether without hope, notwithstanding the general demolition of the temples of the gods, which took place according to Manetho, during the long dominion of the Phœnicians in Egypt. We learn from the *Description de l'Egypte* that even the most ancient structures at Thebes are themselves composed of the debris of still more ancient buildings, used as simple materials, on which previously sculptured and painted hieroglyphics are still existing ; these are doubtless the remains of the demolished temples, but the inscriptions will require to be studied on the spot. There is also reason to believe, that there exists amongst the ruins of the palace of Karnac, a portion of still more ancient construction than the palace itself ; which, having escaped demolition, was incorporated with the more

recent building. The inscriptions on this apparently very ancient ruin present the name and title of a king, which form a very interesting subject for future elucidation. The title does not accord with any one now extant on the table of Abydus, but possibly may have been one of those which were destroyed with a portion of the wall, and which are of kings of earlier date than the expulsion of the shepherds. The name is Mandouei, which name occurs in the dynasty anterior to Sesostris, but coupled with a different title, an effectual distinction; nor does the name recur in any subsequent dynasty. M. Champollion Figeac has, with much ingenuity, shown the probability of the identity of the Mandouei of the ancient ruin with the Osymandyas, Ousi-Mandouei, mentioned by Diodorus Siculus as an Egyptian king greatly distinguished by his conquests, whose reign M. Champollion infers, from the historical passages relating to him, to have commenced 190 years before the Phœnician invasion, or B. C. 2272 years; a prodigious antiquity, and of the very highest interest should it be established, since there exist of this individual no less than three statues in European collections distinguished by the same name and title: two of these are colossal, one at Turin, and a second at Rome: a third is in the British Museum; and as all particulars must interest which relate to a statue, of which there is at least probability that it is the most ancient existing in the world,—the date attributed to it being earlier than the birth of Abraham,—we copy from Burckhardt the following short description of its discovery: "Within the inclosure of the interior part of the temple at Karnac, Belzoni found a statue of a hard, large-grained sandstone: a whole length naked figure sitting upon a chair with a ram's head upon the knees: the face and body entire; with plaited hair falling down to the shoulders. This is one of the first, I should say, the first Egyptian statue I have seen: the expression of the face is exquisite, and I believe it to be a portrait."—(J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*, lxxvii. *Letter to Mr. W. Hamilton*, 20*th February*. 1817.)—This statue is in the farthest corner on the right hand side after entering the gallery of the Egyptian antiquities in the British Museum: and compared with other statues in the same gallery, which are of kings of the eighteenth dynasty, the dissimilarity of

the features from the very characteristic ones of the latter family is too striking to be questioned. The problem of the age of this king Mandouei is, at all events, a highly curious one; and will probably receive its solution amongst the many other valuable discoveries which cannot fail to result from M. Champollion's projected visit to Egypt, in which he will be accompanied by the sincere good wishes of every one in every country, who feels an interest in the restoration of authentic history. E. S.

II. Origin and Progress of the Reformation in Ireland. From *The British Critic, Quarterly Theological Review, and Ecclesiastical Record.* Jan. 1828.

The accounts which have been received from that country within the last and the present year, of a new and important movement of religion, appear to deserve a special inquiry, and we have accordingly used our best efforts to ascertain the truth. So agitated is that portion of the empire by the violence of party, that the influences of religion are unavoidably viewed through a political medium; and their operation is too often represented rather as it may suit the views of partizans, than as it may approve itself to the sober and serious consideration of Christians. While one of the two great parties by which Ireland is divided, speak of this movement as a new reformation, not only commenced, but hastening rapidly to a consummation, which must speedily unite the whole island in the profession of a common faith; the other, even in the senate of the empire, treat the notion of a religious reformation as a visionary chimera, which may amuse the imagination of a weak enthusiast, but cannot engage the attention of a man possessing a sound and reasonable mind. Amidst this diversity of representation, the reflecting public of England do not know what opinion they should form on the subject. That some extraordinary movement has occurred, is certain, and cannot be denied. When during many years the public conversion of a Roman Catholic to the Protestant faith had been a very rare occurrence, and in the lower classes of society, by the influence of intermarriages, the current of conversion had even taken the contrary course, the public was surprised

with numerous and public instances of conversion, continued from week to week, and though at first confined to a single county, yet soon appearing also in various and distant parts of the country; so that they could not be regarded as the effects of any causes merely local. As this movement has not been limited in place, so neither has it been a merely temporary effervescence, in which some occasional discontent has exploded. The instances of acts of conformity were more numerous in the beginning, but they have never been discontinued. It seems as if some accumulation of force had been necessary for commencing a practice so novel, and had been expended in overcoming the primary difficulty; but the force, whatever it may be, continues to act; the movement, whether it be a religious reformation or not, is uninterrupted.

Two questions naturally present themselves to the mind of a person contemplating this novel and very remarkable occurrence. One of these is, whether any reason can be imagined for regarding it as a new modification of political party: the other, whether the changes which have occurred are sufficiently considerable to warrant the expectation of a general diffusion of pure religion. If these questions can both be satisfactorily answered, the former in the negative, the latter in the affirmative; if it shall appear that the movement is in its main character separated from the influences of worldly policy, and that not only the stream of conversion continues to flow, but that plain indications of a disposition to listen to religious truth are discoverable in the minds of those who still adhere to the religion of Rome; we may surely conclude that a real reformation has been actually commenced, and that the wide and general extension of it may be reasonably expected. But if, in addition to these considerations, it should appear that the changes which have occurred are not events for which no adequate cause can be assigned, but the direct and natural result of agencies, by which such changes might have been, and actually were, anticipated, we perceive no reason why our assent to their reality and importance should longer be withheld—why we should not joyfully hail the new dawn of religious truth, now breaking upon a land with which we are so closely and intimately connected.

Independently, indeed, of all these considerations, ought

it to be deemed an improbable and almost incredible event, that a new era of religious reformation should be at this time begun in Ireland? What is there in such an occurrence so contrary to the general analogy of God's dealing with his creatures, that we should receive all reports of it with suspicion and distrust? If the ignorance and superstition of the majority of the people of Ireland have hitherto rendered them insensible to the animating truths of religion, we may say to the worldly politician of the present day as the Apostle demanded of Agrippa, "Why should it be thought a thing incredible with you that God should raise the dead?" Is it agreeable to the course of the Almighty's providence, that the popular mind, which has once sunk in the moral death of ignorance and superstition, should never be restored to the animation of reason and religion? Should we not rather expect that, at some time or other, the Almighty would vindicate his superintending care of his moral creation, and call forth light and life from the very abuses and corruptions in which they seemed to be for ever lost? When the general religion of Europe had been reduced to a mass of senseless superstitions, which offended the pious, and were ridiculed even by the priests who practised them for gain, the reforming efforts of an obscure Friar, who himself did not see clearly the way in which he was proceeding, were successfully opposed to the Power of Darkness, and began the deliverance of the Christian world. Such a change as was begun for Europe in general in the sixteenth century, may well be supposed to have been begun for Ireland in the nineteenth. The grossness of the abuses, which are urged as a reason for despair, is the very particular which constitutes the correspondence of the two cases; and the power of genuine religion, which is now brought to bear upon those abuses, exceeds, beyond all comparison, the exertions of an individual, who was actually acquiring for himself a knowledge of religious truth, while he was labouring to restrain the enormity of a practical corruption.

But it is said that attempts to *reform* the Irish have been repeatedly made without effect. If, however, it should appear that the efforts heretofore exerted were not fitted to attain this end, and if a different method of prosecuting the same purpose has at length been adopted, no argument for despondency can be drawn from these circumstances.

When the Grecian Orator laboured to animate the exertions of his countrymen, he told them that the general mismanagement of their affairs in times past, augured most favourably of their future success; while no hope could remain if they had been reduced to their actual condition, in spite of having done all which their duty demanded. Those who are now solicitous for the diffusion of the knowledge of true religion in Ireland, may surely apply to themselves this consolatory reflection, for it may without difficulty be shown, that the modes of conversion heretofore chiefly, and almost exclusively, employed, could not be effectual to the propagation of genuine religion. It is even more applicable to the subject of our present inquiry, because no Protestant can consistently doubt that the truth of his religion will ultimately prevail over ignorance and superstition; whereas the Orator could not be assured that his country might by any efforts of duty be rescued from subjugation. A Protestant of this empire may, without inconsistency, doubt whether the time has yet arrived when he might reasonably hope to bring all the people of Ireland to the knowledge of the truth; but if he be sincere in his profession of religion, he cannot for a moment entertain a doubt whether such a time must arrive, and the sole deliberation which he should hold with himself on the question, is whether it has already come, and demands of him his most strenuous efforts for assisting in the important work.

The Protestant religion was first promulgated in Dublin in the year 1551, the fifth of the reign of Edward VI., the Book of Common Prayer being in that year printed in Dublin; and considerable exertions were made by the Archbishop of Dublin, for propagating a knowledge of it among those who understood the English language. Little time, however, was allowed for the success of these exertions, Edward dying two years afterwards, and being succeeded by Mary. The reformation of religion in Ireland was resumed by Elizabeth, but, at first, without giving any attention to the case of those who were ignorant of the language of the neighbouring country. The queen, indeed, in the year 1571, sent Irish types into this country, in the hope that God would raise up some persons to translate the New-Testament into the original language of Ireland. The pious hope was, however, not accomplished till the year 1602,

nor was the Book of Common Prayer published in the Irish language until the year 1608. The period of time preceding this latter year, may be considered as having only announced the intention of extending the reformation of religion throughout Ireland.

James, though he did not refrain from endeavouring to spread the reformation in Ireland by acts of authority, did, however, also adopt the more reasonable and effectual method of causing the Service of the Church to be performed in the Irish language, and the New Testament, as translated into that language, to be read to the people. This truly Christian mode of propagating just notions of religion, was earnestly adopted by the celebrated Bishop Bedell, who was advanced to the see of Kilmore in the year 1629. That pious and zealous prelate had, however, fallen on evil days, for twelve years after his advancement broke out the bloody rebellion of the seventeenth century, which had been preceded, by much political agitation. The voice of the preacher was accordingly raised amidst the tumult and the irritation of an excited people, and the effect which that voice produced was speedily swept away in the flood of violence, which overwhelmed the land. But even in this dark and dismal period of the history of our Church, the inquirer may discover one gleam of brightness, to cheer him in the hope of at length overcoming the resistance of bigotry. The prelate, whom the Romanists had imprisoned when living, because he would not abandon those who had fled to him for protection, they remembered with reverence when dead. They solemnized his funeral with the ill-assorted honours of a volley of musketry, wishing that "he might rest in peace the last of the English," and from the lips of a Roman Catholic Priest, issued the half-converted prayer, that his soul might be with Bedell. When amidst the infuriate massacres of a sanguinary rebellion, even so much impression could be made, why should we despair of the influence of truth in a season, not merely of tranquillity, but even of kind and amicable intercourse?

In the interval of thirty-three years, which was interposed between the year 1608 and the commencement of the great rebellion, the legitimate method of propagating the reformation by making known to the people the sacred Scriptures and the Liturgy, was in some degree put in practice, but

many causes co-operated to defeat its success. The long series of troubles which disturbed the government of Elizabeth, having been terminated but just before her death, the university which she had founded in Dublin for the purpose was not yet prepared to furnish to the Protestant Church a sufficient supply of educated ministers; James, though willing to communicate a knowledge of genuine religion to the Irish, was yet more solicitous to form a Protestant interest, by the introduction of English and Scotish settlers, to the exclusion of the ancient possessors of the lands, who must necessarily have been irritated and alienated; and, above all, the influence of the Roman Catholic clergy, greatly augmented by the success of James, in dissolving the connection of the Irish clans, and thus detaching the vassals from the authority of their lords, was during all this time actively employed in preparing the people for the great rebellion, which after two postponements, broke out in the year 1641. If therefore, all efforts for spreading the reformation among the general population of Ireland, were, up to this date, ineffectual, the cause is to be found in the treason of the Roman Catholic clergy, who had placed their church in hostility to the state, and consequently had imposed upon the state the necessity of reducing them to a condition in which they should be no longer formidable.

From the commencement of the rebellion to the Restoration, Ireland was a scene of public commotion, in which the voice of genuine religion could gain no audience, though its language was perpetually assumed to stimulate the evil passions of the time. The bigotry of the Roman Catholics was then punished by the Act of Settlement, which confiscated so large a portion of the lands of the Irish, that their possessions were reduced to less than a third part of the island, though before the war they had been estimated as double of those of the English. A change of property so enormous must have caused irritation, sufficient to present insuperable difficulty to all efforts of religious conversion; nor can we suppose that this difficulty was in any degree diminished, until the struggle of parties had been decided by the War of the Revolution, and further resistance rendered hopeless to all, except the clergy, who, as we now know, were creatures of the Pretender, as long as a Popish claimant of the crown existed. Neither, indeed, are we aware, that any effort was

in this interval exerted for the purpose of conversion, excepting by the truly Christian philosopher, Mr. Boyle, who caused the Catechism of the Established Church to be printed in the Irish language in the year 1680, a new edition of the Irish New Testament to be published in the following year, and in the year 1685, an Irish Translation of the Old Testament.

Soon after the Revolution, some exertions were made for the conversion of the Irish, and with a good prospect of success. Two individuals, in distant parts of Ireland, the Reverend Nicholas Brown, in the diocese of Clogher, in the year 1702; and not long afterwards, the Reverend Walter Atkins, in the diocese of Cloyne, applied themselves to this important work, by addressing the people in the language which they understood. Of the former of these zealous clergymen, it has been recorded, that he took care to attend a congregation of his Roman Catholic parishoners just when their service was concluded, and then to read to them, in their own language, the Prayers of the Established Church. On one of these occasions, the Roman Catholic clergyman, to draw away his congregation from their new devotions, for they joined earnestly in our service, cried aloud that those prayers had been stolen from the Church of Rome. "If it was so," said a grave old native, "they have stolen the best as thieves generally do." Of the other, we are informed, that the native Irish were so much gratified with the offices of religion, which he performed for them in the Irish language, that they sent for him from all parts of his very extensive parish; that one of them was heard to say, at a funeral at which he thus officiated, that if they could have that service always, they would go no more to mass; and that he was requested to forbear celebrating so many marriages of Roman Catholics, lest he should leave their clergymen destitute of sufficient means of subsistence.

In the beginning of the year 1710, when most of the Roman Catholic clergy, by declining to swear the oath of abjuration, had rendered themselves liable to great penalties, if they should exercise their function, some clergymen of the Established Church, deeming it lamentable that the Irish should be left without religion, resolved to imitate these two persons, and their efforts were rewarded with the pleased attention of the Irish Roman Catholics. Delighted with

hearing our prayers in their own language, they openly declared that our service was very good, and that they disapproved of praying in any unknown tongue; some of them also were observed to be much affected, when they listened to the Scriptures thus, probably for the first time, brought within their knowledge.

Here was a fair opening for prosecuting a reformation of religion in Ireland. The country was not then, as in the time of Bedell, agitated by treasonable intrigue or by open rebellion, for the strife of parties had been decided by the success and ascendancy of the Protestants. The Roman Catholics also, as far as they were tried, appear to have received with gratitude and interest the exertions of pious Protestants, to give them more just conceptions of religion. Why then was the salutary work interrupted? Did the Protestants become indifferent to the propagation of a purer faith, or were they obstructed by new difficulties, which they were unable to surmount? The answer to that interesting inquiry has been furnished by the Reverend John Richardson, who, in the year 1712, gave to the public the narrative from which these particulars have been collected. This pious clergyman has intimated, that the principal reason why the Reformed Religion had not made a greater progress in Ireland, was, that dependence had been placed on political, rather than on evangelical means, for it propagation; and his own narrative shows, that these very men, pious and zealous as they undoubtedly were, fell into this grievous error, and so were led away from the right path, by which they might have extensively communicated the knowledge of the Gospel. The very success, indeed, of their efforts, was the occasion of their ultimate failure. It was deemed expedient to interest the government of the country in the prosecution of the work which had been so happily undertaken. The government expressed a disposition most favourable to the wishes of the friends of the measure; but the convocation and the parliament were also to be consulted, and the latter of these assemblies, though they too approved the principle of addressing the Irish Roman Catholics in their own language, judged it necessary, to the maintenance of the connection with Great Britain, to enforce the acquisition of the English tongue. When it is also considered, that the parliament had two years before

this time, completed the penal code, it will be easily understood, that the principle, which all had joined in commending, was speedily forgotten, and that the entire dependence of the Protestants was placed on the efficacy of force.

As in the time of Bedell the progress of religious reformation was prevented by the agitations of the people, so in this later period was it interrupted by the compulsory measures of the government, which the circumstances of the country had placed in hostility to the religion of Roman Catholics. Against this conduct of the government it is easy to declaim; but it should be recollected, that we have now unquestionable testimony, informing us that the Roman Catholic bishops of Ireland were at this time nominated by the Pretender, and we may therefore consider the whole hierarchy of the Romish church of that country as in secret arrayed against the security of the existing government. Whatever reasons, however, may have existed for framing a code of so great severity, and whether the government did, or did not, go beyond the necessities of the public safety, it is evidently seen that such a position was decidedly unfavourable to every hope of proselyting the Roman Catholics. The government indeed, and the Protestant part of the people seem to have suddenly forgotten the pious intention of converting them by addressing them in their own language, and to have trusted wholly to a proscription of their religion, so rigorous that it should leave them with scarcely any other option than that of adopting the religion of the state. This system of proscription had very little efficacy in conversion: neither indeed did it deserve to have any, for the proselytes which it could procure, would have little pretention to the character of sincere Protestants. In the growing liberality of the age it was at length abandoned, and a contrary system was substituted in its place. It was then, and by many politicians it is still maintained, that the true method of converting Roman Catholics is to abolish, as much as possible, all political distinctions existing between them and Protestants; and it has been again and again insisted that, when political jealousy and irritation shall have been removed, the former cannot fail to become sensible of the superiority of the religious tenets of the latter, and must rapidly renounce every peculiarity which might continue to separate them from their fellow-subjects either in religion or in policy.

This system has also been tried through a long series of years, the half of a century having elapsed since the first measure of indulgence, and thirty-four years having passed since the Roman Catholics of Ireland were admitted to that common right of citizenship, which must have taken from the multitude every feeling of degradation. Like the former, it has notwithstanding proved wholly inefficacious. The clergy, whom the government in its liberality educated at the public expense, and to whom it was willing to afford competent stipends, chose to continue entirely independent of a Protestant and therefore an heretical state; and the laity, far from being conciliated by past concessions, rose from petitions to peremptory demands, which they enforced by open denunciations of the physical violence of an exasperated multitude.

From this double failure, we suppose, the mere politician has, in his blindness, concluded, that the Roman Catholics of Ireland are not to be converted, and that the reformation alleged to have been at length begun in that country, is the dream of enthusiasm. He has seen, as we all have seen, that both severity and conciliation have failed to produce the desired effect; and he has thence concluded that the effect cannot be produced at all. It might be sufficient to ask him, in what particular is the Irish Roman Catholic degraded below the general level of his species, that he must be deemed inaccessible to the influences of reason. Is he so destitute of understanding, that he cannot comprehend the genuine truths of that religion which was originally addressed to the poor? Is he so indifferent to his everlasting welfare, that he cannot appreciate their importance? Strange inconsistency of party! The very men, who claim for them as their right the exercise of political power, and contend for their qualification to manage the interests of a complicated government, would exclude the Roman Catholics of Ireland from the hope of attaining the knowledge of that form of Christianity, which, if they are themselves sincere in their religious profession, they esteem to be purified from a number of superstitions and abuses still debasing the Church of Rome.

We will now inform these politicians, why the scheme of conciliation did not succeed in attracting proselytes from the religion of Rome. It failed because it was simply political, and the methods of human policy do not belong to reli-

gion. When conciliation was the guiding principle of the government, all controversial discussion was hushed to repose and it would have been considered as an ungracious interruption of the general harmony, if any zealous minister of the Protestant church should have appeared to think, that he had a right to concern himself with the religious interests of his Roman Catholic parishioners. Roman Catholics were expected to become Protestants, because as Roman Catholics they had nothing further to desire, and were to quit the religion of their fathers in the gaiety of their satisfied hearts. Unfortunately for this expectation, they still found something to desire, which had not yet been conceded, and the consciousness of increasing strength and importance supplied a new and powerful motive for adhereing to a party already considerable in the state.

If therefore we look back on the whole course of the past proceedings of the Protestants of Ireland in regard to the conversion of the Roman Catholics, we find, with the exception of the well directed efforts of a few individuals, two contrary methods successively adopted, both merely political, and therefore both incapable of producing a religious effect. Each indeed, it may easily be shown, contained a principle destructive of its own efficacy. When the government endeavoured by legislative acts to suppress the religion of Roman Catholics, their native independence, supported by the influence of the clergy, was roused to resist the aggression with a steadiness which might entitle them to the name of confessors. When, on the other hand, liberality was the ruling principle of the day, and this liberality required that persons differing in religious opinions should avoid all mutual interference, and that Protestants should almost proceed so far as to join in the worship of Roman Catholics, why should the latter be disposed to go over to a church to the distinguishing peculiarities of which its own members appeared to attach so little importance?

From the acknowledged failure of such methods of making proselytes it is manifest that no argument can fairly be deduced, to prove the probability of the failure of a method entirely different. The inference indeed should be of an opposite nature. If methods merely political have been confessedly unsuccessful, we may conclude that a mode of conversion, in which worldly policy had no controlling influence

would probably be successful, unless we should be able to persuade ourselves that God had abandoned the Roman Catholics of Ireland to irremediable delusion.

What then may be considered as the primary cause of the movement which has attracted so much observation? The religious improvement of the Protestants is, we have no hesitation in saying, the true and adequate principle of the reformation of the Roman Catholics. Here is a cause independent of the mere policy of the world, and to which therefore no unfavourable inference from the failure of that policy can fairly be applied. Neither can any consequence be more natural and direct, than that the increased seriousness and piety of the members of the purer church should dispose them to seek, by every effort becoming sincere Christians, the improvement of those who are still debased by ignorance and superstition. The influence of such a church is at the same time naturally efficacious. It neither irritates the ignorant and superstitious by penalties, nor confirms them in error by an apparent indifference for the truth. It draws them, on the contrary. "by the cords of a man," by all the strong sympathies of our common nature. When the poor peasant, who knew little more of his religion, than that he was required to obey his priest, perceived that persons placed in a higher condition of life were desirous of instructing him or his children, he reverenced them as the kindest benefactors. When he saw the religion, which they professed, exemplified in the zealous piety of their conduct, he could not but be disposed to think, that there was something in the doctrine of Christ, differing from the strange compound of superstition and folly which he had been taught to embrace as the true and only faith. When they, perhaps for the first time, brought to his knowledge the sacred record, which contained the original authority for his Christian hope, he could not easily be persuaded to forego the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the truths which it revealed, or to content himself with the scanty information communicated by the clergy of his Church. Such an influence has effected, and is continuing to effect, that which human policy, with its penalties and its conciliation, was wholly unable, because unfitted, to accomplish.

As this was not an operation of human policy, so did it take its commencement from a point, from which the utmost

effort of human sagacity could not have anticipated such a result. Three individuals in humble situations of life, Mr. Watson, a bookseller, Dr. O'Conor, a parochial clergyman, and Mr. Skeys, a merchant, associated in the year 1792, to reform, not Roman Catholics, but Protestants, by constituting an Association, the object of which should be to support the cause of religion by the influence of example. Some serious persons, especially among the clergy, soon joined themselves to the society; it gradually became numerous, and acquired funds sufficient for disseminating the Scriptures and religious tracts; and at length, in the year 1801, having received from the government a charter of incorporation, and an annual grant of money, which has since been largely augmented, it engaged in the direct encouragement of the education of the poor.

The efforts of this association, which was chiefly under the direction of the clergy, excited in the great body of the laity a desire of forming associations for similar purposes; and the Hibernian Bible Society was accordingly constituted in the year 1806, and in the year 1811 the Kildare Place Society for the Education of the Poor, which did not however begin its active operations until the year 1817, when it had been furnished with parliamentary aid, and had prepared its central establishment in the metropolis.

The Bible Society was doubtless formed with the best and purest intentions, and accordingly was originally patronized by the dignitaries of the Established Church, though the inferior clergy generally adhered to the earlier association, as more peculiarly their own. In process of time, indeed, some irregularities manifested themselves in the management of its operations, which gave occasion to a secession of most of the dignitaries, and of other clergymen, who however felt it to be on that very account their duty to afford a more strenuous support to the other society professing the same objects. The Bible Society has thus become almost exclusively a lay association; and the dissemination of the Scriptures has been actively prosecuted by two distinct bodies, one comprehending, together with some laymen, almost all the established clergy throughout Ireland, the other, though including among its members a comparatively small number of the clergy, yet chiefly composed of laymen.

The original society, or the Association for Discountenan-

cing Vice, has had two distinct objects ;—it both disseminated the Scriptures and religious tracts, and promoted the extension and improvement of the education of the poor. In this latter respect it was zealously emulated by the Kildare Place Society, which, however, was constituted on a principle of the utmost comprehension, consistent with affording a scriptural education. This society submitted its schools to the management of a committee, composed of persons of various denominations of religion, and, excluding all catechisms, required only as an indispensable condition, that the Scriptures should be daily read among the scholars.

While these efforts for the education of the poor were exerted by the well-disposed among the people of Ireland, the benevolence of this country was directed to the reformation of ignorance in the neighbouring island. Some individuals associated in London for this beneficent purpose in the year 1806, under the name of the London Hibernian Society. At the commencement this Institution established schools and employed preachers; but in the year 1814 it was wisely determined, that the employment of preachers should be discontinued and that the efforts of the society should be confined to the support of schools, and the dissemination of the Scriptures and of religious tracts. Though this society proposes religious instruction as its object, it has disclaimed proselytism ; being desirous to afford religious instruction without reference to creeds, and no religious books being admitted into its schools except the sacred Scriptures, in the English and Irish languages, without note or comment. With this view, however, it proceeds further than the Kildare Place Society, in whose schools the patron, or master, may select the children, who shall read the New Testament, and the version which shall be used by them, with the particular passages which shall be read.

These are the great instruments of the education of the lower classes in Ireland, but others have been employed in co-operation with them. A Sunday School Society was established in the year 1809; the Baptist Society, so denominated because it was formed by persons of the sect of Baptists, though on the same principle with the London Hibernian Society, was formed in the year 1814; and the Irish Society, the design of which was to enable the Irish peasant to read the Scriptures in his own language, has added its ef-

forts, that a knowledge of the Scriptures might be communicated to those, who were either ignorant of the English language, or could better understand the Irish. Neither have the useful efforts of the friends of instruction been confined to the establishment of schools, for persons have been employed to visit the peasantry in their cabins, and there to read to them portions of the sacred writings; and, whatever repugnance the clergy of the establishment might entertain to the employment of irregular preachers, they very willingly availed themselves of the services of those persons, who professed only to read the Scriptures to the poor.

To what extent the operations of the several societies for educating the poorer classes have been carried, has been distinctly stated in the first Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry, published in year 1825, the year immediately preceding that in which the public was surprised by numerous conversions of Roman Catholics. From this Report it appears, that the probable number of children receiving education from these several societies was between 400,000 and 500,000. Though such a number is not considerable in comparison with those still left in ignorance, or abandoned to the common education of the peasantry, yet it is manifest that even this number must send into the general population of the country a knowledge, at least of the existence of the sacred writings, which can not fail to exercise some beneficial influence on the state of society. The families, to which the children thus instructed belonged, would learn from them, that there is a Record, on which their only hope of a future existence must be founded; and would probably also learn some of its most interesting particulars. In the Sunday schools, and the schools of the London Hibernian Society, many adults receive Scriptural education; the itinerant teachers of the Irish Society extend still further the benefits of instruction to the grown population; and the Scripture-readers communicate some knowledge of the saving truths of the Gospel to those who possess not the opportunity of attaining the art of reading. All these operations were supported by a distribution of the Sacred Writings, from various societies, which has been stated to have supplied, in the course of twenty years, 944,549, or nearly a million, copies of the Scriptures.

III. The Grison League. From the same. Oct. 1827.

The Protestants of the more southern states, deprived of liberty in all its forms, naturally betook themselves to the small republics which were spread over the valleys of the Eastern Alps, where they found at once a kindred people and a language which they could understand. Surrounded by the mountains whence proceed the Rhine and the Inn, secluded from the rest of the world, and occupied either in feeding cattle, or in cultivating a few scattered fields or vineyards, the inhabitants, who came originally from Italy, had preserved their ancient tongue and manners, with little variation, from a period considerably more remote than the Christian era. The Grison League, or Commonwealth, consisted of three distinct states, known by the singular names of the Grey League, the League of God's House, and the League of the Ten Jurisdictions; each of which was composed of a number of smaller communities, which retain the right of managing all its internal affairs, and of sending deputies to the general Diet.

It has been remarked, that in no nation, ancient or modern, have the principles of democracy been carried to such an extent as in the Grison republic; and as the checks necessary to prevent its abuse were not provided by a rude people, smarting under the recent effects of tyranny, its form of government, according to the confession of its own as well as of foreign writers, not only created great dissensions, but led to great corruption and bribery in election to offices, and in the administration of justice. The corruptions, too, which had overspread the Catholic Church, before the Reformation were to be found in the Grisons, with all the aggravations arising from the credulity of men who were still entirely ignorant of letters. Half a century even after the light of Protestantism had penetrated into the Rhætian valleys, the government found it necessary to issue a decree, ordering that the Roman Catholic priests should recite the Lord's prayer, Apostle's creed and Ten Commandments for the instruction of the people.

Philip Salutz and John Dorfmann have been reputed the first reformers of the Grisons. The latter was a man of learning, sound judgment, and warm piety; to which

qualities the former added great dexterity in the management of public business, an invincible command of temper, and uncommon eloquence, both in his native tongue and in Latin. But the conversion of John Frich, parish priest of Mayenfield, was brought about in a singular manner. Being a zealous Catholic, and of great note among his brethren, he had warmly resisted the new opinions. Filled with chagrin and alarm at the progress which he saw them making in his immediate neighbourhood, he repaired to Rome to implore the assistance of his holiness, and to consult him on the best method of preventing his native country from being overrun with heresy. But he was so struck with the irreligion which he observed in the court of Rome, and the ignorance and vice prevailing in Italy, that, upon his return home, he joined the party which he had opposed, and became the reformer of Mayenfield. In his old age he used to say to his friends pleasantly, that he had learned the Gospel at Rome.

About the year 1526, a statute was enacted by the general commissioners of the league, that "it shall be free to all persons of both sexes, and of whatever condition or rank, within the territories of the Grison confederation, to choose, embrace and profess either the Roman Catholic or the Evangelical religion; and that no one shall, publicly or privately harrass another with reproaches, or odious speeches, on account of his religion, under an arbitrary penalty." Where persons had bequeathed sums of money to churches and convents for offering anniversary masses and prayers for their souls, both they and their heirs were declared free from any obligation to make such payments for the future, "because no good ground could be shown for believing that this was of any benefit to the deceased." It was decreed that no new members, male or female, should be admitted into monasteries; that the existing monks should be restrained from begging; and that after appropriating a certain sum for their support during life, the remainder of the funds should be returned to the heirs of those who originally bestowed them. The power of choosing their respective ministers was given to all parishes. Appeals from secular courts to the jurisdiction of the bishop was strictly prohibited; annats and small tithes were abolished, and the great tithes reduced to a fifth.

In the course of thirty years, about eight hundred exiles had taken shelter in the Grisons, or, to use the language of Dr. M'Cree, had "thrown themselves on the glaciers of the Alps, to escape from the fires of the Inquisition." Their first arrival in the country produced an impression highly favourable to the interests of the Reformation; but the theological dissensions which had weakened the good cause in Italy itself, followed the Protestants to their mountains, and impeded materially the progress of the new opinions. The jealousy of the Catholics, too, aided by the arms of the neighbouring princes, threw a bar in the way of their advancement: but, in spite of all these disadvantages, the seeds of civil and religious freedom were so deeply sown as to defy successfully all the attempts of priest and tyrant to root them out.

IV. Horæ Evangelicæ. From *The Baptist Magazine*. Jan. 1828.

Without depreciating the value of the *external* evidence of the truth and divine inspiration of the Scriptures, it may safely be affirmed, that in several respects the *internal* evidence, arising from the sublimity of the doctrines, the purity of the morality, the extraordinary harmony, and the beneficial tendency of the whole, possesses an infinite superiority, and is entitled to a greater degree of credence than the former. Thus, whatever pretences a book may make to authenticity and inspiration, and by whatever weight of external evidence it may be supported, if it contain immoral precepts, or *real* contradictions, we should justly deem them sufficient to invalidate its truth, and to destroy its pretensions. It is precisely on this ground that we prove the non-inspiration of the Koran of Mohammed, lofty as are its pretensions, much as it is extolled, and widely as it is received by the followers of the wily Arab. For the same reason, the *apparent* contradictions in the Christian Scriptures have been a favourite topic of cavil with the enemies of divine revelation, from Spinosa down to Voltaire, and the puny herd of infidels of our own day, who have servilely copied their objections.

There is another point of view in which the superlative

importance of internal evidence is clearly evinced—its universal adaptation to persons of every rank and character, whether learned or illiterate. It comes home to the judgment and conscience of every man, and leaves infidels of every description without excuse. No transcendent talent, no depth of learning is required to apprehend its nature, and to appreciate its force. The talent required is possessed by every intelligent creature—the capability of comparing one thing with another, and drawing an inference; and the only learning requisite, is a knowledge of the Sacred Scriptures. A man of plain, common sense, with the sacred volume in his hand, is fully qualifiedto understand and decide on every argument which may be adduced respecting its internal evidence. Of such a man, if he honestly examines this evidence, accompanied with humble and fervent prayer for the illumination of that Spirit by whom the Scriptures claim to be indited, it may justly be affirmed, in the language of a distinguished prelate, on a kindred subject, that "the whole compass of abstruse philosophy, and recondite history, shall furnish no argument with which the perverse will of man shall be able to shake this learned Christian's faith."

Of the various species of internal evidence, that which arises from the *undesigned* coincidences between the sacred books, appears the most convincingand satisfactory,and least liable to objections. It was first developed, in the most able manner, by the late Dr. Paley, in his "Horæ Paulinæ; or the Truth of the Scripture History of St. Paul evinced by a comparison of the Epistles which bear his name with the Acts of the Apostles, and with one another." It is upon the plan of this judicious and excellent work, that the following papers are drawn up; and to it the reader is referred for a full and clear exposition of the argument. The several instances of agreement, to adopt the statements of that able writer, are disposed under separate numbers, not only to mark more sensibly the divisions of the subject, but also to remind the reader that they are independent of each other, and complete of themselves. Nothing has been advanced which did not appear probable, but the degree of probability by which different instances are supported is undoubtedly very different. If the reader, therefore, meets with a number which contains an instance that appears to

him unsatisfactory, or founded on mistake, he will dismiss that number from the argument, but without prejudice to any other. He will also please to remember this word *undesignedness*, as denoting that upon which the construction and validity of our argument chiefly depend; and which, it is hoped, will be sufficiently apparent from the instances themselves, and the separate remarks with which they are accompanied. It should also be observed, that the more *oblique* or *intricate* the comparison of a coincidence may be the more *circuitous* the investigation is, the better; because the agreement which finally results is thereby further removed from the suspicion of contrivance, affectation, or design. And it should be remembered, concerning these coincidences, that it is one thing to be minute and another to be precarious; one thing to be unobserved, and another to be obscure; one thing to be circuitous or oblique, and another to be forced, dubious, or fanciful. These are distinctions which ought to be always retained in our thoughts.

THE GOSPEL OF ST. MATTHEW.

No. I.—Chap. x. 2—4.

"Now the names of the twelve apostles are these; the first, Simon, who is called Peter, and Andrew his brother; James the *son* of Zebedee, and John his brother; Philip, and Bartholomew; Thomas, and Matthew the publican; James *the son* of Alpheus, and Lebbeus, whose surname was Thaddeus; Simon the Canaanite, and Judas Iscariot, who also betrayed him."

In this passage the twelve apostles are enumerated in *pairs*; a mode of arrangement adopted by no other evangelist, though the same order is in some measure preserved. The reason for the adoption of such an arrangement is not immediately obvious. Consanguinity might justly be assigned as the cause in the cases of Simon Peter and Andrew his brother, James the son of Zebedee and John his brother, and James the son of Alpheus and Lebbeus or Thaddeus, also called Judas the brother of James (Luke vi. 16.); and if Bartholomew be the same with Nathaniel, as some have supposed, he might with propriety be associated with his friend Philip, who first introduced him to a knowledge of the Saviour. John i. 43—46. But there appears no reason why Thomas, a fisherman of Galilee (John xxi. 1—13.),

should be united with Matthew the publican ; nor why Simon the Canaanite, or Zelotes (i. e. the Zealous, Luke vi. 15.) should be associated with Judas Iscariot, the betrayer of our Lord.

If it be said, that as there were but four of the Apostles who remained to be classed, it was immaterial which of the two possible modes of arrangement were adopted, and that there might be no reason why the present one was chosen, the possibility is readily conceded : though apart from every other consideration, it seems more probable, that the association of persons so different in their ordinary avocations as Thomas and Matthew, and so dissimilar in their characters as Simon Zelotes and Judas Iscariot, was not a fortuitous circumstance, but the effect of choice, grounded upon some determinate reason of preference. In fact, it appears, that neither consanguinity nor friendship, nor yet the blind direction of chance, was the proximate cause of this arrangement; for Simon, who was the third son of Alpheus, and brother of James and Lebbeus or Judas, (Matt. xiii. 55.) is disjoined from them, and united with Judas Iscariot, in *consequence* of this mode of arranging in pairs having been adopted. A circumstance, however, related by St. Mark, we conceive, furnishes us with the true reason why St. Matthew has thus enumerated them. He relates, that our Lord having "called unto him the twelve," "began to send them forth by *two* and *two*." (Mark vi. 7.) From this statement we at once clearly perceive why St. Matthew should have thus arranged them in *pairs*. It also satisfactorily accounts for every circumstance connected with this arrangement; our Lord having, as a pious man remarks, "united by *grace* those who were before united by *nature*; and intending, perhaps, to counteract the timidity and unbelief of Thomas by the firmness and faith of Matthew, and the worldly-mindedness of Judas Iscariot, by the zealous fervour of Simon.

Now this minute and striking coincidence between the accounts of these Evangelists, appears on the very face of it, to be wholly undesigned ; and consequently, clearly proves that they wrote independently of each other, and establishes the truth of their respective relations. Had St. Mark possessed a copy of St. Matthew's Gospel, and merely abridged his larger history, as some have imagined, it can scarcely be conceived that he would have concluded from St. Matthew's

arrangement that our Saviour sent out his twelve apostles "*two and two*;" and, if we can suppose that he could have inferred this, yet it is highly improbable that he would have been content with merely stating the fact, without giving the order in which they were sent out. But, so far from this being the case, where he does enumerate the Apostles, he not only does *not* arrange them in pairs, but differs materially in the order of the names; interposing James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother, between Simon Peter, and Andrew his brother, adding, that our Lord called the former two "Boanerges, which is, the sons of thunder," and placing Matthew before Thomas. (Mark iii. 16—18.) On the other hand, if St. Matthew had had St. Mark's gospel before him, (which, we believe, has never been imagined,) it will scarcely be supposed that he drew up his arrangement of the Apostles from the simple assertion of St. Mark, that Jesus sent out his disciples "two and two;" or, that, if he did so, he would omit, as he does, the statement of the fact. As, therefore, neither of these suppositions can be admitted, it must be inferred, that each of these sacred writers wrote independently of the other, and related in their own manner the circumstances of an act with which they were well acquainted; and the reality of which cannot consequently be questioned, being thus confirmed by two writers who agree respecting it in the most minute and undesigned particulars.

London. W. G.

The Inquisition. From *The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine.* Oct. and Nov. 1827.

The Inquisition was given into the hands of the Dominicans about 1217. It was more fully authenticated and formed in 1227, in the Pontificate of Gregory IX., who had been the protector of Dominic. It was introduced into Spain in 1232, which from that time became its chief seat. In 1486 a new model of the Inquisition was sanctioned by Innocent VIII; a royal council was created; its inferior tribunals received authority; a new code of horrible laws began; and, with Torquemada at its head, the Inquisition of Spain, the most powerful of European kingdoms, and about

to assume the sovereignty of the new world, planted its branches in the most remote dependencies of the empire, and became the scourge of mankind.

The slaughters committed by the Inquisition are now beyond any accurate calculation; but they stand a fearful rivalry with the most prodigal expenditure of blood by war. The tribunal went on its course of plunder, imprisonment, torture, and burning, for six hundred years! During the last century, the common feeling of mankind had so far penetrated even within the walls of the Inquisition, that the chief cruelties were kept from the public eye. Yet a Nun was burnt alive by the Spanish Inquisition so late as the year 1781. But what calculation of the slain can give us the true estimate of the evil, the myriads of the broken hearts of orphans, widows, parents deprived of their children, families banished and beggared; the life of perpetual fear in the presence of a tribunal against which no man at any hour was secure; in whose hands torture, death, or an imprisonment of a length and severity that made after-life useless, and from which no man came, but as hardly escaped from the grave? And what are we to think of the religion that could create, sanction, and triumph in this tribunal? What of the abject and desperate prostration of mind which that religion must labour to produce, before it could venture to lay the weight of Inquisition on the world? What of the hideous repulsion of all the principles of Christianity, in the establishment of this formal and cold-blooded system of murder? We may presumptuously doubt, if we will, the Scripture that declares the existence and hostility of the evil spirit; but on what other conception can human reason account for the horrors of the Inquisition? We are driven back to the revealed word, and forced to see, in this triumph of torture and death, a cruelty beyond man, the form of the Fiend enveloped and enthroned in the circle of agony and flame.

The spiritual supremacy of Rome had, almost in the moment of its birth, been disowned, even in Italy. The arch-diocese of Milan, consisting of the seven provinces, Liguria, Æmilia, Flaminia, Venetia, the Cottain and Greek Alps, and Rhetia or the Grisons, the ancient government of the Lieutenant of the Western Prætorian Præfect, had

long pursued their own ritual, and established the Ambrosian Liturgy.

But their first open separation from Rome was in the year 553. It became still more distinct in 590, when nine of the bishops rejected the communion of the Pope as a heretic, and refused obedience to the command of the Emperor Mauritius to be present at a council at Rome, denying that they could communicate with Gregory the First.

A. D. 817. The Prelates of the Milanese had struggled, at the council of Frankfort, against the general corruption of Papacy. But an eminent man suddenly arose to embody their resistance, and to take the lead equally in enlightening the church, and breaking down the Romish supremacy. Claudius, a Spaniard, had been one of the Chaplains of Lewis the Pious; who, on his accession to the German empire, had appointed this able and learned man to the bishopric of Turin. The rank was high, for Turin was a metropolitan see; though the title of Archbishop was not yet introduced. The Romish idolatry had made rapid advances in the north of Italy; and the appointment of Claudius was the honourable testimony to talents and virtues which made him the fittest champion of the truth. He instantly unsheathed that only legitimate and irresistable sword, which is put into human hands by the Spirit; he spread the Scriptures. He wrote for the people successive explanations of Genesis, St. Matthew, the Epistle to the Galatians, the Ephesians, Exodus, and Leviticus. The chief points of his teaching were all in direct opposition to the Papal theology. He declared that,

Christ is the only Head of the Church;—the Apostles were all equal,—and the only primacy of St. Peter consisted in his having had the sacred honour of founding the Church among the Jews and Gentiles;—the Romish doctrine of merits is altogether unfounded in Scripture;—tradition in religion is of no value;—man is to be saved only by faith in the Saviour's sacrifice;—the church among men is liable to error;—prayers for the dead are useless;—image-worship is sin.

The reputation and doctrines of this great man soon spread through Italy, and even into Spain. The Papal court, not yet daring to persecute the favoured Bishop of the Emperor, turned its pen upon him; and the chief me-

monials of his opinions are now to be found in the writings of his adversaries. But even in those suspicious depositaries, they exhibit a manliness and vigour which realize the character of the man. He had broken the images in his diocese, and had written, in defence of this bold proceeding, a treatise against image-worship, pilgrimages, and the adoration of saints and relics, &c. Its force distinguishes it strikingly from the loose and heavy perplexity of the old controversial style.

"But, mark what the followers of the false religion and superstition allege: they say, it is in commemoration and honour of our Saviour, that they serve, honour, and adore the Cross. They witness thereby that they perceive of Him only what the wicked perceived, whether Jews or Heathens, who do not see his resurrection, nor consider him but as altogether swallowed up by death; unminding what the Apostle saith, 'We know Jesus Christ no longer, according to the flesh.'

"God commands one thing, and those people do the direct contrary. God commands us to bear our cross, and *not to worship it.* But those are all for worshiping it; whereas they do not bear it at all.

"If we ought to adore the Cross because Christ was fastened to it, how many other things are there which touched Christ? Did he not remain nine months in the virgin's womb? Why not then, on the same ground, worship all virgins, because a virgin brought fourth Jesus Christ? Why not adore mangers and old clouts, because he was laid in a manger, and wrapped in swaddling clothes? Why not adore fisher-boats, because he slept in one of them, and preached to a multitude, and caused a net to be cast out, wherewith was caught a miraculous quantity of fish? Why not adore asses, because he entered Jerusalem upon the foal of an ass? And lambs, because it is written of him, 'Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world?' Yet those men would rather eat lambs than worship their images! Why not worship lions, because he is called 'the Lion of the tribe of Judah?' or rocks, because it is said, 'And the Rock was Christ?' Or thorns, because he was crowned with them? Or lances, because one of them pierced his side?

"All these things are ridiculous, and rather to be lamented, than to be written. But we are forced to write them in opposition to fools; and to declaim against those hearts of stone which the arrows and sentences of the word of God cannot pierce. Come to yourselves again, ye miserable transgressors; why are ye gone astray from the truth? And why, being become vain, are ye fallen in love with vanity? Why do ye crucify the Son of God afresh, and put him to open shame?

"We know well that this passage of the Gospel is very ill understood; 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven:' under the pretence of which words the stupid and ignorant people, destitute of all spiritual knowledge, betake themselves to Rome, in hopes of obtaining eternal life. For the ministry belongs to all the true Superintendants and Pastors of the church; who discharge the same, as long as they are in this world: and when they have paid the debt of death, others succeed to their places, who enjoy the same authority and power.

"Return, O ye blind, to your light; return to him who enlightens every man that cometh into the world! If we must believe God when he promiseth, how much more when he swears, and saith that if Noah, Daniel, and Job, were in it, that is, if the Saints whom you call upon were endued with as great holiness, as great righteousness, and as much merit as those were, they shall deliver neither son nor daughter. And it is for this end that he makes this declaration; viz. That none might put their confidence in either the merits or the intercession of Saints. Ye fools, when will ye be wise; ye who run to Rome to seek there the intercession of an Apostle?

"The fifth thing with which you reproach me is, that it displeaseth you that the Apostolic Lord (for so you are pleased to call Pope Paschal deceased) had honoured me with this charge. But, forasmuch as the words, 'Apostolicus dicitur quasi Apostoli custos,' may intimate as much as the Apostle's keeper; know that he only is Apostolic, who is the guardian and keeper of the Apostle's doctrine; and not he who boasts himself to be seated in the chair of the Apostle, and in the mean time doth not acquit himself of

the charge of the apostle ; for the Lord saith, 'The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' chair.'"

Those who have glanced over the dreary volumes of the Romish apologists will best feel the wonder of this noble vigour in the ninth century, the spirit of eloquence and life which is administered by the defence of the truth of God. The mind that then could pour out this lofty and hallowed reprobation of Idolatry and Rome, was visibly touched by the coal from the altar.

But the increasing temporal power of the Papacy, and the blind submission with which the German Emperors lent themselves to the violences of Rome, gradually destroyed the independence of the Milanese Church. The Scriptures perished, or were borne away with the exiled Christians to the valleys of the Alps; and the seven provinces were added to the gigantic diocese of Rome.

The last embers of the faith in Italy had been scattered, and the Popedom had turned to its secondary work of territorial aggrandizement, when the flame was discovered to have been rekindled in the Alps. Persecution was let loose upon the people of the valleys, and a multitude were driven to take refuge in the southern provinces of France. Under the protection of the Count of Thoulouse, and the principal lords of the south, their converts multiplied, until they amounted to so large a number, that the Papal order, commanding their expulsion, found the Count Raymond determined to support the cause of the Albigenses.*

In the year 1160, Peter, surnamed Waldensis, (of the valleys,) a Barbe,† or Preacher of the Vaudois, had come into France, distributing the Scriptures, and converting the people of Provence to the faith. But the origin of the Vaudois system of doctrines was known to be even then of great antiquity. There are extant copies of their Belief, dated A. D. 1100. The inquisitor, Reinerius Sacco, computed it to be five hundred years old. He might have justly ascended still higher, and placed it in the age of the Apostles. The first effort of the Papal Missionaries was,

* The name was not general, till after the Council of Albi, 1254. It was given from the principal district of the Reformed, (Albi being the chief city,) which lay between the Garronne and the Rhone.

† Barbe is uncle in the Vaudois dialect, a name of affection given to the Preachers.

to calumniate the doctrines; the next, to destroy the people. The Waldenses were charged with Manichæism. Their creed is the irresistible proof of the utter futility of this charge.

The Manichees, an Asiatic sect, who had risen in the third century, totally perverted the Gospel, by mingling it with the fabulous and metaphysical corruptions of the East. They held two eternal principles, a good and an evil. They rejected the entire of the Old Testament, and nearly the entire of the New. They condemned marriage. They conceived the creation of the earth and man to have been the work of the evil principle. They denied free-will. They denied the mortal existence of our Lord, his death, and his resurrection. They denied the resurrection of the body. They rejected baptism; they rejected the cup in the communion.*

The creed of the Waldenses must be taken not from the Romish Divines, who alternately slaughtered and libelled them, but from their own public expositions at the time. From those documents it appears incontestably, that they received the whole Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and those alone;—they believed in one Mediator between God and man, and denied the mediation and worship of saints—they believed in the hope of eternal life, only through the sacrifice of the Lord Christ, and without purgatory;—they allowed of but two Sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper;—they denied the efficacy of the Mass, tradition as equal to or fit to be associated with the authority of Scripture, and the scriptural necessity or suitableness of the fasts, feasts, and general hierarchy of the Romish Church.†

It is evident that those are the doctrines of Scripture, and that they are equally and irreconcileably opposed to Manichæism and Romanism. But it was the Popish outcry of the day. The denial of tran-substantiation was pronounced to be a denial of the Lord's real existence,—Manichæism. The refusal to worship the Virgin and the Cross, was pronounced to be a denial of the actual birth of Christ, and of his crucifixion,—Manichæism. But the charge was useful to involve the Reformed in the persecution of those unfortunate enthusiasts. The decrees of the eastern and

* Allix. † Ranken. Hist. France, vol. iii. 202. Perrin, &c. &c.

western Monarchs had already gone forth against the Manichees; and it required only to combine the Christians in the scandal, to combine them in the execution.

Yet it is unquestionable, that some extraordinary sects were generated from the sudden freedom of the Scriptures. Opinions started forth, whose extravagance excited the pity and astonishment of the Christian. The first burst of light is often too strong for the eye accustomed to darkness; the consciousness of liberty has often maddened the prisoner; and there is no instance of a revival of religion in which the truth has not been humiliated by those sectarian wanderings, which prove at once the ardour of the human heart, and the weakness of the human understanding: Beghards, Cathari, Arnoldists, Free Brethren, and a crowd of enthusiasts, nameless, or named only in contempt, scattered themselves through Europe. But the evil was transient. They had the Scriptures in their hands. The word of sacred soberness subdued their extravagance, while it confirmed their Christian fortitude. They went out like colonists of the desert; but they gradually softened down into civilization; and some of the noblest seeds of the church were sown by these bold and irregular hands.

The preaching of the Waldenses was the era of the Reformation. Wickliffe, Luther, and Calvin, were but the successors of the Barbes, in a nobler and more fortunate time. Literature, civil freedom, the balance of the European governments, were the splendid auxiliaries that made their triumph at once comparatively easy and secure. The art of printing, that scarcely less than miracle, went before them like the pillar of fire through the wilderness; and the rest was conquest and possession by the command of Heaven.

The efforts of Rome to crush the infant Church, showed how keenly she felt her danger. A general rescript was issued by Innocent III., to all the Lords of the south, to the French king, and to the nation, to take up arms against the Reformed. A crusade was proclaimed, with the promise of the privileges, temporal, and spiritual, hitherto confined to those who fought for the recovery of Jerusalem.* An army of half a million of men marched under the papal ban-

* Ranken Vol. III.

ner, led by the Abbot of the Cistercians. Count Raymond was overwhelmed by this flood of desperate fanaticism. He was forgiven only on the insulting conditions, of standing naked to the shirt at the gate of the cathedral; prostrating himself at the feet of the Legate; and taking the cross against his own people.

But the sword must be fed. Raymond the nephew of the Count, himself Lord of an extensive territory, had refused to abandon his subjects to the mercy of the Pope. The whole weight of the crusade was flung upon him. Beziers, his capital, was stormed, and its twenty-three thousand inhabitants were put to the sword. On this occasion was uttered one of those memorably ferocious expressions which pass into portraitures of men and their times. Some hesitation had arisen before the assault, as to the fate of the Romish inhabitants who might have remained in town. "Kill all," was the comprehensive answer of the Abbot; "God will find out who belongs to him."

The Count of Thoulouse was at length forced into the field. His nephew had been taken prisoner, and was dead. Simon de Montfort, a man of blood, had resolved on the seizure of Raymond's territory, and entered it with fire and sword. But the whole south suddenly rose against him; he was defeated; and the war became fierce, general, and doubtful. The south was covered with slaughter; the deaths of the Albigeos were often sternly repaid. De Montfort was killed in 1218, at the siege of Thoulouse. Count Raymond died, and, dying, left his wrongs, and more than his resolution, to his son. But the whole power of France, headed by Lewis VIII., at length closed upon him; and, in 1229, hostilities ended by a treaty, which merged the territory of the Counts of Thoulouse in the royal dominions. The war cost a million of lives.

In our fortunate country the power of the Romish Church has so long perished, that we find some difficulty in conceiving the nature, and still more in believing the tyranny, of its dominion. The influence of Monks, and the murders of the inquisition, have passed into a nursery tale; and we turn with a generous, yet rash and most unjustifiable, scepticism from the history of Romish authority.

Through almost the entire of Italy, through the Flemish dominions of Germany, through a large portion of France, and

through the entire of Spain, a great monastic body was established; which, professing a secondary and trivial obedience to the sovereign, gave its first and real obedience to the Pope. The name of spiritual homage cloaked the high-treason of an oath of allegiance to a foreign monarch; and whoever might be king of France, or Spain, the Pope was king of the Dominicans. All the other monastic orders were so many Papal outposts. But the great Dominican Order, immensely opulent in its pretended poverty; formidably powerful in its hypocritical disdain of earthly influence; and remorselessly ambitious, turbulent, and cruel in its primitive zeal; was an actual lodgment and province of the Papacy, an inferior Rome, in the chief European kingdoms.

In the closest imitation of Rome, this spiritual power had fiercely assumed the temporal sword; the Inquisition was army, revenues, and throne, in one. With the racks and fires of a tribunal worthy of the gulf of darkness and guilt from which it rose, the Dominicans bore Popery in triumph through Christendom, crushing every vestige of religion under the wheels of its colossal idol. The subjugation of the Albigenses 1229, had scattered the Church; the shock of the great military masses was past; a subtler and more active force was required to destroy the wandering people of God; and the Inquisition multiplied itself for the work of death. This terrible tribunal set every principle, and even every form, of justice at defiance. Secrecy that confounds innocence with guilt. was the spirit of its whole proceeding. All its steps were in darkness. The suspected revolter from Popery was seized in secret, tried in secret; never suffered to see the face of accuser, witness, advocate, or friend; was kept unacquainted with the charge, was urged to criminate himself; if tardy, was compelled to this self-murder by the rack; if terrified, was only the more speedily murdered for the sport of the multitude. From the hour of his seizure he never saw the face of day, until he was brought out as a public show, a loyal and festal sacrifice, to do honour to some travelling Viceroy, some new-married princess, or, on more fortunate occasions, to the presence of the Sovereign. The dungeons were then drained, the human wreck of the torture and the scourge were gathered out of darkness, groupes of misery and exhaustion with wasted forms and broken limbs, and countenances subdued by pain and famine into idiotism, and despair, and madness, to feed the

fires round which the Dominicans were chaunting the glories of Popery, and exulting in the destruction of the body for the good of the soul!

But there were instances in which the power of truth gave vigour to the dying moments, and the victim put his torturers to shame. Of those but one shall be alluded to, from its comprehending the chief features of those dreadful sacrifices. On the return of Philip II. from Flanders in 1559, by Valladolid, the Inquisition of the city determined to give their King the highest indulgence of his nature and of their religion. The whole pomp of the Spanish court was displayed,—the King, his son, his sister, the Prince of Parma, three Ambassadors, a crowd of Dukes, Commanders of military orders, Bishops, Grandees, women of rank, with the tribunals, councils, and other authorities; and, as the Grand Master of the ceremonies, the Archbishop of Seville, Inquisitor-General. The first martyr was Don Carlos de Seso, a nobleman of Verona, son of the Bishop of Placenza, distinguished for learning, an eminent servant of Charles V., and a Judge. The German Reformation had converted him, and he had devoted himself to spreading the Gospel; he was seized, thrown into a secret prison, and after a confinement of a year and a half, was suddenly told that he was to die. He called for pen and paper, and wrote his belief, which was completely scriptural. He said that "the belief of the Church of Rome was corrupted for centuries; that he would die in the faith of the Gospel; and that he offered himself to God in memory of the sufferings of Christ." "It would be difficult," says the narrator, himself a Spaniard, a Priest, and an Inquisitor, "to express the vigour and energy of his writing, which filled two sheets of paper."*

De Seso's conversion was attempted twice that night by the Monks; but he was firm, and his manliness was so much dreaded, that he was brought to the pile gagged, lest he should preach to the people. As he was fastened to the stake, a last effort was made to convert or to disgrace him: he was exhorted to acknowledge Popery. To this insult he replied, with noble constancy, and in a firm and uplifted voice, "If I had time, I should convince you that you are

* Llorente. Hist. Inquis.

lost by not following my example. Now be quick, and light the wood that is to burn me." The pile was lighted, and he died.

In the original establishment of the inquisition in 1198, it had raged against the Vaudois and their converts. But the victims were exhausted, or not worth the pursuit of a tribunal which looked to the wealth as keenly as to the faith of the persecuted. Opulence and heresy were at length to be found only in Spain; and there the Inquisition turned with a gigantic step. In the early disturbances in the Peninsula, the Jews, by those habits of trade, and mutual communion, which still make them the lords of commerce, had acquired the chief wealth of the country. The close of the Moorish war in the fifteenth century had left the Spanish monarch at leisure for extortion; and he grasped at the Jewish gains in in the spirit of a robber, as he pursued his plunder with the cruelty of a barbarian. The Inquisition was the great machine, the comprehensive torturer, ready to squeeze out the heart and the gold. In 1481, an edict was issued against the Jews; before the end of the year, in the single diocese of Cadiz, two thousand Jews were burned alive! The fall of the kingdom of Grenada, in 1492, threw the whole of the Spanish Moors into the hands of the King. They were cast into the same furnace of plunder and torture. Desperate rebellions followed; they were defeated, and, in 1609, were finally exiled. "In the space of one hundred and twenty-nine years, the Inquisition deprived Spain of three millions of inhabitants."*

In the death of Leo X., in 1521, Adrian, the Inquisitor-General, was elected Pope. He had laid the foundations of his Papal celebrity in Spain. "It appears according to the most moderate calculation, that during the five years of the ministry of Adrian, twenty four thousand and twenty-five persons were condemned by the Inquisition; of whom one thousand six hundred and twenty were burned alive."†

In 1517, Luther began to preach the Gospel. The earliest violences of the Inquisition had been directed to the Bible; and the edict of the Council of Thoulouse, in 1229, had forbidden the laity to read it in their own tongue. The

* Llorente. † Ibid.

Bible, thus shut up in a dead language, had passed away from the hands of man, or was retained only by refugees at the hazard of their lives. Luther had at length found it, and flashed this living torch of light and hope in the eyes of Popedom. The Inquisition was instantly up in arms. All the translated Scriptures, all the commentaries suspected of the pollution of a protestant pen, were prohibited. But the rage was not confined to Lutheran translations. The Bible itself was the enemy, in whatever language. The oriental professors, in the chief seat of Spanish theology, Salamanca, were commanded, on pain of excommunication, to give up their Greek and Hebrew Bibles to the Holy Office! In the year 1558, the terrible "law" of Philip II. was published, which decreed confiscation and *death* for all who should sell, buy, keep, or read, any of the books prohibited by the Holy Office.* Even penitents at confession were compelled to denounce the transgressors of the edict; and in this hideous aggravation of tyranny, which turned a professed act of religion into an act of blood and armed child and parent against the life of each other, the Pope was a fellow conspirator with the King and the Inquisition: the law was sanctioned by a bull issued in 1559.

This was an era of activity. An additional document of the utter darkness and slavery of conscience demanded by Popery, was furnished in the ordinance of Valdez, the Inquisitor-General, in the same year. His "catalogue" prohibited "all Hebrew books, and those in other tongues treating of the Jewish customs; all Arabic, or treating of Mahometanism; all works written or translated by a Heretic, or an individual condemned by the Holy Office; all works in Spanish with a preface, letter, glossary, comment, &c. by a Heretic; all unpublished MSS., sermons, writings, treatises on Christianity, its sacraments, and its Scriptures," &c. "Such is the age," says Perez del Prado, the successor of Valdez, "that some men have carried their audacity to the *execrable extremity* of demanding permission to *read the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue*, without fearing to encounter *mortal poison therein*."

The Inquisition claimed independent authority and was

* Llorente

already too strong for even the Pope. Sixtus V., a wild and tyrannic man, but a scholar, in one of those fits of eccentricity, which in such men sometimes strike across the whole settled order of things, had published an Italian Bible. The Spanish world was on flame. The Cardinals of Spain demanded the King's interposition against this inconceivable breach of the constitutional law of Popery. From the time of Leo X., by the index of the Council, and by the Inquisitions of Rome and Madrid, all works of doctrine in the vulgar tongue had been prohibited. Philip ordered his ambassador, Olivarez, to remonstrate with the Pope on the fatal effects of publishing the Scriptures. Sixtus furious alike in good and ill, threatened to hang Olivarez on the spot. But his resistance was subdued in a more noiseless way, familiar to the land of absolutions and Inquisitions. The Pope was poisoned and the poison was said to have been administered by order of the King. The Sixtine Bible was condemned.

The Holy Office was now the dictator of Europe. No matter what was in the field, it fell before the mace of the Inquisition. The eight Bishops, and nine Doctors of Theology, sent by Spain to the Council of Trent, as the élite of her scholarship and Church, were all seized by the Tribunal on the moment of their return. The sound of the Lutheran preaching was presumed to have polluted their allegiance to the infallibility of Rome, and persecution. The Archbishop of Toledo, the first ecclesiastic of Spain, the celebrated Carranza, was cast into prison, and died after a confinement of eighteen years, and a trial of nearly the same duration.* But Popery had a still higher mark. Neither the most eminent rank, nor even the most unhallowed zeal, could be a shield against the all-grasping ambition of Rome: Charles V., the greatest monarch of Europe, and Philip II., the darkest of all bigots, were struck by the same blow.

It is the constant sophism of those who would cast Christianity bound hand and foot at the mercy of her enemies, that the Pope desires to exercise no interference in the internal concerns of kingdoms; that if he had the desire, he has not the power; he would be resisted by the whole body

* The documents fill twenty-four volumes in folio, of from a 1000 to 1200 pages each.

of the national Clergy. For the exposure of this traitorous delusion, we are to look to the times when it was the will of Popery to put forth its strength; not to the present, when it is its will to lull us into a belief of its consistency with the constitution, in defiance of common sense, common experience, the spirit of British law, and the loud warnings of insulted and hazarded religion.

In 1555 Paul IV. was raised to the Papal throne. Ambitious of forming a house among the Italian Princes, he determined to overthrow the Emperor and his son. At the age of seventy-nine, he plunged into negotiations with France, for the invasion of Italy, Sicily, and the empire; and prepared bulls of excommunication against Charles as a heretic, and favourer of heretics, depriving him of the imperial crown, and his son of the kingdom of Naples; and further releasing the people of Spain, Italy, and Germany, from their oaths of allegiance.

Charles, feeling his danger, collected the opinions of the famous Melchior Cano, and other Jurists, to sustain him against the anathema. They decided that it was lawful to resist the Papal ordinances. The Pope ordered the Jurists to be seized by the Inquisition. His order was sustained by almost the whole body of the Spanish Prelates, with the Archbishop, who had been Philip's preceptor, at their head. They obeyed their Master, and rebelled against the king.

Philip, then in England, wrote upon this occasion to his sister, the Regent of Spain, a letter remarkable for its relation to the English Protestantism. "Since I informed you of the conduct of the Pope," says he, "and of the news from Rome, I have learnt that his Holiness purposes to excommunicate the Emperor and me; to put my States under an interdict, and to prohibit divine service. Having consulted learned men on the subject, it appears that it is only an abuse of the power of the sovereign Pontiff, founded on hatred and passion, certainly not provoked by our conduct; but that we are not obliged to submit in respect of our persons on account of the great scandal which would be caused by our confessing ourselves guilty, and the great sin we should commit in so doing. In consequence, it has been decided, that if I am interdicted from certain things, I am not obliged to deprive myself of them, as those who are ex-

communicated; though a censure may be sent to me from Rome, according to the disposition of his Holiness. *For after having destroyed the sects in England, brought the country under the influence of the Church pursued and punished the heretics without ceasing*, and obtained a success which has been constant, I see that his Holiness evidently wishes to ruin my kingdom."* The letter concludes with forbidding the reception of the rescripts in Spain.†

Paul IV. had tempted the French King to war; but the ruinous battle of St. Quintin, in 1557, broke up the league; and the Pope was left to the wrath of the Duke of Alva, who marched from his vice-royalty of Naples full on Rome. Alva habitually forgot his superstition when he put on his sword; and would have made a memorable example of the hoary disturber, who now deserted by every ally, was crouching at his feet. But Philip restrained the indignant grandee; made a treaty with the Pope on lenient terms, and once more put the chain round his own neck. Within less than six months, Paul flung the treaty and its author into public contempt, by an edict to the Spanish Inquisitor, to revive all his orders against heretics of every rank, "including *Princes*, *Kings* and *Emperors*." The names of Charles and Philip were not pronounced, but it was notorious that the brand was for their foreheads.

Of the multitudes who perished by the Inquisition throughout the world, no authentic record is now discoverable. But wherever Popery had power there was the tribunal. It had been planted even in the East; and the Portuguese Inquisition of Goa was, till within these few years, fed with many an agony. South America was partitioned into

* It is a striking exemplification of the honesty of this religion of the Jesuit and the Monk, that while Philip was laying up this store of merit with Rome, by secretly stimulating the persecution of the English Protestants, he was publicly the abhorer of all violence. In the midst of the burnings of Smithfield, his Confessor, Alphonso di Castro, was ordered to mount the pulpit, and exonerate his master. The Monk's sermon on the 10th of February, 1555, was a model of charity; he asked, "How is it possible that any human being, much less any Christian, can desire to force conviction? How is the sword compatible with human reason," &c. The whole nation wondered, but were still incredulous. Philip's letter has unfortunately escaped the diligence of the English champions of Popery!

† Llorente

provinces of the Inquisition; and with a ghastly mimickry of the crimes of the mother state, the arrivals of Viceroys, and the other popular celebrations, were thought imperfect without an Auto-da-fe. The Netherlands were one scene of slaughter from the time of the decree which planted the Inquisition among them. In Spain the calculation is more attainable. Each of the *seventeen* tribunals, during a long period, burned annually, on an average, ten miserable beings! We are to recollect that this number was in a country where persecution had for ages abolished all religious differences, and where the difficulty was not to find the stake, but the offspring. Yet, even in Spain, thus gleaned of all heresy, the Inquisition could still swell its list of murders to thirty two-thousand! The numbers burned in effigy, or condemned to penance, punishments generally equivalent to exile, confiscation, and taint of blood, to all ruin but the mere loss of a worthless life, amounted to three hundred and nine thousand.* but the crowds who perished in dungeons, of the torture, of confinement, and of broken hearts; the millions of dependant lives made utterly helpless, or hurried to the grave by the death of the victims, are beyond all register: or recorded only before HIM who hath sworn that "He who leadeth into captivity, shall go into captivity; and he that killeth with the sword, shall be killed with the sword." (Rev. xiii. 10)

Such was the Inquisition, at once the offspring and the image of the Popedom. To feel the force of the parentage, we must look for the time. In the thirteenth century, the Popedom was at the summit of mortal dominion; it was independent of all kingdoms; it ruled with a rank of influence never before or since possessed by a human sceptre; it was the acknowledged sovereign of body and soul; to all earthly intents its power was immeasurable for good or evil. It might have spread literature, peace, freedom, and Christianity to the ends of Europe, or the world. But its nature was hostile; its fuller triumph only disclosed its fuller evil; and, to the shame of human reason, and the terror and suffering of human virtue, Rome in the hour of its consummate grandeur, teemed with the monstrous and horrid birth of the INQUISITION.!—

* Llorente.

Amidst the tumults of France, in the year 1588, Spain had grown powerful beyond rivalry; and with her power, by the inevitable law of Popish States, had grown her religious cruelty. She was now to feel in a single blow the guilt of the Inquisition. England, raised to be the head of Protestantism, was marked out by Philip II. for vengeance. "The point," says the historian, "on which he rested his highest glory, the perpetual object of his policy, was to support [Popish] orthodoxy and exterminate heresy; and as the power and credit of Elizabeth were the chief bulwark of the Protestants, he hoped, if he could subdue the Princes to acquire the eternal renown of re-uniting the whole Christian world in the [Roman] Catholic communion."* The "Invincible Armada" was launched. Its building had occupied the treasures and the labours of the Spanish empire for three years. Troops from Italy, Germany, Flanders and Spain, were embarked, or sent to the points from which they might be thrown on England. The Spanish nobles volunteered. Men of the highest rank in the Popish realms solicited employment; the first sea officer of the age, the Marquis Santa Croce, whose very name seemed an omen, commanded the fleet; the first General of the age, the Prince of Parma, marched the Spanish army, thirty-four thousand of the most celebrated troops in Europe, down to the Flemish shore for the invasion. The fleet numbered one hundred and thirty ships of war, carrying thirty thousand troops and seamen. But it had a darker freight of Monks, Papal Bulls, and instruments of torture.

The heroism of England in that time of trial deserves a place among the noblest recollections of a land of liberty and valour. But even then the victory was felt to belong to a higher arm. The war was the assault, less of Spain than of Rome, against England; of religious tyranny against religious freedom; of sullen imposture, and sanguinary persecution, against Christianity. The inquisition not satiated with its dominion over the land, had lately usurped the sea. A tribunal was established on board the Spanish fleets.† England conquered would have been not simply the appanage of Spain, and involved in the general mis-

* Hume, vol. v. p. 331.
† Chandler's Hist. of Persecution.

government, beggary, and ignorance of the native kingdom of sloth and superstition; it would have been the especial conquest of the Inquisition; the very victim which Monkery had longed, above all others, to lay bare, and cut to the heart; a vast untasted prey for the burning jaws on which the gore of the continent had begun to dry. The zeal of Philip would have then found bolder witness than a letter. The Inquisition would have disdained the hypocrisy of the secret rack. The whole Popish vengeance would have been fearlessly developed in the death of law, liberty and religion. The Dominican would have sat upon the British throne; and sat in robes, crimson with the blood of all that was generous, and brave, and learned, and holy in the land. Rome would be all in all. England would be a funeral pile.

But, if in that hour the veil were taken from the eyes of man, he would, like the servant of the Prophet, have seen England guarded by the horses and chariots of fire. Wreck, burning and capture,—man, and the elements,—were let loose upon the gigantic force that had come to defy the living God. The Armada was undone: and with it the crown of Spain was cloven. The intrinsic strength of Spain made decay tardy; but it was inevitable: and from the day of her defeat by England, she was marked for the alternate prize and victim of European power.—*Croly.*