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ART. I.—*The Life of Isaac Milner, D. D., F. R. S., Dean of Carlisle, President of Queen's College, and Professor of Mathematics in the University of Cambridge, &c.* By his niece, Mary Milner, author of the "Christian Mother." Second Edition abridged. London. 1844.

DR. JOHNSON once observed, in conversation, 'that no man is so important to society, that his death makes a chasm which cannot be filled up.' This sentiment is so far true, that affairs of the world never cease to go forward in some way, however many important persons are taken away; but it is not true that the space occupied by some men can immediately be filled by others. Dr. Johnson, himself, left no man behind him who entirely filled his place. The same may be said of our Washington and also of our Franklin. The same is true of Luther, Calvin, John Wesley, and others. Dr. Milner, we think, is another example of a man who left a great chasm in the literary and religious society, with which he was connected, which has not been filled to this day.

The writer of the life of this eminent man, makes an apology for the length of time which had elapsed after the death of her uncle, before this biography appeared; but she makes this sensible remark, "That the value which may be reasonably supposed to belong to a faithful Memoir of the Life and Character, of the late ISAAC MILNER, is by

no means of an ephemeral nature. The history of a man, whose mental endowments raised him from poverty and obscurity to wealth and fame, must always command attention, and possess an enduring worth, and if it were the object of the following pages to exhibit an eminent instance of the success, which almost invariably, in a greater or less degree, rewards the vigorous exercise of superior talents, such an object would amply justify their publication. That life must surely be worthy of being recorded, of which the whole course affords a striking illustration of the animating truth, that in this free country, ability and industry are the passports to honourable distinction. In the case of Dean Milner, however, another and a more powerful source of interest is superadded. If he were distinguished by his intellectual superiority, he was yet more distinguished by his Christian piety. Confessedly in the first rank of mathematicians and philosophers of his day, he was content, 'to receive the kingdom of God as a little child.' Gifted with extraordinary mental powers, and beyond the generality of his fellow men, a master of reason in its own province, he learned to submit his gigantic understanding to the humbling doctrines of Revelation."

Isaac Milner was born, Jan. 11, 1750. His father was originally a member of the Society of Friends. He had been unsuccessful in business, and was in reduced circumstances. He was a man of strong sense, and extraordinary industry and self-denial. Having in his own case experienced the want of a good education, he resolved, at whatever inconvenience to himself, his children should enjoy this advantage; and this resolution he kept as long as he lived; but his sudden death, when Isaac was only ten years of age, seemed to threaten that his kind purpose would fail of being accomplished.

His older brother Joseph, having been sent to a grammar school, Isaac, then only six years of age, accompanied him; and at ten years of age, could construe Ovid and Sallust into tolerable English. His mother being altogether unable to continue him at school, he was placed in one of the woollen manufactories in Leeds. His brother Joseph, however, having made some progress in his classical studies, by the kindness of a friend, who had remarked his abilities, was sent to the university of Cambridge, where he distinguished himself, and when he had finished his studies at the university, he was appointed head master of the Gram-

mar School at Hull, in which town he was afterwards elected afternoon lecturer, in the principal church. Having now a salary of more than £200, he began to think of making provision for his brother Isaac. Mr. Atkinson, who was requested to visit him in the factory, and ascertain whether he was competent to be an usher in his brother's school, found him at the loom with a Tacitus and some Greek author lying by his side; and upon further examination it appeared, that his knowledge and love of learning had not been diminished by his long absence from school. Being satisfied that his brother would not be disappointed in the assistance which he expected from him, Mr. Atkinson arranged all matters with his master, and obtained his release from his indentures; upon which, his master coming into the room where he was at work said, "Isaac, lad, thou art off." The delight manifested by the boy, Mr. Atkinson says, is quite indescribable.

Isaac Milner now entered upon his new course of life, and proved himself a competent teacher of the lower classes in Latin and Greek; and while he rendered important aid to his brother, under his tuition he made rapid improvement in his own studies. He not only became a good classical scholar, but mastered the elementary branches of the mathematics; so that when any difficulty occurred in Algebra, Joseph Milner, to save time, was accustomed to call on Isaac to solve it.

In the year 1770, Isaac Milner was sent by his brother, to Queen's College, Cambridge. His obligations to the kindness of his brother were not only acknowledged, but felt in the tenderest, strongest manner, to the day of his death. The affection which bound these two brothers together was perhaps, as strong as ever subsisted in that relation of life. "It began in childhood; was cemented in youth, by more than ordinary fraternal kindness on the one part, and by cordial gratitude on the other; and far from suffering interruption or abatement in after life, it increased in fervour, till the death of the elder brother separated these tenderly attached relatives."

Isaac Milner entered Queen's College as a sizar, in which situation it devolved upon him to perform various menial offices, in days of yore. One day, as report says, carrying a tureen of soup into the dining hall, he let it fall, when he exclaimed, 'when I get into power, I will abolish this nuisance.' This saying created much merriment among the

fellows, as none of them suspected that under the rough appearance of the sizar, was the future president of their college; and that this prediction would be literally verified.

He took his degree of A. B. in 1774, and though he was very diffident of his own abilities, and dreaded the trial which he was now to undergo, he came off superior to all competitors, and obtained the honour of senior wrangler of his year, with the title, "*incomparabilis.*" He also contended for Smith's Prize, in which he was also successful. These are the two highest honours which the university of Cambridge has to bestow. His health, however, was greatly impaired by his too intense application of mind; so that he was led to consult Dr. Fothergill, who wrote him a very characteristic letter. But about this time he became acquainted with William Hey, Esq., of Leeds, who perceiving his superior talents and attainments, invited him to his house, and put him on an entirely new course. An intimate friendship was formed between them, which was never interrupted until the death of Mr. Hey.

On the 17th day of December, 1775, Isaac Milner entered into holy orders, at a general ordination held in the chapel of Trinity College, Cambridge, by the bishop of Peterborough.

On the 10th of January, 1776, he was elected a fellow of Queen's College; and, the next year, took his degree of A. M., and received the appointment of tutor in his college, in which capacity he acquired great reputation. During this year, he communicated his first paper to the Royal Society, on "Algebraic Equations." On the 22d of March, in this same year, Isaac Milner was ordained priest, by the same bishop who had ordained him deacon.

In the year 1778, he communicated his second paper to the Royal Society, on the "Communication of motion by impact or gravity;" and the next year, 1779, another paper, on the "Precession of the Equinoxes." But though intent on mathematical science, he found time to pay attention also to chemistry; and it was about this time, by inhaling some deleterious gas, he laid the foundation of a pulmonary complaint, from which he never entirely recovered.

In the year 1780, he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society; so that his reputation as a scholar seems to have risen very rapidly.

Although Mr. Milner had not much opportunity of ex-

ercising his ministry publicly, yet he devoted much attention to the study of the holy scriptures, and the writings of the fathers of the Christian church. About this time, commenced an intimate friendship and frequent correspondence, between him and William Wilberforce, Esq., which continued through life.

In the year 1782, Mr. Milner was elected professor of Natural Philosophy in his college; and from this time he delivered lectures alternately on Chemistry and Natural Philosophy; sciences for which he entertained a love throughout the whole of his subsequent life. His vacations he invariably spent at Hull, in the society of his beloved brother.

Mr. Wilberforce, contemplating a tour on the continent of Europe, had applied to a certain gentleman to be his companion, but on being disappointed in him he invited his friend Isaac Milner, to make one of a travelling party, through France, Italy, &c. This invitation he accepted, and set off with Mr. Wilberforce, his mother and sister, and two or three other ladies. Their journey was commenced on the 20th of October, 1784.

The only thing very memorable in this tour, was the happy change produced in Mr. Wilberforce's religious sentiments, principally by means of Mr. Milner's conversation. When Mr. Wilberforce first discovered his evangelical views, as he informs us in his journal, he repented that he had invited him to accompany him. He had picked up "Doddridge's Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul," and inquired of Milner, what sort of a book it was, who answered, "one of the best ever written." On which they agreed to read it in company.

Mr. Wilberforce having been called home to attend to his duties in parliament, Dr. Milner returned with him; and again, on the 7th of July, they set out together for the continent; as the ladies who were of the company had been left in Italy. On this second journey, the subject of religion became again the topic of these two friends, and instead of any human composition, they now read together the Greek Testament; which gave Dr. Milner the opportunity of repeatedly explaining and inculcating his views of the doctrines taught in the sacred volume; and, by degrees, Mr. Wilberforce imbibed the same sentiments. It seems, therefore, that the extensive influence which Mr. Wilberforce's evangelical views have had in Great Britain, and

which they still continue to have, is to be attributed to the instrumentality of Dr. Milner.

In the year 1786, Mr. Milner took his degree of bachelor in divinity, on which occasion, he had an opportunity of distinguishing himself in a public disputation, termed "a divinity act," in which he had as his opponent, Dr. Coulthurst, one of the ripest scholars and ablest disputants in the university. The subject was "Faith and Works."

In a letter to Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Milner gives the following account of his college labours: "In college, I lecture from eight to ten in the morning—from that time till four in the afternoon, I am absolutely so engaged, that I can scarce steal half an hour from preparing my lectures, to dine. At half past five, I get my coffee to go to chapel, and then lie down for an hour. I then rise, and take my milk—look out various articles, and make notes of natural history, &c., for the succeeding day. This coming every day, keeps me on such a stretch, that I am often very much done up with fatigue; and if Mr. Metcalfe, of Christ's College, did not assist me, I should not be able to get through."

His health, at this time, was much impaired, so that his physicians, Drs. Baillie and Pitcairne, were seriously apprehensive that his life would be of short duration. Under these circumstances, he again had recourse to his friend, Mr. Hey, of Leeds, to whose judicious advice the prolongation of his life, may, perhaps, under Providence, be attributed.

Mr. Milner was appointed a member of the "Board of Longitude," whose meetings he punctually attended. This Board consisted of some of the most scientific men in the country; and had for its object all discoveries favourable to navigation; but has recently been dissolved.

Mr. Milner's religious character evidently improved, every year, as appears by his private correspondence. His theoretical views were correct from his youth, but, for some years, he was too much under the influence of literary ambition; but he at length was brought to see and feel that the highest wisdom was, "To seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness."

By the death of the Rev. Dr. Plumtre, in the year 1788, the office of President of Queen's College became vacant, and to this honourable station, Mr. Milner was elected. For half a century, this college had greatly declined in

reputation; but from the time of Mr. Milner's election, it began to rise; for he was no sooner in office, than he commenced a reformation of abuses, which had long existed. He also introduced from other colleges men of real learning as tutors, to whom he uniformly showed kindness. Like other reformers, however, he met with his full share of obloquy and abuse, but he possessed sufficient fortitude to brave opposition, and to continue in the course which he believed to be the path of duty.

During the years 1790 and 1791, Mr. Milner suffered much from ill health; so that he was unable to deliver all the lectures officially required, and was indulged with a substitute, in relation to the Jacksonian Professorship. For the sake of personal improvement in piety, he was accustomed, at this time, to keep a diary; from which the following pious reflections are extracted; "How much reason have I to be thankful, that it hath pleased God to lay this affliction of bodily sickness upon me! Assuredly, I was going in the broad way of destruction. For though there was nothing openly gross or scandalous in my conduct, yet a very little reflection convinces me, that my life had nothing to do with that of a Christian—God was not in my thoughts. I consulted *self* only. I transacted my ordinary business with diligence and credit to myself; but the reasons of my conduct were pride, love of reputation, hopes of advancement, and such like; to which, however, I may add, the pleasure I took in the study and improvement in natural philosophy and mathematics. But all this began and ended in self-gratification. And as I had no better motives myself, it was impossible that I should teach others to regulate their principles by superior motives than the love of fame, of consequence, and of advancement, and the prospect of much mental pleasure in study. But how self-condemned do I appear, when I recollect, that, all the while I knew better things! There is some excuse for numbers around me, *they* have never been in the way of instruction; whereas, I have been acquainted with evangelical truth for many years; and yet, in defiance of conviction, I have gone for years, breaking God's commandments, and encouraging others to do so by my example. O Lord, forgive me! O let my mouth be stopped, and let me never say, that thou dealest hardly with me, in continuing the pains of my body."

In the year 1791, Mr. Milner was appointed to the dig-

nified station of dean of Carlisle; which was brought about chiefly by the influence of Dr. Pretyman,* bishop of Lincoln, with Mr. Pitt, whose tutor he had been. But notwithstanding the brilliant prospects which opened before him, as dean of Carlisle, and president of Queen's College; yet he was deeply afflicted on account of the sickness of his brother, whom he loved most tenderly. In a letter to his friend, Mr. Hey, he says, "My heart is almost broken; I neither eat nor sleep, and unless it please God to enable me to submit more calmly, I shall, assuredly, be overset. My dear friend, you are *a father*, and know how to feel tenderly. Oh! my dear, and only brother! who has comforted me so often in my sufferings!! . . The last time I saw him, I told him plainly that I had not learned to submit to God's dispensations. He said, 'The thing is, Isaac, you don't make God your *summum bonum*.'"

On the same occasion, in a letter to Mr. Wilberforce, he says, "You know the terms my brother and I have lived on from infancy. You must also be aware of the great comfort he has been to me, as an affectionate friend and faithful adviser, during my long illness. Judge, my dear friend, what I must have felt on the prospect of seeing him snatched away. . . O my dear friend, the views of religion concerning which, you and I have so often conversed, are the only ones that can help in time of need. May God, of his infinite mercy, grant, that you and I may become practically acquainted with them! How necessary is the rod of correction! It leads to self-examination. I remember you always, affectionately."

In 1792, Mr. Milner took his degree of Doctor in Divinity; and toward the close of the year, was elected to the office of vice chancellor of the university. At first, he greatly hesitated, whether, on account of the state of his health, he ought to accept the office. And on this occasion, he writes to his friend, Mr. Hey of Leeds, and gives him an account of the nature of his complaints, which may be gratifying to other invalids. "This complaint," says he, "is not of that class which is properly called nervous, or hypochondriacal, and in which business and plenty of exercise in the open air, is recommended. Yet I do not wonder that such an idea is gone forth respecting me; because I now look well, and am always in good spirits, when I *do* appear in public. This idea cannot be done away with by anything I can say, and is only to be opposed by profes-

* Afterwards Dr. Tomline.

sional opinions. The other fact to be insisted on, and clearly set forth, is my incapacity for bearing the open air, or the air of rooms not constantly warmed by fires. My present state is certainly a complication, viz; the relics of a severe ague, combined with a constitutional affection of twenty years standing. This affection you have seen a great deal of in my case; and you know nobody was more active than I was, or used more exercise in the open air, of various kinds. I rode on horseback as long as I could, and every morning before breakfast, and in all weathers. The other part of my complaint, my aguish affection, you have not seen so much of; yet you have heard of me from others. You are to put these things together and to judge for yourself, whether you can certify what you believe to be my case; and in such a way as to enforce the truth, and thereby undo any conception of this sort, viz: that I only want resolution to go out, and that any office that obliged me to go out, would do me good." Notwithstanding his reluctance, he was induced to accept the office of vice-chancellor; especially, in consideration of assistance proffered to him by the other heads of colleges. The very next year after he accepted this important office, his wisdom and fortitude were put to the test in the case of Mr. Frend, who had written a pamphlet entitled, "*Peace and Union Recommended to the Associated Bodies of Republicans and Anti-Republicans.*" He was charged with attempting to prejudice the clergy in the eyes of the laity, and to degrade the rites and doctrines of the established church. He was tried in the vice-chancellor's court, convicted, and expelled the university.

One of Dr. Milner's dearest friends, and frequent correspondent, was the Rev. James Stillingfleet; an extract of a letter to whom, will show his feelings and furnish some account of the state of religion, at Cambridge.

"I preached yesterday to a serious congregation at Simeon's church, in the morning, and heard him preach a faithful sermon, in the evening. I regret that I shall lose his company so soon; he is going to Portsmouth. My brother joins me in best respects to you. He is as well as one can expect, after so much fatigue. You have heard, I suppose, that Frend is foiled repeatedly; first, by the vice-chancellor's court, and then by the unanimous voice of the court of delegates. It will do some good here; even his arrogant and unchristian conduct will not be without its

fruits. This place has obtained more evangelical means, since I was here last. There is now Simeon; and it is to be regretted that his congregation is not so large as it were to be wished. Of those, however, who do attend, there are a number of solid Christians; and whether God may please again to make this place a nursery for the gospel, as doubtless it was, in a very high degree, at the time of the Reformation, we know not. But times are different. Then, persons of rank and eminence, some of them at least, attended to the gospel; now, in general, the lower orders only regard such things, and the great and the high have, all over Europe, forgotten that they have souls. It the more becomes us, my dear friend, to watch and pray: it is an hour of temptation. "Set a watch over my mouth, that I offend not with my tongue; let me not eat of their dainties." I feel need to pray continually, lest I be carried away, even by the civilities of the world. We began, as despised preachers of Jesus; in meekness and simplicity may we continue so to the end, and nourish our souls with the doctrine which we preach to others."

It was in the year 1793, that Dr. Milner took formal possession of his deanery of Carlisle. A person who was present on the occasion, but then a child, writes: "I was then nine years old, and was wonderfully struck with his majestic appearance, and his manner of reading the lesson for the day. Dr. Paley stood on the south side of the communion table, without taking part in the service. Standing near the dean, he appeared like a little boy: the bishop preached. Thus commenced Dr. Milner's connexion with the city of Carlisle—a connexion, which was doubtless by the blessing of God, rendered instrumental to the salvation of many souls."

Besides the three months which the dean was required to reside at Carlisle, all the rest of the year was spent at the university, in the vigourous discharge of the important duties of his high station. He not only introduced a reform in regard to the sizars, but corrected many abuses, and exercised constantly, a conscientious superintendence over the conduct of all the young men belonging to his college, and actively interested himself in the welfare of such as gave any promise of future eminence.

As his brother Joseph had undertaken to write a history of the Christian church, the object of which was to show, that from our Saviour's time to the present, there ever have

been persons, whose dispositions and lives have been formed by the rules of the New Testament. Dr. Milner laid himself out, when they were together, which was every vacation, to render him all the assistance he was able.

Dr. Milner felt deeply on the critical situation of the British nation, at this time, and agreed in all important points with the policy of Mr. Pitt; and was grieved when, for a short season, his friend Wilberforce withdrew from his connexion with this great statesman; but we shall omit all further notice of his political sentiments, in this condensed narrative.

It will be a matter of curiosity to know Dr. Paley's opinion of the preaching of Dr. Milner, as he was often his hearer; and we have from Dr. Smyth, professor of History in Cambridge, the following remarks: "I told the bishop of Carlisle," says Dr. Paley, "that about the evangelical doctrines themselves, I must leave him to judge; but if he chose to hear them urged with great ability and placed in the most striking point of view, he must go to hear our dean." And Dr. Paley, in perfect accordance with this, in a letter to a friend, says, "When the dean of Carlisle preaches, you may walk on the heads of the people. All the meetings attend to hear him. He is indeed a powerful preacher." This crowding to hear the dean, might be confirmed by many living witnesses. In a letter addressed to his biographer, it is said, "When it was known that the dean was to preach in the cathedral, I have seen the aisles and every part of it so thronged, that a person might have walked on the heads of the crowd. It was pleasing to see how religious persons of different denominations flocked around the pulpit. I well remember, at times, while preaching, his being so absorbed in the subject, that the expression of his countenance had in it something more than earthly. After one of his powerful discourses, a young gentleman from Liverpool, who had heard him, called upon him, and with tears in his eyes, thanked him for his discourse." The text was, 'Wherefore halt ye between two opinions.' The same sermon was the means of awakening several other persons.

In a letter to his friend Mr. Wilberforce, dated Feb. 23. 1797, written under an attack of one of those terrible headaches, with which he was frequently afflicted, at this period of his life, he says, "God knows whether I am to have any more intervals of tolerable health; but you will judge of

my state, when I tell you, that, last Monday, I had most seriously, as nearly as possible determined to leave all here, and go and wait God's will near my friends at Hull.

"I wish I could keep my trust in Him without wavering! Oh, a great deal passes my mind! but you will excuse my writing more at present. Surely, I should be glad to see you; but at present I am too ill to enjoy your company. Yours with the best and most affectionate wishes." It will encourage many a poor invalid, who has been accustomed to think his sufferings peculiar, to find that the great Dr. Milner laboured under similar complaints, and was subject to similar feelings of depression. In October, 1797, he addressed another letter to the same friend, much in the same style, as it was written under similar circumstances. "Your letter finds me this morning (as you have seen me not unfrequently,) laid at length upon the sofa, in considerable pain of the head. . . I am reviving a little. There is really nothing of which I can speak positively with more certainty, than of the utility which is connected with these repeated chastenings. It is a sad thing that they should be so necessary; but I bless God that they do not harden, as I should have supposed, that in time they would, but on the contrary, soften my heart, and make it more submissive to His will, who knows what is best for us. Your dear mother is, I doubt not, under the teachings of the Spirit of God, and will improve by her afflictions; and it is very evident to me, that in her case also, afflictions are necessary. When she is better for a few days together, I see a strong tendency to relapse and lose ground in spiritual matters; and, so far as that goes, it is a bad sign in her and myself. It is a bad sign when religious frames depend on the pulse; yet it is a good sign, when the effect of sufferings is to give us a clearer insight into our own character, and the character of God: for it is in that way only that we can come to understand our real situation, that is, the relation in which we stand to an offended God. An inch gained in this way is inestimable, because it is certainly in the right road."

Dr. Milner was greatly affected with the increasing indisposition of his brother Joseph. On this subject, he writes to Mr. Wilberforce as follows, "My dear friend, I know you profess to be never much moved by any event; still I believe, if you had been with me for the last fortnight, your compassionate heart would have been deeply affected. I

must be very short, I am not able to write. A considerable fever, with an increase of asthma has come upon my poor brother, and brought him to the very gates of death. He still remains in a most critical situation—I very much doubt whether he will ever recover. This is not fear, but reality. My constant persevering prayer has been for resignation and support—but, alas! alas! I can just say from experience, 'The Lord knows how to be gracious, if we could trust him'—and no more. Oh! my dear friend, there is something on this occasion, crowds upon my mind, so thick and so close, that I should have been overwhelmed but for God's especial mercy. A deal of this is bodily. I am weak, nervous, and worn out. 'Multis vulneribus oppressus, hinc uni me imparem sensi.' Then, from a very child I have lived with this only brother; he has been kind to me beyond description, and a faithful adviser in illness on a thousand occasions. Lastly, no man's affections were, perhaps, ever so little divided by a variety of friendships as mine. For years past, I have said, ten thousand times, that I would exhort a youth whom I wished to be happy in this world, to know *more* people and love them *less*, yet God does not absolutely give me up to griefs. My brother's mind is so happy, that it can hardly be in a more desirable state. 'The promises are sure.' Yesterday, I was told that he had your book in his hands for several days, and that he likes it better and better. When I talked to him last, I could get nothing from him, but, 'Let not your heart be troubled.'" When it became evident that his brother was approaching his end, his feelings would not allow him to see him; but he wrote a note to him, requesting him to leave him some counsels, that might tend to produce resignation to the divine will. On which, his dying brother wrote the following excellent letter, which deserves a place here. It is the testimony of an excellent man, on his death-bed.

"Dear Brother,—Resignation to the divine will, is one of the last and highest attainments of the Christian life; it is what is ultimately to be aimed at, as essential to comfort here, and happiness hereafter. But it seems not to be by any means the first object of one who is desirous of becoming a Christian, nor even attainable, except some other necessary things are previously acquired. For me to have my will in unison with the will of God, I must in the first place, trust him thoroughly, and love him supremely; for

it is impossible for me freely to give up my will to another entirely, while we are on bad terms; that is, as long as I cannot trust him, and so long as I hate him; or what, in this case, comes to the same thing, love any person or thing better than him. The conclusion is, that all attempts at resignation will be in vain, without conversion and reconciliation with God.

"When we are convinced of the sinfulness and misery of our natural state, it is a high point of wisdom to seek, by prayer and diligent searching the scriptures, that only right and effectual method of relief which God has provided. 'Repent and believe the gospel,' is the first thing. We should not stir from this direction, till we have some good ground of evidence, that we do repent and believe. Alas! our guilt and wickedness are much deeper and larger than we are apt to suspect; and our pride fights, with inexpressible obstinacy, against all just conviction. But let us not be discouraged; things impossible with men, are possible with God. Let us pray, not now and then only, but constantly. Life is short, we have no other business that ought to interfere with this. It should be the perpetual, as it is the most important employment of the soul. The scriptures daily meditated on, will supply us with instruction; and if we pursue our business in religion it will doubtless be made our chief pleasure, in time. A thorough insight into human emptiness and worldly vanity, a complete conviction of the evil of sin, even in our own particular case, and a desire to forsake it altogether, a solid discernment of the complete sufficiency of Christ, to save us in all respects —these things, in daily seeking unto God, are to be attained. We are not so ready to pray as God is to hear. He delights to magnify his Son Jesus, and to show what he can, and will do for us through Him. He calls us to do nothing in our own strength; and as we cannot have, so we need not think of having any worthiness of our own. We may come and take freely, what He freely bestows—and, my dear brother, when once in this way, you can steadfastly rely on the divine promises, through Christ, so sure as 'faith worketh by love,' you will find yourself enabled to love God; and it is in Christ that His love will be seen. A union and fellowship with Christ will take place; and it is the sweetest and pleasantest sensation which the human mind can know. Though the effervescence of it be short and momentary, and by very transient glances, yet its

steady energy is real and powerful. For to encourage us, we should remember the interest we have in Him by the ties of a common nature. The second and fourth chapters of the Epistle to the Hebrews, represent this point strongly. You may think that I deviate from the subject of resignation, but I know no other way of coming to it. Once brought to love Christ above all, we shall love other persons in the best manner, in subordination. Even to part with dearest friends will be practicable. Because (1 Thes. iv. 14,) 'If we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so also them which sleep in Jesus, will God bring with Him.' When we can feel any genuine love to God in Christ, we shall be led to such an acquiescence in his wisdom and goodness, that we shall choose his will to take place, rather than ours; and the thought, how soon all things shall be set right in a future life; and that He makes all things to work together for good, will reconcile the mind to any thing that God pleases. And though the dissolution of soul and body be always a serious thing, and against the feelings of nature, yet a mind whose hope and desire are with Jesus, and which has a constant thirst for spiritual enjoyments as true felicity, and which is loosened from all worldly attainments, must, ON THE WHOLE, wish for death rather than life, as we all wish most for that which has most of our hearts; but the love of God will teach such a one to resign himself, as to the time, to his heavenly Father's will. You will not mistake me, I hope, as though I believed that all real Christians have learned this completely; far from it. But these things are learnt by them, in a measure; but not without much conflict, opposition from sinful nature all along, and much imperfection. And though it is not easy to confine by rule, the Spirit's operations; yet this seems the general order of Christian virtues, viz. repentance, faith, love, resignation. In Christ himself, resignation was perfect. 'Not my will but thine be done.' And as far as we trust in him for grace, so far we may receive grace out of his fulness. Among mere men, St. Paul seems to be the completest pattern of resignation. What a tremendous view of his sufferings is that in 2 Cor. xi. But how practicable did the love of God make many things to him. In Phil. iv. 11–13, he tells us, that he had learned to be content in any state, and that he could do all things through Christ which strengthened him, and the original word for 'had learned' μεμυημαι, alluding to the Pagan mysteries, shows that this learning was of a mysterious nature.

"Dear brother, I write in the fulness of affection, wishing you to make it your main business to acquire these things. I am far from thinking, that your long course of afflictions, has been against your acquiring them. Oh! let me beg for patience to lie, as clay in the hands of his infinite wisdom, who knows how to humble our pride, and to break our wills, and to form us to a conformity to Himself. And may you be helped to a steady course of praying and seeking God, with a willingness to give up all for Christ!

"I have been looking at Dr. Johnson's life. The man was unfaithful to his convictions, for the most part of his life at least. Had he been humbled before God, he would have been despised by the world, but would have been comfortable in his own soul. May Christ Jesus visit you, and lead you, dear brother, to true rest. Yours,

"Nov., 1797. J. M."

The writer of this letter lived only a few days after it was penned. He died on the 15th of November, 1797.

The feelings of Dr. Milner, on this occasion, can hardly be conceived, much less described. We have, however, a letter to Mr. Wilberforce, dated on the very day of his brother's decease, which serves to show something of his feelings. "O my dearest friend, my beloved brother's last words, or nearly so, were, that, 'Jesus was now doubly, doubly precious to him'—Christ called him to himself, this morning about seven. I keep to myself as much as possible and pray—but, indeed, my dear friend, I fear, this may be the last letter you will ever receive from me. If the event—which, however, is not worse than the suspense, should prove too much for my weak frame, and already half-broken heart, remember there was a corner in that heart, preserved to the last for you and your half.

"Oh! that I had followed his steps! or had now strength as I have some heart, in the days of life, to follow them, in warning a thoughtless world! I wish tears would come—I should be easier."

"It is very generally known," says his niece, "that Dr. Milner was in the habit of using opium as a medicine. To the use, and value of that medicine, in his case, those who knew him intimately can bear testimony. Upon this subject, some misapprehension has existed; it may be sufficient to say, that by Dr. Milner, this drug was never, at any period of his life, used otherwise than strictly as a medicine, and by the concurring advice of the first physi-

cians of the day. How effectual it was in enabling him to dedicate to the noblest uses, what he truly called, the 'shattered remains' of his health, is known only to the very few persons, whose privilege it was to witness his daily habits, and enjoy his domestic society."

The strength of his affection for his brother, as also the depth and sincerity of his piety, will appear by the following letter, addressed to the Rev. William Richardson, one of the most intimate friends of his brother. "My dear Sir, I cannot give any satisfactory reason for it, but so it is, I dread either to see or write to any of my brother's dear or particular friends. Therefore, I have written nothing to any of them, except where there was an absolute necessity for so doing. While I remained at Hull, I dreaded the approach of good Stillingfleet; and, at last, when I understood he was coming to see me, I summoned courage to tell him, by letter, that I could not venture to admit him; yet, he had written to me the most kind and affectionate letter, that ever was penned. I say again, I cannot explain the violent agitation which I foresee would take place on an interview with you or him; but I feel that it would be so certainly, and I know not whether I should survive it. This apprehension is not fancy. . . . Indeed, it is of God's special mercy, that I am alive. But you will say, does not every man lose near friends and relations? Not many, in such circumstances. He was the only near relation I had in the world; and I was brought up with him from a child. I remember him as far back as I remember anything, and we went to school together, for many years. Still, I own there are cases quite as afflictive as this; and probably several without the same mitigating considerations—MITIGATING, do I call it? to be able to say, 'I have no doubt, whatever, that he is in heaven. This is, indeed, a glorious reflection, and it should heal my broken heart. It would, no doubt, if reason had much to do in such a matter, but reason is pushed aside by affection, self love, and unsubdued passion. There is, however, in religion a reality. I thank God, I can say so, on the best foundation, viz.; that in that way I obtain some relief, and in no other. I grasp, therefore, the help, as firmly as I can, but still, dear sir, my heart is broken! Don't tell me how much you have felt—I know, I am sure, you have."

The remainder of this long letter relates to his brother's writings, and the estimation in which they were held.

The duel between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Tierney, took place about this time. Dr. Milner's abhorrence of the practice was uncompromising. The popular arguments in its defence or mitigation, he held to be fallacious. "Murder," he was wont to say, "is not the less murder, because the murderer exposes his own life." And, in a letter to Mr. Wilberforce, he says, "I hope you will do something effectual against duelling. You will never have another so fine an opportunity. It has hurt Pitt's character more than any thing he ever did. Perhaps not so in London.

In the month of December, 1798, Dr. Milner was elected to the mathematical chair at Cambridge, once filled by Sir ISAAC NEWTON. That chair had been resigned by that greatest of philosophers, in 1669; and from the time of that resignation, until the election of Dr. Milner, four professors only had occupied it, viz. Whiston, Saunderson, Colson, and Waring. Dr. Milner remained in this station, until his death.

His mind appears to have been much oppressed with melancholy feelings about this time, of which he complains in his letters to his intimate friends. To Mr. Wilberforce, he says, "Though I have endeavoured to discharge my duty here, as well as I could, and though I have been enabled, through a gracious Providence, to get through four preachings, yet sadness and melancholy of heart stick close by me, and increase upon me. Who would believe this? I tell nobody, but I am very much sunk, indeed, and I wish I could have the relief of weeping, as I often used to have."

About this time, Dr. Milner was much occupied in studying the works of Jonathan Edwards, and more particularly his treatise on "The Religious Affections." The following letter to the Rev. Mr. Richardson, will show the state of his mind better than any description. After an introduction, he says, "My views have of late been exceedingly dark and distressing; in a word, Almighty God seems to hide his face. I entrust the secret, hardly, to any earthly being. I endeavour to pour out my heart before God; but really I receive so little that I can fairly call answers in any shape, that my heart fails, and I know not what will become of me. I feel assured, that for a good while, my earnest desire has been to serve God according to my station, and to give myself wholly to Him; but I find it to be no easy matter to look death and judgment in

the face: and the thing which most dispirits me is, that my case takes up so much of my attention, that, in a measure, my usefulness is destroyed, or at least lessened.

"I see my fault to be, that I am impatient in prayer, and do not hope and wait quietly; but how to get the better of this I am utterly at a loss. I don't know whether I make you understand me perfectly. In one word, my prospects here grow darker and darker, as to bodily decay. I would have the evidences of a good hope brighten—else what is to support me? There is doubtless, a good deal of bodily affection mingled with this; but it is not all so, and the devil is very busy. I bless God, however, that I never lose sight of the cross, as the great thing to cling to; and though I should die without seeing any personal interest in the Redeemer's merits, I think, I hope, I should be found at his feet. If I am to be saved at all, it is, assuredly, in this way. This conviction has not yet been shaken in my mind; but it is a blind sort of faith; and nearer allied to despair than to confidence. I see plainly, indeed, that there is no other way, but still I do not see but that I may perish. I will thank you for a word at your leisure. My door is bolted at the time of my writing this, for I am full of tears."

In another letter to the same friend, he manifests the lively interest which he felt for promising young men; but then falls into the same strain of complaint respecting himself, as in the preceding letter.

"B. is really a very amiable, mild, taking young man. I am greatly pleased with him. His public dispute, called his *act*, is lately put off till the next term, on account of the death of a Master of Arts, of St. John's. When such an event takes place in term-time, it causes three days non-term, and no business is done; so poor B. who was ready charged and primed, must keep in that state until he has opportunity of firing. He was very little discomposed about it, though he said he could not well set about other business till he had got that off his mind. I have known some people, in his circumstances, very much ruffled by such an event. He seems, indeed, excellently disposed, and I wish his modesty would let him call on me oftener than he does; for it would really be a pleasure to me to do a service to such a lad; and those subjects have been so familiar to me for a long time, that it gives me no trouble to assist one in his situation. I gave him some advice about spending his summer, but I mean to send for him and examine him particularly.

"May Almighty God bless you always, and return seven times into your bosom your kindness shown to me, lately, both in what you said, and in the despatch you used in answering my letter. I cannot but think there is something sadly wrong, about my views or my way of going on, in some respect or other, or I should not be in this great darkness and dismay. I assure you, I sometimes think, my mind will lose all its tone. I aim as much as possible at two things, 1. To keep up a steady, praying, waiting spirit. 2. To surrender my own will to his will, entirely, and, therefore, to allow no known sin. This must surely be right, but I suppose, I do not do, what I say. There is something wrong I am satisfied, or I should not be so miserable, and have so little confidence towards God, at the times when I most want it. There is nothing that I see clearer, than that my continued afflictions are useful and even necessary to me. In intervals of health, I can pray very sincerely for the return of illness, if expedient. I really tremble when I grow better, so prone am I to wander into the old way of worldly-mindedness, and of pleasing self; but when the fits of illness come, I do not, I believe properly kiss the rod. Yet, I really cannot charge myself with much murmuring; I thank God, I have got over that a good deal; but a sort of melancholy sulkiness comes on, and a want of cheerful submission. No earthly being can tell what I suffer in mind and body. I should be very grateful to you to write to me again, at your leisure."

Dr. Milner spent much time in revising and preparing for the press, that part of his brother's "Church History," which had been written, but not printed; and afterwards, he determined to continue the history himself, which he brought down to the year 1530. On this work he bestowed immense pains and labour; for he was most scrupulous about stating facts, except on the very best evidence; and where any thing was doubtful, he would not rest, until he had caused the authentic documents to be searched, in different European cities. He found his brother's manuscript to be in a very imperfect state; so that for several years, all his leisure was occupied in this work.

About this time also, he formed the design of publishing his brother's "Life." In executing this work, he was assisted by Messrs Stillingfleet and Richardson, the most intimate friends of his brother.

In a letter to him, Mr. Wilberforce had spoken in strong

terms of his domestic happiness, to which Dr. Milner replies, "Perhaps, these wonderful smiles are for some future trial—continue to watch." And this very reply found Mr. Wilberforce, who was at Bognor with his family, in the deepest distress on account of the dangerous illness of his wife. On hearing of the affliction which had thus befallen his friend, Dr. Milner hastened to Bognor, and remained with him till the danger was past. He was a friend of the right stamp, who hesitated not to throw aside every thing, to fly to the assistance and comfort of a friend. Such friends, are, indeed, invaluable. No earthly possessions are to be compared with genuine friendship. Happy, truly happy, may he be said to be who has such friends. We should be pleased to give much more of Dr. Milner's religious correspondence, it is exceedingly to our liking; but we have already occupied as much room in this way, as can be spared to us.

When the British and Foreign Bible Society was established, the enterprize commended itself strongly to Dr. Milner's good sense and evangelical piety; and he, therefore, gave his warm encouragement, and personal co-operation to the formation of a Branch Society in the university of Cambridge, on which occasion, he delivered an excellent speech in favour of the national society. At this time he did not dream of any serious opposition to so good and glorious a cause; or any interference that there could be between it and any other society. But the Rev. Dr. Marsh, then a professor in the university, and one of its brightest ornaments, soon began to manifest a decided opposition to the "British and Foreign Bible Society;" and soon came out with his "Inquiry, &c." At the first anniversary of the Auxiliary Branch of the university, Dr. Milner came forward again, in an able speech, in vindication of the national society, and in speaking of the agency which he had in forming the auxiliary whose anniversary was then celebrated, he says, "My lord, after more than forty years residence in this university, and of course, after attending a variety of public meetings, I can honestly declare, that there is no one on which I can reflect with so much sincere and solid satisfaction, as on that meeting which took place in this room, last December, and which is the object of our commemoration this day." . . . "It is an institution which calls forth the love and admiration of all persons, who have duly weighed its natural tendencies, the means which it

employs, and the blessed effects which it is calculated to produce."

Dr. Milner felt it to be his duty to descend into the arena of public controversy, in opposition to the pamphlet of Dr. Marsh. In such a cause, a disputant of such ability, could not but come off triumphantly. Perhaps, nothing written in this controversy, was more able and effectual, than Dr. Milner's defence.

Dr. Kipling and the Bishop of Lincoln, both came out against Calvinism, about this time. Dr. Milner had studied this subject far more accurately and profoundly, than either of them, and pointed out the errors and fallacies, on which their most plausible arguments rest. Indeed, he had it in his thoughts to write a "Life of John Calvin," and was urged by some of his friends to undertake it; and as he had collected many materials, it is to be regretted, that a vindication of the character of the great Reformer of Geneva, had not come from the pen of a man in many respects resembling him. The state of his mind as to vital religion, may be inferred from his favourite authors, which were Luther on the Galatians, which he admired exceedingly—Edwards on the Affections—Beveridge's Private Thoughts—Pascal's Thoughts—Owen on the Mortification of Sin, and Witherspoon's Sermons.

If Dr. Milner had lived in our times he would have been found among the most strenuous opposers of Puseyism; for he was much troubled about "Baptismal Regeneration," which had been lately made a subject of controversy, between ministers of the Church of England. On this subject, we have his thoughts expressed in several distinct propositions, from which we extract a few sentences.

"There is no doubt that our Lord appointed baptism to be a rite of initiation into his church.

"Further, it is clear, that faith was an indispensable qualification in the candidates for baptism.

"It appears, therefore, that regeneration, of which faith is the fruit, must precede baptism, and that baptism is the sign and seal of regeneration." Then he attempts to reconcile the language of the Articles of the Church of England, with these views.

Much that is highly interesting in the scientific career of Dr. Milner, has been necessarily omitted in this brief sketch. He always appeared to great advantage at public examinations, in which he often departed from the techni-

cal explanations of the books, and entertained the audience by a resort to the most familiar illustrations.

But passing by many interesting incidents in the life of this great, but afflicted man, we must hasten to give some account of the closing scene of his earthly pilgrimage.

For some time before his death, Dr. Milner was principally occupied with religious contemplations; but no particular apprehensions were entertained by himself, or his friends, that his end was so near, as the event proved it to be. He was seized rather suddenly with a difficulty of breathing, which prevented him from saying much. His last words were addressed to his friend Mr. Wilberforce, who was standing by his bed, "O my dear friend, I am leaving you —I am dying;" and catching a few breaths, he expired.

"Dr. Milner's personal appearance was exceedingly distinguished. He was above the usual height, admirably proportioned, and of a commanding presence. His features were regular and handsome, and his fine countenance was as remarkable for benevolence, as for the high talent which it expressed. Of animal spirits, throughout his life, he possessed an abundant flow, and his constitution was, doubtless, originally, unusually robust. In short, no man was ever more profusely gifted with the best and most valuable of moral endowments. By his friends he was regarded with a degree of admiration and reverent affection which falls to the lot of few. One who knew him well, and than whom few persons are better qualified to form a correct estimate of the powers of a truly great mind, in a letter to his biographer, says, "Your uncle was, beyond compare, the greatest and ablest man with whom, in the course of a somewhat chequered life, it has been my fortune to hold personal converse."

In closing this review of the Life of Dr. Milner, we would remark:

1. That nothing more is necessary to evince the power of his genius, than the fact, that he, a poor sizar, wholly unpatronised, should have risen, first to the possession of a fellowship in his own college, next to be the head of that college, and finally to be the vice-chancellor of the university, and also Professor of Mathematics, in the chair which had been filled by Sir Isaac Newton.

2. One trait in his character, to which he doubtless owed much of his success, was the habit of concentrating the whole powers of his mind on whatever engaged his atten-

tion at any time. And when thus occupied, he permitted nothing to interrupt the prosecution of the object which he had in view. In illustration of this trait, a friend related the following anecdote: "I called on the Doctor, to introduce the late Rev. Mr. Church, then going out as a chaplain to Madras, desirous that a young minister going on so important an errand should have the advice, instructions, and encouragement of so able a counsellor, I took Mr. Church to the deanery. The Doctor was occupied in an attempt to ascertain the meaning of an abbreviation which he found in Ainsworth's Dictionary, *Auct. Phil.* Mr. Church was introduced and politely received, but the Dean could not turn off his attention from the philological pursuit, in which he was engaged, and instead of giving his counsels to this young man, or saying any thing about his important mission, he continued his search after the meaning of this abbreviation, asking every person near him, and turning over volume after volume, until at length he found it stood for *Auctor Philomolæ.* He then began to pay attention to Mr. Church, and occupied the remainder of the visit in giving him judicious advice."

3. It required great firmness of mind, and strength of religious principle, to stand forth, for so many years, the unflinching advocate of the evangelical doctrines of the Bible. The influence of such an example, in so high a station, must have encouraged and confirmed the minds of many pious ministers, in the Church of England.

4. His life furnishes satisfactory evidence, not only of the reality of his piety; but that it was an active, growing principle. His deep sense of his own sinfulness, and his anxious doubts and fears respecting his own spiritual condition are truly remarkable in a man of talents so exalted, and placed in a station so high and honourable.

5. In the Christian character of Dr. Milner, there was a happy symmetry. He was not merely devout in his habitual feelings towadrs God, but very kindly affectioned towards his fellow men. While he was humble and penitent, pleading for mercy to himself as the chief of sinners, he had a heart overflowing with benevolence to men. His fraternal affection was, perhaps, excessive; but he was under great obligations to an only brother, who had acted the part of a father to him. His friendship was of the purest kind, and his affection for his friend more than commonly strong. His kind encouragement to pious and promising young men,

was a very amiable trait in his character; and so was his condescending readiness to communicate religious instruction to those into whose company he happened to fall. And as he was affectionate and benevolent, so he was strictly conscientious; feeling that he was accountable for the right use and improvement of all the talents committed to him.

6. We will close our review with the reflection, "How great a blessing to the church and to society is the life and labours of such a man as Dr .Milner! Though he was of a different denomination from ourselves, and entertained different views from ours, of the polity and government of the Christian Church, yet we can admire his talents, love his pious character, and rejoice in his usefulness in promoting the cause of truth and holiness, as truly, as if he had been a Presbyterian. Our difference with Dr. Milner and other Episcopalians, of like sentiments and spirit, is merely external, ad in comparison with the great points on which we agree, are of little consequence. We sincerely wish that there were hundreds of such men in the church of England, at this time, and there would be no danger that she would be corrupted or divided by doctrines and usages, which are more suited to the dark ages, than to the nineteenth century.

The signs of the times are ominous all over the world. When the inquiry is made, "Watchman what of the night?" the answer is, "The morning cometh and also the night."

Art. II.—*A Treatise on the Church of Christ; designed chiefly for the use of Students in Theology.* By the Rev. William Palmer, M. A., of Worcester College, Oxford. With a preface and notes, by the Rt. Rev. W. R. Whittingham, D. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Maryland. From the second London edition. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1841. 8vo. 2 vols. pp. 529, 557.

Logicians bid us have an eye to the πρωτον ψευδος in every piece of bad argument, because, by uprooting that, we subvert all that grows out of it. For a different reason it is often well to look after what, in corresponding language, one might call the ἐσχατον ψευδος—that error for whose sake

the whole argument is framed, and toward which, as the grand point to be reached, each step in false reasoning is bent. The good of knowing it is plain. It is the drift of what the errorist has said. It gives order to his fallacies—puts your mind in the attitude of his, and helps memory to hold fast his whole scheme, and see its deformities together. As a bad knot must be loosed in the order in which it was tied, so a perplexed system of wrong argument should be exposed in the order in which it grew in the mind that utters it.

Mr. Palmer, in the two volumes before us, leaves us at no loss as to his last end in error. It is one proof of his superiority to the rest of his school, and of the wisdom, whether his own or theirs, that put the work in his hands, that he stands out so far above them in the power he gives his reader of tracing system in what he writes. If his theory of the church be true, he has selected from it with admirable exclusiveness those positions that bear on his one great point. If his theory be false, as we hope to prove it is, then he has framed it with admirable directness—directness really casting suspicion on itself by the minute ingenuity that it costs—for the same never forgotten end. We leave it to any discerning man, whether absorbed devotion to that end has not forfeited for his book the title of "A Treatise on the Church of Christ;" and whether it is not more distinctively, a Treatise in proof, that out of the British churches, on the islands where they originated, and in the colonies where they were planted, there is no salvation. This clearly is its scope. Nor is the position one so trifling or indifferent, as to make it wonderful that it should grow to be a favourite error in any church, or that learned men should write long volumes to reach it. We have called it the ultimate error, and it is so, among those of a theoretic kind. But take practical errors into the account, and there is one still a step beyond it, the end and aim, the great attracting charm of this and all behind it in the chain of errors—one that has reduced the English church to the length of making such a claim of adherence, just as elsewhere it has elevated to the rank of vital tests things much more indifferent. We will tell what it is.

When prelatists cast it upon the advocates of parity to show how prelacy came to exist so early as it is confessed it did, in any other way than by Christ's appointment, they are answered that it was the birth of ambition in the cler-

gy; that then, as now, the laity let fall from their hands that strong practical influence which they might have in moulding the church; and that, therefore, that easily besetting sin of the ministry had earliest and most thorough effect in changing the church's government. They are reminded of that struggle "who should be the greatest," that began in the very presence of Christ; of the disturbances under the eye of the apostles, among those "who loved to have the pre-eminence;" of that "mystery of iniquity" in Paul's time already working; and of the proofs from tradition itself, that the order they bid us account for, was actually the fruit of clerical usurpation.

The same key will serve us here. The claim to argue which this book was written, is not a wonderful one; if for no other reason than that it aggrandizes the ministry. The same ambition that gave birth to prelacy, might be expected to load it with all ghostly honors; and how more directly than by making the church necessary to salvation; and prelacy, the church?

Starting then from the supposition of an ambitious clergy, the whole theory of these volumes beautifully unfolds itself, their contents falling into that arrangement which refers them back to their proper origin; and Mr. Palmer has been as true to our interests as to his own in writing so clearly, that not one link in the chain of error is missing, or concealed. Let us trace it. Ambition, at work for ages, has nursed the idea of an exclusive church, until this doctrine has been reached—out of the pale of the British churches in those countries where it first held the ground, there can be no salvation. Our author then has two positions to make good: first, that there is no salvation out of the church, whatever that may be, a position which he argues and finishes in his first few pages; and second, that the church of England on its own soil is exclusively that church; a position having so many points of contact with others which must stand with it, but are hard to sustain, or which must fall before it, but are hard to overthrow, as to swell out the argument to many hundred pages, and to need scarce any thing besides to give matter enough for the rest of his book.

For, first of all, in finding marks that shall fix a line round the church of England, and shut out dissenters, that church has long ago discovered that Rome and the East must fall within such a line. Ingenuity cannot draw one

that shall encircle the British churches and exclude both the Romanist and the Protestant. It is cast upon Mr. Palmer then to show, that of that body of Christ from which the pious dissenters of Great Britain are cut off, the corrupt churches of the East and West are true members. Near a hundred pages of his book are devoted to this difficult argument.

The adjustment, however, only provokes a new challenge of his claim. That crime which thrusts the dissenter beyond the reach of covenant mercy, and quite nullifies his right to call his society a church, is separation. Unity and apostolicity—two marks most insisted on in the way of test—both condemn him. He has broken one, and lost the other. Now the papacy, so laboriously vindicated, for the very sake of the integrity of these tests, as part of the true body of Christ, and so plainly, if a part at all, an older, a larger, and hence a more catholic and weighty part, is living in something much like separation from the English church. If the excommunication of the younger sister—every limb and member of her—a hundred times—if contempt, if a total absence and expulsion from her sacraments, and a long and willing alienation from her seem to interfere with that vital mark, unity, and seem to place the English churchman under the ban of Rome, much like the dissenter under the ban of Oxford, we might expect serious trouble in our author's mind to prove that they do not. He has had some; but less than we could have imagined. He has chosen the happiest expedient possible:—just to shape his church-theory beforehand, in forecast of this difficulty. There are of course, differences between the schismatic course of the Episcopalian against his dissenting brother, and the anathema of popery against simple prelacy; for no two church separations can occur exactly alike through the whole history of the world. Then all that Mr. Palmer has had to do, is so to draw his church line originally as to let these differences throw the two cases on opposite sides of it. You remember he not only chooses his own marks, but what is better for him, interprets them for himself. He simply, therefore, defines unity to be precisely such a thing as will not be destroyed by the one form of separation, but must be by the slightly different form, and thus anticipates the difficulty, pages before it comes up.

In his theory he says: "If a particular church should be condemned on some account by a portion of the universal

church, but not by another considerable portion, it is not to be held as heathen and separated."* A hundred and thirty-five pages afterward we see the intention of this guard: "At that time," (of the Reformation,) "whatever decrees or judgments were made by some western churches in respect of ours, were not confirmed or received by the eastern churches, who remained exactly in the same position towards us that they had previously done. Consequently there could not have been any decree of excommunication passed by the catholic church," &c. Again, his theory: "If churches have been condemned by a large portion of the church universal, and it can be clearly proved that the facts of the case have not been investigated, such a sentence is to be held invalid and unratified in heaven. If, however, the condemnation of the universal church is unanimous, and there is no proof of any marked injustice in the proceedings," (where would such a case be found, in the judgment of the excommunicated party? Such a caveat would shield any church.) those who are condemned for offences against charity ought to be held of all the brethren as heathen men and publicans."† Then, its application: "It must be proved that these churches" (British) "have separated from all the rest, or that all the rest have by some regular judgment excommunicated them."‡

It is true that from a man who led us to expect from his pen the grand attributes of that church which we must either recognise or perish, this seems rather minute and subtle; and that from a man who, feeling how few have "learning and judgment requisite" for "difficult questions," aimed at a "comparatively short and intelligible process,"§ it seems rather perplexed; and that for so radical a thing as a theory, it seems rather assumed; still remembering, as the author bids us, that "the time is short," and that this plan of his, "without any very lengthened discussion," is "the briefest course," straight to what he wants;‖ perhaps we can scarcely wonder at its adoption.

Grant the theory, and let the author interpret it, and certainly it holds. Certainly "all" churches have not excommunicated those of Britain, for the Greek church does not so much as know every minor body whom her western sister, herself anathematized, in her turn anathematizes. Certainly the Church of England has not "separated from the

* Vol. i. p. 80. † Vol. i. p. 80. ‡ Vol. i. p. 215.
§ Vol. i. p. 45. ‖ Vol. i. p. 45, 46.

rest;" for if we will let the author judge for us, separation from the Roman pontiff merely, breaks no unity with his church;* and even prohibition of communion, made by the civil power, and submitted to ecclesiastically, if it be in self-defence, against Rome's restless intrigues,† is no breach of union. Certainly the Roman church has never excommunicated her British sister, if no church can be excommunicated till she confesses herself regularly and rightly dealt with. Certainly, then, Mr. Palmer, as he aimed to do, has fallen upon "a short and intelligible process" by which he can hold fast his Romish principles, convict the dissenter of schism, and yet so neatly dissect off that case from his, as to parry a like charge against himself from Rome; and all simply from having a long-sighted, well-considered theory.

Thus far on his plan two useful corollaries suggest themselves:—the first saves him the odium of denouncing the Reformation. The mass of the English people are not prepared to change their thanksgivings for that work into expressions of regret; and a book that is to pass current among them must not do violence to such attachments. But, then, to recognise the protestants of Europe would bring utter discord into our author's scheme.. A dilemma is to be met much like that of the Jews, as to the baptism of John: "If we shall say, From heaven, he will say unto us, Why did ye not then believe him? But, if we say, Of men, we fear the people; for all hold John as a prophet." The greatest relief, therefore, would spring from a device that should at once approve the Reformation, and unchurch the bodies that grew out of it, and precisely this relief the theory that Mr. Palmer has arranged affords him.

The protestants of continental Europe, like those of Britain, (*a*) did not wilfully separate themselves, (*b*) were not regularly excommunicated, and, therefore, like England, might have cleared their skirts of the crime of schism. "They were to be regarded as brethren, separated indeed from the external communion of a large portion of the catholic church, without their own fault, but not internally cut off from it, and, consequently, still in the way of salvation."‡ Lack of "existence," however, "as societies prior to their separation from the ancient churches,"§ and lack of "apostolical succession in their ministry,"‖ distinguished

* Vol. i. p. 214. † Vol. i. p. 215. ‡ Vol. i. p. 352.
§ Vol. i. p. 353. ‖ Vol. i. p. 354.

them from the Church of England, and destroyed their regular union with the body of Christ, (an anomalous and certainly no very pleasant state, if salvation is no where but in the church,) and "it is to be lamented," we are told, "that in process of time they forgot the principles on which their founders had set out, and deemed it necessary to assume the office and character of churches of Christ in the ordinary sense."* This, we understand, has broken the extraordinary link that held them in the covenant, and brought on them the wonted curse of separation; so that now "Lutheranism and Calvinism are little more than matters of history," "feeble and lifeless relics,"† "nearly perished in the countries where they arose."‡

The second corollary rounds off and finishes the claim. As thorns in the side of the Church of England, stand the papal churches on her own island. Aspiring as she does to sole right there, and wishing for her own supremacy and increase, not to recognise salvation in any other, and yet forced in the very arguing of that right, to admit Rome to an equality with herself in Christ's body, we should anticipate sore embarrassment on her part from so formidable an adversary. Rome excommunicating her and she recognising Rome, she would seem, at first glance, compelled by her favourite principles to nourish a rival in her own bosom. Mr. Palmer's wide-reaching theory, however, again comes to the relief of his church.

That vital mark of his, Unity, shields the ancient church of Britain from any intrusion, let it come from what quarter it may. The Roman Catholic on the continent is a true churchman. In England he is a separatist. An ancient body already holds the soil, and true churchmen become schismatics in the very act of setting up a rival worship. Then, carrying on the principle, he stretches out an arm to shield his brethren on this side of the Atlantic. "Schismatics do not cease to be so by a mere change of country. Therefore, the papists who went from this country to establish colonies in the United States of North America, were schismatics when they arrived there;" "when America received bishops from our churches, the schismatics constituted a rival episcopacy, and so remain to this day separated from the true church."§

Next comes a damning blot upon the book. Its claim is

* Vol. i. p. 358. † Vol. i. p. 359. ‡ Vol. i. p. 359. § Vol. i. p. 286.

finished; bolstered up by a crafty reading of appropriate marks. It only remains to nullify other marks that might stand in the way. If the eastern and western churches, with all their overgrown corruptions, are to be raised over the heads of pious protestant churches, and are to find a place in the body of Christ, when these are denied it, those narrow gates—Faith and Sanctity—must be widened a little to let them pass. That curse upon the papacy—the burial of all that is inward and spiritual under a load of outward tests and evidences—must be consummated here. Mr. Palmer goes boldly to his work, first of all by sinking that cardinal point with protestants—Unity of Faith—down, down, quite out of reach as a test. Why he set it among the marks of the church at all we know not, for he deliberately says: "It may be concluded then, that apparent unity or apparent difference in faith is not a safe ground to proceed on, in discriminating the true church from all rival communities; and the question of real unity involves a too extensive examination."* Then to cut us off from condemning a church even for the lack of vital faith he says: "I do not deny that every one may form a notion of fundamentals in his own mind, &c., but what I contend for is that it is useless in general controversy," fortifying the idea by these sentences, as absurd as those are horrible: "The Socinians themselves affirm that they believe fundamentals. The Romanists affirm that Jurieu and his party deny fundamentals. By what rule can it be proved that both are wrong?"

Thence he passes to the second mark—sanctity—and depreciating that as low as he dare, or as he can, without abandoning it, he goes on through the usual interpretation of catholicity and apostolicity, and so finishes his theory; a theory with which in the order of error, though not of chapters and sections, we have thus coupled part with part, a view of the main matter of the book—a book singularly downright and earnest in pursuing its favorite end—an end against which, if it be sound, all that we have said of the prostitution of grander principles to it, is mere crimination, but which, if it be false, shall stand only as another of those ever-recurring proofs of how lust for some one self-flattering error will throughout debauch the mind. We hope to prove it false.

* Vol. i. p. 121.

The credit of some arguments must be worn out by long attack. Others expose a flaw that destroys them at a stroke. Mr. Palmer's is of the latter class. His proposition has two points: No salvation out of the church, and that church his own. The first, the corner-stone of his system, rests upon reasoning in which there is a chasm so wide, that only an illogical transposition of chapters conceals it from any reader. Chapter 3d. (Part 1.) is "On the Visibility of the Church." Now every one knows that the doctrine of the school opposed to Mr. Palmer is, that there is a Visible and an Invisible church in the world; one, that body of professing Christians with their children, around which church order roughly draws the line; the other, that body of true Christians around which God's omniscience unerringly draws the line. If Mr. Palmer doubts the doctrine, here precisely is the chapter to say so, and prove it false; if he believes it, still, to say so, and prove it true. What has he done? Announced the proposition, The Church is Visible, and then spent nine pages in wearying us with argument, that no one doubts, to prove it, and then five pages more in answering the objections of men (who to any extent never made them) by showing that that church, proved visible, is not invisible; and there the chapter ends. What miserable trifling is here! These are the instances that give occasion for the sneer that reasoning is admitted in theology that would be ridiculed in law or science. What had Mr. Palmer to do but to show, not only (what is half a truism) that there is a visible church, but either that there is or that there is not also an invisible church, spoken of in the Bible and by the early fathers. His question was not, Is the church visible and not invisible? but, Is there a visible and an invisible church? and his failure to meet this, has nullified his general argument.

True, he has half hid the flaw by placing this chapter third, when it should have been first; but we will go back and trace the mischief that it does, and set it in its proper place. Section third (Chapter 1), brings forward the direct position, No salvation out of the Church. Mr. Palmer's course in sustaining it reminds us of a man who, after having assassinated some successful rival, should use his dress and seal to counterfeit his person and obtain his honours. Destroying in his readers minds, by simply, as we have seen, omitting it, the idea of an invisible church, he here uses the texts and testimonies that mean that church, and

that proof, so far as they prove anything, that there is no salvation out of it (a truth evident from its very definition) to show that out of the visible church, there is no salvation. Without these borrowed sentences, the argument would be a cypher, as we may see by taking them away. "Christ is the head of the body, the church;"* now "if any man abide not in Christ, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered; and men gather them and cast them into the fire, and they are burned."† "Christ is the Saviour of the body the church."‡ If Mr. Palmer doubts whether these do mean the church invisible, so much more shame upon him for not proving in the proper place the common voice of interpreters about them, to be wrong.

At best he has miserably few texts for making good a point so vital—only two beside those just quoted; and these, because independent, and not trusting to the illusion that we have exposed, palpably impertinent, belonging to that class of theological arguments which we tempt worldly men to ridicule. (1.) He says, "Without faith it is impossible to please God,"§ but "how shall men believe" &c., "without a preacher?"‖ Now what does this prove beyond what common sense, as the very form of question in Paul's mouth implies, might have told without it, that men cannot know the truth till that body which possesses it, sends it to them? That they must join that body, or be lost, is totally another proposition. (2.) He says: "The Lord added to the church daily such as should be saved."¶ Now if he were aiming to show that all are saved who are added to the church, (an idea that he repudiates) we could see some distant bearing, or if he wished to prove that the Lord regards the church as the proper place for those that are saved, and that it is duty to join it, we own the text to be very strong and pertinent; but what it has to do with the reverse proposition, that none positively are saved but those that are added to the church, we are at a loss to see.

These few texts despatched, Mr. Palmer plunges into a long series of traditional testimonies, where, as the best evidence he can harvest must be only probable, traditional opinion furnishing no better, we do not care to follow him. From only five scriptures, on so radical a point, and these thus easily shown to be quite empty of what he would

* Col. i. 18. † John xv. 6. ‡ Eph. v. 23. § Heb. xi. 6. ‖ Rom. x. 14, 15.
¶ Acts ii. 47. Bishops Pearson and Beveridge strangely use the same text.

dtaw from them, surely an author turns with but a bad grace to the Fathers.

We ask the reader to strike out from the list (*a*) wherever the writers quoted are speaking of the invisible church; (*b*) wherever the writers quoted are worth nothing in testimony, but so far from giving probable witness, give witness that is probable the other way; and (*c*) wherever the writers quoted are of modern date, and, therefore, their opinion and prejudices worth no more than ours; and then see how much sound proof is left to redeem the chapter from the charge of total emptiness.

Mr. Palmer will help him; for at times, by mis-chosen quotations, he seems bent on tearing off the veil himself. "Even the Quakers admit, that out of the church there is no salvation, though they hold that there may be members of this catholic church among Heathens, Turks, Jews."* The visible church? Of course not. Again, "Dr. Owen," (Independent) "their principal writer, says: 'It is required that we believe that the Lord Christ hath—a church on earth, confined unto no places, nor parties of men, no empires nor dominions, or capable of any confinement; that thereunto (and) all the members of it all the promises of God do belong, and are confined; that this church he will save,'* "† &c. What! "all the promises of God, to all the members of" the visible church! "This church he will save! and after death raise it up and glorify it at the last day!" Even our author repudiates such a notion ("of all its members;") would the Independent Owen fall into it? Plainly the invisible church is meant, and then both parts of the sentence will agree. "To all its members, all the promises of God do belong and are confined."

Hurrying away with his ill-gotten conclusion—no salvation out of the visible church—to fix, (chap. 2, Part 1,) what it now becomes of vital necessity to know, marks of that church, our author leaves us to trace him back still further, to the place where the defective chapter (chap. 3) should have come in. Section first (chap. 1) gives "definitions" of the word Church. A definition must be either admitted or demonstrated, or be left unused till it is. Now definitions of that word depend for their truth on the question of the visibility and invisibility of the church. What it is, then, whether oversight or plan, that has led Mr. Palmer to interpose twen-

* Barclay, prop. x., p. 273. † Vol. i., p. 40.
‡ Owen's True Nat. of Gos. Ch., Chap. xi. § Vol. i., p. 40.

ty pages and a settlement of vital church principles between his definitions and that question, we are at a loss to know. No order of the subject asks such a postponement, but quite the reverse. Proof as to visibility and invisibility should have been in close connection with the chapter of definitions. In default of this we might at least ask either, (*a*) that the definitions should be so general as to be conceded by all, or (*b*) should be proved in an independent way, or (*c*) should be unused (we mean definitely) till that chapter on "visibility" is reached. Mr. Palmer concedes neither of these.

In the first place, his definitions so far from being general, assume the very doctrine he is afterward to prove. "The applications of this term" (ἐκκλησια) "to the Christian society are various: 1. It sometimes means the whole Christian body or society, considered as composed of its vital and essential members, the elect and sanctified children of God, and as distinguished from those who are only externally and temporarily united to Christ. In this sense we may understand the apostle speaking of a 'glorious church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing.' And again, 'the general assembly and church of the first born, which are written in heaven.' It is generally allowed that the wicked belong only externally to the church. 2. The church means the whole society of Christians throughout the world, including all who profess their belief in Christ, and are subject to lawful pastors," &c.*

At first glance this might seem like yielding the idea of an invisible church, in the sense we have been contending for; but read again, and a direct assumption of something totally different will be plain. That "glorious church," "the general assembly and church of the first born," is made up not of the pious anywhere, (as we believe,) whether within the pale of an orderly profession, or by untoward circumstance out of it, but of the "vital and essential members" of the visible church; abruptly taking for granted that there are no "vital and essential" Christians out of it; and so no salvation out of the visible church.

The unfairness of this beginning, carrying with it the prepossessing weight that definitions generally bear, would be less, if he would make it good at once, by independent proof, or else not use it till he does. But he violates both these obligations in section 3, by actually using it to

* Vol. i. p. 28.

prove itself, as it stands involved in the grand doctrine of that section. If "salvation" were "only in the visible church," of course his idea of the invisible church would be just; it could be only the vital part of the church visible. But, as we have seen, in his main texts to prove that doctrine, he takes his own definition for granted and thus palpably reasons in a circle.

The definition, therefore, passes through that section only to add to its own assumption that of the doctrine which props itself upon it. Both, however, had they the least particle of truth, might yet substantiate themselves in that after chapter on which, after all, definition and doctrine rest together—the chapter "On the Visibility of the Church." How totally do they fail when our author flies the true issue of the question, turns away upon another, quite off the field of argument, and neither meets nor mentions what every modern controversialist must know as the very familiar idea of an invisible church.

Of course, we only say, Mr. Palmer's proposition, "no salvation out of the church (visible,)" has not been proved in his hands; let us see, now, if it may not be disproved in ours. The Bible theory of the church, that we bring forward to this end, will, in its after development, set aside the much longer argument for his other great proposition—that church, exclusively his own (in Britain.)

There are certain conditions of salvation made necessary by the very nature of salvation itself. Or, to tell the same truth in other words, salvation consists in the gift of certain things, the possession of which, therefore, becomes the evidence of salvation. Now God's great gift in the act of saving is holiness; and faith is but one exercise of it; faith and holiness, therefore, are essential conditions of salvation. Their necessity must be absolute, past all possibility of so much as one exception, just as the motions of life are an essential condition of the resurrection of the body, inasmuch as resurrection consists in giving life.

This, that reason might have taught, the Bible seals, in announcing its great religious test: "Without holiness no man shall see God." "He that believeth not shall be damned." "For without faith it is impossible to please Him."

It would seem the part of wisdom with God to fix no other absolute tests than this vital one, lest others should obscure faith by turning the mind away from Christ, or

lessen holiness by dividing the attention of men. Unquestionably, however, we are responsible for none till the Bible tells us we are; for whether wise or not in God to make any outward change an indispensable term of pardon, we need no better proof that he has not done so, than the negative one that he has not said so. Faith is a natural duty, itself of the essence of salvation; yet God has taken care to tell us, "He that believeth not shall be damned." Church membership is but a positive duty, not of the essence of salvation: much more would God tell us, if he meant in no case to save without it Now it is from the total want of one word to that effect, that we deny that union with the visible church can be absolutely necessary to salvation.

The Bible binds us to join the church with no stronger expressions than plain common sense would have led us to anticipate. For what purpose was such an institution as the church established? To use the power of the social principle, rising high, as it does, above the power of isolated thought and action; to guard the purity of the truth; to warm piety by communion with itself; to secure the benefits of teaching and discipline which especially the New Testament Church so admirably exhibits, and extend these to every corner of the world; "for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of the Christ;" richly ministering to that faith and holiness, which are essential conditions of salvation.

Judging beforehand, how would God be likely to bind us to these means of grace? As he does to all others, that is, by simple command. Prayer is of benefit; therefore He says, "Continue instant in prayer." Reading the Bible is of benefit; therefore He says, "Search the scriptures." So joining the church is of benefit; and we should expect precisely the same method to bring us to join it, namely, command.

Accordingly, no diligence can gather from the Bible anything stronger—not one text that looks more like the imposing of an absolute condition than the simple precept, "not to forsake the assembling of ourselves together," &c.* Let any man who doubts it search for one, and so far from success, he will find it hard to add to the text we have just quoted one equally strong. His list even of precepts for the duty will rise very slowly. The mass of preceptive

* Heb. x. 25.

weight will have to be derived from example; the actual institution of the church and its convening on the first day of the week. And when he comes to the question of the church order binding on us, he will find that here there is not even precept express and verbal—none such as was given to Moses,—"See that thou make all things according to the pattern shown thee on the mount,"—but only a model after which our churches should be formed. This even one of the Oxford Tractarians admits—"The injunction to obey strictly is not precisely given to us, as it was in the instance of the Mosaic law:"* and though we by no means adduce this to retract our admission of a precept—a direct precept to join the church, whatever it may be, and a preceptive model, fixing, in all common circumstances, what it shall be, we insist upon it as proof of the hopelessness of finding anything stronger.

Some inconsiderately say, that the command of a holy God is enough to make a duty necessary to salvation. "If ordination is a divine ordinance, it must be necessary; and if it is not how dare we use it? As well might we pretend the sacraments are not necessary to salvation," &c.† Allow us to ask, Are Christians perfect? If not, may they not much rather sin, through overcoming temptation, against church form, than against spiritual doctrine, or vital godliness? These men do not doubt that souls may die with many mischievous errors in their minds, and many strong lusts upon their hearts, and yet be saved: shall a mistake about mere rule and order damn them?—a mistake dealing with a subject so purely carnal as not to be guarded by the inner voice of the spirit, and with matters so purely technical, as to be beyond the reach of any other voice with the people generally?

Why erect this simple command above others so closely like it, into a vital test? The Bible is a means of grace; so is the Church. Reading the Bible is infinitely more insisted on in either Testament than joining the church. Yet if a man may never read one word of the Bible, and yet be saved by its doctrine, in the mouths of others, who will dare to say that he may not through doubt or difficulty, never join the church, and yet be saved without the blessing of its visible communion.

The claim is kept in many minds from seeming totally

* Ox. Tracts, No. 6, p. 42, Am. Ed. † Ox. Tracts, No. 1, p. 11.

absurd by two facts that entangle themselves with it, and make it plausible. One is that the church is so necessary to the salvation of men. Hers are the countries, and hers the ministers, and hers generally the private men and the books by which the truth goes to the perishing. Those born again are born under her shadow. Without her instrumentality, nearer or more remote, perhaps, no one is converted; for the truth that instrumentally does the work, must trace itself back, if it be through a hundred alien hands, at last to hers. Now the proposition "No salvation out of the church," which means simply, no salvation without joining the church, confounds itself with the more plausible, and in a distant sense sound proposition, no salvation except by the church.

And into another truth the error like a parasite plant, strikes its roots still deeper. The duty of joining the church is so clear and solemn, and the sin of refusing, not being one of a moment, but of days and weeks together, has so much time to correct itself, that few men who are saved, are out of the church. Not so few, however, as we should at first imagine. For even though we take no foolish view of what that body is, nor unchurch the soundest piety of the world by drawing its lines as Mr. Palmer bids us, still in any view, who has not seen good men not in it; some, perhaps, from doubt as to the proper church to join, many more from fear as to their being fit for any; still, men with piety as promising as our own, and yet dying, not in the church. They sin; but so do all Christians. They sin persistingly and finally; but so do many; just as many a pious man, through prejudice, may never give a farthing far the salvation of the heathen, and die without ever having stretched out a finger for their relief; though we verily believe the time is at the door when this will be held a far more glaring sin than keeping off our name from the church's roll.

Thus keeping close to the idea of simple precept, and challenging the writers of Mr. Palmer's school to show us something more,* or else to rest satisfied with what it asks, we have made good our denial of the maxim, "No salva-

* We know that the collateral, but still more monstrous claim of the vital necessity of sacraments to salvation would carry this claim with it. A slight change in our argument, too, would make it bear upon either; neither having more to show than mere precept. But we are meeting now, the naked claim of the church. Mr. Palmer does not go off on the other ground, nor need we.

tion out of the church." Proof prositive in a case like this grows out of what is negative; for while the nature of the church is alien to sueh a test, and the silence of God demands none such, it is the part only of impiety to attempt to set it up.

We hasten now to the second and larger part of Mr. Palmer's book, whieh deals with the question,—What is the true chureh? The labour that question has exacted, ought long ago to have covered it with suspicion. After the thought of centuries, scarce two men yet agree in the church-marks by which it is to be decided. Long ago it should have been seen that it had no bottom, from the mass of matter that has been gathered upon it; that it was not a labyrinth, but a self-entering path; for thought upon it after most minute and patient labour only returns into itself. The very bulk of Mr. Palmer's volumes; seeing so plainly, as we do, his narrow object, is but a specimen of the demand that the question has ever made. We say abruptly, It is no question. With anything like the preeiseness which our author would give it, there is no idea to answer to that after whieh it asks, viz. the true Church. If we ean prove this, it will spare us the detail of our author's, in that case, necessary errors.

The ehurch order of the apostles was a preceptive model, and we are bound as far as circumstances will permit, to copy it. But as an individual man may err from the precepts of God without totally losing His favour, or eeasing to be a Christian, so we should anticipate that a professed braneh of Christ's church, which is but an aggregate of individual men, might err without totally losing His favour or eeasing to be a church. If this be so, (and the book before us admits it, when it makes unity of faith a mark as well as unity of worship, and then confesses that a true church has sinned in both*)—then we see not but there must be endless degrees of purity in churches, just as there are in individual Christians, and endless degrees of favour with God, and all measures of regard due to them from men. Possessing our mind with this, the question, What is a true church? strikes us awkwardly. In doetrine and order eombined—two of the things that make a church—there are such endless shades of difference in the thousand communions of the world, so many degrees of purity indis-

*Chap. iv. sec 3. chap. v. sec. 3.

tinguishably shaded into each other, from the highest orthodoxy down to the lowest heresy, that there seems to be nothing to fix one point in the scale, all above which you must embrace and all below which you must condemn. Truth, in such a case, seems to be a matter of gradation, so that a better use of that phrase true church, if used for what is visible, seems to be to apply it to that perfect model, never realized yet, in the eye of God, and to call all true in proportion as they approach it.

To give a direct answer to the question, what is a true house? would be a very foolish attempt; from a palace to a shed there are such endless grades. Shall the lack of a window or a door, or a wall, or a roof take away the name? Will not the meanest shelter claim it? Is he not the wisest man who dismisses the question in its absolute form—and with some perfect model in his eye, gives only a relative opinion. He may say what is not a true house: a fence is not, or the shelter of a tree. And so we may say, a band of Mussulmans is not a church; nor the disciples of damning heresy, nor a club of infidels. But any thing like one narrow line, in either case, separating the false from the true, can be nothing but a figment.

We know this question has been agitated in our own church. No matter; it is a question without a bottom. Our divines have wearied themselves to know whether the papacy is a true church; or the Nestorian or Armenian bodies. One would think the lack of great attributes to direct their search, and of great ends to be answered by it, would long since have started their misgivings.

If our own illustration be thrown back upon us, there are all degrees of obedience possible in a man, yet is it not right to ask, Is he a true Christian? We answer, That is *not* our illustration; we spoke only of believers. There are not, in the sense supposed, all degrees of possible obedience in any man; but a sudden change to totally different obedience when he becomes a Christian. There is a great line marked by a great change in this case, but none such in the other; and the objection happily introduces what shall close our argument:

If there be any great mark to distinguish between two different measures of obedience on the part of a professed church, then we freely grant the question is a valid one.

This mark may be either of two kinds. (1.) An outward exigency; or (2.) An inward peculiarity. We can

well conceive the question, What is a true house? to be a sensible one (1.) if a tax is to be laid on houses; or (2.) if there were some great attribute in a house fixed by its very building that would decide the name. But there is nothing like these to break the gradual chain of differences in the church.

1. No outward exigency; not on the part of God; for what need has He to draw a clear line, as he does between the righteous and the wicked at the last day, and set outward churches, some on his right hand and the rest on his left? Not the question of salvation or no salvation; pardon possible and frequent in some, but no pardon in any other; for we have seen that not to be the case. Nor the question of high favour, or little favour; God doing much for some churches, then a long interval between, and scarcely anything for all the rest; Where is the proof of that? The whole spirit of the Bible (and all reason, till evidence of something else is given) warrants us to believe that just as God's favour toward a single church grows and wanes in all degrees as the tide of her errors ebbs and flows, so it stands in all degrees toward different churches, in proportion to their purity. Draw the line where He might, the lowest above and the highest below would be too near for any sole, grand, and decisive test.

Nor on the part of man.

Yes, many will say; here your position fails. Does not that one thing—Fellowship—constitute such an exigency? A call arises for some act of communion with a neighbouring body. Does not that at once create a question, what is a true church? It is the very exigency—and a practical one it will be said, that has put the question in the mouths of our divines.

In reply suffer us to ask, What is communion? Interchange of thought and feeling between souls that see marks of piety in each other, is not meant; that may be indulged at will across any church lines.

What is communion? Visibly carried on, it may be summed up in three acts. Interchange of membership, accrediting of baptisms, interchange of ministers. Now we ask no better evidence that the exigency of this communion does not ask a precise unchurching line, than the fact that most generally these acts if wisely deliberated, cannot go together. In Mr. Palmer's church they may in consequence of his error, and in the Romish church they

do, but the evidence here is vitiated by its dependance on the very doctrine in debate. Among all genuine protestants these acts are separated. We admit baptisms where we would not members, and members where we would not ministers. Nay, toward the same church often we judge differently of the same act. We take a church certificate from one man where we would examine another; though both out of one communion. From the misgiving of parents we baptize in one case and let a baptism of kindred purity stand good in another; labouring only to bring out the meaning of the ordinance—"a seal of the righteousness which is by faith."

So of ministers; from the same bench we would open our pulpits eagerly to one, and silence, if we could, his neighbour. To that popish priest who some months ago denounced his bishop for duping the peasantry of Prussia, with "the coat in which our Lord was crucified," would he but carry the same spirit into the sacred desk, we would far rather trust our people than to many a protestant divine. The fact is, we judge by cases, not by churches. The church is but one *datum* in the judgment. In every communion certain men stand out from the rest, and demand a treatment of their own. Who would shut his pulpit against a cowl or cassock, if a spirit like Thomas a Kempis lived and breathed beneath them? Who would repel for the lack of sealing ordinances, if one with the light and the soul of John Joseph Gurney should visit him? We need no line; nor can have any; for, as might have been foreseen from the fact that error like the frogs of Egypt respects neither gate nor wall, but climbs everywhere, and that in all degrees, different countries and different schools, and different men, and different acts of the same church call for endlessly different decisions.

2. If any man still demurs, let him go to the root of the matter and tell us what he means by a true church, showing some inward peculiarity that shall throw meaning into the question. Not a true church, as one sound and perfect; for no man knows any such but his own small communion; and some have discernment enough to see error even there. At least such is not Mr. Palmer's true church.*

Not that church out of which none are saved; for it has been shown that there is no such, except that which is invisible.

* Chap. v. secs. 3, and 4.

Not the church in which some are saved. This turns the idea in our minds; but is the same at bottom as the last. By this rule we must make the church embrace every body of men banded for religious worship; for even in the modern fanatical societies of Irvingites, or Shakers, or Mormons, there may be some deluded Christians.

Not the church in which there is truth enough to save; for no mortal can tell what that church is. Creeds that seem to us damning, and which are, if intelligently followed out, yet are robbed of their mischief often by the ignorance of those who live under them. They profess one creed with their lips, but feel a better in their hearts. We hold Arminianism to be damning error, if a mind will force it on to all it means, and hold fast to each link in the chain that logically connects with it. We are sure its salient points from the line of orthodoxy are all toward Atheism; and yet thousands of pious men, not knowing what spirit they are of, are proud to call themselves Arminians.

Conviction like this makes us wary in condemning any sect, lest, though it have no truth in its books, it may have much in the hearts of its people. Not that we would tie a weight about the neck of the church by fellowship with darkest heresies; for "What communion hath light with darkness? and what concord hath Christ with Belial; or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel?" but that after many had been cut off as past all question no churches, many would remain, so doubtful and mongrel in their character, as that we should not dare to draw the line either above or below them.

As to Mr. Palmer's marks, if they be thrown up to us as meeting our call for some definite idea of the only true church, we dismiss the four on the sanction of a single maxim: Marks make no idea definite, if they are not definite themselves. What are his marks? He takes a sentence of the Constantinopolitan creed for them: "The One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church."

1. The Church is One. Perfectly one? If so we grant this mark might answer. But instead of that he scarcely utters the word, Unity, before he enters upon the studied argument of pages to show how far unity of worship may be interrupted, and unity of faith departed from, and yet the integrity of the test remain. Is this definite? any more so than a point chosen at random in any sliding scale?

2. The Church is Holy. Perfectly holy? If so, then

no matter for the last; this mark is as good as hundreds. But what precision does our author leave it; when he takes care to say how low sanctity may sink, how many sins and how many sinners may enter, and still the test not turn against him? Is this definite?

3. The Church is Catholic. How? Does it embrace all persons? No. Dissent from it is the burden of our author's complaint. Has it entered all countries? No. There is soil where the foot of a minister never trod; Catholicity, then, absurdly as it may sound, is a mere matter of degree. Will it do as a test? The fact is, any good attribute would stand as well. No wonder there has been room for any churchman to choose his own list of marks, for Charity, or Growth, or a Missionary Spirit, no more susceptible of indefinite degrees, would be no less of marking differences. But then,

4. The Church is Apostolical. Perfectly so? Yes, we are told, it traces unbroken descent from the Apostles. Then, here, at last, is a mark—a mark, having all that available precision which what it has to do demands; for we have said that if any attribute of a church is perfect, there is something definite to fence it off from every other. A train of ordinations, without a flaw, back to the Apostles, with no act forgotten that makes them valid, could it be proved of one set of churches and disproved of the rest, might array the whole of Christendom on the two sides of a line drawn with mathematical distinctness. If the mind did not grow callous under the vagaries of error, it would be hard to treat the flattering success of this mark more respectfully than to laugh at it. The others of the four—those cardinal attributes of the Church of God, her Union in doctrine and practice, her Holiness, her Extension among men, have failed. This poor, carnal, by contrast trifling thing, Succession, saves, at the last moment, the integrity of the plan, and is available at once to fix the grand landmarks of Christ's kingdom in the world. No wonder a sense of so good a service should not be wholly wanting; and that the phrase, Apostolical Succession, should have so far displaced all the other marks of the church in the mouths and in the writings of the whole school.

The rite of ordination is a precautionary act to keep the ministry from being intruded on by unworthy men; and as such it was the subject of a command on the part of God, binding it as a duty upon the church in all ages. It will be

curious to see how it has escaped from the list of simple duties, and been erected into a test.

We were broken off from treating it as we had done the other three, by meeting the assertion not made with them, that it had been perfectly fulfilled; that is, that for near twenty centuries, certain churches, though deficient in all other duties, were absolutely perfect in this, never missing an act in a thousand ordinations. Now, why this assertion? Simply because falsehood may be better concealed than in the other cases. Unity, and sanctity, and catholicity, are things of the present—their imperfection palpable before our eyes. Apostolicity has to do with the past, resting on that most debatable of all things, human testimony; so that the thousand flaws that we detect in it have time and room to mystify themselves by argument, Those are broad and noble qualities: this is a narrow row of facts. Those, therefore, are measured by conscience and common sense: this by scraps of history, which a mere No, from either party, may challenge or contradict.

Happily, however, the very thing that mystifies the fact, nullifies the mark. A mark is of value only as it can be known. Now if unbroken succession were a reality in any church, how possibly could we know it? Macauley has devoted one of his strong passages* to show the absurdity of the whole idea from the immense combination of right acts, in this sinning, careless world, necessary to realise it. Perhaps, however, one sentence should be added to his reasoning. His opponents have no doubt replied, No matter if the combination must mount up to myriads of acts, God, who promises to be with his church, might secure them all. And no doubt he might; but then the mark, not the fact, is the thing in requisition. Of what use to secure the fact, if a second miracle must be wrought to make it known? What evidence have we that God has secured the line? And, if he has, then still the mark? What evidence have we that he has done so in this church or the other, especially as there is no church on earth against which special charges at least are not brought from history, that it has many times broken its succession?

We go to the root of the matter, however, when we ask, What proof have we that God intended any such test, or that he to whom alone we are responsible, calls that no

* Edinb. Review, No. cxxxix. (Apr. 1839,) page (Lewer's Am. Ed.) 139.

church, that has lost one link in its chain of orders? Let Mr. Palmer show us anything but precept in the premises. The Holy Spirit says, "Let there be no divisions among you;"* yet our author labours to show to what degree we may be divided and still not be cast off. We are bid "All to speak the same things;"* yet speaking different things, as he confesses, does not always unchurch us. "A bishop must be blameless;"† "The temple of God is holy;"‡ yet lack of holiness does not, we are rightly told, of necessity, invalidate either the office or the church. The church must be catholic, "going into all the world and preaching the gospel to every creature;"§ she is not catholic, and yet she is a church. Precisely so the church must be apostolical: "The things that thou has heard of me, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also."‖ It is her duty to allow no unnecessary break in her succession, and if she perceive any, to go back, if she can, and restore continuity and order. Yet (why not precisely as in the other three cases?) she may fail in this to some extent and still not cease to be a church.

If it be said No, because right orders constitute a church—"No man taketh this honour unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron;"¶ we deny the fact, and claim the quotation. Passing by the principle, that the text is nothing more than strong precept, with no ban against the church that should sin by limited departures from it, there is a phrase in it we wish to use—"called of God." Imposition of hands by other clergy makes but a small part of the "call of God;" and that he will pass over deep corruptions of creed, and strange follies of conduct, and excommunicate for lack of this, we dare not believe.

Let us instance a case. Here is a sect noted for the marks it bears of pecular piety, seeming to claim the witness of that voice from heaven—"What God hath cleansed, that call not thou common."** The worth of its ministry has been sealed by unnumbered conversions, seeming to bring upon its enemies the rebuke drawn down by those words of John—"Master, we saw one casting out devils in thy name, and we forbade him, because he followeth not us."†† Its clergy accompany this success with the profession of an inward call from God. They have that part of an outward

* 1 Cor. i. 10. † 1 Tim. iii. 2. ‡ 1 Cor. iii. 17. § Mark xvi. 15.
‖ 2 Tim. ii. 2. ¶ Heb. v. 4. ** Acts x. 15. †† Mark ix. 38.

call that Matthias had in election by the rest of their communion; also a belief that they have a regular call by rightful ordination, and transmitted, in an order they believe scriptural, from hand to hand. The sect lives and grows rich in piety and diligent in doing good. Now though we knew a wide chasm in its line, we dare not refuse that sect the right-hand of fellowship; and we charge it upon the consciences of Mr. Palmer and his brethren, as they would themselves shun the brand of peace-breakers and schismatics, to show us one word of God in the Bible, as certainly there is none in their books upon our table, that casts out such a society as no church of Jesus Christ.

Having shown that the whole ground over which our author seeks a footing for his argument is hollow, and that there is really no such chance for unchurching as he imagines, we should like to turn the tables, and show, that, if there were such a chance, and it were regulated at all by the question of most wrong or right, his own church would be one of the first to fall by it. Nor would we ask any better marks on which to base the judgment than these four of his, with which the reader is by this time quite familiar. It has been from no doubt of their value, when used relatively, and no desire to shrink from them, when used upon ourselves, but only from logical necessity, that we have proved that the whole principle of Mr. Palmer's use of them is wrong. We are half sorry that our work is over; for though we stand honestly to our position, and dare not unchurch this English prelacy, though it unchurches us, still we should like to show again, as we have often done, how low she stands on the list of churches; for that by all her own marks, in unity, she is more schismatic; in sanctity, more stained; in catholicity, more narrow; in apostolicity, more changed, than the mass of those churches, whom, by the mouths of such men as this, she excommunicates.

ART. III.—*Histoire de la Chute des Jésuites, Au* xviii. *Siecle* (1750–1782.) Par le Cte Alexis De Saint Priest, Pair De France. Paris, 1844.

JESUITISM forms the theme of one of the most remarkable chapters of modern history. Nearly contemporaneous with

the Reformation in its birth, it seemed to be on the point of expiring, just at that period when the Reformed churches were at the lowest stage of spiritual depression, and when continental Europe was on the eve of a revolution equalled only by that which issued in the deliverance of Germany and Britain from the yoke of Rome. In the midst of political convulsions, a new life begins to manifest itself in the Protestant church; the heart of Christendom begins anew to feel for the wants and the woes of the heathen world; the predicted overthrow of anti-Christ, and the promised union of Christ's true people, appear quite at hand; just at this moment the suppressed order of Ignatius is recalled into existence; and with what results, may be seen in the renewed energy with which Rome is labouring to regain her ancient dominion, and her sanguine hopes of speedy success.

The whole history of the order of Jesuits deserves the careful study of all who would become thoroughly acquainted with the character of the mightiest and most powerful enemy of civil and religious liberty in the present day. The work before us is occupied with a short but remarkable chapter of Jesuit history; and we propose, in this article, to give the substance of the information which it contains.

It is observed by the author, in the outset, that all vanquished parties ought to look au dehors for the causes of their overthrow, though in fact, they exist within themselves. Thus the eulogists of this society, in treating of this part of its history, are accustomed to represent it as overwhelmed by a complicated and powerful conspiracy, in which kings, statesmen and philosophers, all animated by the spirit of infidelity, were combined. Such, however, was not the fact; there is not the shadow of evidence that the ruin of the Jesuits was the result of a premeditated plan; that which destroyed them, was neither state policy, nor infidel philosophy; the signal of their fall went forth neither from Versailles, nor from Ferney. The honour or the blame of having accomplished this work, belongs neither to the statesmen nor to the writers of France; her so called philosophers had almost nothing to do with it. The men who were the first to attack this order,—so far from being infected with the infidel spirit of that age,—were, as we shall soon see, devout and devoted papists. This society, so long endowed with a might and mastery which almost defied resistance; this body, so vast, so redoubtable to all others, whose arms reached to the most distant regions of the

earth, this universal colony of Rome received its first wound, not from one of the great powers, but from the feeblest and most isolated of the monarchies of Europe.

It was in Portugal,—"most faithful Portugal,"—that the first stroke was received. This fact is very surprising, when we consider the overpowering influence which the Jesuits exercised for so many years in that thoroughly popish country, alike over the monarch, the church, and the people, the throne and the altar; and especially, when we remember the really great services which the order had rendered to the monarchy in India and China, and the eclat which it had thrown around the Portuguese name.

The person by whom this first blow to the power of the Jesuits was given, was Sebastien Carvalho, Marquis de Pombal, respecting whom our author observes, that though he was not a great man, there never was a greater minister in so small a kingdom. Descended from an humble family, he early became, from circumstances which we have not room to state, the declared and bitter enemy of the high aristocracy of Portugal, then deemed the proudest and most exclusive of Europe; by incessant intermarriage, they had, in fact, come to be very much like one family. In the earlier part of his political career, Pombal had been sent ambassador to London, and it is more than probable, that the views which he subsequently attempted to carry out in his own country, were formed during his residence in Britain. During the reign of Joseph II., he rose to absolute power; and beside certain social reforms, the two grand objects of his administration appear to have been the humiliation of the high nobility, and the overthrow of the Jesuits. His energy and courage were quite adequate to the task to which he set himself. In the case of the nobility, his policy originated in part, at least, in personal pique; but he does not appear to have had any such ground of opposition to the Jesuits; there is not the slightest evidence that they had ever crossed his path; on the contrary, up to the very moment of the publication of the decree which banished them from the kingdom, they regarded him as one of their firmest friends. Unspeakable, therefore, was their astonishment, as well as of all Portugal, when the Jesuit confessors of the royal family were dismissed from the palace, and their dismissal was instantly followed up by a manifesto of the minister, in which terrible charges were brought against the whole order in Portugal, the chief of which was an attempted assassina-

tion of the king. The Jesuits assert that Pombal was prompted to act as he did, by the infidel philosophers of France; but the falsehood of this assertion is proved by the fact, that hostile as he showed himself to them, he was so great an admirer of the Inquisition, that he not only transferred to that body the whole power previously wielded by the Jesuits, but he even went so far as to urge, with great earnestness, its introduction into France, as one of the greatest of national privileges. "I want," said he, to the French chargè, "to reconcile your country to the Inquisition, and to make the whole world see the excellence of this tribunal." As to the attempt upon the life of the king, the Jesuits not only asserted their own innocence of it, they even denied that any such attempt had been made, and affirmed that the whole affair was a mere sham, got up by the minister, to secure his own influence over the royal mind, and to cover the society with odium. That the king was attacked, our author deems to be a fact beyond all dispute; and he intimates, plainly enough, his belief that the Jesuits had a hand in the plot. In ordinary cases, we should demand strong proof before we could even suspect a society of such a crime; but it is no violation of charity, to suspect one avowedly acting on the abominable principle, that the end justifies the means, and which, in former years, had dared to plant its dagger in the heart of an obnoxious monarch. History attests that king killing is an accomplishment in which the Jesuits "excelled beyond many their equals."

The fall of the order in Portugal caused a profound sensation in France, and at once awakened hopes of freedom in the minds of those who had long groaned under the iron rule of Jesuitism. All were amazed at the quietness with which the reverend fathers submitted to the decree which sent them into exile; for up to this time their reputation for tact and talent had been their chief protection in France; but now when they were seen to yield, without so much as a single effort at resistance, the number and the activity of their enemies were greatly increased by the prospect of success. It was not long before an occasion was given to begin the attack. Madame de Pompadour, whose relations to Louis XV. need not be particularly described, having negotiated unsuccessfully with the Jesuits to prevent her separation from the king, resolved upon their destruction. From a letter of Mad. de P., to her agent at Rome, it appears that Father Perusseau the confessor of the king,

had been urged to invent some method by which his majesty might retain Mad. de P. near his person without giving occasion for scandal; with this request the father declined to comply; he even refused to admit Louis to the sacraments, unless the scandalous liaison were dissolved.

This court intrigue was soon after followed by the more notorious affair of the Father, Lavalette, a bold commercial speculator, who had long been at the head of a great establishment of the society at Martinique. He became involved in difficulties, chiefly, it is supposed, through the jealousy of his brethren; his bills were allowed to be protested; he was charged with dishonesty; and the society, instead of coming to his help, thought to save itself by abandoning Lavalette and the establishment at Martinique. This very step proved their ruin. The creditors of Lavalette insisted that the order was responsible for his debts; this demand was resisted; the process came before the parliament of Paris; the Jesuits lost their cause, were compelled to pay upwards of a million, and at the same time the entire property of the order in France was sequestrated to secure the payment of the money. Vast, however, as was their pecuniary loss, it was trifling in comparison with the moral injury to their reputation. In the course of the trial they were compelled to produce the rules of the order, those Secreta Monita, which had been so studiously kept from all but the initiated; nay, whose existence had been repeatedly and most solemnly denied. We may well suppose that every art, which Jesuit cunning could devise, would be used to prevent so terrible a catastrophe; all their efforts were vain; they had themselves created the necessity for the production of their rules; produced they must be; they were produced, and published.

No words can adequately express the deep sensation which the publication of these rules caused throughout France. In a moment all minor questions and circumstances disappeared; mistresses, bankers, Pompadour, Lavalette were forgotten; the order itself, with its rules of matchless wickedness, became the one absorbing theme of discussion. The office of the Blancs Manteaux, from which the publication was issued, was besieged by an immense crowd of persons of both sexes, and all ranks, eager to possess copies of those long hidden rules. So strongly were the popular feelings excited, that the philosophers, who though they hated the Jesuits, hated the Jansenists still more bit-

terly, and were now rather disposed to sympathise with the self-convicted order, were compelled to keep their sympathy to themselves.* The national sentiment demanded the instant extinction of the order in France; but this demand was resisted by the king, who, though he loved his mistress Pompadour more than Father Perusseau's man, dared not lift his hand against the society to which the fathers belonged. The sad fate of Henry IV. was ever before his eyes, and he therefore kept a Jesuit confessor near his person, as much for the sake of physical security, as the spiritual benefit which his presence afforded. Long did Pompadour and Choiseul labour with Louis, but the prejudices of his education, and his fears for his life, were for a long time too much for them; they would probably have never been able to overcome his reluctance, if they had not managed to threaten him with what he feared even more than the Jesuits—the parliaments. The Jesuits must be banished or the parliaments must assemble. Louis yielded so far as to agree to ask of the pope an immediate reformation of the order. When the Jesuits learned that such a demand had been made, their haughty answer—"sint ut sunt, aut non sint"—shows that they had no fears of any such result. How this proposition was received by the Pope we have no means of ascertaining; at all events, the means were found for overcoming Louis's reluctance, and in 1764 the order was banished from France.

Spain was the next to move. The causes of the banishment of the Jesuits from this priest-ridden land are not very fully known; one thing is very certain that no slight cause could then have produced so grave a result. Some historians connect them with a popular outbreak at Madrid, called the "emeute des chapeaux." Charles III. in the ardour of a reformation, which extended to little things as well as great, had forbidden the use of a particular kind of chapeau then very fashionable at the capital. The populace keenly resisted the execution of the order, and in the fury of the moment attacked one of the ministers in his own house, tore down his mansion, and would have taken the life of its owner had he not saved it by a rapid flight. In vain did the Walloon guards attack the furious multitude; Charles himself addressed them, from a balcony of the palace, but to no purpose, neither an armed force, nor the royal pre-

* Voltaire thus writes to La Chalotais, "Que me servirait d' etre delivré des renards si on me livrait aux loups?"

sence, could appease the tumult; the Jesuits alone were able to do what neither the military nor the monarch could accomplish, and the ease with which they effected it, created violent suspicions that they who so speedily calmed the tempest, had a chief hand in raising it. So at least the king believed. This outbreak occurred on the 27th of March, 1766, and for a while excited a good deal of interest, even beyond the confines of Spain. Louis, of France, was deeply affected by it, and seems to have regarded it as the harbinger of coming revolution; yet it was gradually forgotten, so that no one gave a thought either to its causes or its consequences. But there was one on whose mind it had made an impression not so easily effaced,—the monarch who had attempted in vain to pacify his own subjects, in his own capital. At a moment, when neither Spain nor Europe dreamed of such a thing, a royal ordinance appeared by which the society of Jesus was abolished in the Peninsula, and its members were banished from the whole Spanish monarchy. Great was the astonishment of Europe, as the news of this decree travelled from one part of the continent to the other; no note of preparation had been heard, no threats had been uttered; on the contrary the society had been treated with special respect. Proscribed by Portugal, banished from France, the credulous Jesuits counted with absolute confidence on the friendship of his catholic majesty—the monarch of the land where their founder was born; they leaned with perfect security on his arm up to the very moment when it was raised to crush them.

Whence then the change? Nothing in the character of Charles could give them the least clue to the mystery; for he was a most devout papist, and, unlike Louis and Joseph, he was not ruled by his ministers. At first they suspected the Dominicans, to which order the royal confessor belonged; then they imagined that Choiseul had a hand in it. But Charles himself declared upon his honour, that he never had the least personal animosity against the Jesuits, though he had long known the fact of their incessantly defaming his government, his character, and his faith; that he had always ascribed their conduct to prejudice or ignorance, until the outbreak of 1766 had fairly opened his eyes. He affirmed that he had incontestable proofs that the Jesuits were the authors of that revolt, and that they had designs upon his life. He repeated these declarations to an assembly of the chief nobles of his kingdom, and added, that the

only fault he had to charge himself with was, J'en ai trop appris.

The process against the Jesuits was a masterpiece of Spanish discretion; it was going forward during a whole year, yet it was kept profoundly secret until the actual publication of the decree. On the 2d of April, 1767, on the same day, and at the same hour, the governors-general in all parts of the then vast monarchy, in Spain, Asia, Africa, America, and all the alcaldes of towns, opened, each of them, a packet enclosed with a triple seal. Their tenor was uniform; these officers were charged under the severest penalties, to surround the houses of the Jesuits in their respective districts, with a body of the military, to banish them from their convents, and within twenty-four hours to convey them as prisoners to a designated seaport. They were instantly to embark, their papers having been secured and sealed, each one taking with him nothing besides his breviary, a purse, and his clothing. These orders of the court were rigidly executed, yet they do not appear to have occasioned the slightest popular commotion; even the many friends of the order among the Spanish nobles remained perfectly quiet, though they expected much from the firmness of the court of Rome.

And now comes a singular exhibition of the selfish, unfeeling spirit of Jesuitism. The general of the order at this time was Ricci; his policy was to let any number of the individual members of his society perish, in order, if possible to save the society itself; and as the reigning pope was very old, and completely under his influence, he of course, had every thing his own way. He accordingly gave a very cold reception to the Portuguese and French Jesuits, who, banished from their native land, naturally looked to Rome as a sure resting place. Ricci soon put an end to all such hopes. Charles had directed that his Spanish Jesuits should be conveyed to the ports of the Roman states, and had given the pope early notice of his intentions; but Ricci was resolved that they should not be permitted to land, and compelled the papal minister so to notify the Spanish government. Charles was not so easily to be diverted from his purpose. On the day fixed, nearly six thousand priests, of all ages and conditions, many of whom were persons of illustrious birth, and profound learning, were compelled to embark in vessels which were to convey them they knew not where. After a short voyage they reached Civita Vechia; but in-

stead of the kind reception on which they calculated, they encounter an absolute repulse. The Jesuits were furious, and accused Ricci of unheard of inhumanity. At first the Spanish captains resolved to land them at all hazards, but they eventually sailed for Genoa; here a fresh prohibition met them. They sailed for Corsica, but their trials were not yet at an end; Marbeuf, the commandant of the island, declared that they must not land, since he had no place in which to shelter them, and no means of subsistence; the French minister, however, at last gave orders for their admission, and thus, after wandering upon the sea for six months, without succour, without hope, worn down by fatigue, decimated by sickness, cruelly repulsed by their own general, they at length found a wretched asylum amid the barren rocks of Corsica.

M. Saint Priest quotes a despatch of Choiseul (11 May, 1767), to prove that he was the first to propose the abolition of the order; and that he did so from motives of compassion, in order that the exiles in Corsica and in other lands, might as simple subjects return to those homes from which as Jesuits they were excluded. He proposed the thing to Charles, but, strange, to say, it was coldly received; Charles was a thorough papist, and though he had expelled the Jesuits from his kingdom, he regarded the abolition of the order itself as a holocaust to the Voltairean philosophy which he abhorred. It was not long before this coldness was changed into burning zeal, and the occasion for the change was furnished by the pope himself, who attempted to chastise the duke of Parma for following the example of the great powers, counting probably on his insignificance as as a sovereign. He went too fast; his bull against the duke, at once aroused the two great branches of the Bourbon family. They demanded that the bull against their relative should be recalled, but the pope, old and feeble as he was, stubbornly refused to do so. The result was (on 10th Dec., 1768) an imperious demand by France, Spain, and Naples, for the total abolition of the order of Jesuits. It was a blow for which the pope was wholly unprepared; it overwhelmed him; a few days after, a fit of apoplexy put an end to his contests and his life.

He was hardly gone before the ambassadors of France and Spain, determined to make themselves masters of the conclave. But it was not to be supposed that the Jesuits would allow this, without a vigorous resistance, for with

them it was a question of life and death. Father Delci was early sent away with the chief treasures of the order, which were to be conveyed to England; Ricci remained upon the ground, and seemed endowed with almost miraculous activity; he and his brethren flew from one quarter of the city to another; their hands filled with costly presents, and they humbled themselves as they had never yet done before the princes and the ladies of Rome. Ricci's policy was to hurry on the election before the arrival of the French and Spanish cardinals, and at one time he had nearly gained his point. For a while the Jesuits counted upon the aid of the young emperor of Austria, but this hope was extinguished during a visit which Joseph made to Rome. On one occasion he went to see one of the most splendid houses of the society, attended by the general. The emperor, with seeming carelessness, asked him when he intended to quit his habit; Ricci turned very pale at this question, and replied that the times were indeed hard for his brethren, but that they put their trust in God and the Holy Fathers, whose infallibility would be forever compromised by consenting to their destruction. Joseph laughed, and fixing his eye upon a statue of Ignatius in solid silver, and glittering with jewels, observed that it must have cost an immense sum. "Sire," said the general, "this statue was made with the pennies of the society's friends." "Rather," replied the emperor, "with the profits of the Indies." With these words he departed, and with him all hope of Austrian interposition.

So completely had the Spanish court changed its views, that it even went the length of proposing to compel the new pope to promise before his election, the abolition of the society; but to this, Bernis, one of the French envoys, would not consent, saying that the cardinal who signed such a paper, would thereby disgrace his whole subsequent pontificate. Urged, however, by the Spaniards and his own colleague, he consented to think of it, and to take the advice of some learned casuist. He named Ganganelli.

The account given of the early life of Ganganelli, and of the intrigues of the conclave by which he was raised to the papal throne under the name of Clement XIV., is exceedingly interesting, but we have neither time nor room to enter into particulars. He has been charged with having given the Spaniards the written promise which they desired; this charge in the precise form in which it has been usually made, our author shows to be not correct; at the same time,

it is evident that he did give some kind of a pledge, from the fact that he was no sooner on the throne than the Spaniards asked him to perform his promises, while Clement, so far from denying the obligation, only asked for delay, until he had become somewhat used to the office to which he had been raised. Whatever may have been the nature of the engagements into which he had entered as Cardinal Ganganelli, it is quite clear from his whole subsequent conduct that he was not without hopes of being able to escape from them as Pope Clement XIV. All sorts of pretexts were used to gain a little delay; all sorts of propositions were made short of the immediate abolition of the society. One while he urged that the dignity of the sovereign pontiff forbade his being compelled into the measure; then he professed to be afraid of the resentment of Maria Theresa, and of the other Catholic princes; he even condescended to appeal to the heretical governments of Prussia and Russia. The Spanish king became at last so excessively impatient, that the pope fearful of schism, was forced to write him a letter, in which he gave a positive and irrevocable promise, and admitted that "the members of the society had merited their ruin by the turbulence of their temper and the audacity of their plots." It is this letter, not written until 1770, which historians have confounded with the earlier and less distinct engagement made by the pope before his election. Still Clement hesitated, and was only brought to act with decision by Charles's threat to publish the letter to the world; at last he ordered the brief to be brought to him, he carefully read it over, raised his eyes to heaven, took the pen and signed it, adding with a deep sigh—"There is the suppression. I do not repent of what I have done. I did not decide until I had weighed the matter well. I would do it again; but the suppression will be my death—*questa suppressione mi darà la morte.*"

On the 21st of July, 1773, the brief *Dominus ac Redemptor* appeared; and as soon as possible the Jesuit establishments were broken up, their schools disbanded, and their churches transferred to the Capuchins. When the pope found that the event produced no commotions, he seemed at once to have got rid of the load by which he had so long been oppressed. His health and spirits had never been better; and he began to indulge the hope of a peaceful pontificate. After eight months of perfect health, he was one day taken suddenly ill as he rose from the table,

and for six months he endured the greatest physical and mental agonies; poignards and poisons were ever before his mind; his food was prepared with his own hands; horrid dreams oppressed his sleep; he would rise at midnight, and prostrating himself before an image of the Madonna, with floods of tears would cry out, "mercy, mercy, *compulsus feci! compulsus feci!*" He died 22d September, 1774.

What was the cause of Clement's death? This is an historic problem, which this work goes far to solve. M. St. Priest without expressly charging the Jesuits with the crime, gives it as his decided opinion that foul means were used, an opinion founded upon the contemporary diary of Bernis, who among other things says: "The pope (Pius VI.) in certain moments of freedom revealed his real sentiments on this subject; never can I forget three or four effusions of the heart which escaped from him in my presence, and which, if I am any judge, made it very plain that he was well acquainted with the cause of the miserable end of his predecessor, and that he himself had no wish to run a similar risk." This testimony is decisive, and its truth is confirmed by the course of policy which Pius pursued towards the ex-Jesuits. We have very little doubt that Clement the XIV. fell a victim to Jesuitical revenge; at the first news of his decease all Rome cried out, "Clement has perished by the acqua tofana del Peruggia;" no one doubted that he died a violent death. Who, besides the Jesuits had any reason to perpetrate the crime? They threatened the life of the pope; a fanatical woman of Valentane, who pretended to be a prophetess, was induced by Ricci to go through the streets of Rome, sometime before the brief of suppression was signed, proclaiming the speedy vacancy of the holy see. Now he who to gain his own ends, could employ the services of such a prophetess, it is reasonable to suppose, would not hesitate to aid in the fulfilment of her prophecy.

The bull of suppression is very long, and we can afford to give it only a hasty glance. After relating the troubles which the church had suffered at the hands of the orders of religions, and particularly those excited by the society of Ignatius, the pope goes on to say—"We have seen with bitter grief that the remedies hitherto used have had no effect to dissipate the accusations and complaints against this society;" and then having described the very great pains taken to come to a right decision, "aided by the presence

and inspiration of the Holy Spirit, we declare the constitution of the society forever annulled." "After the publication of this brief, we forbid any and every attempt to suspend its execution, under pain of the greater excommunication."

We have not room to enter with any minuteness into the subsequent history of the order which, though suppressed by papal authority, in reality continued to exist. Of all parties in the Romish church, the Jesuits professed to hold the highest views of the papal authority; they were now placed in circumstances which tested the sincerity of these views. How then did they act?—like those who believed that the voice which annihilated their order, was the voice of God, uttered by his infallible vicar? By no means. In those kingdoms in which there was no possible hope of successful resistance, the papal mandate was faithfully obeyed; but the Jesuits who resided within the heretical kingdoms of Prussia and Russia, finding that the king and the emperor would stand by them, treated the papal brief as so much waste paper, and the greater excommunication as very harmless thunder. The Bishop of Breslau very honestly attempted to put a stop to this rebellion, but the only result of his effort was the sequestration of his own bishoprick, by Frederick, who announced that he had taken the order under his royal protection. When the Spanish monarch found out how matters stood with the Jesuits of Silesia, whose numbers were daily increasing, he was exceedingly indignant, and charged Pius VI. with double dealing, a charge which it now appears was true enough; not, however, from any love which that pope had for the Jesuits, but from the fear of meeting the same fate with his predecessors, —a fear, which as we have seen, he repeatedly expressed to the French cardinal, Bernis.

It is a fact deserving the most serious consideration of the friends of civil and religious liberty, that this same order, whose members were once driven out of nearly all the popish kingdoms of Europe, whose perpetual suppression was unanimously demanded by "most faithful" Portugal, "most catholic" Spain, and "most Christian" France, is at this moment the dominant order in the church of Rome. No one, now-a-days, ever hears of Franciscans, or Dominicans, while the Jesuit is every where, and is every where at work, amid the cloisters and scholars of Oxford, in the newly christianized islands of the Southern Ocean, in the fastnesses of the Nestorian mountains, among the turbulent

millions of Ireland, and the education boards of New York and Philadelphia. The voice of history declares, in emphatic terms, that the Jesuitism of a former age was quite capable of such manifold and wide extended operations; of working under, and using all kinds of governments, the freest and the most despotic, for the attainment of its one grand end—the subjugation of the world to the triple crown. Jesuitism is now just what it ever was; the constitution of the order is unchanged; to reform it, is to destroy it; as M. St. Priest well remarks, "it is this very impossibility of reformation or of change, which has repeatedly brought the society into the agonies of death, and yet has saved it from absolute dissolution." Rome cannot afford to do without it; the subjection of the world to Rome is the object for which it lives; and Jesuit morality, now as of old, teaches, that the end justifies the means.

Art. IV.—*Pensées, Fragments, et Lettres de Blaise Pascal, publiés pour la première fois conformément aux manuscrits originaux en grand partie inédits*, par M. Prosper Faugère. Paris, 1844. 2 vols. 8vo.

It has long been known that the printed text of Pascal's thoughts was not in exact conformity to the author's manuscripts; but the extent of the discrepance was first investigated and made public, by Victor Cousin, two years ago, in a report to the French Academy, on the necessity of a new edition. The result of this inquiry was to throw discredit even on those passages which had not been tampered with, and partially to remove from the list of French classics, one described by the new editor, and commonly regarded, as the first in date as well as genius. In relation even to the text of such a writer and of such a book, a little historical detail will not be unacceptable to many of our readers.

Among the papers left by Pascal at his death, were fragments and materials of a great work in defence of Christianity, a number of letters, essays, and detached thoughts, upon various subjects. The vivid recollection of the Provincial Letters, and the continued ascendency of the Jesuits at court, seemed to render extreme caution necessary in the publication of any thing under the name of Pascal. His

friends, accordingly, including Arnauld, Nicole, and the Duke de Roannez, suppressed or modified whatever they supposed would prove offensive, or incur the opprobium of heresy, or even of an orthodoxy too relaxed. These expurgations by the editors were carried still further by the ecclesiastical censors, to whom the manuscript was submitted, including three bishops, an arch-deacon, and thirteen doctors of the Sorbonne. A letter is given in the work before us, from one of these bishops, thanking the editor for having made the changes which his reverence had suggested; and the publisher, Desprez, expressly declares, in a letter still extant, that every change proposed by the censors, after repeated perusals for six months, had been actually made without a single exception. To these theological and prudential changes must be added others, which the author's friends and editors considered necessary in his style, a style which, as M. Faugère somewhat boldly says, his contemporaries were not able even to appreciate, much less to mend. The liberties thus strangely taken with the literary relics of so great a mind, extended not only to the manuscript copy, but to the printed proof-sheets, as appears from a letter of Arnauld, given in the work before us. It is worthy of record that, while Arnauld, Nicole, de Roannez, de Brienne, and la Chaise, were unanimously of opinion that the thoughts thus corrected were better than before, although really the same, the alterations were opposed, and adherence to the text insisted on, by Pascal's sister, Madame Perier. This judgment, although perhaps dictated by affection for the memory of Pascal, coincides remarkably with what is now the general opinion in such cases, as to the expediency of giving the ipsissima verba of the writer, however incomplete or incorrect they may appear. Madame Perier proposed to state, as any critical editor would now do as a matter of course, that the thoughts were found hastily and badly written upon scraps of paper, which the author had never even put in order, and which were now submitted to the public just as they were found. The superiority of this lady, as an editor of her brother's writings, to his most distinguished literary friends, has less the appearance of an accidental circumstance, than of a share in his peculiar elevation above the prejudices of his age and country.

The same authority, by which Madame Perier's plea for her brother's very words was rejected, excluded her own

memoir of his life from the original edition of the Pensées, which appeared in three distinct impressions, early in the year 1670. After what has been said, it will scarcely be believed, that the preface to this edition, written by Stephen Perier, Pascal's elder nephew, declares that the Thoughts, although selected from a greater number, had been given without addition or alteration (sans y rien ajouter ni changer); in opposition to which strange assertion, the present editor declares, as the result of the modern collation, that the editors not only broke up single fragments into many, and united many into one, but modified the style in numberless ways (de mille façons), constantly introducing expressions and even entire sentences, and substituting circumlocution and common place for the originality of genius, so that neither in this first edition nor in any which ensued, can twenty lines be found together, without an *alteration*, great or small, exclusive of omissions and suppressions, which are endless. This state of the case is certainly well suited not only to discredit all the previous editions, but to excite a very lively interest in that which now presents itself, as an exact exhibition of the author's manuscripts, In nothing has the general taste and judgment of the literary world experienced a greater revolution, than in the disposition to prefer even the carelessness and weaknesses of genius to the studied uniformity of editors and pedagogues. Where the substance only is of value, or where nothing more is promised, to insist upon the adherence to the autograph may be absurd enough; but where the very mode of thought and of expression becomes interesting from association with a great name, we believe the reading world would rather see the author violate the rules of grammar than the editor make free with the integrity of the text. The change of sentiment on this point, which we have asserted, is apparent from the numerous editions of familiar works, without the mutilations which disfigured them, as in the case of Clarendon's history, and from the prodigious care bestowed upon the text of new collections, as in De Wette's excellent edition of Luther's letters.

The fourth edition, that of 1678, was licensed as containing a life of Pascal and many additional thoughts. But the life was eventually again excluded, in order to avoid the necessity ef stating Pascal's true relation to the Jansenists, by publishing his death-bed retractation, as required by the archbishop of Paris, or the retractation of that retractation by

the confessor who at first attested it. The life, which was the work of Madame Perier, did not appear till 1687. The new thoughts given in the fourth edition are said to have been few and unimportant, but still more freely handled by the editors than those which were originally published. Some additional remains of Pascal were published by Desmolets in 1728, and a new edition of his posthumous works by Condorcet in 1776, a little more than a century after the date of their original appearance. M. Faugère draws a striking contrast between the spirit of the two editions, that of the Jansenists and that of the philosophers, the one excluding what might seem too lax for Rome, the other what might seem too strict for Ferney, the one rejecting gospel truths as heresy, the other devout sentiments as superstition. To use our author's lively image, Condorcet made a new Pascal (refit un Pascal) for the use of his own age. For example, while he added some new fragments, chiefly mathematical, he left out the sublime comparison between intellectual and spiritual greatness. With all these characteristic differences of the two editions, there appears to have been none as to the treatment of the text; for besides the additions which have been already mentioned, Condorcet curtailed some of the passages added by himself, and omitted a full account of the manuscripts from which he had derived them. He appears to have consulted the autograph of the Pensées, but made no alteration in the previous text. This edition was reprinted two years later with the addition of notes by Voltaire, exhibiting none of his characteristic qualities except levity and malice. The first collection of the works of Pascal was published by the Abbé Bossut in 1779, and under a false name and imprint, by the advice of Malesherbes, although the Jesuits had been banished from the kingdom seventeen years before. In the second volume of this edition, several new articles are given, some of which are not now to be found in the autograph or any known copies. Bossut, like Condorcet, not only left the text without correction, but made arbitrary changes in the new additions, besides arranging the whole according to an ill-judged division of his own into thoughts relating directly to religion and those relating to other subjects. This edition has furnished the *textus receptus* of Pascal's Thoughts for more than sixty years, having been copied, with a few additions, by Renouard in 1803, by Lefevre in 1819, and even by

André in 1783 and Frantin in 1835, although these last adopt a different arrangement.

The autograph of Pascal's Thoughts would appear from the description in the work before us, to be one of the most curious manuscripts in existence. It consists of innumerable scraps of paper, pasted or otherwise inserted into a large folio volume, with so little regard to order or attempt at arrangement, that two pieces which belong together, and even the two halves of one of the same piece, are sometimes found in different parts of the book. The incorporation of the fragments is of course the work of his surviving friends, and seems to have been primarily intended merely to preserve the precious fragments from dispersion or destruction. With very few exceptions, they are written in Pascal's own hand, which is described as bold but rapid and careless in the last degree. It is illustrative of his intellectual character and habits, that these fragments, now so highly valued and admired, were all jotted down under sudden impulse, as if to secure the passing thought, or to relieve the teeming mind of an oppressive accumulation, insomuch that the same scrap of paper frequently exhibits, without any other separation than a stroke of the pen, thoughts on the most remote and dissimilar subjects. It is also an interesting fact, that scarcely any of these papers exhibit marks of revision or correction, and that some of the most admired passages remain precisely as they were first hastily, and we had almost said convulsively, consigned to paper. The curious volume which we have described is happily preserved in the Royal Library at Paris, and is authenticated by an attestation in its first leaves, bearing date September 25, 1711, and signed by the Abbé Perier, one of Pascal's nephews, Of this autograph there are two copies extant, preserved in public libraries, written by the same hand, and with an attempt at arrangement. One of these is the copy from which the work was originally printed, and contains the notes and corrections made by Nicole, Arnauld, and Stephen Perier. These copies also contain some fragments, the originals of which are not found in the autograph, and are probably no longer in existence. The transcription of the whole is careless and confused, the fragments being continuously written without interval or marks of distinction. In addition to these manuscript copies of the Thoughts, M. Faugère has brought to light, by his own personal exertions, an extensive correspondence between Pascal and his friends, the

originals of which he supposes to have perished in the Revolution, a circumstance which gives peculiar value to the copies made with great care by Father Guerrier, a priest of the oratory and a grand nephew of Pascal himself. A part of this collection has for many years been lying in the Royal Library; but a much larger portion was obtained, within the last two years, by M. Faugère from an aged Jansenist lately deceased, who had previously refused to show them even to his nearest friends.

In determining the order to be given to the posthumous fragments of Pascal in this new edition, the editor resolved to disregard all previous arrangements, as being not only without authority, but suited rather to embarrass than to aid him. His own arrangement rests upon a general division of the matter into two great classes, one of which includes all the fragments belonging to the projected work upon the truth of Christianity. As a secondary principle of distribution for the other and more miscellaneous fragments, he has wisely chosen the order of time, not only as affording a simple, easy, and intelligible method, but as exhibiting the real progress of the author's views and of his very mind. With respect to the apologetic fragments, he has made a bold and arduous attempt to carry out the author's own design, so as to give these scattered materials, as nearly as possible, the place which they would have occupied in the complete structure. This attempt is really less hazardous than might be thought, because, although the form and the minute divisions of the work were never fixed by Pascal himself, or at most were variously fixed on various occasions, yet the general course of argument and grand divisions of the subject may be clearly ascertained from incidental statements of his own, as well as from recorded conversations with his friends. Setting out, therefore, from the author's own division into the evil and its remedy, man's natural condition and the change which Christianity produces, he has classified the fragments under heads or arguments, some of them in the very words of Pascal, others furnished by himself but carefully distinguished from the former. These interesting remains or rather materials of a work forever lost to the world, compose the second volume of the book before us, while the first is occupied by the more miscellaneous fragments.

Besides the textual restitutions and critical labours which give value to this new edition, there is another circumstance

which adds not a little to its interest. It is a curious fact that all the portraits of Pascal heretofore published in his works or separately, were derived from a painting executed after his decease by Quesnel the brother of the theologian. A few years since, on the death of a Mademoiselle Domat, the last descendant of Domat the civilian, an intimate friend of Pascal, and a partner in many of his studies and experiments, there was found, at the bottom of a chest, an old law-book, containing many marginal marks and references made with a red pencil, and on the inner cover of the volume, a fine head sketched with the same red pencil, and beneath it this inscription, *Portrait of M. Pascal by my father.* Of this sketch, made, as the editor supposes, when Pascal was about twenty-five years of age, the present owner has allowed a fac-simile to be prefixed to the second volume of the work before us.

The editor professes, no doubt truly, to have done his work without regard to the interest of any sect or any school, and with the simple purpose of exhibiting Pascal precisely as he is, and of furnishing the reader with a complete substitute for the author's manuscript, which, for this purpose, he has studied page by page, line by line, syllable by syllable, from the beginning to the end, and printed without even an omission, except in the case of a few words which he was finally unable to decipher, and which are indicated in their proper places. We have already spoken of this method of proceeding as the product of a great change in the views and habits of the literary world with respect to the text of celebrated writers. We have also spoken of the changes made by the first editors as arising partly from an error of literary judgment, and partly from a dread of ecclesiastical censure. This is no doubt true; but it would be unjust, as well to the first editors as to the last, not to repeat the candid and ingenious apology which he has made for them, even in the act of supplying their deficiencies, by reminding the reader that however highly Pascal's powers were rated by his contemporaries and surviving friends, he was not and could not be a classic and an ancient, to that generation as he is to this, so that a mode of treatment which is now due to his established fame might then have hurt or hindered its establishment. Another observation of the editor which merits repetition, is that this complete reproduction of the very words of Pascal, without any attempt at the correction which he

would himself have given them before publication, is best adapted, on the whole, and in the long run, to correct the extreme opinions and false estimates which have been founded upon partial exhibitions or detached parts of his writings. Among these he quotes his own forerunner in the critical investigation which produced the work before us, Victor Cousin, as having accused Pascal of 'a convulsive and ridiculous devotion,' an absurd effrontery which Faugère quietly but keenly castigates by simply saying, 'Pascal ridiculous! Why Voltaire was contented with describing him as a sublime madman.' His own opinion of his author seems to be that he united in himself the three extreme characters which he describes as necessary in a fragment hitherto unpublished, to wit, those of a skeptic, a mathematician, and a Christian, one who knows how to doubt, to prove, and to believe, each in its place and season.*

The specimens which we have already given of the editor's ingenuity, candour, taste and judgment, may excite a feeling of regret, that he has not undertaken a complete view of the life, character, and works of Pascal, instead of limiting himself to a few incidental observations, and apologizing even for these, as out of place in an introduction meant to be simply bibliographical. We have seen no certain indication, in the volumes, of his being either a protestant or catholic; but that he is a Christian in opinion, to say the least, seems clear from the whole tenor of his criticisms, and more especially from certain passages, as when he sums up the results of his recent and laborious study of Pascal, in the declaration, that whatever else he may have doubted, he certainly believed in the supernatural and divine pre-eminence of Christianity, and in Jesus Christ as a necessary mediator between God and man, the regenerator of the human soul, the Saviour of the human race, from the knowledge of whom, a perfect knowledge of God, of truth, of goodness, and of happiness, is wholly inseparable. With great simplicity and brevity, he vindicates Pascal against Cousin's charge of having first declared war gainst Cartesianism and all philosophy, by showing that, although not a follower of Descartes,† he did him justice,

* 'Il faut avoir ces trois qualités; pyrrhonien, géomètre, chrétien soumis; et elles s'accordent et se tempèrent en doutant où il faut, en assurant où il faut, en se soumettant où il faut.' Vol. ii. p. 347.

† One of the little fragments now first published (vol. i. p. 235) is to this effect: 'To write against those who make the sciences too profound. Des-

and by vindicating the superior wisdom of Pascal in resting the defence of Christianity, not on a system of metaphysics, but on proofs accessible to men in general; a course which few will ascribe to incapacity or ignorance, in one who might propably have equalled or surpassed the greatest of his predecessors in any field of speculation that he chose. There is equal truth and beauty in the brief description which our author gives of Pascal's eminent originality, as springing from the rare conjunction of a geometrical reason and a Christian faith. Hence, his position in the eyes of men, at once so exalted and so popular. Hence, too, the secret of his style, lofty without inflation, lively without violence, at once excited and subdued, majestic and modest, the most perfect even in an age of perfect writers. The secret of his eloquence was in the ascendency of such a heart over the movements of such a mind. The acknowledgments which M. Faugère makes of aid received from M. Villemain, whose official license to print from the manuscripts of the royal library precedes the introduction, derives a melancholy interest at present from the fearful calamity which has since overtaken that distinguished writer and minister of state, overthrowing, in a moment, and perhaps forever, one of the most gifted and accomplished minds of France or Europe.

We have already described, in general, the arrangement of the text in this new edition. We may add, that the fidelity of the impression is guaranteed, and comparison facilitated, by marginal references to the pages of the autograph preserved in the king's library, and of Didot's edition published in 1843. Where either reference is wanting, it is because the passage is not found in the autograph, or has never before appeared.

The collection opens with a number of letters, chiefly to his sisters, and Mademoiselle de Roannez, only a few passages of which had been previously published. They are among the least interesting remains of Pascal, being chiefly occupied with arguments in favour of a religious i. e. a monastic life. After several tracts and fragments previously known, we have a discourse on the passion of love, which had never appeared before, except in a periodical work, and is here printed from the manuscript in the Royal Library.

cartes.' But the editor observes that this sentence is found only in the transcript, not in the autograph. In another fragment, Pascal observes that the famous argument *cogito ergo sum* was used by Augustin twelve hundred years before Descartes.

The editor has no doubt of its genuineness, and its connection with an obscure period of Pascal's biography. Another fragment, never before included in his works, is one of some length on the art of persuasion.

We have then eighty pages of miscellaneous Thoughts (Pensées Diverses), printed exactly from the manuscripts, those which appear for the first time being distinguished by an asterisk. The exactness of the copy is carried so far as to retain defective and unfinished sentences. The new thoughts, as might be supposed, are generally not so striking as the old. We give a few which are recommended by their brevity.

"We know so little of ourselves, that many think they are going to die when they are well, and many think they are well when they are near to death, insensible of the approaching fever, or the abscess just about to form."

"Nature copies herself. A seed cast into good soil bears. A principle cast into a good mind bears."

"Nature acts progressively: *itus et reditus.* She goes and comes; then goes further, then not half so far, then more than ever, etc." To this last is added another sentence respecting the motion of the tides and of the sun, accompanied by a curious diagram, or zigzag stroke of the pen, copied in this edition from the manuscript.

"It is not the nature of man to be always going on. It has its goes and comes (ses allées et venues.) Fever has its chills and its heats. The cold shows the strength of the fever as well as the heat itself."

Sometimes the fragment seems to be a reflection upon something heard in conversation. E. g., "When men are accustomed to employ bad reasons to account for natural effects, they are unwilling to receive the true ones, even when they are discovered. *The example given was* the circulation of the blood, to explain why the vein swells below the bandage."

The rectitude of his judgment, leading him to shun extremes, is often shown by the very succession of these hasty thoughts. "Admiration spoils all, even from infancy. O how well that was said! O how well he did it! O how sensible he is! etc. The Port Royal children, to whom this stimulus of envy and glory is not applied, fall into nonchalance."

"Reasons which seen from far appear to bound our view, bound it no longer when we get there (*quand on y est arrivé*); we begin to see beyond."

"Nobody tires of daily food and sleep, because hunger and drowsiness are daily reproduced. Otherwise men would tire even of these, and so they will of spiritual things without a spiritual appetite."

Curious additions are occasionally made, to thoughts already known. E. g. "Chance gives ideas, chance takes them away: no art to preserve or to obtain them." To this singular reflexion is now added from the manuscript—"Thought escaped. I meant to write it down, and had to write instead that it was gone."

As a singular example of departure from the autograph in previous editions, accidental or intentional, we quote the sentence, "Atheism lacks strength of mind, but only to a certain degree." For *manque de force* the present editor restores *marque de force* (i. e. shows strength of mind), which he says is legibly written in the manuscript, and explains the aphorism as a reflection upon Charron's statement that the absolute denial of a God can find place only in a mind extremely strong and bold.

We wonder that the following epigrammatic point should have been so long overlooked. "There are but two sorts of men, the righteous who think themselves sinners, and sinners who think themselves righteous."

With this may be contrasted the simplicity of such hints as the following.

"It is not good to be too free. It is not good to have everything necessary."

"Memory is necessary to all the operations of the mind."

"There is a universal and essential difference between the acts of the will and all other acts."

"How far it is from knowing God to loving him!"

Some of these hitherto unpublished thoughts rise to the height of that peculiar eloquence by which the author is especially distinguished, reaching at once the understanding, the imagination, and the heart. "When I consider the short duration of my life, absorbed in the eternity that goes before and follows; the little space which I fill, and even that swallowed up in the infinite immensity of spaces which I know not and which know not me, I am frightened and astonished to find myself here rather than there; for there is no reason why here rather than there, why now rather than then. Who put me here? By whose order and direction has this place and this time been appointed to me?" On the margin of this striking fragment was found written

memoria hospitis unius diei praetereuntis. What is here expressed is elsewhere hinted, scarcely less impressively. Another scrap of paper has these words: "how many kingdoms know nothing of us!" And one of the manuscript copies has this sentence, not now in the autograph: "the eternal silence of these infinite spaces scares me."

It was this peculiar habit of jotting down the very 'seeds of thought,' that makes the manuscript remains of Pascal singularly interesting, even when they merely serve to tantalize instead of satisfying curiosity.

"First Degree: to be blamed in doing ill and praised in doing well. Second Degree: to be neither praised nor blamed." Upon this text a dozen men might make a dozen different discourses, without hitting upon that which was in the writer's mind.

"Every one is a whole to himself; for when he is dead, the whole is dead for him. Hence every one believes that he is all to all. We must not judge nature by ourselves but by itself.

The following new paragraphs might be detected anywhere as Pascal's. "Men in general have the power of not thinking about that which they do not choose to think about. Do not think of the passages concerning the Messiah, said the Jew to his son. And our people often do the same. It is thus that false religions are kept up, and even the true religion in the case of many. But there are some who have not the power thus to govern their own thoughts, and who think the more, the more they are forbidden. These soon get rid of false religions, and of the true likewise, if they do not meet with sound instruction."

"As we cannot know the whole of everything, it is best to know a little of every thing. It is a much finer thing to know something of every thing than the whole of one thing. If we could have both, so much the better; but if we must choose, we must choose the former; and the world knows it and does it, for the world is often a good judge."

This last might seem almost to be ironical. Not so the following:

"My fancy makes me dislike one who breathes while eating. Fancy has great weight. How will you profit by it? By yielding to its influence, because it is natural? No, but by resisting it."

Besides the miscellaneous Thoughts, the editor has brought together, with great judgment, those which relate

to style and eloquence, a subject upon which Pascal is universally allowed to speak with authority. By far the greater number of these Thoughts are already well known, particularly those in which he pleads against elaborate and artificial writing, and for that noble simplicity in which he so remarkably excelled. The soundness of his judgment and his superiority to petty rules are well exemplified by his remark, that where the repetition of the same word in a sentence, though inelegant, cannot be avoided without weakening or obscuring the sense, it is absurd to regard the repetition as a fault, in that case, even of expression. As samples of the new Thoughts on this subject, we shall merely quote two sentences. "Words differently arranged express a different idea, and ideas differently arranged produce a different effect." "I cannot judge my work while doing it. I must do as painters do, and stand far off, but not too far. How far then? Guess."

Perhaps the most interesting portion of the work is the collection of fragments on the Jesuit controversy, including a series of hints and notes for the Provincial Letters, now printed for the first time from the writer's autograph, with the same scrupulous adherence to the text as in the other parts of this edition. Besides the literary interest attaching to these hasty and imperfect memoranda, the editor refers to their historical importance, as refuting the assertion that Pascal, in writing his celebrated letters, was merely the instrument of others. These fragments, he thinks, show how carefully he studied the doctrines which he combated, although furnished with materials from Port Royal, as appears from a paper here produced, containing a list of references and quotations in the hand-writing of Arnauld, with remarks in a parallel column by Pascal himself. The literary interest of these remains is naturally greater in France than it can be elsewhere, because the Provincial Letters are there looked upon, not simply as a master-piece of controversial writing, but as a model and a standard of French style, received and idolized as such by men of every sect and school, both infidel and Christian.

Under the title of Pascal's Conversations, the editor has brought together several reports of his remarks on various subjects, more or less extended, not recorded by himself but by those who heard them. Most if not all of these have been published before. The most important is the conversation, in which, at the urgent request of his friends, he de-

veloped the plan of his projected work upon the truthof Christianity. All that remains of the materials collected and created for that purpose, being the great mass of what are usually called Pascal's Thoughts, are presented in the second volume of the work before us, on a plan which has already been described, approaching probably as near to the author's own conception of the subject as the circumstances of the case admit. Into this part of the work we shall not attempt to enter, having furnished from the more miscellaneous contents of the first volume, a sufficient specimen of the additions made by M. Faugère to the previous collectanea of Pascal's Thoughts.

We have still less inclination or inducement to attempt a general estimate of Pascal, either as a writer or a man. He is too generally known and too justly appreciated. A singular concurrence of circumstances has procured for him a more universal admiration than has fallen to the lot of many who have done more for the world. We have already spoken of the pre-eminence which he enjoys, not only as a classical French writer, but as a standard of the language, as one who has materially contributed to make it what it is. This circumstance makes his name and writings familiar to all who learn the language or feel an interest in the literature of his country. This renders him an object of attention and of admiration to many who would not be attracted by the subject-matter of his writings. Many who would care nothing for his physical researches, his metaphysical speculations, his religious contemplations, or his controversial conflicts, learn to revere him as a master of language and of style.

Another circumstance, which has contributed to this result, is the historical interest of the controversy which called forth his only finished work. The origin and progress of the Jesuits, their influence, the mystery which shrouded them, their downfall, their restoration, all have tended to revive or rather to perpetuate the public interest in Pascal as their great antagonist, whose opposition they have felt more deeply, and have more reason to remember, than that of the most powerful states or of the church itself. The intense interest felt at this moment in the character and history of that society, in Pascal's native country, gives to his book a new assurance of immortality, and one which could scarcely have been foreseen half a century ago, at the date of the brief Dominus ac Redemptor Noster. But of these things we have spoken in a previous article.

The two circumstances which have now been mentioned, Pascal's eminent rank as a classical French writer, and the growing importance of the subject of his principal or rather only work, increase the interest which would be felt at any rate in the most marked occurrence of his personal history, his retirement from the world. Such a proceeding on the part of any man, at all conspicuous for rank or talent, draws attention, even where the sacrifice is only that of worldly pleasure or commonplace advantages. But here we have the case of one withdrawing not merely from the usual distinctions, which his family connexions and his social position placed within his reach, but from the prospect of a rare intellectual distinction in the fields both of science and of letters. However strongly we may censure or lament the mistaken sense of duty which led such an intellect to forego the very means by which it might most successfully have honoured God and benefited man, it cannot be denied that there is something in the act partaking of the quality of heroism. Even in the case of an inferior man, the deliberate sacrifice of intellectual distinction even to an error of conscience would be striking; how much more when the promise of eminence was great almost beyond comparison from early childhood. Whatever allowances are made for parental partiality and friendly exaggeration, the accounts of Pascal's early promise must remain sufficient to place him in the first rank of extraordinary children. It might indeed have passed for an instance of that early bloom which bears no fruit, if we had nothing of a later date by which to try the value of these indications. But such a judgment would be utterly precluded by the very fragments of his conversation and his hasty thoughts which have been so happily preserved. The decisive fact, however, is, that when this mind, so early developed, and then arrested, as it were, in the progress of improvement, was accidentally called forth to make a single sustained effort, the result of that exertion was a master-piece of style, of wit, of controversial reasoning. These qualities, together with its known effects, set the seal of genuineness on the promises of Pascal's youth; and thus the little that he did, and the great things that he might have done, combine to magnify the ideal estimate of that religious principle which led him to abandon all for God. And this effect is heightened by the peculiar character of his religious exercises after this extraordinary act of self-denial. The very strictness of his

ascetic principles and practice, strikes the imagination even of those who most sincerely disapprove it, as a token of sincerity and strength of mind. The intellectual character of his religion, the enlargement, elevation, and profound reach of his pious speculations, so unlike the narrowness and weakness of the cloister, deepens the impression. To see such a genius, wearing itself away under self-imposed restraints, and withheld from the most daring and transcendant flights only by perfect submission to the teachings of the church, is a rare and moving spectacle, and in the view of those at all like-minded, makes the abdication and retirement of a Pascal more impressive than the vaunted abdication and retirement of Charles the Fifth.

But perhaps after all, the circumstance which has most contributed to the universal recognition of this writer's claim to admiration, is the fact, exemplified in no case so remarkably, that there is scarcely any class of persons who can be supposed to have a voice or suffrage in determining the rank of genius, that may not claim Pascal as in some sense their own, while none of them can claim him altogether; nay, to every one of them he is, in some respect, an object of disapprobation, not to say contempt. As a mere mathematician, metaphysician, theologian, controvertist, satirist, critic, or fine writer, he might have enjoyed the applause of his own order, but at the expense of being despised or overlooked by all the rest. But it is Voltaire, who hated Pascal's Christianity, that gives him his place at the very head of French prose writers. It is Cousin, who sneers at his 'convulsive devotion,' that insists upon a new edition of his posthumous works, and laboriously prepares the way for it. The very Jansenists, who gloried in the name of Pascal, were afraid of him, disapproved some of his notions, and disfigured his remains. Some of his most enthusiastic admirers are Protestants, who never can approve his popish principles and practices, and on whom he has showered condemnation and contempt. Thus we might go on to show that every sect and school and party in the republic of letters has a quarrel against Pascal, and yet all read and admire him. The drawback or exception seems to give more vigour to the general admiration. Hence the vast circle to which he is known familiarly and personally, not by hearsay or at second hand, as Newton or Montesquieu or Kant may be admired by proxy. As long as the French language and the Society of

Jesus continue to be known and remembered, not only the writings but the history of Pascal may expect to live. These crude suggestions, while they may possibly afford a partial explanation of the high rank universally accorded to that celebrated name, must also furnish our apology for filling a few pages with a notice of this new and creditable effort to rescue his remains from the confused and mutilated state to which the kindness of mistaken friends and the ignorance or negligence of others had consigned them.

Art. V.—*The Arguments of Romanists from the Infallibility of the Church and Testimony of the Fathers in behalf of the Apocrypha, discussed and refuted,* By James H. Thornwell, Professor of Sacred Literature and Evidences of Christianity in the South Carolina College. New York: Leavitt, Trow & Company. Robert Carter. Boston: Charles Tappan, &c. &c. &c., 1845. pp. 417

In 1841, Mr. Thornwell published in the "Spirit of the Nineteenth Century," an essay on the claims of the Apocrypha to divine inspiration. In reply to that essay the Rev. Dr. Lynch, a Romish clergyman of Charleston, S. C., addressed to him a series of letters, to which the present volume is an answer, and a very complete one. It is, as to its form and manner, as well as to thoroughness, a specimen of the old fashioned mode of controversy. The arguments of his opponent are given at length, and then submitted to the torture of a remorseless logic, until the confession of unsoundness is extorted. In this way Dr. Lynch is tracked step by step until he is hunted out of every hiding place, and is seen by others, however he may regard himself, to be completely run down. As a refutation, this work of Mr. Thornwell, is complete. There is much in this book that reminds us of Chillingworth. There is a good deal of the acumen, the perspicuity, and logic of that great master of sentences There is the same untiring following up of an opponent, giving him the benefit first of one then of another hypothesis, until he has nothing left on which to hang an argument. This mode of discussion, while it has many advantages, has some inconveniences. It is difficult, in such cases, for the respondent to prevent his book assuming more

the character of a refutation of a particular author, than of a discussion of a subject. His antagonist's arguments give form to his reply; and the reader feels that he is listening to a debate between two disputants, rather than to a continuous exhibition of the point in controversy. This disadvantage every one must feel to be a very serious one, in the writings of Chillingworth. Their value would, to the present generation at least, be greatly enhanced, had he made it more his object to exhibit the whole truth on the subjects on which he wrote, than to pull to pieces the sophistries of his antagonists. Mr. Thornwell has not entirely avoided this inconvenience, though in his case it is not a very serious one, and is less felt in the latter than in the earlier portions of his work. The book exhibits distinguished ability and diligent research, and is not only a valuable accession to our theological literature, but welcome as a specimen of what the church may expect from its author.

Among the blemishes of the work is the profusion of the mere technicalities of logic. The words, major, and minor proposition, middle term, and the like, are of too frequent occurrence. It adds nothing to the perspicuity of the argument, to say that one proposition is of that peculiar species, that the removal of the consequent is a removal of the antecedent; or that another "is a destructive disjunctive conditional" We do not wish to see in a painting, the pencil marks protruding through the colouring; nor is it desirable to have brought constantly to view in actual discussion, the formulas by which reasoning as an art is taught in the schools. When a man comes to fight, it is easy to see whether he has learned to fence, without his exclaiming at every thrust or feint, *prime*, *tierce*, *quart*; and Professor Thornwell's skill in logic would be quite as apparent, and more effective, if he could forget, as we doubt not he soon will do, its technical terms.

The point in which the work before is most open to criticism, is its want of unity. It is really the discussion of a single question; Are the Apochrypha a part of the inspired writings? So much prominence, however, is given to the consideration of the infallibility of the church, as to exalt it into a separate question. As Romanists rely mainly on the authority of the church in their arguments in behalf of the Apocrypha, the competency of the church, in their sense of the term, authoritatively to decide the question, is unavoidably brought into the discussion. But still it is a subordi-

nate question, in the present instance, and should be made to appear so. We think the unity, and of course the force of Mr. Thornwell's argument, would be increased by treating the infallibility of the church, not so distinctly as he has done, but in strict subordination to his main purpose.

We also regret that he has made so little use of the internal character of the Apocrypha, as an argument against their inspiration. In his original essay this topic is adverted to; we are surprised, therefore, not to see it brought forward in this larger work. It is after all one of the soundest, and of all others perhaps the most effective argument, in the minds of ordinary Christians, against the divine origin of these writings. Believers will find it impossible to transfer the reverence they feel for the true word of God, commending itself as it does to their reason, heart, and conscience, to writings replete with silly stories and gross contradictions. We advert the more readily to what we regard defects in this work, because we think it will become a standard book, likely to be often reprinted; we therefore wish to see it as perfect as may be.

The question whether the Apocrypha are inspired, suggests the wider question; How are we to tell whether any book is inspired; or on what ground does the Christian world admit that the authors of the Christian scriptures spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost? This question is, in many respects, analogous to the question, How do we know there is a God? or that He is holy, just and good? How do we know that we are bound to obey him, or that the moral law is an expression of his will? If these questions were asked different persons, they would probably give very different answers, and those answers might all of them be correct, though not all adequate. Various as these answers might be, they would all resolve themselves into a statement in some form, of the self-evidencing light of the truths affirmed. We believe there is a God, because the idea of such a being is so congruous to our moral nature; so necessary as a solution of the facts of our own consciousness, that when once clearly presented, we can never rid ourselves of the conviction of its truth; nor can we shake off our sense of allegiance to him or deny our dependence. This conviction exists in the minds of thousands who have never analysed it, nor inquired into its origin or its legitimacy. And when that inquiry is started, they refer their belief to different sources, some appealing

to the evidence afforded of the being of God in the works of nature; others to the logical necessity of assuming the existence of an intelligent first cause, and others to their sense of dependence, or to other facts of their moral nature; but after all, it is apparent that the conviction exists and is influential, before any such examination of the grounds on which it rests, and is really independent of the specific reasons that may be assigned to account for it.

The same is true with regard to moral obligation. The fact that we are bound to conform to the moral law; that we ought to love God, and do good to men, is admitted and cannot be denied. Why we are thus bound, few men take the trouble to enquire, and if they did, might be puzzled to give an answer, and no answer they could devise or that any philosopher could suggest, would increase the sense of obligation. Some answers, and those among the most common, would really weaken it, and the best could only render it more enlightened, by bringing into the view of the understanding, facts and principles already existing and operating, undetected or unnamed, in our own consciousness.

It is much the same with regard to the Bible. That sacred volume passes among tens of thousands for the word of God, without their ever thinking of asking on what grounds they so regard it. And if called upon to give answer to such a question, unless accustomed to the work of self inspection, they would hardly know what to say. This hesitation however would be no decisive evidence, either that they did not really believe, or that their faith was irrational, or merely hereditary. They would find the same difficulty in answering either of the other questions to which we have referred, How do we know there is a God? or How do we know that his law is binding? It is very possible that the mind may see a thing to be true, without being able to prove its truth, or to make any satisfactory exhibition of the grounds of its belief. If a man who had never heard of the Bible, should meet with a copy of the sacred volume, and address himself to its perusal, it cannot be denied that it would address him in the same tone of authority, which it uses towards those born in the bosom of the Christian church. He would be called upon to believe its doctrines, to confide in its promises, to obey its precepts. He would be morally guilty in the sight of God, if he did not; and he would be regarded as a wise and good man if he did. Beyond controversy then the book must contain its

own evidence of being the word of God; it must prove its own inspiration, just as the moral law proves its own authority, or the being of God reveals itself to every open heart. There is nothing mystical, enthusiastic, or even extraordinary in this. A mathematical work contains in itself the evidence of whatever truth belongs to its reasonings or conclusions. All that one man can do for another, in producing conviction of its truth, is to aid him in understanding it, enabling him to see the evidence that is in the book itself. The same may be said of any work of art, or of any production of genius. Its truthfulness, its claims to admiration, its power to refine or please, are all inherent qualities, which must be perceived, in order to be really believed. So too of any work which treats of our moral obligations; no matter who wrote it, if it contains truth, we assent to it, if it includes error, we reject it. This is not a thing which, in the proper sense of the word, admits of proof. The only possible proof of the correctness of a moral doctrine, is to make us see its truth; its accordance with the law of God, the supreme standard, and with that law as written in our own hearts. Thus in the case, which we have supposed, of a man's reading the Bible without knowing whence it came, he would, if properly and naturally affected, be convinced of all, and judged of all, and thus the secrets of his heart being made manifest, falling down on his face, he would worship God, and report that of a truth, that book is not the word of man, but the word of God.

He would find, in reading the scriptures, the existence of God as the creator and governor of all things, always presented; his perfections, as infinitely wise, powerful, and good, held up for his adoration and confidence. All this, no matter, whence the book came, is so holy, so true, so consonant to right reason and right feeling, that he cannot doubt its truth. He finds, further, a law therein revealed as obligatory on man, which is holy, just and good; all whose requirements as soon as understood, assert an authority over his conscience, which he feels to be legitimate and supreme. In comparing himself with that standard of excellence, he finds, that in all things he has come short, that not only in innumerable particular acts, but in the inward, habitual state of his heart, he is unholy. This conviction is unavoidably attended with a sense of guilt; he feels that he deserves to be punished, nay, that a moral necessity exists for such punishment; he would gladly punish himself, could he do it

satisfactorily, or so as to still his conscience. This sense of inward pollution and exposure to punishment, prompts to strenuous and continued efforts to change his heart, and to conform his life, to the high standard of excellence presented in the wonderful book, which has revealed him to himself, that has made him know what he is, and in what relation he stands to God. All his efforts however vigorous or however long sustained, fail of success. The power of evil and the guilty conscience continue; and he sinks down into a state of hopeless despondency. In reading further, he finds that this book, tells him just what he has found in his own experience to be true; that the heart of man is deceitful above all things and desperately wicked; that there is none righteous, no not one; that no man can come unto God except the Father draw him; that we must be made new creatures, born not of the will of man but of God; that by the deeds of the law, by our own obedience to the rule of duty, no man can be just with God; that without the shedding of blood, that is, without an atonement, there is no remission of sins. All these things are true, true in themselves, true independently of the assertion of them in the word of God. They are truths which have their foundation in our nature and in our relation to God. Here then, the existence and perfections of God; the demands of the moral law; the sinfulness and helplessness of men; the necessity of holiness and of an atonement, are all taught in this book, and when so taught as to be understood, they so commend themselves to the conscience that they cannot be denied. They are, therefore, received without any external testimony of any kind, to authenticate them as matters of divine revelation. Convinced of these truths, our supposed reader of the Bible, finds that in every part of it, provision is made for these two great necessities of man, holiness and atonement; they are everywhere represented as necessary, and the way in which they are attained is more or less distinctly unfolded. The Son of God is revealed as coming in the flesh, dying for our sins, reconciling us to God, securing the gift of the Holy Ghost, and offering eternal life to all who come unto God by Him. There is in the character, the conduct, the doctrines, the claims, the promises, of the Redeemer, such majesty, such excellence, such authority over the heart and conscience, such a divine glory, the glory as of the only begotten Son of God, full of grace and truth, that every one who apprehends that glory,

feels that he is bound to honour the Son even as he honours the Father; that the same confidence, the same obedience, the same love are due to the Son as to God, for he is God manifested in the flesh. If it is absurd to say that no man believes in God, who has not comprehended some philosophical argument for his existence, it is no less absurd to say that no man can rationally believe in Christ, who has not been instructed in the historical arguments which confirm his mission, or who has not been told by others that he is the Son of God. We believe in Christ, for the same reason that we believe in God. His character and claims have been exhibited to us, and we assent to them; we see his glory and we recognise it as the glory of God. This exhibition is made in the gospel; it is made to every reader of the word. And when such a reader, though he had never before heard of the Bible, finds this glorious personage, ratifying all those truths which were latent in his own consciousness, and needed only to be stated to be recognised as truths; and when he hears him say that he came to give his life a ransom for many, that whosoever believeth on him shall never perish, but have eternal life; he confides in him with humble and entire confidence. And when he further hears him speak of a future state of blessedness, for which, by the renewing of the Holy Ghost, men are prepared, he understands some of the deepest mysteries of his nature, the obscure apprehension of immortality, the strange mixture of longing and dread in reference to a future state, of which he was conscious but could not understand. Such a man believes the gospel on the highest possible evidence; the testimony of God himself with and by the truth to his own heart; making him see and feel that it is truth. The more the Bible is thus studied, the more it is understood; the more the relation of its several parts, the excellence of its precepts, the suitableness of its doctrines and promises, the correspondence of the experience, which it details or demands, with the exercises of our own hearts, are appreciated, the more firm and enlightened does the conviction become that it is indeed the word of God.

Of this evidence to the inspiration of the scriptures, which is contained in the scriptures themselves, and which by the Spirit of God is revealed and applied to the hearts of the devout readers of the Bible, it may be remarked, in the first place, that it is of itself perfectly adequate as the foundation of a rational and saving faith, and that it applies to

all parts of the sacred volume; partly because, it is found in all parts, and partly because the different portions of the Bible, the historical, doctrinal, devotional and preceptive are so connected, that they mutually imply each other, so that one cannot be rejected without doing violence more or less to the whole. In the second place, this evidence, is in fact the ground of the faith of all the true people of God, whether learned or unlearned. Whatever other evidence they may have, and which in argument they may properly adduce, they still are believers, in the true sense of that term, only so far as their faith rests on this inward testimony of God with the truth, revealing and applying it as truth to the heart. In the third place, this is the evidence on which the scriptures challenge universal faith and obedience. It is the ground on which they rest their claim, and on which they pronounce a sentence of condemnation on all who do not believe, as not of God, for if they were of God, they would know of the doctrine whether it was his or not. In the fourth place, it is obvious that this evidence, in all its fulness and force, may be exhibited to a man, who knew nothing from others of the origin of the scriptures, even to one who should read them for the first time in a desert island. Such a man being convinced by this evidence that the scriptures were the word of God; or finding that the writers who propounded these truths, and who exhibited such moral excellence as to secure his entire confidence, declared themselves to be inspired, constantly disclaimed being the discoverers or authors of the doctrines which they taught; when he hears them always speaking in the name and by the authority of God, as his messengers, he receives their declaration with full credence. How indeed could it be otherwise. How could they know of themselves all they teach, and how could men who were so obviously sincere and holy, be false witnesses and imposters? Without going therefore beyond the Bible itself, the conviction may be rationally, arrived at, and is in fact in multitudes of cases, without doubt entertained, that its authors spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.

Let us suppose that a man thus convinced, should have the opportunity of learning the history of the Bible; of tracing it up with certainty to the times of the apostles; of proving with historic accuracy, that the books composing the New Testament, were written by the apostles of Christ; that to these men their divine master expressly promised

the gift of inspiration; that they uniformly claimed that gift, saying, He that is of God heareth us, and he that is not of God, heareth not us; that this claim was authenticated by God himself bearing them witness with signs, and wonders, and divers miracles and gifts of the Holy Ghost; that effects followed their ministry, which admit of no rational solution, but their being the messengers of God; that all they did, all the facts they announced, all the effects which they produced, or which attended the introduction of Christianity, had been predicted centuries before, in books which can be proved to have existed at that antecedent period; nay that the predictions in those books, and in the New Testament itself, are in some cases, in the course of fulfilment before our own eyes; and finally, that the claim of these messengers to inspiration, was recognised by all who received their doctrines, and who by their faith were made new creatures in Christ Jesus; suppose all this to be proved historically, as it has been proved a thousand times, it may be that the faith of the supposed believer, might not be really thereby strengthened; he would however be furnished with an answer to all gainsayers, and would be able to say, in the spirit of our Lord's own remonstrance, If ye believe not the gospel for its own sake, at least believe it for these works sake.

With regard to the Old Testament, much the same course of remark might be pursued. The writers of its several books claimed to be the messengers of God; they authenticated that claim, (with few, if any, exceptions) by miracles or prophecy; they taught the truth—truth as far above that contained in any uninspired writings, as the heavens are above the earth; the predictions which they contain, scattered over the whole volume, given in detached parts, and at long intervals, yet all concentrating in one great system, have been fulfilled and are still fulfilling. And besides all this, every part of the Jewish scriptures, were in every form recognised as the word of God, as infallible, incapable of being broken, more certain of accomplishment than heaven and earth of continuance, by our Lord and his apostles of whose divine authority, or divine inspiration, we have such abundant evidence.

Such is a very cursory view of the grounds on which Protestants are accustomed to rest their faith in the inspiration of the books which they recognise as the word of God. If we apply these principles to the Apocrypha, what is the

result? In the first place, their authors do not claim to be inspired; they do not come before the people as the messengers of God, claiming faith and obedience, on pain of the divine displeasure, and confirming that claim by personal holiness or by mighty works. On the contrary, they disclaim any such authority, or speak in terms utterly incompatible with it. Then, in the second place, there is nothing in the contents of these writings, which leads to the assumption of their being inspired. Some of them are historical, some of them are moral essays of a more or less philosophical cast; some of them are fables. They differ very much in value in all respects, but there is nothing in any of them, which might not be expected from Jews living either in Palestine, or Egypt, whose opinions had been more or less modified by a knowledge of the Oriental or Grecian systems of philosophy. They are just such books as uninspired men, under their circumstances might be expected to write. Then, on the other hand, they often contradict the universally recognised books of the Old Testament, or are at variance with themselves; they contain false doctrines or false principles of morals; or, in many cases, absurd stories. How can such books be received as the word of God? In the third place, there is not the slightest evidence of their having been received as inspired by the contemporaries of their authors, but abundant evidence that they were not so received. This is admitted by the Romanists themselves, who concede that they formed no part of the Jewish canon. In the fourth place, they were not recognised by Christ and his apostles as part of the word of God. They are never quoted as of authority, never referred to as "scripture," or as the words of the Spirit, in the New Testament. To this point the tenth letter in Professor Thornwell's book is devoted, where it is most satisfactorily demonstrated, that there are no passages in the New Testament, which need be assumed to refer to any corresponding passage in the apocrypha; and that if there were, it would no more prove their inspiration, than the inspiration of the heathen poets can be proved from Paul's use of their language, or the inspiration of Philo from the coincidences between his writings and the language of the apostle John. In the fifth place, the apocrypha were not recognised as inspired by the Christians of the first four centuries. To the proof of this point Mr. Thornwell has devoted five letters, from the fourteenth to the eighteenth both included.

In these letters the reader will find a laborious and accurate examination of all the passages quoted from the early Fathers in support of the authority of the apocrypha; wherein it is clearly shown that nothing can be adduced from that source, which would not prove the inspiration of books, which the church of Rome rejects. It need hardly be remarked that even if some, or even all the early Fathers, regarded the writings in controversy as part of the sacred canon, it would be no sufficient proof of their inspiration. That they received the books of the New Testament as of divine authority, is a valid argument in their behalf, because it affords satisfactory evidence that those books were written by the men whose names they bear, of whose inspiration we have abundant proof, and their testimony that the apocrypha were written by their reputed authors would have a certain historic value; but could not prove the inspiration of those writings, unless we knew from other sources that those authors were inspired. But the Fathers' thinking the Apocrypha to be inspired is no proof that the apostles so regarded them. The apostles are not to be responsible for all the doctrines, the Fathers entertained. This testimony in behalf of the apocrypha, unsatisfactory as it would be, cannot be adduced, for the real testimony of the early church is strongly against the inspiration of the writings in question. In proof of this point, we refer our readers to Mr. Thornwell's concluding letter, in which it is proved that these books "are not included in the catalogues given by Melito, bishop of Sardis, who flourished in the second century, of Origen, Athanasius, Hilary, Cyril of Jerusalem, Ephiphanius, Gregory Nazianzen, Ruffin and others; neither are they mentioned among the canonical books recognised by the council of Laodicea."

We hardly know how a stronger case could be made out, than Prof. Thornwell has thus made. Nothing seems to favour the assumption of the apocrypha being inspired; while all the evidence, both internal and external, is against it. But have the Romanists nothing to say in their behalf? Nothing that is of the least weight with a Protestant. They do indeed refer to what they regard as allusions to those writings, in the New Testament, which, if admitted, would only prove their existence at that period, which no one denies. They further refer to the fact that several of the Fathers quote them, and quote them too as 'holy scripture;' but this expression the Fathers often use in the general

sense of religious, as opposed to profane writings, and apply it to books for whose inspiration no one contends. The main dependence of the Romanists is the authority of their own church. The council of Trent has decreed that the apocrypha were written by the inspiration of God, and of course those, and those only, who believe that council to have been infallible, bow to their decision.

This brings up the question of the infallibility of the church; much too wide a subject to be here entered upon. It must suffice to show in a few words, that the authority of the council of Trent, is no sufficient ground of faith in the inspiration of the Apocrypha. The whole doctrine of the Romanists, as to the authority of that council, rests on a series of gratuitous and unscriptural assumptions. The fundamental error of Popery and Puseyism, is transferring to the body of external professors of Christianity, that is, to what is commonly called the visible church, what the scriptures say of the church of God. The body to which the promises and prerogatives of the church belong, according to scripture, antiquity, and the best men even of the Roman communion itself, consists of true believers, of those who are the members of Christ's body and partakers of his Spirit. Christ has indeed promised to preserve his church, that is, his own people, from all fatal error; to lead them into the knowledge of the truth, and to keep them through faith unto eternal life. But how is this promise to preserve and guide his people, a promise to guide those who are not his people? How are promises made to the children of God, promises to the children of the world? How are assurances given to those who are born of the Spirit, who are led by the Spirit, who are the temples of the Holy Ghost, to be applied to the unrenewed, and to those who pertain to the church only in name, or by office? It is only by denying that there is any such thing as regeneration, or spiritual religion, or by merging all that the Bible says of the new birth, of union with Christ, and of a holy life, into descriptions of church-rites and church-ceremonies, that the least plausibility can be given to the Romish theory. The word "church" is always a collective term for the called, the chosen, the true people of God; and what is said of the church and of its prerogatives, belongs only to those who are thus called and sanctified. The promises, therefore, which secure the church from apostacy, and which guaranty her perpetuity, have no reference to those who are not the

true children of God, any more than the promises to Israel, secured the gift of the Holy Spirit to the natural descendants of Abraham.

The first and most fruitful fallacy of Rome, therefore, is founded on the ambiguity of the word church, which, as the recipient of the promises, means the true people of God, though in ordinary language, it is often applied to all who profess to be his people, or call themselves Christians. They err moreover in extending far beyond its scriptural limits, the promise of guidance as made to the church. Christ has promised to purify his church; but that does not secure perfect holiness for all its members, in this life. He has also promised to guide them into the knowledge of the truth, but that does not preserve them from all ignorance or error; it only secures them from failing of that knowledge which is essential to eternal life. The only sense in which even the true church is infallible is, that its members are kept from the rejection of any doctrine essential to their salvation. Rome not satisfied with attributing this infallibility to a body which has no claim to it, extends it to all matters of faith and even, (according to one school,) of fact. A twofold unscriptural and baseless assumption.

But should we admit that the external or visible church has been invested with the prerogative of infallibility, how would that prove the Romish doctrine on this subject? According to the ultramontane doctrine, the pope is the seat and centre of this prerogative; according to the Gallican doctrine, it resides in the prelates. But for either of these assumptions there is not a shadow of claim from scripture. The prelates are not the church, and the pope is not the church. The promise of the Holy Spirit to be with his disciples, to guide them into the knowledge of the truth, was neither made nor fulfilled to the chief officers of the church alone. It was addressed to all the disciples; and it was fulfilled in the apostolic and every subsequent age, to all true believers. Here again is another gratuitous assumption, necessary to make out the arguments of Romanists, in support of the infallibility of the council of Trent.

But supposing we should grant that the prelates are the church, that to them in their collective capacity, the gift of infallibility belongs, still, how does it follow that the council of Trent was infallible? All the prelates were not assembled there; all did not concur in the designation of the members of the council as their representatives; all have

not concurred in the decisions of that body. On the contrary, the council was composed of a mere handful of bishops, a small minority of the prelates of Christendom concurred either in their appointment or in their decisions. Admitting then that infallibility resides in the bishops of the universal church, in their collective capacity, which is the most rational form of the Romish doctrine, we must believe that all the Greek, all the Armenian, all the Syrian, all the British, all the Swedish prelates are out of the church, before we can believe that the council of Trent represented the church, and was the organ of its infallibility. Can this be proved from scripture or from any other source? Can any show of argument be adduced to prove that recognition of the authority of the bishop of Rome over all other bishops and churches, is necessary to union with the church of God? Until this is proved, granting all their principles, the infallibility of the council of Trent cannot be established.

We can afford, however, to be still more generous. We may grant not only that the external church is infallible; that the prelates are the church; and that the church must be in communion with the pope and under his direction, and yet deny that the decisions of that body can possibly be the ground on which we are bound to believe the gospel, or to admit the authority of the word of God. There are two fatal objections to making the authority even of an infallible church, the ground of faith. The first is, that faith founded on that ground cannot be anything more than mere intellectual assent to the truth of a proposition. But such a faith may and does exist in the minds of wicked men, and therefore cannot be that faith which is connected with salvation. If a man comes to me with a sealed book, and assures me that it is inspired, and then produces such credentials, by miracles or otherwise, as command my confidence in his integrity and competency as a witness, I may assent to the proposition that the book is the word of God, but I am not thereby a better man. Unless I know the truth the book contains, perceive it to be true, and receive it in love, I am just the man I was before; may be just as destitute of love to God, and just as unfit for heaven. All that an infallible church could do, would be to act the part of the supposed witness. Even should we admit her authority, and assent to her decisions, such assent having no better foundation than external testi-

mony, can have no moral character, and produce no moral effect. Such a faith the most wicked men that ever lived may have, and in thousands of cases, have had, and therefore it cannot be that faith to which the scriptures promise eternal life.

The second objection to making the authority of the church, the ground of faith, is that it is entirely inadequate. The gospel is addressed to all men; all who hear it, are bound to receive it as soon as it is presented; but how are all men to know that the church is infallible? No man can be required to believe, before the evidence on which his faith is to rest, is presented to his mind. If the infallibility of the church is the ground on which he is to receive certain writings as the word of God, that infallibility must be established before he can be required to believe. But how is this to be done, with regard to the great mass of mankind? How are the unlettered, the young, the heathen, to be rationally convinced that the church is infallible? How are they to know what the church is, or which of the many bodies so called is the true church? The peasants of Sweden, Russia, or England, never heard of any church, other than their own, and yet those bodies, according to Rome, are no part of the church. How are these poor peasants to find that out? Or even take a peasant of Italy or Spain, how does he know that the church is infallible? His priest says so. How is he to know what the church teaches? what his priest tells him. But his priest is not, even according to the Romish theory, inspired; and it is admitted he may be a bad man. Thus this boasted infallibility of the church, which looks so imposing, is, as it is brought in actual contact with the minds of the people, nothing more than the "say so" of a parish priest. The only foundation of faith that Rome will admit, for the great mass of her children, is the testimony of a man who is admitted to be fallible, who is in a majority of cases, ignorant, and often wicked! This is the resting-place of the precious faith of God's elect! To such a miserable conclusion does this mighty figment of an infallible church come at last. This is popery. For bread it gives a stone; and for an egg, a scorpion. To teach that we cannot know the scriptures to be the word of God, except on the testimony of the church, is to teach we cannot see the sun without the help of a candle.

ART. VI.—*The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, D.D., late Head-Master of Rugby School, and Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford.* By Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, M. A., Fellow and Tutor of University College, Oxford. First American, from the third English Edition. The two volumes complete in one. New York. D. Appleton and Co. 1845. pp. 516, 8vo.

ALTHOUGH three, at least, of the great British Reviews have noticed this work at length, we are not deterred from making it the subject of an article. From such a heap of wealth, each critic will draw that for which he and his brethren have an affinity; and we have nowhere seen those things deduced, which most nearly relate to the interests of religion and education in America. Besides, we shall not attempt to write what may take the place of the book, but what may induce our readers to resort to it with expectation. For the preacher, the patriot, and the instructor of youth, it has a charm not surpassed, we believe it will be acknowledged, by any biography of our day. Arnold was one of those fresh, original, vigorous, genial minds, which do not appear oftener than once in an age: a character of so many sides, that it is not to be exhausted of its fascinations, by a variety of scrutinizing views. To the strength and learning of the English mind, he added much of the German enthusiasm, and all the freedom of the American. As we go on in the development of his opinions, we find amidst much to condemn, a continual approximation towards evangelical purity. Unbounded liberty of thought might have made him a rationalist, as he certainly was a latitudinarian: but it was checked by extraordinary learning, and still more by increasing faith and devotion. The bent of his whole soul was towards the religious growth of his country and his race, and, in order to this, towards such an education of youth as was never dreamed of before, amidst the stiff, traditionary methods of England. In the pursuit of this great end, he has thrown a glory around the work of education, which gives a sort of heroic grandeur to the schoolmaster, and will we trust stimulate thousands to engage in this honourable and responsible calling, with a new sense of its Christian dignity.

That we have read every page of this long memoir,

with unfailing interest, is less than we might truly say. Even where opinions are expressed, which we consider false and dangerous, they are the utterance of a liberal and a glowing mind, of a noble spirit, of a soul ever rising truthward and of one whom we love even more than we admire. It is difficult to say whether we are struck more with the generous loftiness of the sentiment, or the unaffected, sturdy, outright Attic cogency of its idiomatic English form. Happy would it be for the numerous youth who will hang over these pages, with wonder at the exuberance of Arnold's ancient learning and at his exquisite taste, if they could only have eyes to see how these very accomplishments led him to discard that feminine richness of style which cloys us, in the laboured nothings of some popular authors. He wrote too fast to write with a trick. In his sermons, as in his every-day letters, we perceive the marks of a single casting; no afterthoughts, no *purpurei panni*, none of the vaunted *limae labor*, but the pouring forth of thoughts in fusion.

Thomas Arnold was born on June 13th, 1795, at West Cowes, Isle of Wight. Till he went to Oxford, he was a shy and somewhat formal boy. From his infancy he was used to the sight of ships and soldiers; and his favourite sports were mimic battles and sea-fights. He loved the old ballads, and wrote plays. But his passion was for history and geography. At fourteen, he had inklings of the revelations which he was afterwards to learn from Niebuhr. "I verily believe," says he, "that half, at least, of the Roman history is, if not totally false, at least scandalously exaggerated." The events of his early life made deep traces. In his own handwriting, he preserved for his children, every date in the family history. How he regarded the place of his early school education, is manifest in the following passage of a journal in 1828. "Warminster, January 5th [1828]. I have not written this date for more than twenty years, and how little could I foresee when I wrote it last, what would happen to me in the interval. And now to look forward twenty years—how little can I guess of that also. Only may He in whose hands are time and eternity, keep me evermore his own; that whether I live, I may live unto him; or whether I die, I may die unto Him; may He guide me with his counsel, and after that receive me to glory, through Jesus Christ our Saviour."

In 1811, he was elected a scholar of Corpus Christi Col-

lege, Oxford. Concerning this period of his life, there are some valuable contributions from the pen of his friend Mr. Justice Coleridge. Though not among the highest in university honours, he was no common youth. Even then, he showed the daring and polemic turn which marked him through all his years. He ventured to admire Coleridge and Wordsworth, but was smitten with the love of Aristotle, Thucydides and Herodotus, a passion which never left him. Of the first of these he said, in later life: "I could not consent to send my son to a university where he would lose the study of him altogether." "I have not" he adds "forgotten *the dear old Stagyrite.*" It was a taste which contributed to masculine firmness, and made him always reject the vague, illogical generalities of the dreaming philosophy. In 1815 he was elected Fellow of Oriel College. Among the fellows at that time were Coplestone, Davison, Whately, Keble, Hawkins and Hampden. Newman and Pusey were added, after he left the society. During four years, he remained at Oxford, taking private pupils, and studying history. In December 1818 he was ordained deacon, and in 1820 he was married, having been previously settled at Laleham near Staines. There could have been little in Oxford to engender evangelical devotion; whatever high sentiments he afterwards attained, were the results of a process of breaking out from the hard integuments of the old-fashioned church of England formalism, that iciest, flintiest, ghastliest of all sepulchral crypts. Yet he thought thus, and here is the finger-post to all his future road.

"Above all, it was necessary for a right understanding, not only of his religious opinions, but of his whole character, to enter into the peculiar feeling of love and adoration which he entertained towards our Lord Jesus Christ,—peculiar in the distinctness and intensity which, as it characterized almost all his common impressions, so in this case gave additional strength and meaning to those feelings with which he regarded not only His work of Redemption but Himself, as a living Friend and Master. 'In that unknown world in which our thoughts become instantly lost,' it was his real support and delight to remember that 'still there is one object on which our thoughts and imaginations may fasten, no less than our affections; that amidst the light, dark from excess of brilliance which surrounds the throne of God, we may yet discern the gracious form of the Son of Man,' (Serm. vol. iii. p. 90.) In that consciousness which pressed upon him at times even heavily, of the difficulty of considering God in his own nature, believing as he did that 'Providence, the Supreme Being, the Deity, and other such terms, repel us to an infinite dis

tance,' and that the revelation of the Father, in Himself unapproachable, is to be looked upon rather as the promise of another life, than as the support of this life, it was to him a thought of perhaps more than usual comfort to feel that 'our God' is 'Jesus Christ our Lord, the image of the invisible God,' and that 'in Him is represented all the fulness of the Godhead, until we know even as we are known,' (vol. v. p. 222.) And with this full conviction both of his conscience and understanding, that He of whom he spoke was 'still the very selfsame Jesus in all human affections and divine excellences;' there was a vividness and tenderness in his conception of Him, on which, if one may so say, all his feelings of human friendship and affection seemed to fasten as on their natural object, 'bringing before him His actions, imaging to himself His very voice and look,' there was to him (so to speak) a greatness in the image thus formed of Him, on which all his natural instincts of reverence, all his range of historical interests, all his admiration of truth and goodness at once centred. 'Where can we find a name so holy as that we may surrender our whole souls to it, before which obedience, reverence without measure, intense humility, most unreserved adoration may all be duly rendered?' was the earnest inquiry of his whole nature intellectual and moral, no less than religious. And the answer to it in like manner expressed what he endeavoured to make the rule of his own personal conduct, and the centre of all his moral and religious convictions: 'One name there is, and one alone, one alone in heaven and earth—not truth, not justice, not benevolence, not Christ's mother, not His holiest servants, not his blessed sacraments, nor His very mystical body the Church, but Himself only who died for us and rose again, Jesus Christ, both God and man.' (Serm. vol. iv. p. 210.")—pp. 30. 31.

At Laleham he was a busy teacher, but he had spare time for philosophy and history, and worked at a Lexicon of Thucydides, and an edition of that author. In 1825, he became acquainted with Niebuhr's Rome, the first German work he ever read. Perhaps no man living was more prepared to appreciate the labours of the great historical revolutionist. "It is," says he, "a work of such extraordinary ability and learning, that it opened wide before my eyes the extent of my own ignorance." But he was also drawn to the greatest of sciences; and used to look back to a visit to Dr. Whately, as a marked era in the formation of his views, especially in regard to the great truth respecting the *Christian Priesthood.* In 1828, he published a volume of sermons, the following extract concerning which merits close attention.

"1. 'If the sermons are read, I do not care one farthing if the readers think me the most unclassical writer in the English language. It will only remove me to a greater distance from the men of elegant minds with whom I shall most loathe to be associated. But, how-

ever, I have looked at the sermons again, with a view to correcting the baldness which you complain of, and in some places, I have endeavoured to correct it. And I again assure you, that I will not knowingly leave unaltered any thing violent, harsh, or dogmatical. I am not conscious of the ex cathedrâ tone of my sermons—at least not beyond what appears to me proper in the pulpit, where one does in a manner speak ex cathedrâ. But I think my decided tone is generally employed in putting forward the sentiments of Scripture, not in drawing my own conclusions from it.'

"2. In answer to a complaint that 'they carry the standard so high as to unchristianize half the community,' he says, 'I do not see how the standard can be carried higher than Christ or his Apostles carry it, and I do not think that we ought to put it lower. I am sure that the habitually fixing it so much lower, especially in all our institutions and public practice, has been most mischievous.'

"3. 'I am very much gratified by what you say of my sermons; yet pained to find that their tone is generally felt to be so hard and severe. I believe the reason is, that I mostly thought of my pupils in preaching, and almost always of the higher classes, who I cannot but think have commonly very little of the 'bruised reed' about them. You must remember that I never had the regular care of a parish, and therefore have seen comparatively little of those cases of a troubled spirit, and of a fearful and anxious conscience, which require comfort far more than warning. But still, after all, I fear that the *intense mercy of the Gospel* has not been so prominently represented as it should have been, while I have been labouring to express its purity.'"—p. 43.

In June, 1828, he received what are called Priest's orders, and in April and November of the same year, took the degrees of B. D. and D. D., and in August, entered on the mastership of Rugby school. The American reader needs to be reminded that the great English schools are unlike anything known among us: differing from our academies in the number of students and the thoroughness and extent of classical training; and from our colleges, in the old-time peculiarities of flogging, constant presence of the teachers, and corporal liabilities. For such a station he had been laboriously preparing himself. The year before, he had visited Rome, and had become acquainted with the Chevalier Bunsen, successor to Niebuhr as Prussian minister at the papal court. He thought, and it was the thought of a learned, a wise and Christian soul, that no charge could be more sacred, than that of training young men for Christ. The deep seriousness of his religious views, even when he was lamentably in the dark as to the intense mercy of the gospel, made him shudder at the hypocritical time-serving bias of sundry clergymen. "I met five Englishmen at the public table at our inn at Milan, who gave me great matter for

cogitation. One was a clergyman, and just returned from Egypt; the rest were young men, i. e. between twenty-five and thirty, and apparently of no profession. I may safely say, that since I was an under-graduate, I never heard any conversation so profligate as that which they all indulged in, the clergyman particularly; indeed, it was not merely gross, but avowed principles of wickedness, such as I do not remember ever to have heard in Oxford. But what struck me most was, that with this sensuality there was united some intellectual activity; they were not ignorant, but seemed bent on gaining a great variety of solid information from their travels. Now this union of vice and intellectual power and knowledge seems to me rather a sign of the age, and if it goes on, it threatens to produce one of the most fearful forms of Antichrist which has yet appeared."

He longed for reformation. All his fine taste, all his love for antiquity, did not blind him to the abuses of popery; his was not the mind to be caught with the middle-age trumpery of sculptured idolatry and painted mysticism; he saw and he loathed the very objects which Newman and Pusey sighed to borrow from the papists; of whom he said: "In Italy they seem to me to have no more title to the name [of Christians] than if the statues of Venus and Juno occupied the place of those of the virgin. It is just the old Heathenism, and, as I should think, with a worse system of deceit." He was full of such views, when he took his mastership. He desired to make Rugby "a place of Christian education." We cannot omit this characteristic snatch: "We are all in the midst of confusion; the books all packed, and half the furniture; and on Tuesday, if God will, we shall leave this dear place, this nine years' home of such exceeding happiness. But it boots not to look backwards. Forwards, forwards, forwards,—should be one's motto. I trust you will see us in our new dwelling ere long; I shall want to see my old friends there, to wear off the gloss of its newness."

At Rugby, Dr. Arnold spent fourteen years of his life; years of intense, enthusiastic, fruitful action. To the frivolous and ignorant, and to those who never consider the priceless diamond of a boy's soul, he seemed to be buried, —a mere schoolmaster. "What a pity," said such, "that a man fit to be a statesman should be employed in teaching school-boys!" He lived to show them very fearfully, that he was at a post of power; and, being dead, he yet speak-

eth. Every day, for these fourteen years, he was struggling through that self-education which he believed to belong to a teacher. All his religion and all his politics, as well as all his learning, bore on this. With an order, a persistency, and a fearlessness, which were not less than those of great commanders, he carried out his fixed idea, in spite of public sneers, and eventual slander and enmity. He was resolved to act forth his conviction. "*Christian* education" was his word. And the religion was not to be a simple addendum, or a simple ingredient, but the prime, actuating power of the whole affair. All other teaching was to be, not collateral, but subsidiary to the rearing of noble English boys in Christianity. It was a grand conception. Would to God, that our schools and colleges were baptized with a spirit, which is professed in the constitution of every one of them! No wonder he left his impression on his work.

"But whatever interest attaches to the more external circumstances of his administration, and to his relations with others, who were concerned in it, is of course centred in his own personal government of the boys. The natural effect of his concentration of interest on what he used to call 'our great self,' the school, was that the separate existence of the school was in return almost merged in him. This was not indeed his own intention, but it was precisely because he thought so much of the institution and so little of himself, that, in spite of his efforts to make it work independently of any personal influence of his own, it became so thoroughly dependent upon him, and so thoroughly penetrated with his spirit. From one end of it to the other, whatever defects it had were his defects; whatever excellencies it had were his excellencies. It was not the master who was beloved or disliked for the sake of the school, but the school which was beloved or disliked for the sake of the master. Whatever peculiarity of character was impressed on the scholars whom it sent forth, was derived not from the genius of the place, but from the genius of the man. Throughout, whether in the school itself, or in its after effects, the one image we have before us is not Rugby, but Arnold.

"What was his great object has already appeared from his letters; namely, the hope of making the school a place of really Christian education; words which in his mouth meant something very different from the general professions which every good teacher must be supposed to make, and which no teacher even in the worst times of English education could have openly ventured to disclaim; but which it is exceedingly difficult so to explain, as that they shall not seem to exceed or fall short of the truth.

"It was not an attempt merely to give more theological instruction, or to introduce sacred words into school admonitions; there may have been some occasions for religious advice that might have been turned to more advantage, some religious practices which

might have been more constantly or effectually encouraged. His design arose out of the very nature of his office: the relation of an instructor to his pupils was to him, like all the other relations of human life, only in a healthy state, when subordinate to their common relation to God. 'The business of a schoolmaster,' he used to say, 'no less than that of a parish minister, is the cure of souls.' The idea of a Christian school, again, was to him the natural result, so to speak, of the very idea of a school in itself; exactly as the idea of a Christian State seemed to him to be involved in the very idea of a state itself. The intellectual training was not for a moment underrated, and the machinery of the school was left to have its own way. But he looked upon the whole as bearing on the advancement of the one end of all instruction and education; the boys were still treated as schoolboys, but as schoolboys who must grow up to be Christian men; whose age did not prevent their faults from being sins, or their excellences from being noble and Christian virtues; whose situation did not of itself make the application of Christian principles to their daily lives an impracticable vision.

"His education, in short, it was once observed amidst the vehement outcry by which he used to be assailed, was not (according to the popular phrase) based upon religion, but was itself *religious*. It was this chiefly which gave a oneness to his work amidst a great variety of means and occupations, and a steadiness to the general system amidst its almost unceasing change. It was this which makes it difficult to separate one part of his work from another, and which often made it impossible for his pupils to say, in after life, of much that had influenced them, whether they had derived it from what was spoken in school, in the pulpit, or in private. And, therefore, when either in direct religious teaching, or on particular occasions, Christian principles were expressly introduced by him, they had not the appearance of a rhetorical flourish, or of a temporary appeal to the feelings; they were looked upon as the natural expression of what was constantly implied: it was felt that he had the power, in which so many teachers have been deficient, of saying what he did mean, and of not saying what he did not mean,—the power of doing what was right, and speaking what was true, and thinking what was good, independently of any professional or conventional notions that so to act, speak, or think, was becoming or expedient."

"Perhaps the liveliest representation of this general spirit, as distinguished from its exemplification in particular parts of the discipline and instruction, would be formed by recalling his manner, as he appeared in the great school, where the boys used to meet when the whole school was assembled collectively, and not in its different forms or classes. Then, whether on his usual entrance every morning to prayers before the first lesson, or on the more special emergencies which might require his presence, he seemed to stand before them, not merely as the head-master, but as the representative of the school. There he spoke to them as members together with himself of the same great institution, whose character and reputation they had to sustain as well as he. He would dwell on the satisfaction he had in being head of a society, where noble and honourable feelings were encouraged, or on the disgrace which he felt in hearing of acts

of disorder or violence, such as in the humbler ranks of life would render them amenable to the laws of their country; or again, on the trust which he placed in their honour as gentlemen, and the baseness of any instance in which it was abused. 'Is this a Christian school?' he indignantly asked at the end of one of those addresses, in which he had spoken of an extensive display of bad feeling amongst the boys, and then added,—'I cannot remain here if all is to be carried on by constraint and force; if I am to be here as a gaoler, I will resign my office at once.' And few scenes can be recorded more characteristic of him than on one of these occasions, when, in consequence of a disturbance, he had been obliged to send away several boys, and when, in the midst of the general spirit of discontent which this excited, he stood in his place before the assembled school, and said, 'It is *not* necessary that this should be a school of three hundred, or one hundred, or of fifty boys; but it *is* necessary that it should be a school of Christian gentlemen.'"—p. 77.

"His own determination had been fixed long before he came to Rugby, and it was only after ascertaining that his power in this respect would be absolute, that he consented to become a candidate for the post. The retention of boys who were clearly incapable of deriving good from the system, or whose influence on others was decidedly and extensively pernicious, seemed to him not a necessary part of the trials of school, but an inexcusable and intolerable aggravation of them. 'Till a man learns that the first, second, and third duty of a schoolmaster is to get rid of unpromising subjects, a great public school,' he said, 'will never be what it might be, and what it ought to be.' The remonstrances which he encountered, both on public and private grounds, were vehement and numerous. But on these terms alone had he taken his office: and he solemnly and repeatedly declared, that on no other terms could he hold it, or justify the existence of the public school system in a Christian country."—p. 83.

We have made these extracts because we believe they contain the very spirit which, more than all things else, would give a blessing to the colleges of our country. It is the restoration of genuine and exalted Christianity to that place in our education which it holds in our ideal schedule, that would make our public institutions engines of glorious power for the country and the church.

The whole chapter concerning Dr. Arnold's school-methods is admirably written; but it is long, and does not admit of abridgment. He was a champion for classical studies; being himself a striking example of the power which they convey when pursued with large and philosophical views. While he spurned the word-catching littleness of small critics and pedants, he was equally opposed to the superficial, smattering plan, which, among us, makes it the whole business of schools (to use a provincial phrase) "to fit for college." He knew what learning was, both as

a scholar and a teacher, and he therefore shunned the compendious methods, *cane pejus et angue.* To the use of Latin verse, which he had once regarded as "one of the most contemptible prettinesses of the understanding," "I am becoming," he said, "in my old age more and more a convert." Greek and Latin grammars, in English, were introduced by him on his arrival, as they have been everywhere in America: he lived to regret this, "because the rules which in Latin fixed themselves in the boys' memories, when learned in English were forgotten."

Dr. Arnold was the first Englishman who drew attention in public schools, to the historical, political and philosophical value of philology and of the ancient writers, as distinguished from the anxious criticism of the preceding age. He gave great attention to the practice of original composition, always in subserviency to the great maxim which is death to mannerism, and which is illustrated by every page he ever wrote, that *the thought is the style.* The subjects given out by him for prose composition, during the last half-year of his life, speak for themselves, and deserve to be pondered by all teachers among us.* The perpetual spring

* "1. The difference between advantages and merits.
"2. On the excellences of Translation, and some of its difficulties.
"3. I've heard of hearts unkind, kind deeds
With coldness still returning,
Alas! the gratitude of men
Hath oftener left me mourning.
"4. Conversation between Thomas Aquinas, James Watt, and Sir Walter Scott.
"5. How far the dramatic faculty is compatible with the love of truth.
"6. The principal events and men of England, France, Germany, and Holland, A. D. 1600.
"7. The ideal is superior to the real.
"8. The good and evil which resulted from the seven years' war.
"9. Cogitamus secundum naturam, loquimur ex præceptis, agimus e consuetudine. (Bacon.)
"10. Magnus esse debet historiam legentibus fructus, superioris ævi calamitates cum hâc nostrâ humanitate et tranquillitate conferentibus.
"11. Parum valet rerum ipsarum scientia, nisi accedat ingenii vigor, quæ informem molem in veram doctrinam effingat.
"12. Henricus Jenkyes, jam extremâ senectute, quæ in tam longâ vitâ memoriâ dignissima viderit, nepotibus enarrat.
"13. An bene constitutum sit debitoris non bona tantum, sed etiam corpus creditori esse obnoxium.
"14. Franco-Gallorum exercitus, devictâ inferiori Ægypto, superiorem et urbem Thebas ingreditur.
"15. De sæculo quo Esaias vaticinia sua edidit.
"16. Diversi nuntii a Novoburiensi prælio Londinum et Oxoniam pervenientes.
"17. Oxoniæ descriptio, qualem redivivus describeret Herodotus. (Greek.)

of his mind led him to act on the principle, that a teacher ought to be always learning, and so constantly above the level of his scholars. Like every great teacher, he glowed with zeal for his own subjects, and hence transferred the enthusiasm to his boys. This saved him from routine instruction, and from dealing forth the mortal, thrice-cooked *crambe* of former years. His writings show how his mind was acted on by his daily study of the ancients; and half-learned dealers in mongrel fustian might learn from him the secret, that more Greek and Latin would help them to wield purer and stronger English. The preachers and lecturers who drive us to our dictionaries, would have made his attic lip curl with scorn. Hence, as he wrote the same sort of fire-side idiom which one sees in Gifford, Isaac Milner, and Whately, he had a warm side for even the racier Plautine language of Bunyan and of Cobbett. Alas! we would try the same, were it not that it does not come by trying: yet Bentley and Porson and Fox attained it, by the same method, the thorough study of the ancients. One of the ways in which such a study works such a result, is shown by the following passage.

"In the common lessons, his scholarship was chiefly displayed in his power of extempore translation into English. This he had possessed in a remarkable degree from the time that he was a boy at

"18. Quæ in quascunque regiones peregrinantibus præcipuè notanda.

"19. Alexander Babylonem ingreditur, neque ita multò post morbo correptus, inter summum suorum fletum et dolorem animum expirat.

"20. Africa provincia, postquam Romanis subjecta esset, quas potissimum vices usque ad hanc ætatem subierit.

"21. Non ea est vitæ nostræ ratio ut sciamus omnia, neque ut de omnibus incerti dubitemus; sed ut neque scientes planè, neque ignorantes, probabili causâ moti credamus.

"22. Definiantur voces quæ sequuntur, τὸ τίμιον, τὸ καλὸν, ἐκκλησία, fides: necnon voces Anglicæ.—'revolution,' 'philosophy,' 'art,' 'religion,' 'duty,' 'romantic,' 'sublime,' 'pretty.'

"23. Judæus quidam Athenas devectus Socrati de republicâ et puerorum institutione disputanti forte auditorem se et interrogatorem præbet.

"24. De veris rerum miraculis.

"25. De primævis animalibus et terræ hujus mirandis vicibus.

"26. Europam per æstatem anni 1815 circumvectus, quem rerum statum apud singulos populos offendisset.

"27. Descriptio monasterii, quæ sit singularum domi partium distributio, qualemque ibi vitam degant monachi.

"28. De celeberrimis quæ in omni memoriâ scriptæ sunt legibus.

"29. Calendarium naturale.

"30. Ea demum vera est voluptas quæ non tam spe delectat, quam recordatione præterita—('Look not on pleasures as they come, but go.'")—pp.462,463.

Winchester, where the practice of reading the whole passage from Greek or Latin into good English, without construing each particular sentence word by word, had been much encouraged by Dr. Gabell, and in his youthful vacations during his Oxford course he used to enliven the sick-bed of his sister Susannah by the readiness with which in the evenings he would sit down by her side, and translate book after book of the history of Herodotus. So essential did he consider this method to a sound study of the classics, that he published an elaborate defence of it in the Quarterly Journal of Education; and, when delivering his Modern History lectures at Oxford, where he much lamented the prevalence of the opposite system, he could not resist the temptation of protesting against it, with no other excuse for introducing the subject, than the mention of the Latin style of the middle age historians. In itself he looked upon it as the only means of really entering into the spirit of the ancient authors; and, requiring as he did besides, that the translation should be made into idiomatic English, and if possible, into that style of English which most corresponded to the period or the subject of the Greek or Latin writer in question, he considered it further as an excellent exercise in the principles of taste and in the knowledge and use of the English language, no less than of those of Greece or Rome. No one must suppose that these translations in the least resembled the paraphrases in his notes to Thucydides, which are avowedly not translations, but explanations; he was constantly on the watch for any inadequacy or redundancy of expression—the version was to represent, and no more than represent, the exact words of the original; and those who, either as his colleagues or his pupils, were present at his lessons, well knew the accuracy with which every shade of meaning would be reproduced in a different shape, and the rapidity with which he would pounce on any mistake of grammar or construction, however dexterously concealed in the folds of a free translation."—p. 95.

The independent mind of Arnold did not relish indiscriminately all that is brought down in the 'huge drag-net' of antiquity. Though constantly reading the Greek tragedies, he thought them overrated; and as to the second-rate Latin poets, such as Tibullus and Propertius, he said: "I do really think that any examiners incur a serious responsibility who require or encourage the reading of these books for scholarships; of all useless reading, surely the reading of indifferent poets is most useless." He clung to Demosthenes; of Thucydides, he spoke with affectionate familiarity, having him almost by heart; in later life, he added Plato to the "dear old Stagyrite;" Herodotus and Homer were to him what they have been to all great learned men.

But over and above all this, religion towered, as the presiding genius of his school. The following extract, and especially its closing sentences, may well rebuke many a Christian seminary in our own land.

"Before entering on his instructions in theology, which both for himself and his scholars had most peculiar interest, it is right to notice the religious character which more or less pervaded the rest of the lessons. When his pupils heard him in preaching recommend them 'to note in any common work that they read, such judgments of men and things, and such a tone in speaking of them as are manifestly at variance with the spirit of Christ,' (Serm. vol. iii. p. 116,) or when they heard him ask 'whether the Christian ever feels more keenly awake to the purity of the spirit of the Gospel, than when he reads the history of crimes related with no true sense of their evil,' (Serm. vol. ii. p. 223,) instances would immediately occur to them from his own practice, to prove how truly he felt what he said. No direct instruction could leave on their minds a livelier image of his disgust at moral evil, than the black cloud of indignation which passed over his face when speaking of the crimes of Napoleon, or of Cæsar, and the dead pause which followed, as if the acts had just been committed in his very presence. No expression of his reverence for a high standard of Christian excellence could have been more striking than the almost involuntary expressions of admiration which broke from him whenever mention was made of St. Louis of France. No general teaching of the providential government of the world could have left a deeper impression, than the casual allusions to it, which occurred as they came to any of the critical moments in the history of Greece and Rome. No more forcible contrast could have been drawn between the value of Christianity and heathenism, than the manner with which, for example, after reading in the earlier part of the lesson one of the Scripture descriptions of the Gentile world, 'Now,' he said, as he opened the Satires of Horace, 'we shall see what it was.'

"Still it was in the scripture lessons that this found most scope. In the lower forms it was rather that more prominence was given to them, and that they were placed under better regulations than that they were increased in amount. In the Sixth Form, besides the lectures on Sunday, he introduced two lectures on the Old or New Testament in the course of the week, so that a boy who remained there three years would often have read through a great part of the New Testament, much of the Old Testament, and especially of the Psalms in the Septuagint version, and also committed much of them to memory; whilst at times he would deliver lectures on the history of the early Church, or of the English Reformation. In these lessons on the scriptures he would insist much on the importance of familiarity with the very words of the sacred writers, and of the exact place where passages occurred; on a thorough acquaintance with the different parts of the story contained in the several gospels, that they might be referred to at once; on the knowledge of the times when, and the persons to whom, the Epistles were written."—pp. 97, 98.

Among many errors, which however fell off like unripe figs, one by one, Arnold possessed the root of the matter, and in it the vivifying, formative principle, which made his whole religious life a tendency toward the Cross. His religion was summed up in one word—Christ. In the very

paragraphs in which his caustic satire falls on the "Evangelicals," he often reveals the feelings which were bringing him daily nearer to their ground. "He seemed," says a pupil, "to have the freshest view of our Lord's life and death that I ever knew a man to possess. His rich mind filled up the naked outline of the gospel history; it was to him the most interesting *fact* that has ever happened—as real, as *exciting* (if I may use the expression) as any recent event in modern history of which the actual effects are visible." This flowed forth in the sermons which he preached to the boys. They were fresh in every sense. As they were always delivered in the afternoon, they were written almost invariably between the morning and afternoon service, so that the ink of the last sentence was not always dry when the chapel-bell began to sound." "A man," he said, "could hardly preach on the same subject, without writing a better sermon than he had written a few years before." Tried by the standard of a more complete theology, there is doubtless in these sermons a lamentable want of full and gracious views of Christ and the gospel; yet how unspeakably is their tone raised above that of the tinkling cymbal which is too often appended to the "excellent liturgy!" And the effect of all this teaching was acknowledged at Oxford, as we learn from Dr. Moberly, Head Master at Winchester.

"'Possibly,' he writes, after describing his own recollections as a schoolboy, 'other schools may have been less deep in these delinquencies than Winchester; I believe that in many respects they were. But I did not find, on going to the University, that I was under disadvantages as compared with those who came from other places; on the contrary, the tone of young men at the University, whether they came from Winchester, Eton, Rugby, Harrow, or wherever else, was universally irreligious. A religious under-graduate was very rare, very much laughed at when he appeared; and I think I may confidently say, hardly to be found among public-school men; or, if this be too strongly said, hardly to be found, except in cases where private and domestic training, or good dispositions, had prevailed over the school habits and tendencies. A most singular and striking change has come upon our public schools—a change too great for any person to appreciate adequately, who has not known them in both these times. This change is undoubtedly part of a general improvement of our generation in respect of piety and reverence, but I am sure that to Dr. Arnold's personal earnest simplicity of purpose, strength of character, power of influence, and piety, which none who ever came near him could mistake or question, the carrying of this improvement into our schools is mainly attributable. He was the first. It soon began to be matter of observation to us in

the University, that his pupils brought quite a different character with them to Oxford than that which we knew elsewhere. I do not speak of opinions; but his pupils were thoughtful, manly-minded, conscious of duty and obligation, when they first came to college; we regretted, indeed, that they were often deeply imbued with principles which we disapproved, but we cordially acknowledged the immense improvement in their characters in respect of morality and personal piety, and looked on Dr. Arnold as exercising an influence for good, which (for how many years I know not) had been absolutely unknown to our public schools.'"—p. 118.

Passing to another field of his influence, we may class Dr. Arnold's published works among the most remarkable of his day. Among these are his Sermons, of which five volumes have appeared, the last being posthumous. They were preached in 1829, at Laleham; from 1832 to 1842, in Rugby chapel. To these must be added his two Sermons on Prophecy, 1839. Then come his 'Fragments on Church and State;' one of which has been published separately; the others are to appear. In Philology, the Edition of Thucydides was first printed in 1839. It exhibited the learning which was not rare in similar British works, with an enlarged view of historical philosophy, which was all his own. Between 1838 and 1842, he produced his great work, the 'History of Rome," which was broken off by his death, at the end of the Second Punic War. In 1842 the 'Introductory Lectures to Modern History,' delivered in his professorship at Oxford, were given to the public. Besides these, he was the author of nine pamphlets; and among the topics treated in them were, 'The Christian Duty of conceding the Roman Catholic Claims,' 1828; the 'Principles of Church Reform,' 1833; the 'Revival of the Order of Deacons,' 1841. To the Edinburgh Review, he contributed two articles, on the 'Letters of an Episcopalian,' 1826; on 'The Hampden Controversy,' 1836. To the Quarterly, a review of Niebuhr, 1825. To the British Critic, the reviews of 'Wat Tyler,' and 'De Rancé,' 1819–20; and to the Quarterly Journal of Education, the papers on 'Rugby School,' and on 'the Discipline of Public Schools, by a Wykehamist,' 1834–35.

Dr. Arnold's authorship was a fruit of the same inward impulse which carried forward his school-labours. He loved his country, with all the passion of a Roman. He longed, he burned, for her subjugation to Christian truth. Hence his pen, to borrow a famous expression, seemed to set the paper on fire. "I have a testimony to deliver"—"I must

write or die"—these were his expressions. "It is in my nature always to attack that evil that seems to me most present." So his opinions, religious and political, being the natural and irrepressible efflux of his individuality, could not be assorted with those of any party in church or state. As to the green withs of traditionary prelatical dogmas, which lace and benumb smaller minds, his burning soul brake them 'as a thread of tow is broken when it toucheth the fire.' The chimera, called the Church, which has usurped all the divine marks of God's elect bride, he viewed in its true light. "When I hear men talk of the Church," he used to say, "I cannot help recalling how Abbé Sièyes replied to the question, 'What is the Tiers Etat?' by saying, 'La nation, moins la noblesse et le clergè;' and so I, if I were asked, What are the laity? would answer, The Church minus the Clergy." "This," he said, "is the view taken of the Church in the New Testament; can it be said that it is the view held amongst ourselves, and if not, is not the difference incalculable?" It was as frustrating the union of all Christians, in accomplishing what he believed to be the true end enjoined by their common Master, that he felt so strongly against the desire for uniformity of opinion or worship, which he used to denounce under the name of sectarianism; it was as annihilating what he believed to be the apostolical idea of a Church, that he felt so strongly against that principle of separation between the clergy and laity, which he used to denounce under the name of priestcraft. "As far as the principle on which Archbishop Laud and his followers acted went to reactuate the idea of the Church, as a co-ordinate and living power, by virtue of Christ's institution and express promise, I go along with them, but I soon discover that by the Church they meant the clergy, the hierarchy exclusively, and there I fly off from them at a tangent. For it is this very interpretation of the Church that, according to my conviction, constituted the first and fundamental apostacy." Such was the motto from Coleridge's Remains, which he selected as the full expression of his own views, and it was as realizing this idea, that he turned eagerly to all institutions which seemed likely to impress on Christians the moral, as distinct from the ceremonial character of their religion, the equal responsibility and power which they possessed, not "as friends or honorary members" of the Church, but as its most essential parts. Such (to make intelligible, by a few instances, what

in general language must be obscure) was his desire to revive the order of deacons, as a link between the clergy and laity—his defence of the union of laymen with clerical synods, of clergy with the civil legislature—his belief that an authoritative permission to administer the Eucharist, as well as Baptism, might be beneficially granted to civil or military officers, in congregations where it was impossible to procure the presence of clergy—his wish for the restoration of Church discipline, "which never can and never ought to be restored, till the Church puts an end to the usurpation of her powers by the clergy; and which, though it must be vain when opposed to public opinion, yet, when it is the expression of that opinion, can achieve any thing."

We need not wonder that Keble should break with a man who could write—"I never have thought that what people call the Primitive Church, and much less the Anti-Nicene Church more generally, was any better authority *per se*, than the Church of Rome, or the Greek Church." Nay, he writes worse, even the essence of damning dissent, when he thus addresses Dr. Hawkins:

"Now, to insist on the necessity of Episcopacy, is exactly like insisting on the necessity of circumcision; both are and were lawful, but to insist on either as *necessary*, is unchristian, and binding the Church with a yoke of carnal ordinances; and the reason why circumcision, although expressly commanded once, was declared not binding upon Christians, is much stronger against the binding nature of Episcopacy, which never was commanded at all; the reason being, that all forms of government and ritual are in the Christian Church indifferent and are to be decided by the Church itself, pro temporum et locorum ratione, 'the Church' not being the clergy, but the congregation of Christians.

"If you will refer me to any book which contains what you think the truth, put sensibly, on the subject of the Apostolical Succession, I shall really be greatly obliged to you to mention it. I went over the matter again in the holidays with Warburton and Hooker; and the result was a complete confirmation of the views, which I have entertained for years, and a more complete appreciation of the confusions on which the High Church doctrine rests, and of the causes which have led to its growth at different times.

"By the way, I never accused Keble or Newman of saying, that to belong to a true Church would save a bad man; but of what is equally unchristian, that a good man was not safe unless he belonged to an Episcopal Church; which is exactly not allowing God's seal without it be countersigned by one of their own forging. Nor did I say, they were bad men, but much the contrary; though I think that their doctrine, which they believe, I doubt not, to be true, is in itself schismatical, profane, and unchristian. And I think it highly important that the evils of the doctrine should be shown in the

strongest terms; but no word of mine has impeached the sincerity or general character of the men; and, in this respect, I will carefully avoid every expression that may be thought uncharitable'"—pp. 227, 228.

Such opposition, from any one, might well disturb the vigils of those whose mental discipline was among the martyrologies of the age of ignorance, or the figure and hues of lecterns, faldstools, altar-linen, and tiles for chancels, or conspiring in dim conclave the reproduction of every carved cross or mitre which came from the tool of monastic serfs and idolatrous devotees; but from one who equal to each of them in his book-craft, and more than equal to them all in discourse and conflict of argument, it was what returning Achilles was to Troy. He knew, and he laughed to scorn, the gaping admiration with which such men glorified every abuse or accident of the church, and sprinkled holy water not only on the shrine, but on every ladder and scaffold; and he hit it off well, in a similitude, when speaking of the Anglican ecclesiastical constitution; "if that may be said to have a constitution which never was constituted, but was left as avowedly unfinished as Cologne Cathedral, where they left a crane standing on one of the half-built towers, three hundred years ago, and have renewed the crane from time to time, as it wore out, as a sign not only that the building was incomplete, but that the friends of the Church hoped to finish the work whenever they could. Had it been in England, the crane would have been speedily destroyed, and the friends of the Church would have said that the Church was finished perfectly already, and that none but its enemies would dare to suggest that it wanted any thing to complete its symmetry and usefulness." Hence his generous heart went forth to men who had received no prelatical anointing, as those who should help forward Christ's cause. "I hear," he writes to the Chevalier Bunsen, "both from India and the Mediterranean, the most delightful accounts of the zeal and resources of the American Missionaries, that none are doing so much in the cause of Christ as they are. *They will take our place in the world, I think not unworthily*, though with far less advantages, in many respects, than those which we have so fatally wasted." His learning and his standing were such that he could afford to speak such things, better than some among us, whose chief stock resides in the hat, the gesture, the poorly-mimicked forms, and daily bells of the worst and weakest of British churchmen; and who,

as we heard a witty friend say, make up in 'sounding brass' what they lack in 'charity.' Strange as it must appear to this class, Arnold actually recommends Doddridge's Rise and Progress, in connexion with Taylor's Holy Living. He was for admitting Dissenters to the Universities; and, speaking of this point, touches the thing with the needle's point, by saying: "It is vain to deny, that *the Church of England clergy have politically been a party in the country*, from Elizabeth's time downward, and a party opposed to the cause, which, in the main, has been the cause of improvement." Let a few more Arnolds arise in the establishment, and we shall see a renewal, under better auspices, of the experiment, which nobly though unsuccessfully sought to rid free-born Englishmen from the yoke of priestcraft and prescription, in the seventeenth century. Full of these indignant feelings towards the assumptions of High-Churchmen, he wrote passages never to be forgiven, "'on the fanaticism which has been the peculiar disgrace of the Church of England,' 'a dress, a ritual, a name, a ceremony, a technical phraseology,—the superstition of a priesthood without its power,—the form of Episcopal government without its substance—a system imperfect and paralyzed, not independent, not sovereign,—afraid to cast off the subjection against which it was perpetually murmuring,—objects so pitiful, that, if gained ever so completely, they would make no man the wiser, or the better; they would lead to no good, intellectual, moral, or spiritual.' (Ed. Rev. vol. lxiii. p. 235)".

The majority of American Episcopalians dare not whisper in their secret chambers such declarations as abound in the writings of the Oxford professor. "The intolerance of their presumption in calling themselves the only true Church, would, to my mind, go very near to decide against them; but in all respects they seem to me to resemble those fanatical sects, which have from time to time arisen, and will do so to the end of the world." "I have been looking through the Tracts, which are to me a memorable proof of their idolatry; some of the idols are better than others, some being indeed as very a 'truncus ficulnus' as ever the most degraded superstition worshipped; but, as to Christianity, there is more of it in any one of Mrs. Sherwood's or Mrs. Cameron's, or indeed of any of the Tract Society's, than in all the two Oxford octavos. And these men would exclude John Bunyan, and Mrs. Fry, and John Howard,

from Christ's Church, while they exalt the Nonjurors into confessors, and Laud into a Martyr!" Nor did he wish to sit and say these things, among his boys at Rugby, where none could reply. The spirit of his opposition to Newmanism is clearly and characteristically displayed, in a letter of 1836, to Archbishop Whately:

"I never yet in my life made any application for preferment, nor have I desired it. But I confess, if Hampden is to be made a Bishop, I wish that they would put me in his place at Oxford. I should be a very great loser in point of income by the change, and, till lately, I have never fancied that I could be more useful any where else than at Rugby. But I think under present circumstances that I could do much more good at Oxford. I could not supply your place, but I could supply it better than it is supplied now. I should have a large body of very promising young men disposed to listen to me for old affection's sake, and my fondness for young men's society would soon bring others about me whom I might influence. I should be of weight from my classical knowledge, and I am old enough now to set down many of the men who are foremost in spreading their mischief, and to give some sanction of authority to those who think as I do, but who at present want a man to lean upon. . . . . They could not get up the same clamour against me, for the bugbear of Apostolical Succession would not do, and it would puzzle even —— to get up a charge of Socinianism against me out of my Sermons. *Furthermore, my spirit of pugnaciousness would rejoice in fighting out the battle with the Judaizers, as it were in a saw-pit.* . . . I am satisfied that we should live in Oxford amidst any quantity of abuse unhurt in health or spirits, and I should expatiate as heretofore in Bagley Wood and on Shotover."—p. 282.

He hated the revived popish system, in its principle: it set something in the place of Christ. "It is clear to me, that Newman and his party are idolaters; they put Christ's church, and Christ's sacraments, and Christ's ministers, in the place of Christ himself." And hence he blew away, as a man blows away his child's soap-bubble, the laboured arguments against scrutiny of these mysterious rubricalities, produced by Dr. Pusey, the darkest and feeblest, and most anile, though most noted of all their reasoners. "According to Pusey, the forty-fourth chapter of Isaiah is Rationalism, and the man who bowed down to the stock of a tree was an humble man, who did not inquire but believe. But if Isaiah be right, and speaks the words of God, then Pusey, and the man who bowed down to the stock of a tree, should learn that God is not served by folly."

Dr. Arnold was a man so entirely loose from the harness of any party, and so bold in his expressions, that we run the risk of misrepresenting his system of ecclesiastical poli-

ty, when we try to gather it from the *membra disjecta* of his tracts and letters. We shall be safest, in rehearsing as often as may be his own words. Every sentence should be read with this caution, that his position was that of assault. Groaning with a heart and mind bursting for Christian freedom, and stung to the quick, as a freeman and a scholar, by the impudent sneers of those who laid claim to exclusive erudition and taste, in behalf of hoary abuses and puling mock-devotion, Arnold struck out in every direction, with British courage and gospel παῤῥησία, at everything which bore the guise of despotism and hierarchy. All the Greek and all the Roman maxims concerning freedom of thought and action, derived from his life-long acquaintance with the classics, wrought in him, as they did in Milton, to force out invective against the paltry copyists, who dreamed in the light of painted windows and the pinched-up contours of saints' images, till they forgot the forms of truth and beauty in these grotesques of the middle age. To his mind, the Church was a great idea, highly abstracted from all temporary or conventional forms, and still more rejecting the narrow, petrified, half-gothic working-model of the popish era, as this was held up for the pattern, by Newman, Sewell, and Ward. He would, doubtless, have admired, as much as they, and on principles far more enlarged, all that is beautiful in Latin hymns, pointed architecture, or the prettinesses of material and optical devotion, which shine in the splendid volumes of Pugin. He even overstepped the mark, in favouring pictures and other implements of superstition, as aids of piety; but all the shades of ancient sages and fathers of the best age would have risen to scorn him, if he had sat down with the Newmanites to guess the shape of the cross in every house and every object of nature, where it is descried by the infantine perspicacity of Sewell, or to pick out the sacred emblem in the mullions of windows or the diaper-work of altar-cloths. The Cross and the Church were something more sublime for him: and they equally outshone all the glories of the Anglican hierarchy, orders, rites, and rubrics. Hence he could no more comprehend their way of looking at the Church, than a New Testament disciple could have done. "I never can make out," he writes to Dr. Hawkins, "from any body except the strong Newmanites, what the essence of Episcopacy is supposed to be."—"W. Law holds this ground: there must be a succession in order to keep up the myste-

rious gift bestowed on the priesthood, which gift makes Baptism wash away sin, and converts the elements in the Lord's Supper into effectual means of grace. This is intelligible and consistent, though I believe it to be in the highest degree false and Antichristian." Hence he looked on Dissenters as fellow Christians and fellow Britons, who had been thrust out of their rights. "If we sacrifice that phantom *Uniformity*, which has been our curse ever since the Reformation, I am fully persuaded that a union might be effected without difficulty." He was at length resolved, therefore, "to cling," as he says in one of his later letters, "not from choice, but from necessity, to the protestant tendency of laying the whole stress on Christian Religion, and adjourning his idea of the Church sine die." As the want of religion in others produces ritualism, so its presence in him led towards the gospel and away from Rome. "It has seemed to me," he writes to Coleridge, "that an extreme fondness for our 'dear mother the panther'* is a snare to which the noblest minds are most liable. It seems to me that all, absolutely all, of our religious affections and veneration should go to Christ himself, and that protestantism, catholicism, and every other name which expresses Christianity and some differentia or proprium besides, is so far an evil, and when made an object of attachment, leads to superstition and error." So far was he from thinking that Christianity had settled into the Anglican shape as its final crystallization, that he even forbodes a day "when the Constitution must fall to save the Commonwealth, and the Church of England perish for the sake of the Church of Christ." The Church had become, he asserted, "an affair of clergy, not of people, of preaching and ceremonies, not of living, of Sundays and synagogues, instead of one of all days and all places, houses, streets, towns, and country." From this idea, he set out as his point of departure, in all his attempts against hierarchism: the presence of Christ, he believed, would scourge these intruders out of the temple. "Suppose a young man, when he begins to think seriously upon life, resolving to turn to God, and studying the scriptures to learn the way—it is clear that all this stuff about the true church would never so much as come into his head." It is the grand argument against all Puseyism; and it fully accounts for the liberality with which he gave the hand to men of different communions, in opposition to the ritualists of Oxford, who claim all grace for their own

* "Dryden's 'Hind and Panther.'"

inventions. "I call all this Judaizing," says he, "a direct idolatry—it is exalting the Church and the Sacraments into the place of Christ, as others have exalted his mother, and others in the same spirit exalted circumcision. There is something almost ludicrous, if the matter were not too serious, in the way in which —— speaks of Calvin and the best and ablest of his followers, and some of the great living writers of Germany, ... as of men labouring under a judicial blindness. 'This people who knoweth not the law,' i. e. as interpreted by the tradition and doctors of the Church, 'are accursed.' It is vain to argue with such men; only when they ascribe a judicial blindness to Calvin and Zuingle, or to Tholuck, Nitzsch, and Bunsen, one cannot but be reminded of those who 'with lies made the heart of the righteous sad, whom God had not made sad,' or of those who denied St. Paul's apostleship and spirituality, because he was not one of the original twelve Apostles, and because he would not preach circumcision." After this, no one need marvel that Dr. Arnold was an object of suspicion among the high-churchmen; that even the archbishop of Canterbury refused him the pulpit at Lambeth.

The Samaritan schismatics of the Scottish Kirk were, in Arnold's view, brethren, in spite of presbytery and the lack of printed prayer. He admitted their claims as citizens. "In all British colonies," said he, "it is manifest that the Scotch church has exactly equal rights with the English, equal rights even legally;" and when he attended Presbyterian worship, though he naturally preferred his own, he employs language which is both curious and refreshing:

"1. I was at church (at Greenock) twice on Sunday, once at the Presbyterian Church and once at the Episcopal Chapel. My impressions, received five years ago, were again renewed and strengthened as to the merits of the Presbyterian Church and our own. The singing is to me delightful,—I do not mean the music, but the heartiness with which all the congregation join in it. And I exceedingly like the local and particular prayers and addresses which the freedom of their services allows the minister to use. On the other hand, the people should be protected from the tediousness or dulness of their minister; and that is admirably effected by a Liturgy, and especially by such a Liturgy as ours. As to the repetitions in our Service, they arise chiefly from Laud's folly in joining two Services into one; but the repetition of the Lord's Prayer I can hardly think objectionable; not that I would contend for it, but neither would I complain of it. Some freedom in the Service the minister certainly should have; some power of insertion to suit the particular time and place; some power of explaining on the spot whatever is read from the Scriptures

which may require explanation, or at any rate of stating the context. It does seem to me that the reforms required in our Liturgy and Service are so obvious, and so little affect the system itself, that their long omission is doubly blameable. But more remains behind, and of far greater difficulty:—to make the Church at once popular and dignified,—to give the people their just share in its government, without introducing a democratical spirit,—to give the clergy a thorough sympathy with their flocks, without altogether lowering their rank and tone. When Wesley said to his ministers, that they had no more to do with being gentlemen than with being dancing-masters, τὸ μὲν ὀρθῶς εἶπε, τὸ δὲ ἥμαρτεν. In Christ's communication with His Apostles there is always a marked dignity and delicacy, a total absence of all that coarseness and vulgarity into which Wesley's doctrine would infallibly lead us. Yet even in Christ, the Lord and Master of His Disciples, there is a sympathy, which is a very different thing from condescension, a spirit of unaffected kindness and, I had almost said, of sociability, which the spirit of gentlemanliness has doubtless greatly dulled in the Church of England. 'I have called you friends,' is a text which applies to the Christian minister in his dealings with his brethren and equals, in an infinitely stronger degree than it could do to Him, who was our Lord and Master, and whose calling us brethren was not of nature, but out of the condescension of His infinite love. And he who shall thus far keep and thus far get rid of the spirit of gentlemanliness, would go near to make the Church of England all but perfect, no less in its popularity than in its real deserving of popularity, καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων εἰρήσθω ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο, ἄνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνω λόγον."—p. 482.

Let us not be supposed, by these extracts, to misrepresent Arnold as vindicating our own peculiarities. This is not the point. It is his lofty overlooking of all peculiarities not belonging to the essence of Christianity. His post of observation was high; too high, we apprehend, for just discrimination of minor yet important lines. His comprehension would seem to have taken in both Romanists and Unitarians; in both cases, as we shall see, because his charity ascribed to them a proper regard to Christ, which he considered as the great bond of union.

The tenet of *clerical priesthood*, which is the corner-stone of the antichristian house, was, in Dr. Arnold's esteem, an offence of the most odious sort. His doctrine of the proper eternal and incommunicable priesthood of Christ, and the secondary priesthood of all believers, reminds us sometimes of Neander, and sometimes of Whately, but oftener of the Bible. "It is," says he, "because my whole mind and soul repose with intense satisfaction on the truths taught by St. John and St. Paul, that I abhor the Judaism of the Newmanites;—it is because I so earnestly desire the revival of

the church that I abhor the doctrine of the priesthood." "But my quarrel with Newman and with the Romanists, and with the dominant party in the Church up to Cyprian, —(Ignatius, I firmly believe, is not be classed with them, vehement as his language is,)—my quarrel with them all —and all that I have named are exactly in the same boat —is, that they have put a false Church in the place of the true, and through their counterfeit have destroyed the reality, as paper money drives away gold. And this false church is the priesthood, to which are ascribed all the powers really belonging to the true church, with others which do not and cannot belong to any human power. But the Priesthood and the Succession are inseparable, the Succession having no meaning whatever if there be not a Priesthood, as W. Law saw and maintained; arguing, and I think plausibly enough, that the Succession was necessary to carry on the priestly virtue which alone makes the acts of the ministry available." Yet we must add other expressions to set him right; such as these: "I am for *high-church*, but *no priest*." This thought was ever present during his repeated journeys among the seats of Roman Catholic power; notwithstanding his intense and avowed admiration for the beauty of the arts which sacerdotal craft has subsidized. "There is," so he wrote in his journal, at Chartres, in 1837, "no more provoking confufusion to my mind, than that which is often made between the magnificence and beauty of the Romish church and its superstitions. No one abhors more than I do the essence of popery, i. e. priestcraft; or the setting up a quantity of human mediators, interpreters, between God and man. But this is retained by those false protestants who call themselves high churchmen; while they have sacrificed of popery only its better and more popular parts; its beauty and its impressiveness." To which we may subjoin his more explicit statement in 1841.

"I think that it is very desirable to show the connection of the Church with the Synagogue, a point on which Whately insists strongly. I should also like to go into the question as to the δεύτεραι διατάξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων, mentioned in that famous fragment of Irenæus. That the Church system, or rather the Priest system, is not to be found in Scripture, is as certain as that the worship of Jupiter is not the doctrine of the Gospel: the only shadow of an apostolical origin of it rests on the notion, that after the destruction of Jerusalem, the surviving apostles altered the earlier Christian service, and made the Eucharist answer to the sacrifice of the Temple.

I believe this to be unsupported as to its historical basis, and perverted doctrinally: if there be any foundation for the fact, it was not that the Eucharist was to succeed to the Temple sacrifices, one carnal sacrifice, and carnal priest succeeding to another; but that the spiritual sacrifice of each man's self to God, connected always, according to Bunsen, with the commemoration of Christ's sacrifice in the Eucharist, was now visibly the only sacrifice anywhere offered to God; and thus, as was foretold, the carnal worship had utterly perished, and the spiritual worship was established in its room. That the great Enemy should have turned his very defeat into his greatest victory, and have converted the spiritual self-sacrifice in which each man was his own priest, into the carnal and lying sacrifice of the Mass, is to my mind, more than anything else the exact fulfilment of the apostolical language concerning Antichrist."—p. 409.

We scarcely know how to touch the great point of Dr. Arnold's creed, that to which all his feelings, studies and labours converged; we mean his theory of the church. Believing it to be utterly erroneous, the beautiful vision of a bold and sanguine mind, incapable of being realized in any state of society short of the latter-day glory, and absolutely ruinous in its consequences, in such a state as ours, we nevertheless admire the manner in which it is set forth. We have seen how sorrowful were his views of the actual state of the British church. With all its antiquity, all its wealth and learning, all its successive triumphs over dissenting freedom, and all its assumptions, it had grievously betrayed its trust. And as Puseyism was an effort, in one direction, to restore animation to the languid mass by fire from Rome, so Arnold aimed, in the opposite direction, to reconstruct the system by a denial of all priesthood and hierarchy, and an appeal to the State. His hypothesis is not that of the high-churchmen, who subject the state to the church, nor that of the Americans, who separate the two, as co-ordinate independent organizations, but that which may be summarily expressed in the phrase, *The church is the state.* From Aristotle and the philosophic statesmen of the old world, he had derived the ideal of a polity, which should have for its very end the accomplishment of human welfare, physical and moral. This organism he contemplated as including religion in its very notion. A perfect state would be therefore a Christian church. All its members would serve God and be happy; and as he abjured the belief of a sacerdotal power, he regarded this assemblage as the church. Hence the conjunction of apparent extremes in his system. Democratical in his opinions

on some points, and anti-hierarchical on all, he gloried in the supremacy of the king. For thus he expounds his own belief:

"The king, before the introduction of Christianity, had been the head of the state; he was equally the head of *the perfected state, that is the church.*"—"The founders of the Protestant church of England considered the church and state as identical; the Christian nation of England was the church of England; the head of that nation was, for that very reason, the head of the church."

With such views, Political Philosophy occupied his thoughts as a part of his Christianity. "I hold with Algernon Sidney," said he, "that there are but two things of vital importance,—those which he calls Religion and Politics; but which I would rather call our duties and affections towards God, and our duties and feelings towards men; science and literature are but a poor make up for the want of these." When, from being a Tory, he became a strenuous Whig, and an advocate for reform, it was because he believed the principles involved to be, as Mr. Stanley says, "in their most perfect development identical with Christianity itself." He even went so far as to maintain that the civil power was better qualified than the clergy to fix the doctrines of the church. And when pressed with the obvious anomaly of such dissenters as Jews living in the bosom of this Christian church-state, he boldly cut the knot, and declared that they should be regarded as *peregrini* and sojourning aliens. But the exception should have taught him, that other dissenters, on lesser points, but in vastly greater numbers and force, exist in every state; and that, without extreme despotism, no governing power could ever represent so heterogeneous a mass, in regard to any sufficient scheme of doctrine or practice.

The Greek idea of a state was well suited to polities into which Christianity had not entered: it may be well suited even to Christian nations, abstracting all religion. But the kingdom of Christ, as represented in scripture, and as existing in all lands under the mighty operation of the Holy Spirit, refuses to coalesce with any form of government, merely civil. Not only Erastus and Hobbes, but the great scheming minds of the Commonwealth, broke down in the attempt. The nearest approach to a Christian nation which the world has seen, was perhaps effected by the 'Solemn League and Covenant.' That it failed, we must

ascribe to the incongruity of the two kingdoms; namely, the civil and the ecclesiastical. The maxim *imperium in imperio*, received as axiomatic in all these controversies, and turning like a flaming sword every way, has sometimes subjected the church to the state, or the state to the church, and sometimes in theory driven both into one. It has been from time immemorial cited as destroying the basis of a Free Church, and is the formula expresssive of every argument against the American system. But it fails to reach the case, the moment it is shown that the scope and movement of the *imperium* in the two cases are altogether in different planes. Man, it is true, is the object of government, in both cases, but man in respects widely different. The State seeks man's good; the Church seeks man's good; but we leap too hastily to the conclusion, when we say with Arnold, the Church and the State are therefore one and the same. It is inconceivable, that the greatest of all human attributes should not be admitted to create a difference,—we mean *the immortality of man.* The State does not take cognizance of Eternity. The Church has this for its very end. Civil governors, in their arrogance, have patronized religion, as subsidiary to their methods of temporal happiness: and Arnold rebukes this in Victor Cousin; but the gospel reduces this element to an inappreciable point, and throws the two worlds into one. Death, which is the expiring point of states as well as individuals, opens to the Church its chief field of progress. Hence our fundamental doctrine has always been that of our Founder: *My kingdom is not of this world.*

Union of church and state, or identity of church and state, is conceivable on one only of two suppositions; either that the dominant power subdues the dissentient portion into uniformity, or that the whole body is and continues to be absolutely of one mind. So long as men differ about their religion, so long will cases occur which defy the comprehending grasp of national religion. Indifferentism will do it: popery will do it. But even in these extreme instances, there will sometimes be an insurrection, as in Switzerland, and sometimes a Reformation, as among the Romanists.

In the freest countries, cases may occur in which the respective functions of church and state may not be clearly defined. But need this impugn our system, when within the bosom of both one and the other domain the very same

questions arise, as to the limits of power? The same human acts may fall under the view of church and state, but in different respects. Those things which are called, in a pregnant phrase, the *temporalities* of the church, may come to lie within the disposing power of the state: it is in regard to these, that so many conflicts have been waged; but they are not essential to the perfect development of the spiritual rule. The headship of Christ over his own body has sometimes been asserted by those who at the same time were entangled by the remaining meshes of the state-net: such controversies as have arisen from this conflict of kingdoms—and they have been bitter—are not to be charged to the true principle, which by its intrinsic vitality will work on, till it sloughs off the morbid excrescence. The same offences may have two aspects, the civil and the ecclesiastical, and may fall under the cognizance of both codes; but without in any degree confounding the free operation of the different kingdoms. History shows us, that the church, by its functionaries, has crept into civil authority; and on the other hand, that politicians have prostituted the church to serve their temporal ends, by means of its strong hold on religious beings; and the world is yet to see the thorough trial of the two powers, freely working in their independent spheres. But the failure of all other methods, and the blessed results of our own, in its inception—for it is no more—beget in us the liveliest hope, that under mature freedom, and especially under more exalted Christianity, the doctrine of the absolute independence of the church on the state, will be established before the world, as no longer a theory, but a fact.

The scheme of Arnold is, by his own acknowledgment, ideal, as much as the opposite one of Ward. It presupposes a population already united in faith, in order to the existence of a governing centre; for the latter, except on the Vatican hypothesis, must be the result of the former: the ruled must give character to the rulers. That England is unfit for such a polity, is manifest from the extent of comprehension (to use a word almost technical in a former age) approved by Dr. Arnold. He would embrace *in the church*, not only the better sort of Papists, but the better sort of Unitarians. To apply such a method to any existing country, would, by the cancelling of disputed tenets, reduce the creed of the state to the minimum, which, in an analogous case, is the result in the religion of our state schools. And

even then, no conceivable end is gained but that which our author indignantly explodes, uniformity. Suppose this obtained in the mass, sufficiently to ensure a consistent government in matters of faith: where there is uniformity by law, there must be penalty for dissent; and such penalty is persecution.

The difficulties which exist in the progress of our national experiment, strike us as less than might have been expected. A so-called Christian government might indeed have cantoned our whole territory into parishes; it might have precipitated the organization of churches; it might have furnished as many pastors as Jeroboam furnished priests; it might have supplied stipends from the national revenue. That it has not done so, is the grand objection and rebuke of transatlantic reasoners. That it has not done so, is matter of our daily thanks to God; who, by granting us, in good measure, the ends thus sought, by other means, and means agreeable to the idea of a spiritual kingdom, has preserved us from the untold evils of compulsory settlements, unconverted ministers, and violated consciences in case of dissent. And such is our persuasion of the sufficiency which resides in the scriptural principle of Christ's prerogative, that we fear most from the impatient wish which often possesses Christian churches, to carry forward the Lord's work by human and civil auxiliaries. Though the want of religion is not a want which supplies itself, and though whole tracts of increasing population lie waste from this cause, it does not follow that the want is to be supplied by the civil arm or the national treasure. Christ has ordained a plan for the supply of this very want, by which the church "mightily grew and increased," while governments gave her nothing but martyrdoms; and by which she can certainly extend herself, when persecution has given place to prosperity. The spiritual kingdom may exist and gain influence, while its subjects are a minority in a nation: it loses its distinctive character, as an *ecclesia*, when the theory supposes such a diffusion of its powers, as to reach the whole unconverted mass. Yet this is presupposed as the basis of Dr. Arnold's scheme. It perpetuates its reign through every revolution in governments, and among forms of every species. And what is still more comforting, though most of all forgotten, it is so far from demanding any such uniformity as even the most perfect state could give, that it disregards a thousand matters which divide sect from

sect, and keeps an invisible unity by connexion with the unseen head of the church.

The disposition to confound the government which is essential to the kingdom of Christ, with the municipal regulations of particular churches, and to arrogate to courts or officers, however pure and scriptural, the sole authority which resides ultimately in the ever-present source of power, seems to be latent in every body of organized Christians. It is the high-church dogma, which reigned in the papacy, and which reappears wherever worldly power increases. It may be the intention of Providence, by means of the extraordinary division of Christians in America, often on points the most trivial, to repress this disposition towards an authority not contained in the divine grant, by preventing the aggregation of worldly power in any preponderating portion. At any rate, we know of no one opinion, no even that of the right of the people to choose their own rulers, which is more deeply settled in the unanimous decision of our country, than that church and state ought not to be, and cannot be united or identified. It is a judgment which grows with our growth; which no exempt cases, irregularities, defects of strength, or mutual discords have availed in any degree to shake; which no reports of what occurs in the old world have weakened; and which is equally strong in the minds of the most zealous propagandists, the most experienced statesmen, and the humblest private disciples. All we ask is free scope for the truth and grace now operating, and, by the infinite favour of God, more abundant measures of these heavenly principles.

We have more than once alluded to the latitudinary views of Dr. Arnold; but we feel constrained to advert to these with greater particularity, lest our admiration for his genius, learning and devotion, should seem to justify his errors. His carelessness in regard to important differences seems to us to have had a direct connexion with his theory of the church. In order that the state might possess ecclesiastical functions, and yet avoid persecution, it was necessary that the national creed should be meager, and that a favourable eye should be cast on religionists of the most remote beliefs. The poetic element of his soul concurred with this tendency of his understanding, to make him tolerant of symbols and superstitions, which he abhorred, when imposed as a part of the sacerdotal pomp. The cross, the oratory by the wayside, the daily church-prayers,

the festival, the sculpture and painting, were all admitted by him. He could freely receive pious Romanists into his Utopian commonwealth. And then, proceeding to the other pole, he was slow to believe that Unitarian unbelievers are as bad as they are represented. That he judged thus from want of familiarity with their actual condition, is made probable by the fact, that he went far from his own neighbourhood to find these pious Unitarians; as for example, to New England. He dreamed that the absence of the Athanasian creed had changed the Socinian mind. "I heard some time since," says he to Archbishop Whately, "as a matter of fact, that in the United States, where the Episcopal church has expelled this creed, the character of Unitarianism is very different from what it is in England, and is returning towards HighArianism." In one of his celebrated pamphlets, he had made it essential to those included in his scheme of comprehension, that they should *address Christ as an object of worship.* This, though it would embrace *Socinus*, would shut out Priestley, and all the Humanitarians of America. That it was founded on a wrong judgment of fact, is evident from his letter to Mr. Smith of Norwich, March 9, 1833. In writing to our countryman, Mr. Abbott, he betrays the same anxiety to catch at some testimony in behalf of this erroneous conclusion. "I have understood," says he, "that Unitarianism is becoming very prevalent in Boston, and I am anxious to know what the complexion of Unitarianism amongst you is. I mean whether it is Arian or Socinian, and whether its disciples are for the most part men of hard minds and indifferent to religion, or whether they are zealous in the service of Christ, according to their own notions of his claims upon their gratitude and love." He therefore says expressly: "a Unitarian, as such, is a Christian." This is latitude enough, even in regard to High Arians. Yet, when he comes to speak of the tenet itself, he rejects it with indignation. "As for the Unitarian interpretations of St. Paul and St. John, they are really such monstrosities of extravagance, that to any one used to the critical study of the ancient writers, they appear too bad to have been ever maintained in earnest." And, in a letter to a Unitarian parent of one of his boys, he is plain enough to say: "I feel bound to teach the essentials of Christianity to all those committed to my care—and with these the tenets of the Unitarians alone, among all the dissenters in the kingdom,

are in my judgment irreconcilable." The truth seems to be, that when his syncretism was out of sight, he found the divinity of our Lord to be as fundamental as it is to other Christians.

In the personal experience of Dr. Arnold, a high place was given to the Lord Jesus, as the Divine Redeemer, and only way of approach to the Father. He desired his presence, to use his own expression, to be as constant as was the Shecinah to the Israelites. As he advanced in life, this feeling gained strength, and towards the end of his career, was manifested by touching language, in his diary, his conversation, and his sermons. The following passage, from his last journal, needs no comment for a believing reader.

"Tuesday evening, May 24.—Two days have passed and I am mercifully restored to my health and strength. To-morrow I hope to be able to resume my usual duties. Now then is the dangerous moment. . . . O gracious Father, keep me now through Thy Holy Spirit: keep my heart soft and tender, now in health and amidst the bustle of the world: keep the thought of Thyself present to me as my Father in Jesus Christ: and keep alive in me a spirit of love and meekness to all men, that I may be at once gentle and active and firm. O strengthen me to bear pain, or sickness, or danger, or whatever Thou shalt be pleased to lay upon me, as Christ's soldier and servant; and let my faith overcome the world daily. Strengthen my faith, that I may realize to my mind the things eternal—death, and things after death, and Thyself. O save me from my sins, from myself, and from my spiritual enemy, and keep me ever thine through Jesus Christ. Lord, hear my prayers also for my dearest wife, my dear children, my many and kind friends, my household,—for all those committed to my care, and for us to whom they are committed,—I pray also for our country, and for Thy Holy Church in all the world. Perfect and bless the work of Thy Spirit in the hearts of all Thy people, and may Thy kingdom come and Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven. I pray for this, and for all that Thou seest me to need, for Jesus Christ's sake."—p. 442.

When his fourteenth year at Rugby was drawing to a close, he preached his last sermon in the chapel, and thus addressed his pupils. "The real point which concerns us all, is not whether our sin be of one kind or of another, more or less venial, or more or less mischievous in man's judgment, and to our worldly interests; but whether we struggle against all sin because it is sin; whether we have or have not placed ourselves consciously under the banner of our Lord Jesus Christ, trusting in Him, cleaving to Him, feeding on Him by faith daily, and so resolved, and contin-

ually renewing our resolution, to be His faithful soldiers and servants to our lives' end. To this," he said, "I would call you all, so long as I am permitted to speak to you—to this I do call you all, and especially all who are likely to meet here again after a short interval, that you may return Christ's servants with a believing and loving heart; and, if this be so, I care little as to what particular form temptations from without may take; there will be a security within—a security not of man, but of God." Though apparently in good health, his mind seemed drawn to the other world. The parting address to his boys, which they expected in a day or two, never came. "But it is not to be wondered at, if they remarked with peculiar interest, that the last subject which he had set them for an exercise was 'Domus Ultima;' that the last translation for Latin verses was from the touching lines on the death of Sir Philip Sydney, in Spenser's 'Ruins of Time;'—that the last words with which he closed his last lecture on the New Testament were in commenting on the passage of St. John:—'It does not yet appear what we shall be; but we know that when He shall appear we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is.'—"So, too," he said, "in the Corinthians, 'For now we see through a glass darkly, but then face to face.'—"Yes," he added, with marked fervency, "the mere contemplation of Christ shall transform us into His likeness."

The very last entry in his Diary, the night before his sudden seizure, contained these words.

"Saturday evening, June 11th.—The day after to-morrow is my birthday, if I am permitted to live to see it—my forty-seventh birthday since my birth. How large a portion of my life on earth is already passed. And then—what is to follow this life? How visibly my outward work seems contracting and softening away into the gentler employments of old age. In one sense, how nearly can I now say, 'Vixi.' And I thank God that, as far as ambition is concerned, it is, I trust, fully mortified; I have no desire other than to step back from my present place in the world, and not to rise to a higher. Still there are works which, with God's permission, I would do before the night cometh; especially that great work, if I might be permitted to take part in it. But, above all, let me mind my own personal work,—to keep myself pure and zealous and believing,—labouring to do God's will, yet not anxious that it should be done by me rather than by others, if God disapproves of my doing it."—p. 449.

"It was between five and six o'clock on Sunday morning that he awoke with a sharp pain across his chest, which he mentioned to his wife, on her asking whether he felt well,—adding that he had

felt it slightly on the preceding day, before and after bathing. He then again composed himself to sleep; but her watchful care, always anxious, even to nervousness, at the least indication of illness, was at once awakened; and on finding from him that the pain increased, and that it seemed to pass from his chest to his left arm, her alarm was so much roused from a remembrance of having heard of this in connection with Angina Pectoris, and its fatal consequences, that in spite of his remonstrances, she rose and called up an old servant, whom they usually consulted in cases of illness, from her having so long attended the sick bed of his sister Susannah. Reassured by her confidence that there was no ground for fear, but still anxious, Mrs. Arnold returned to his room. She observed him, as she was dressing herself, lying still, but with his hands clasped, his lips moving, and his eyes raised upwards, as if engaged in prayer, when all at once he repeated firmly and earnestly, 'And Jesus said unto him, Thomas, because thou hast seen thou hast believed; blessed are they who have not seen, and yet have believed;' and soon afterwards, with a solemnity of manner and depth of utterance, which spoke more than the words themselves, 'But if ye be without chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards and not sons.'

"From time to time he seemed to be in severe suffering; and, on the entrance of the old servant before mentioned, said, 'Ah! Elizabeth, if I had been as much accustomed to pain as dear Susannah was, I should bear it better.' To his wife, however, he uttered no expressions of acute pain, dwelling only on the moments of comparative ease, and observing that he did not know what it was. But the more than usual earnestness which marked his tone and manner, especially in repeating the verses from scripture, had again roused her worst fears: and she ordered messengers to be sent for medical assistance, which he had at first requested her not to do, from not liking to disturb at that early hour the usual medical attendant, who had been suffering from indisposition. She then took up the Prayer Book, and was looking for a Psalm to read to him, when he said quickly, 'The fifty-first'—which she accordingly read by his bedside, reminding him, at the seventh verse, that it was the favourite verse of one of the old almswomen, whom he was in the habit of visiting: and at the twelfth verse, 'O give me the comfort of Thy help again, and establish me with Thy free Spirit:'—he repeated it after her very earnestly. She then read the prayer in the 'Visitation of the Sick,' beginning, 'The Almighty Lord, who is a most strong tower,' &c., kneeling herself at the foot of the bed, and altering it into a common prayer for them both.

"As the clock struck a quarter to seven, Dr. Bucknill (the son of the usual medical attendant) entered the room. He was then lying on his back—his countenance much as usual—his pulse, though regular, was very quick, and a cold perspiration on the brow and cheeks. But his tone was cheerful—'How is your father?' he asked on the physician's entrance; 'I am sorry to disturb you so early—I knew that your father was unwell, and that you had enough to do.' He described the pain, speaking of it as having been very severe, and then said, 'What is it?' Whilst the physician was pausing for a moment before he replied, the pain returned, and remedies were

applied till it passed away; and Mrs. Arnold, seeing by the measures used that the medical man was himself alarmed, left the room for a few moments to call up her second son, the eldest of the family then at Rugby, and impart her anxiety to him; and during her absence her husband again asked what it was, and was answered that it was the spasm of the heart. He exclaimed, in his peculiar manner of recognition, 'Ha!' and then on being asked if he had ever in his life fainted—'No, never.' If he had ever had difficulty of breathing? 'No, never.'—If he had ever had sharp pain in the chest? 'No, never.'—If any of his family had ever had the disease of the chest? 'Yes, my father had—he died of it.'—What age was he? 'Fifty-three.'—Was it suddenly fatal? 'Yes, suddenly fatal.' He then asked, 'If the disease of the heart was a common disease?' 'Not very common." 'Where do we find it most?' 'In large towns I think.' 'Why?' (Two or three causes were mentioned.) 'Is it generally fatal?' 'Yes, I am afraid it is.'

"The physician then quitted the house for medicine, leaving Mrs. Arnold, now fully aware from him of her husband's state. At this moment she was joined by her son, who entered the room with no serious apprehension, and, on his coming up to the bed, his father, with his usual gladness of expression towards him, asked—'How is your deafness, my boy?' (he had been suffering from it the night before)—and then, playfully alluding to an old accusation against him, 'You must not stay here; you know you do not like a sick room.' He then sate down with his mother at the foot of the bed, and presently his father said in a low voice: 'My son, thank God for me;' and, as his son did not at once catch his meaning, he went on saying—'thank God, Tom, for giving me this pain; I have suffered so little pain in my life, that I feel it is very good for me; now God has given it to me, and I do so thank him for it.' And again, after a pause, he said—alluding to a wish, which his son had often heard him express, that if he ever had to suffer pain, his faculties might be unaffected by it—'How thankful I am that my head is untouched.' Meanwhile his wife, who still had sounding in her ears the tone in which he had repeated the passage from the Epistle to the Hebrews, again turned to the Prayer Book, and began to read the Exhortation, in which it occurs in 'the Visitation of the Sick.' He listened with deep attention, saying emphatically—'Yes,' at the end of many of the sentences. 'There should be no greater comfort to Christian persons than to be made like unto Christ.' 'Yes.'—'By suffering patiently troubles, adversities, and sickness.'—'Yes.' 'He entered not into His glory before He was crucified.'—'Yes.' At the words 'everlasting life,' she stopped, and his son said—'I wish, dear papa, we had you at Fox How.' He made no answer, but the last conscious look, which remained fixed in his wife's memory, was the look of intense tenderness and love with which he smiled upon them both at that moment.

"The physician now returned with the medicines, and the former remedies were applied: there was a slight return of the spasms, after which he said: 'If the pain is again as severe as it was before you came, I do not know how I can bear it.' He then, with his eyes fixed upon the physician, who rather felt than saw them upon him, so as to make it impossible not to answer the exact truth, repeated

one or two of his former questions about the cause of the disease, and ended with asking, 'Is it likely to return?' and, on being told that it was, 'Is it generally suddenly fatal?'—'Generally.' On being asked whether he had any pain, he replied that he had none, but from the mustard plaster on his chest, with a remark on the severity of the spasms in comparison with this outward pain; and then, a few moments afterwards, inquired what medicine was to be given; and on being told, answered, 'Ah, very well.' The physician, who was dropping the laudanum into a glass, turned round, and saw him looking quite calm, but with his eyes shut. In another minute he heard a rattle in the throat, and a convulsive struggle—flew to the bed, caught his head upon his shoulder, and called to one of the servants to fetch Mrs. Arnold. She had but just left the room before his last conversation with the physician, in order to acquaint her son with his father's danger, of which he was still unconscious, when she heard herself called from above. She rushed up stairs, told her son to bring the rest of the children, and with her own hand applied the remedies that were brought in the hope of reviving animation, though herself feeling, from the moment that she saw him, that he had already passed away. He was indeed no longer conscious. The sobs and cries of his children as they entered and saw their father's state, made no impression upon him—the eyes were fixed—the countenance was unmoved: there was a heaving of the chest—deep gasps escaped at prolonged intervals—and just as the usual medical attendant arrived, and as the old schoolhouse servant, in an agony of grief, rushed with the others into the room, in the hope of seeing his master once more—he breathed his last."—pp. 449–452.

The mingled beauty and strength of such a character as Arnold's deeply affect us, as we close the volume. Educated to discern and taste all that is graceful and fair, by daily converse with the highest models, and living in a domestic group of winning endearments, he nevertheless sacrificed no energy of fibre, and athletic struggling for mastery. It is to us the wonderful part of his life. The portrait of his sister, his "most dear and blessed sister," (p. 197) deserves to be engraved on a tablet of marble. Fox How, his northern country-seat was a haven of joyful peace. "It is," said he, "with a mixed feeling of solemnity and tenderness that I regard our mountain nest, whose surpassing sweetness, I think I may safely say, adds a positive happiness to every one of my waking hours passed in it." As he looked about him on his wife and children, the thought which always prevailed, was that of "a whole house transplanted entire from earth to heaven, without one failure." Natural scenery and works of art filled him with pleasure, such as no common mind could contain. His journals of tours on the Continent, especially his Italian tours,

though hasty, fragmentary, and hidden in the small print of the appendix, are equal in value to many quartos. But the outward beauty, while it thrilled him, conducted him back to the higher inward beauty. Thus, amidst a rapturous description of the plain of the Velino, he turns aside to say: "Much more beautiful, because made truly after God's image, are the forms and colours of kind and wise and holy thoughts and words and actions; more truly beautiful is one hour of old Mrs. Price's patient waiting for the Lord's time, and her cheerful and kind interest in us all, feeling as if she owed us anything,—than this glorious valley of the Velinus." The strong practical tendency of his soul did not, as in some one-sided people, make him undervalue the emotions of beauty and wonder. "I hold" says he, "the lines 'nil admirari,' &c., to be as utterly false as any moral sentiment ever uttered." And in other places, of the same maxim, he writes to an old pupil: "I suppose that Pococuranteism (excuse the word) is much the order of the day among young men. I observe symptoms of it here and am always dreading its ascendancy, though we have some who struggle nobly against it. I believe that 'Nil admirari,' in this sense, is the Devil's favourite text; and he could not choose a better to introduce his pupils into the more esoteric parts of his doctrine." And he loved to train his children, to see in external things that something deeper than the surface, which the false analysis of hard minds denies under the name of romance." "Once again," he writes home from Genoa, "I am on the shore of the Mediterranean. I saw it only from a distance when I was last in Italy, but now I am once more on its very edge, and have been on it and in it. True it is, that the Mediterranean is no more than a vast mass of salt water, if people choose to think it so; but it is also the most magnificent thing in the world, if you choose to think it so; and it is as truly the latter as it is the former. And as the pococurante temper is not the happiest, and that which can admire heartily is much more akin to that which can love heartily, ὁ δὲ ἀγαπῶν θεῷ ἥδη ὅμοιος, so, my children, I wish that if ever you come to Genoa, you may think the Mediterranean to be more than any common sea, and may be unable to look upon it without a deep stirring of delight."

The other quality, to which we alluded, is, however, still more rare. Many are tasteful, many are affectionate, but how few withal are strong! If one attribute more than

another strikes every reader in the life of Arnold, it is his earnestness. He took life, as he said, "in earnest." He felt a vocation; he saw a mighty work; he was up and doing. Mere scholarship, mere poetry, were flowers which he trampled down in his progress. It need scarcely be said, that while this made him contemn the puerilities of the Oxford school, it kept him equally remote from the toys and games of literature. He might have been a Parr, knowing to an ounce the weight of every chime of bells in England, or balancing the lines of lapidary Latin. But he was in earnest; he felt life to be a reality. From beginning to end, his course shows no revery, no saunter. The petty dalliances with poetry and poetic philosophy, which grace *coteries*, and reduce even the scholar to a plaything, Arnold probably never thought of. Every pamphlet, every volume, every letter, bears on sober and lofty realities. His very failure in his grand church-hypothesis, was the failure of a mind attempting the highest political problem. We are ashamed and humbled when we read of such men, and are led to inquire whether the secret of all powerful action in the ministry as out of it, does not reside in the concentration of mind and purpose on the very highest problems of the race.

Art. VIII.—1. *Principal Documents relating to the Survey of the Coast of the United States since* 1816. Published by F. R. Hassler, Superintendent of the Survey. Two vols. 8vo. New York, 1834.

2. *Executive Congressional Documents since* 1832

3. *First Report of Professor A. D. Bache, Superintendent of the Coast Survey, showing the Progress of the Work during the year ending November*, 1844.

Our readers who are in the habit of perusing the proceedings of congress, must have seen frequent notices of the important work now in progress in our country, called the coast survey. Yet from the tenor of the frequent inquiries we have heard in reference to this work, we are led to believe that there exists in the public mind generally no very definite idea of its nature and importance. We have

therefore thought that a few pages of our review devoted to a popular exposition of the objects, the method of operation, and the history of the survey, would not be uninteresting to our readers; and perhaps be of some service in the way of enlisting public opinion more generally in favour of the work, and of a liberal appropriation of means for its proper and speedy completion.

The principal object of the coast survey, is the formation of an accurate map of the outline of our extended seaboard, from its northern extremity in the state of Maine, to the limits of our possessions on the Gulph of Mexico; giving the latitude and longitude of the principal points, a minute delineation of the line of the shore, a sketch of the topography of a slip of country parallel to the coast, an exact determination of the form of the bottom of the sea, within the space limited by the depth accessible to the ordinary sounding-line, the nature of the bottom, whether of clay, sand, or gravel, the position of bars, channels, and harbours, the direction and velocity of currents, the depth and temperature of the water, the bearing of the magnetic needle, and all other particulars immediately connected with the wants and improvement of navigation. In the accurate determination of these points of immediate practical utility, a number of results in the highest degree interesting to science will also be obtained. Such as the data for a new determination of the form and magnitude of the earth; the variation of terrestrial gravity; additions to our knowledge of the phenomena of terrestrial magnetism, and other determinations of a purely scientific nature, which are regarded with the highest interest by the learned in every part of the world.

The importance of such a survey must be evident to every one who reflects on the nature of the art of navigation, and its connexion with the commerce, and consequently with the prosperity of our nation. It is not, however, a work in which this country is alone interested, but one which affects the whole civilized world. It is a duty which every nation owes to every other, and to humanity in general, to furnish the mariner with an authentic delineation of its coast. The dangers which threaten the sailor in the midst of the wide ocean, are nothing in comparison with those which beset him as he approaches the land. With 'a sea-worthy' vessel, and a wide space for unobstructed motion, he can laugh at the ordinary force of the winds and the waves.

These, however formidable they may appear to the inexperienced landsman, are formed of yielding materials, and usually spend their force in merely changing the direction of the vessel, or in urging it more rapidly on its way; but the mere suspicion of a sunken rock, the position of which is not precisely known; or the unexpected appearance of a breaker, is sufficient to strike with terror the mariner who would brave unflinchingly the lightning and the tempest. The alternatives of life and death, of wealth and poverty, are almost every day unavoidably staked by some one on the accurate determination of the position of a head-land, a sand-bank, or the true direction of the needle; and culpable must that nation be in the eyes of the world, who boasts of civilization, and yet does not furnish the data for these determinations.

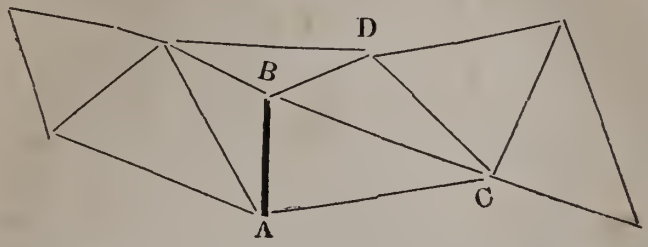
According to the statement of a journal of the day, the truth of which we have no reason to doubt, two hundred and eighty vessels were wrecked during the last year on our coast, in which one hundred and eighty lives were lost, together with an immense amount of valuable property. Several of these vessels were, without doubt, strangers from foreign countries, allured to their destruction by the false representations of the existing maps. The sailor, in his approach to our coast, has hitherto been obliged to depend on the imperfect charts furnished by the surveys of the British government while we were a colony, with the exception of some additions and corrections, made by the energy and enterprise of Messrs. Blunt of New York. The consequence to ourselves of any unnecessary delay in completing the survey, must be a want of a practical knowledge of the important points of our coast for the selection of harbours, roads, &c.; the improvement of our means of defence in time of war, the lessening of the risk of life and property of those of our citizens engaged in commerce, and a lower estimation of our national character in the opinion of all civilized nations.

The importance and necessity of an accurate determination of all the particulars we have mentioned, as the principal objects of the coast survey, will be evident from a brief account of the method employed by the mariner in his approach to the land. When the weather will permit, he determines his latitude and longitude by celestial observation; from a knowledge of these, he marks his position on the chart, and from this ascertains the course and distance of his

destined port, with a knowledge of all the shoals, currents, and obstructions of every kind which may lie in his way. Or if, as is often the case, in approaching land, the sky has been obscured for several days, and the anxious sailor is uncertain as to his "reckoning," he must then have recourse to soundings. The number of fathoms of the line, and the kind of soil, whether sand, clay, gravel, &c., which adheres to the greased end of the deep sea-lead, being found to agree with the indications of a definite spot on the map, this is adopted as the position of the ship, and the bearing and distance of the yet unseen land determined from the same. Now, if the chart be incorrect with regard to the relative position of the several places, the variation of the needle, the situation of bars, &c., or, in reference to the nature and depth of the bottom, dangers of the most imminent kind will await him. A national coast survey must therefore be as accurate as the existing state of science and the arts will permit it to be. An incorrect chart, published under national authority, may in many cases be worse than useless, since it may tend to inspire confidence of safety, and thus serve to repress the vigilance of the mariner, while he is surrounded with danger.

The ordinary methods of land surveying, are entirely inapplicable to a work of this kind. It is impossible to combine together the partial determinations of small districts so as to produce an uniform and consistent whole. The length of a line of forty or fifty miles, extending from one jutting point to another, across the water, is often required within a limit of error which does not exceed a few feet, or perhaps inches; and the position of points must be determined at the distance of many miles from land, to serve as the bases of the sounding operations. The only method which can be employed to obtain accurate results of this kind, is one in which lines and angles are measured by means of trigonometry, combined with astronomical observations at the more important points. This method constitutes a branch of physico-mathematical science, to which the name of geodesy has been applied. Its origin is to be referred to the various labours which have been instituted since the time of the astronomers of Alexandria, to determine the form and dimensions of the earth; but it has only been brought to any degree of perfection since the middle of the last century, by the labours principally of the English and French surveyors.

The general principles of this method of surveying, will be readily understood by a reference to the annexed diagram. 1. In a convenient level place, a line, represented by



AB, of several miles in length, is accurately measured. This line, which is the foundation of all the subsequent operations, is called the *base line.* Starting from it on either side, the country is formed into triangles, by erecting signals on elevated points, properly chosen, until the whole length and breadth of the space to be surveyed is covered with a net-work of triangles. The angles of these triangles being measured, the several sides can all be accurately deduced by calculation from the measured base. For example, the angles at the points ABC being known, and the base AB measured, the sides AC and AB can be calculated by a simple rule of trigonometry. Again, the angles of the triangle CDB being measured, and the side CB being known from the last operation, the remaining sides CD and DB can be readily determined; and in like manner, the length of the several sides throughout the whole series, may be obtained. A system of triangles thus connected, and of which the sides, in some cases, are more than fifty miles long, is called the *primary triangulation.* It is intended to fix, with much more accuracy than could be attained by direct measurement, the relative position of the most important points of the survey. 2. The next step in the operation, is to divide, by a similar process, each of the larger triangles into a number of smaller ones, which may serve to determine the more important intermediate points, and form the bases of the minute survey, to which the whole surface of the country is submitted, as well as that of the bottom of the sea contiguous to the coast. This system of smaller triangles is known by the name of the *secondary triangulation.* 3. Connected with the primary triangulation, a series of astronomical observations are

made, for determining the latitude and longitude of the principal points, the results of which may serve to check the triangulation, and establish on the chart the parallels of latitude, and meridians of longitude. Such a survey is susceptible of great accuracy, and possesses within itself the data for its own verification. First, the accuracy of the measurement of each triangle can be immediately verified by the well-known theorem of geometry, which declares that the sum of the three angles of every triangle must be equal to 180 degrees; and secondly, the lines, and indeed the whole operation, can be verified by measuring one side of a triangle in a distant part of the survey, and comparing the result thus obtained, with the length deduced by computation from the original base. If the two agree within a few inches, the work is considered correct.

It might appear, at first sight, that the process here described, is one of no great difficulty of execution, and that it could be safely intrusted to men of ordinary scientific acquirements. Indeed, such an opinion has been expressed in congress: but nothing can be further from the truth; and any line of policy in reference to the coast survey, founded on this opinion, would be attended with the most disastrous consequences to the success of the work. Every error of measurement or of observation, every fault of calculation or omission of circumstances, is increased and multiplied as the survey is extended, until they amount to discrepancies utterly inadmissible in an operation of this kind. To insure, therefore, the requisite degree of accuracy, all the resources of physical science, and all the appliances of the mechanic arts, must be brought into requisition to meet the difficulties which present themselves from time to time, under the constantly varying circumstances. The truth of these remarks will be evident from a more minute examination of some of the processes of the operation.

To measure a base line, may appear a simple and easy operation; and this is the case where no minute degree of accuracy is required, and when the line is of no considerable length: but in a large survey it forms, perhaps, the most tedious part of the work, and under the most favourable circumstances, presents difficulties which never fail to call forth the scientific resources and inventive powers of the operator. Although a bar of metal at rest on the ground, may appear to have a fixed and unalterable length, yet we find, on examination, that it is almost constantly in a state

of change, expanding or contracting continually with the varying temperature of the day and the season. A line of six miles in length, measured in mid-winter, with an iron rod, would appear about eighteen feet shorter, if measured again during a warm day in summer, with the same instrument: the temperature of the measuring rods must therefore be carefully noted, and the expansions and contractions allowed for. In the measurement of the base, near London, for the trigonometrical survey of England, deal rods were at first used; and although these were made of well seasoned timber, and carefully varnished, yet the changes in their length, produced by the moisture and dryness of the air, were so considerable, that all confidence in the results deduced from them was taken away. Glass rods of twenty feet in length, and supported in wooden frames, were afterwards substituted in the place of these. In the American survey, under the direction of Mr. Hassler, the whole measuring rod consisted of an assemblage of four iron bars, each of two *metres* (39.4 inches) in length; these were clamped together and supported in a wooden trough, prepared for the purpose; the bars had previously been accurately compared with a copy of the French standard, which had been obtained by Mr. Hassler, in 1799. It also requires no inconsiderable skill to place the rods in two consecutive positions in a straight line, and to make the beginning of the one exactly coincide with the ending of the other. In the French and English surveys, the latter object was attempted to be effected by the simple contact of the ends of the rod with a fixed obstacle, while in the American survey, the same object was more accurately attained by an optical contact. For this purpose, a hair was stretched across a semicircular opening at the end of the bar, and made to coincide with the image of the intersection of two lines drawn on a plate of ivory attached to a microscope, which was itself fixed for the time on a stand entirely separate from the support of the rod. The microscope remaining undisturbed, the rod was carried forward to a new position, and the hair stretched across the opening in the hinder end made to coincide with the same point. The microscope was next moved forward and adjusted to the hair on the front end of the rod, and so on to the end of the operation. Again, the line thus measured in the most favourable position, although its parts may be in the same plane, is in reality not a straight line, but forms part of a polygon, the

sides of which are each equal in length to the measuring rod, described around the curvature of the earth. This polygonal line must be reduced to a continuous curve at the mean elevation of the level of the sea.

The next important point which deserves particular notice, is the establishment and mensuration of the angles of the primary triangles. In order to insure the best results, the triangles should be as nearly equilateral as the surface of the ground will admit, and the sides from twenty to thirty and even fifty miles in length. To satisfy these conditions requires a very careful exploration of the country by an experienced eye. That the precise position of the angular point may be observed at the distance mentioned, artificial signals are required and of these several different kinds have been employed. In the English survey simple masts were erected and they were found to answer very well when projected against a clear sky but when the back ground was a dark object they were not distinctly visible even when painted white. In other surveys balls elevated on the top of masts were used. In the survey of the coast of the United States, Mr. Hassler, employed at first truncated cones of burnished tin which reflected an image of the sun, and being elevated on masts were seen at a great distance, but the instrument which has superceded all others for this purpose, and is now used on the coast survey, is that called the Heliotrope, the invention of Professor Gauss of Gottengen. It consists essentially of a small mirror placed immediately over the angular point and so adjusted that a beam of reflected sun light is thrown directly into the telescope of the distant observer. To keep the beam constantly in the proper direction from which it would soon be deflected by the motion of the sun, a person is employed to adjust the mirror anew, from time to time, and for the more ready effecting of this, it is attached to a telescope through which the distant station can be distinctly seen. The telescope being properly pointed, the beam of sun light is directed along a line parallel to the axis of the instrument, by means of two holes in screens attached to its side. By this arrangement, a mirror of a few inches in diameter, can be distinctly observed in a clear day at the distance of forty or fifty miles.

The determination of the precise magnitude of the angle, included between any two sides of the large triangles, is a delicate operation for the performance of which different instruments have been employed. The first surveyors who

aimed at any accuracy, used a large quadrant of a circle divided to the fraction of a minute and furnished with two telescopic sights, one of which being directed to the signal at one end of one of the lines, and the other sight to the signal at the end of the other line, the arc included between the two directions was the measure of the angle required. This instrument, simple as it may appear, is liable to be influenced by so many causes of error that the use of it has been abandoned. It is practically impossible to divide a circle into a given number of parts, all precisely equal among themselves. To obviate the errors arising from this cause, an instrument consisting of an entire circle was used in the survey on which was founded the French system of weights and measures. A repetition of the measurement of the angle being made in succession, on the different parts of the circumference of the circle, the errors of the divisions would tend to balance each other, and the average of all the measurements would be a nearer approximation to the truth. There is, however, the objection to the use of this instrument, that it merely gives the measure of the angle in the plane of the sides of the triangle, while for the purposes of the survey, the horizontal angle, or that of a spherical triangle described on the convex surface of the earth is required; consequently a reduction is to be made, formed on an additional observation of the angle of altitude of the one station above the other. In the English survey a large theodolite was employed. This is an instrument which differs from the repeating circle, in having the telescopic sight, moveable in a vertical plane, so that while the graduated circle is horizontal, the telescope can be directed to a point above the horizontal plane, and in this way the spherical angle is directly obtained without subsequent calculation. In the beginning of the coast survey of the United States, the angles of the primary triangles were measured with a theodolite of two feet in diameter, but for this was afterwards substituted a more perfect instrument by Traughton and Sims, of London, which has been used with admirable success since 1836. The graduated circle of this theodolite, is thirty inches in diameter, and it is said to exceed any other instrument ever made for the same purpose, both in the size of the telescope and the power of the microscope, for reading the divisions. But no instrument constructed by human means can be expected to be perfectly accurate. Notwithstanding all the care that may be be-

stowed on it by the maker, it will be found affected with errors inseparable from the very nature of the material, and, therefore, it becomes the duty of the surveyor, to adopt such methods of observation as may serve, in the greatest degree, to diminish the errors or to cause those of opposite tendencies to balance each other. It is truly surprising to what a degree of accuracy ingenuity has carried the principle of the elimination of error in works of the kind; but the proper application of this principle can only be made by one who to much experience, adds a profound knowledge of physico-mathematical science.

After the triangulation of a district has been completed, and the exact relative position of every point in the survey accurately protracted, it is next required to draw on the map the lines of relative latitude and longitude. For this purpose were the earth a perfect sphere, the bearing of any one of the principal lines with reference to the true north being obtained, that of all the other lines could be calculated and the lines of latitude and longitude for the whole chart be accurately projected; but as the earth is not perfectly spherical, this method is not to be relied on, and therefore the bearing, or the azimuth as it is called, of different lines in distant parts of the survey must be determined. The simplest method of accomplishing this is by means of the theodolite directed first along one of the lines of the survey, and then to the pole star when it is farthest east, and also when farthest to the west of the meridian. The mean angle between these positions is the quantity required. But even the frequent determination of the azimuth cannot be relied upon solely for giving the difference of longitude, especially when the survey has considerable breadth in an east and west direction. In addition to it, astronomical observations should be frequently made at fixed points, such as those of the occultation of stars by the moon, of solar eclipses, &c., which may also serve to determine the longitude from the first meridian. The employment of the magnetic telegraph also affords a ready method of determining the difference of time, and hence the longitude between the several points of the survey which may happen to be near its path; and even in some cases it strikes us, a wire might be temporarily extended from one point to another for the same purpose, the return part of the circuit being formed by the ground.

In order to be constantly assured of the accuracy of the work, the tests of verification should be frequently applied.

The sum of the three angles should exhibit what is called the spherical excess; and the base of verification in measurement and computation, give the same result within a few feet, even in a length of five or six miles, and at the distance it may be of several hundred miles from the original base. Such accuracy has been obtained in the great surveys of Europe and will undoubtedly be exhibited in the American survey.

Trigonometrical surveys of the kind we have described, have been made or are now in progress in various parts of the world, namely, in Austria, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Hanover, Prussia, Swabca, Bohemia, and the German States generally, Italy, Naples, and Sicily, Switzerland, France, England, the British possessions in India and the territory of the French colony in Algiers. Europe is indeed covered with a series of triangulations, from the south of Sicily to the polar circle, from Iceland to the interior of Russia, from Bordeaux to the frontier of Turkey. Some of these commenced in the latter part of the last century, are still in progress.

The American coast survey was recommended to congress by President Jefferson, during the session of 1807, and an appropriation of $50,000 was made for the work in February of the same year. During the following month circulars were addressed by the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Gallatin, to a number of scientific gentlemen, requesting their opinion individually, as to the plans to be adopted for carrying out the provisions of the law. Thirteen answers were returned to these circulars, which were submitted to a committee of the members of the American Philosophical Society, at the head of which was the president of the institution, Dr. Patterson. After a full consideration of the merits of the several plans proposed, that submitted by Mr. Hassler, a native of Switzerland, who had been employed in operations of the same kind in his own country, was adopted. The survey was however destined to meet with many delays and difficulties. On account of the threatening aspect of public affairs in reference to a rupture with Great Britain, nothing was done in the way of immediate preparation for the work until August, 1811, when Mr. Hassler was sent to England to procure the necessary apparatus for carrying into operation the plans proposed by himself; but before the instruments could be furnished war was declared, and the agent was detained as an alien enemy, until 1815.

In August, 1816, Mr. Hassler was formally appointed superintendent of the coast survey, and immediately entered on the duties of his office in the way of exploring the country for the purpose of discovering a suitable position for the establishment of a base line. A locality for this essential part of the survey, was finally chosen in that part of New Jersey which borders on the Hudson, and is immediately behind the perpendicular ledge of rocks well known to the traveller on that river by the name of the Palisades. The base line was measured in the spring of 1817, and was found to be 30999.8 English feet, or a little more than five miles and a half long. During the same year, a series of triangles founded on this base and spreading over the basin of the lower part of the Hudson, including New York bay and the adjoining country, was established, in order to the extension of the survey north and south, along the sea-board. Also to be assured at the beginning of the work, of the accuracy of the instruments and methods employed, a base of verification was measured on the south shore of Long Island, near the Narrows, the length of which deduced from the triangulation, was found to agree with the actual measurement within about eight inches, the whole length of the line being 25443¾ English feet, or nearly five miles.

We might conclude from these facts that the survey had now been commenced in good earnest, and that the work would be prosecuted to a successful termination, with a liberal support from the government, but this was not destined to be the case; before Mr. Hassler could have an opportunity of presenting a report of the result of his labours during the year, the survey was effectively discontinued by an act of congress, passed in April, 1818. The principal cause of this sudden stoppage of the work is to be attributed to a want of a proper appreciation of the importance of the object, and a knowledge of the nature of the operations, combined with the embarrassed state of the public finance in consequence of the war which had just terminated.

In 1827 after a lapse of ten years, the coast survey was again called to public attention by the enlightened policy of the Hon. Samuel L. Southard, the Secretary of the Navy, who in his reports to congress repeatedly urged the necessity of resuming the survey on the original plan. Finally, after another delay, the law of 1807 was revived in July, 1832, and the President again authorized to employ such astronomers and other persons as he should deem pro-

per for carrying on the work. In August of the same year, Mr. Hassler was reappointed to the charge of the survey, and continued in the employment until the time of his death, in November, 1843.

During the interval of the interruption of the survey, Mr. Hassler presented a memoir on the subject to the American Philosophical Society, which was published in the transactions of this body in 1825. It contains a minute account of the plans adopted for carrying on the work, a description of the instruments he had procured for the purpose, and of the labours which had been performed in 1817. This memoir was received with much favour by competent judges abroad, and the commendation bestowed on it was of no little importance in awaking a sentiment of national pride, which had considerable influence in assisting the passage of the act authorizing the renewal of the survey in 1832.

Mr. Hassler's first report on the progress of the work, was made in 1834. Under the new organization, the primary triangulation was conducted exclusively by the superintendent. The secondary triangulations were carried on simultaneously in different districts, by three principal assistants, namely, by Mr. Ferguson, Mr. Blunt, and Captain Swift. The topographical operations, which consist in the filling up of the minute survey of the secondary triangles, was intrusted to five or six separate parties, each consisting of an assistant and five or six men. The hydrographical determinations were made by officers of the navy, detached by the executive department for the purpose.

The sounding operations were carried on by the reciprocal observations of three observers on shore, and two on board the vessel. The position of the vessel at the points corresponding to the several soundings, was thus obtained by the measurement of five angles and two base lines. This system of operation was carried out as far as the land could be seen, or about twelve miles; beyond this, the position of soundings was determined by means of celestial observations for latitude, and the indications of the chronometer for longitude.

Under this organization, the work appears to have been prosecuted up to the present time, but with very variable success. The first operations after the recommencement of the survey, was to uncover the station points of the triangulation of 1817, which had been preserved, in some cases, by truncated cones of stone-ware, sunk sufficiently below the surface of the ground; and in others, by

drilling a hole of two inches in diameter into the solid rock; an accurate description of the locality having been placed on record. The new survey was at first based on the triangulation of 1817, and extended north and south from it; but in 1834, a new and much longer base was measured on that part of the south shore of Long Island, which extends along what is called Fire Island Beach, near the light-house The measurement was completed in forty-five days, with the apparatus before mentioned, and described in the transactions of the American Philosophical Society, and its length found to be 8¾ miles. The position of this base on the level beach, and but little above tide-water, offered unusual facilities for an operation of this kind. It presented, however, the disadvantage which results from the impossibility of permanently marking the terminations of the line, on account of the encroachments of the sea. To avoid the effect of this occurrence, which is said to have since actually taken place at one end, the base was referred, by triangulation, to two permanent and elevated points, from twelve to twenty miles inland: the distance between these is known in the reports of the survey by the name of the *mountain base.* Notwithstanding the objections which have been urged against this base, its great length, and the facilities which the position afforded for exact measurement, will perhaps more than compensate for the want of permanency in the points which mark its extremities. For should circumstances ever render it necessary to verify this base by another measurement a line applicable to the purpose, could be readily deduced from the mountain base; but from the present indications of the accuracy of the primary triangulation, such a necessity will probably never exist.

We have found considerable difficulty in ascertaining the precise state of the survey up to the time of the death of Mr. Hassler, but from the examinations of a committee of congress in 1842, it appears that the primary triangulation extended from Mount Carmel, in Connecticut, to Yard's, near Philadelphia, including twenty primary stations, and covering 3,577 square miles. The secondary triangulation exceeded in extent the primary, and included the space along the coast from Narragansett bay in Rhode Island to Cape Henlopen at the mouth of the Delaware bay. It covered a surface of about 11,000 square miles, while the topographical and hydrographical surveys up to the same time extended over about 4,200, and 5,600 square miles, respectively.

Although the coast survey had apparently been recommenced in 1832 under the most flattering circumstances, yet it must be confessed that during the ten years which followed, its progress was not such as the friends of the work and the public generally had reason to expect. Recalled to important duties requiring great personal exertions, and the adjustment of perplexing difficulties, at a period when most men begin to withdraw from the ordinary duties of active life, Mr. Hassler no longer possessed the practical ability to carry out fully the plans devised by himself a quarter of a century before. But we desire not to dwell on this part of the history of the survey, and would rather call to public attention the great indebtedness of the work to the early labours of Mr. Hassler; and perhaps we cannot present this in language more appropriate than that of his successor, at the beginning of his first report. "The coast survey owes its present form and perhaps its existence to the zeal and scientific ability of the late superintendent, who devoted the energies of a life to it; and who but for its interruption at a period when he was in the prime of manhood, and its suspension for nearly fifteen years, might have seen its completion. The difficult task of creating resources of practical science for carrying on such a work upon a suitable scale, required no common zeal and perseverance for its accomplishment, especially at a time when our country was far from having attained her present position of scientific acquirement, and when public opinion was hardly sufficiently enlightened to see the full advantage of thoroughness in executing the work. For his successful struggle against great difficulties, his adopted country will do honour to his memory as the pioneer of a useful national undertaking."

The appointment of Alexander D. Bache, LL.D., to the office of superintendent of the coast survey, took place in December, 1843, and the acceptance of this gentleman, well known for his scientific labours in every part of the civilized world, and highly esteemed for his moral qualities by all who enjoy the pleasure of his acquaintance, was received by the friends of the survey as a guarantee that it would now be prosecuted with energy and skill to a successful termination. The appointment of Dr. Bache was urged on the President by letters from most of the men of scientific reputation in our country, and we know that it has received the approbation of some of the most distinguished cultivators of physical science in Europe. In

filling an office of this kind it was gratifying to find that political considerations were entirely disregarded, and the merits and fitness of the individual alone considered.

Soon after the appointment of Dr. Bache he submitted a plan of operation for the ensuing season, which was fully approved by the Hon. John C. Spencer, Secretary of the Treasury, who during his continuance in office exhibited the most lively interest in the coast survey, and readily lent his talents and his influence to every plan which might serve to improve its condition. The peculiar feature of the plan proposed by Dr. Bache was the immediate verification and closing of the primary triangulation of Mr. Hassler by measuring a base line as near as possible to the southern termination of his labours. It was considered, in justice to his memory, that as little of the work of others as practicable should be included in his series previous to its verification; and it was also deemed most proper to assign this measurement to his senior assistant, James Ferguson, Esq. It was also proposed to verify the main triangulation, on Long Island Sound, by measuring a base as near as possible to its northern termination, besides extending as far as practical all parts of the survey.

The first report of Dr. Bache, exhibiting the progress of the survey during the year ending November, 1844, was presented to the senate in December of the same year. Our limits will only permit us to give a very brief account of its contents. It is the only report we have met with in searching for the materials of this article that gives a clear idea of the actual state of the survey, at the time it was made, and accompanied with maps for its proper illustration. There is another peculiarity of the report which deserves notice as exhibiting a characteristic of Dr. Bache. We allude to the scrupulous care with which he gives to each assistant his due credit even in case of a mere suggestion.

The report is divided into several different sections; the first of which gives an account of the survey from Narraganset bay northward and eastward. In this quarter the primary triangulation, which is still under the immediate charge of the superintendent, has been extended across the state of Rhode Island and a part of Massachusetts. Five primary stations were occupied and angles observed from fifty-three different points of the survey. The whole number of angles measured by the superinten dentduring the season is 2,753,

and the surface included within the triangles is about 1100 square miles. The secondary triangulation in the same section has been extended so as to include Buzzard's Bay and the greater part of the Vineyard sound. The area covered by it is 379 square miles. The work was planned and executed by assistant C. M. Eakin. The topographical operations in the same quarter, cover a total area of one hundred and forty square miles. The soundings, under the direction of the naval officers, on this part of the coast have been nearly completed from Point Judith to New Bedford, inclusive.

The next division of the work extends from Narraganset Bay to New York, and thence to to the capes of the Delaware. The main triangulation of this section, which is connected with the primary triangulation of Mr. Hassler, near Fire Island base, was extended by one of the principal assistants, Edmund Blunt, Esq., over Long Island Sound, to Narraganset Bay. -This work was not originally intended to take the place of a primary triangulation, but the care bestowed on it appeared to justify its provisional adoption as such, with the precaution of measuring at once a base near the north end, for its verification. An eligible situation for a base was found on the site of the Providence and Boston railway, the road having been originally graded for two tracks, and only one having been constructed, a wide space was left on the side, which offered in one place an admirable location for the purpose, being easily connected with the triangulation, and affording a straight base of about eleven miles long. The measurement was commenced on the 11th of September, and completed on the 28th of November. The apparatus employed was the same used by Mr. Hassler, at Fire Island Beach, with some improvements by Mr. Blunt. This base is intended to close the survey made under the direction of Mr. Hassler, at the north, and to serve as a base of departure for a new primary triangulation, for the further extension of the work. The operations for deep sea-soundings, have been continued off the coast, in this district, under the charge of Commander T. R. Gedney, of the navy; and have been carried out from the land to the distance of from seventy to one hundred miles, and to a depth of more than one hundred fathoms. They now extend from beyond the eastern extremity of Long Island to the capes of the Delaware.

The next section relates to the extension of the secondary

triangulation, which had previously reached southward to the mouth of the Delaware, under the care of Captain Johnstone, of the army. The party surveyed seventy-four square miles, and occupied twenty-seven stations; and also prepared the ground for the "plane-table" operations of next season. The topographical survey of the shore of Delaware River and Bay, and also the soundings of the latter, have been finished. The hydrographical operations have also been carried on southward and eastward of Cape Henlopen, to the extent of about one hundred and fifty square miles.

Another section of the report gives the operations in the Chesapeake Bay, relating to the selection and measurement of the proposed base for the southern verification of Mr. Hassler's triangulation. After considerable reconnoitering, the site of this base was finally chosen, by the superintendent, on Kent Island, in the Chesapeake, about thirty miles below Baltimore, and opposite Annapolis. It is five miles and four-tenths long, and was measured by Mr. Ferguson, with the same apparatus employed by Mr. Hassler, on the original base. Although the final verification of Mr. Hassler's survey cannot be completed until the primary triangulation is brought to this base, yet it is satisfactory to know, says Dr. Bache, that the results afforded through the secondary triangles, show a remarkable coincidence in the length of one of the sides, as computed from this base and from the original one, the difference not exceeding twenty inches in a line of twelve miles. Mr. Ferguson has also been engaged in the 'reconnoissance' for continuing the primary triangulation of Mr. Hassler, so as to connect it with the base of verification; also the triangulation from the ends of the same base has been commenced; seven primary stations and one secondary, have been occupied; the area included within this triangulation is 420 square miles.

The progress already made in this work, leaves only five stations to complete the intended connexion with Kent Island base, and when this is accomplished, the surveys executed by Mr. Hassler and his assistants, will be included between two bases of verification about three hundred and thirty miles apart, between which the work will be nearly or quite complete, over an area reaching from Maryland to Massachusetts.

In addition to the work just mentioned, a secondary triangulation, near the head of the Chesapeake Bay,

was commenced, which now includes twenty-nine stations, and covers ninety-five square miles. Also plane-table surveys were made on the shore of the Chesapeake, and the adjacent country, which cover upwards of eighty square miles, and hydrographical surveys were made, covering an area of more than one hundred and fifty square miles.

Besides the operations we have described, others of a more miscellaneous kind have been undertaken. Explorations have been made, we believe, by Mr. T. H. Gerdes, in North Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama, for commencing the survey in these different states, during the next season. Astronomical observations for determining the latitude, longitude, and azimuth, have been made by the superintendents at several of the stations of the primary triangulations. A series of observations for latitude have been made at the two extremes of the main triangulation, and for azimuth, near the north end, by Mr. Blunt. Also a series of observations for the same purpose, have been carried on by the assistants, near Kent Island. It is to be regretted that the astronomical instruments belonging to the survey were found defective, and that the superintendent was obliged to borrow from Columbia College, and West Point, articles of the kind necessary to the prosecution of the work.

A series of magnetic observations on the variation, the dip, and the intensity of the needle, were made by Professor Renwick, of Columbia College, in some of the principal harbours of Long Island Sound. The most important of these elements, the variation, is required immediately, to finish a series of charts of this district, now preparing for publication. At several points, observations on the tides, the velocity and temperature of currents, the change in the position of bars, have been carried on, together with a series of observations on meteorology.

It is the settled policy of the present superintendent, to give the results of the survey to the public as soon as they are accurately determined; and in accordance with this, four sheets of the map of New York bay and harbour have been published; and one hundred and sixty-nine copies distributed, under authority of an act of Congress. It is, however, a matter of mortification, that a narrow-minded consideration of false economy, should have restricted the number to be distributed to three hundred. This number is insufficient to supply even the institutions

in the different congressional districts, whose representatives have applied for them; leaving none to be sent to foreign governments, and literary and scientific societies at home and abroad. Provision was not even made for furnishing our own naval vessels; but we hope more liberal views have prevailed among the members of the last congress, in reference to this subject, and that ample provision has or will be made for the free distribution of these maps, and the immediate publication of all the work now finished in the office.

From the report of the superintendent, it appears that there exists a large amount of material, the accumulation of past years, in part or quite ready for publication. To withold this unnecessarily from the public, is trifling with the lives and fortunes of our citizens, and doing violence to the commercial property of some of our most important cities. To show that we do not express ourselves too strongly on this point, we will refer to some discoveries made during the present year, which are given in the several parts of Dr. Bache's report, and exhibit in a strong light, the imperative necessity of the immediate publication of the results obtained, as well as the efficient extension of the work. At the close of a report made by Lieutenant Commandant Blake, to the superintendent, are the following remarks. "I cannot forbear calling your attention to the great deficiencies in the existing charts of this dangerous section of the coast, upon which I have been employed this season. They all appear to have been founded upon surveys made before the Revolution, with some amendments and additions; but even immediately off the important port of New Bedford and Fairhaven, where nearly three hundred whale ships are owned, I found dangerous single rocks near one of the main ship channels, with but five feet of water on them, entirely omitted in the latest publication."

The same gentleman states that the survey of Delaware Bay shows a perfectly safe and direct channel for merchant vessels of the largest size, where no channel has heretofore been supposed to exist. It presents several advantages over the old channel, and must be of great importance to the commerce of Philadelphia; also three new channels have been discovered over the "Cape May ridges," which will be of great utility in the coal trade of the same city: and a dangerous shoal, hitherto known to but few, if any,

of the pilots, near the main ship channel, has been traced out in the same district. The charts of Delaware Bay have been found entirely unworthy of confidence. The position assigned by the most authentic of them to one of the principal lighthouses, is nearly seven miles in error. Several dangerous shoals, with but a few feet of water upon them, and on which numerous wrecks have occurred, are placed from three to five miles from their true position; and the bay is represented in one part as fifteen miles in width, when it is actually found by the survey to be but seven.

It is expedient and proper, in all cases, to give the coast survey all the advantages of popularity which discoveries of the kind just mentioned entitle it to, and in accordance with this view, but without wishing to diminish, in the least degree, the well-merited reputation of the officers who may be engaged in the sounding operations, we must, in this place, express our decided disapprobation of the name given the new channel into the harbour of New York. Thousands who have heard of the Gedney channel, are unacquainted with the fact, that it is one of the legitimate offsprings of the coast survey, and that all engaged in the work, were concerned in the discovery. The name of Coast Survey Channel, would be, in our opinion, a more appropriate title.

From the account we have given of the report of the superintendent, it must be evident that more work has been performed during the past year, than in any previous year of the history of the survey, and this will appear more worthy of notice, when the difficulties are considered, with which Dr. Bache had to contend, in entering on the duties of his office. The records of the labours of his predecessor, were to be deciphered, accounts were to be adjusted with the treasury department, which had been a perpetual source of perplexity to almost every secretary; prejudices in favour of old plans, and against the introduction of new ones, were to be overcome; and in short, almost an entirely new and more efficient organization was required, with a set of instructions for carrying it into operation during the coming year.

One of the plans adopted by Dr. Bache, we cannot speak of but in terms of the highest commendation. We allude to the apportioning of the work of calculation, and of verification, as well as of celestial observations, at certain points, among a number of the most distinguished practical astronomers of our country. By this arrangement, science will

be encouraged and the interests of the survey advanced. Those who have heretofore devoted themselves to the acquisition of knowledge for its own sake, will receive a new stimulus in the moderate compensation allowed for their labours, as well as in the honour of participating in a national work of this kind. The cost of the survey will be diminished, on account of the smaller amount of pay required by a person who remains at home, and devotes but a part of his time to the employment; and it will also be more rapidly advanced, as well as additional security offered against error, by a greater division of labour, while the principal officers of the survey, released from the labours of calculation, can devote themselves, even in winter, to the field operations of the southern triangulations. To insure the full advantages of this plan, a rule should be established, that no person be thus employed, whose reputation does not rest on actual contributions to astronomical science, which have received the commendation of competent judges. The effect of this rule, would be to exclude a host of pretenders, and place in merited relief those on whose labours the scientific character of our country, in this line, really depends.

In accordance with this plan, which received the approbation of the Secretary of the Treasury, W. C. Bond, Esq., was engaged to make a series of astronomical observations at Cambridge, and Professor E. O. Kendall at Philadelphia. Sears W. Walker, well known for his attainments in practical astronomy, is engaged in the reduction of astronomical observations. His report shows that considerable progress has already been made in the work committed to him; five out of nine classes of astronomical phenomena brought to bear upon the longitude of a central point of the survey, and embracing the results of seventy-two different observations, are completed. Mr. Bond has reported the result of a series of occultations and moon-culminating stars; and Mr. Kendall has already funished interesting approximate results obtained with an Ertel circle for latitude. Professor Pierce, of Harvard University has been employed in determining the longitude approximately, between Liverpool and Boston, by the repeated exchange of chronometers, through the means of the steam packets. Also, as the beginning of a system of verification of the astronomical observations made by the officers of the survey, those of Mr. Blunt near the southern

termination of his triangulation in Brooklyn, have been calculated by Professor S. Alexander, of Princeton, and observations of the superintendent are now in the hands of the same gentleman, to be submitted to the same ordeal. The valuable labours of Professor Renwick, which may be considered as belonging to the same organization, have been already mentioned; and from the whole results of the last year in reference to this plan, there can be no doubt of its importance to the work, and its beneficial effects on the science of the country.

It would also appear to be another favourite measure of Dr. Bache, to enlist in the cause of the coast survey the talents and the influence of the officers of the army and navy, as well as to employ the recent graduates of West Point; the work offering to the latter an admirable school of practice. It is gratifying to learn that under the new organization, the gentlemen connected with these departments have shown a desire to engage in the work, and we cannot but hope soon to see the survey, with a more liberal appropriation, carried forward with increasing energy, under the generous rivalry of a number of additional parties, filled with gentlemen from these sources.

The concluding part of the report gives a statement of the intended operations of the next year, and also an estimate of the expense of the work with the same organization as last year. This amounts to eighty-eight thousand dollars for expense of the survey, and twelve thousand dollars for the publication of the work of past years. "With this appropriation," says Dr. Bache, "which does not exceed that of recent years, I feel confident that the work marked out in the foregoing report may be accomplished, the field and water operations carried on in the eastern, middle and southern sections of the work; and the speedy publication of the results be secured." "While I thus submit an estimate, grounded upon the past policy of the executive and congress, in reference to the progress of the survey of the coast I would be wanting in my duty, did I not show how the work might be more rapidly advanced. I feel the more obliged to make this statement, because selfish motives might be supposed to prompt me as superintendent of the work to desire a continuance rather than its completion." An account is then given in detail of the plan, by which the immediate benefits of the survey may be extended in a comparatively short time, to nearly every part

of our coast, by an appropriation of not more than fifty per cent. greater than that required by the present plan, while, in the sequel, the whole cost of the survey will not be increased, but rather diminished, since the operations recommended form an essential part of the survey, the expense of which cannot be lessened by any postponement; while with a more expanded scale of work, arrangements of the parties in reference to division of labour, and economy of time, become practicable, which cannot now be effected. "More than once," says the superintendent, "have I had occasion to regret the unavoidable diminution in the efficiency of a party, by the necessary decrease in its expenditures; and I am satisfied that true economy in the yielding of results proportionate to means expended, would be consulted, by a more liberal scale of appropriation."

ART. IX.—*The Odyssey of Homer, according to the text of Wolf; with notes: for the use of Schools and Colleges.* By John J. Owen, Principal of the Cornelius Institute. New York: Leavitt, Trow and Company. 1845. 12mo. pp. 516.

WE hope the day of *Collectanea*, *Delectus*, and scraps, will soon be over in America; and all excuse for these shifts, the cold victuals of literature, is taken away by such works as the one before us. We are tired of bricks instead of the house, and nibblings at the rind instead of thorough digestion of the substance. Mr. Owen manifests a diligence, zeal and learning, amidst the daily cares of a valuable seminary, which give confident expectation that our classical schools will rapidly grow in strength. The volume here produced is convenient, beautiful, and well furnished with notes. Remembering that when we sighed, in youth, to enter the "sounding porch" of the Odyssey, there was no American edition, and that we had to grope our way among the dust and ligatures of old Spondanus, we rejoice that our sons have such an access to the work as this. We acknowledge that the German form of the letter pleases us less than that of England and France; such as may be seen in the Bipont books, or in Bambas's New Testament, just

published: but the page is beautiful, nevertheless. The text of Wolf, 8vo., 1827, Leipzig, is adopted; with help from Ernesti, Baumgarten-Crusius, Buttmann, Crusius, Nitzsch, and others. The notes explain matters as well of archaeology as of exegesis. There is additional aid from a map of Ithaca, and from copious indexes. Mr. Owen has not failed, here and there, to introduce passages from English poets, illustrating the matter in hand. The notes have the advantage of keeping the reader constantly abreast of the rapid progress of modern grammatical analysis. In fine, we heartily thank the able editor, for thus contributing to our school apparatus, what is at present the only complete American edition of the most delightful of all poems.

A Treatise on the Forces which produce the organization of Plants. With an appendix, containing several Memoirs on Capillary Attraction, Electricity, and the Chemical action of Light. By John William Draper, M. D., Professor of Chemistry in the University of New York. New York: Published by Harper & Brothers, No. 82 Cliff St. 1844. 332 pp. 4to.

The *materiel* of this volume, its paper, typography and getting up, place it among the most imposing and beautiful issues of the American press.

In regard to the literary and scientific merits of the work, we can only, at present, give the impressions which it has made upon us, without going into a thorough review of it.

Our first remark is, that it has a very assuming tone, which is always a great disadvantage. We should not make this remark, if it were not extorted from us by the flagrancy of the vice. The author claims entirely too much credit, on the score of original discovery. Any one who reads his preface and opening chapters, would suppose that the relations of physiology to chemical and mechanical philosophy, were wholly unknown until now. And yet, after a somewhat careful examination, we are not able to find a single truth in physiology, developed in the work before us, which was not known, or at least suggested before. What is new, is not correct. There is scarcely a single chapter in the book, which does not excite expectations, which are disappointed in one of two ways. Either we are treated to a demonstration from the experiments and observations of others; or else, after following his argument, with high hopes of reaching some important results,

it winds up either without suggesting any new conclusions at all, or with the avowal of doctrines, to which we are not yet prepared to subscribe.

Our next remark is, that the author has evidently laboured under great disadvantage, in determining the form and character of his book; or rather in attempting to combine objects which were widely different, and even in some cases incompatible. In the first place the appendix is precisely twice the size of the body of the work, and contains a collection of the author's papers originally published in the scientific journals of America and England, on a great variety of subjects; some of which have a very remote bearing, and others none at all, upon the subject of the work. In the second place, the book claims to be addressed to "chemical philosophers," while a large part of it is perfectly elementary, and these elements drawn out into great detail. It has evidently been Prof. Draper's aim to bring together, and present to the world, the whole range of his scientific inquiries, under the pretext of writing a book on vegetable physiology. His plan, consequently, wants unity; and the subject announced is overlaid by the mass of matter which he has accumulated around, and piled upon it.

In the third place, at least one of the author's main doctrines is a scientific heresy,—we allude to his explicit and repeated denial, of what the physiologists call '*the vital force.*' He contends that all the phenomena of organization and of life, are explicable by the agency of known chemical and mechanical forces, especially by the action of the imponderable principles, light, heat and electricity. "There is no mystery," says he, (p. 2), "in animated beings, which time will not reveal." We cannot here argue this question: but we deny utterly, that the present state of science, justifies or even suggests such a doctrine. Who believes, for example, that the production of a flower of uniform character and colour, with the parent plant, from every seed which that plant matures, can be accounted for by known chemical agencies? Who can detect in the albumen of an egg, chemical properties which shall determine whether its living offspring shall be an eagle or an owl; or account by physical laws, for the reproduction of the precise likeness of the parent bird, even to the minutest speck of colouring upon the finest filament of every feather? Can the fact that one ovum produces a male, and another a

female fœtus, be referred to the action of electricity or light? We might multiply such questions ad infinitum. If this doctrine be true, science has, at least, not yet furnished the proof of it; and we should be willing to stake our character, as a prophet of science, against that of Dr. Draper, and say that "there *are* mysteries in animated beings, which time will *never* reveal."

To prevent misapprehension, we ought perhaps to say, that physiologists do not regard '*the vital force*,' we would rather say *vital principle*, as creating organic substance independently of physical agencies. They do not look upon it as an original source of power. The change of inorganic into organic matter, is clearly a chemical phenomenon, and is subject to chemical laws. The province of the vital force is to determine organic *forms*. It does not dispense with chemical or mechanical agency, so as to produce organs in all their required endless variety, of the most perfect type, and after a fixed law, instead of allowing the formation of mere formless chemical compounds. What the nature of this *vital principle* is, physiologists are not able to say, and most probably never will be. It is merely the general expression of a law, which carries us beyond the limit of physics, into that of intelligence and skill, and which at present we can only resolve into the plastic energy of the Creator himself.

A Commentary on the Book of Psalms, etc. By George, Lord Bishop of Norwich, and President of Magdalen College, Oxford. To which is prefixed an Introductory Essay by the Rev. Edward Irving, and a Memoir of the Life of the Author. New York: Robert Carter. 1845. 8vo. pp. 536.

To regard Horne on the Psalms as a sufficient substitute for learned exposition, and to denounce it as an obsolete absurdity, is equally unreasonable. He has himself borne witness, in his preface, to the necessity of critical investigation, as affording the basis of all practical and spiritual improvement. The spirit and principle of this admission must extend, of course, to subsequent as well as antecedent writers, unless we arbitrarily assume that the process of elucidation ceased precisely at the time when Horne completed or began his labours. The man who rejects; for example, the invaluable fruits of Hengstenberg's abilities and indus-

try, in reference to this part of the Bible, is chargeable with folly of which the good bishop would himself have been ashamed. On the other hand, we wish that such a book as Horne's might occupy a place side by side with later and more learned works upon the student's table, if it were only for the purpose of constantly recalling him from the mere literature of interpretation to its practical uses and its spiritual import. Such a combination might go far to remedy the common and injurious separation of devotional from critical pursuits. The defects and errors of the two kinds of commentaries now referred to would correct each other by comparison more fully than in any other way. We should indeed have little fear that any right-minded student of the Psalter, who had patience to compare Horne's exposition with the later exegesis, could fail to find the golden mean of truth and safety. As to the principle of Horne's interpretation, he admits the possibility and fact of its abuse, and in so doing grants the necessity of exercising sound discretion in its application. Indeed, the grand question after all is not whether the Psalms, or the scriptures generally, are to be literally or spiritually understood, but when and where each method is appropriate and necessary. Erroneous and extravagant interpretation, like some of the worst corruptions of the church, has arisen from the effort to create uniformity where God has made a difference, to prescribe and enforce one rigid rule, where a plurality is not only authorized but rendered necessary by the very nature of the case. The best interpreter is he who, in this sense, rightly divides the word of truth; who interprets literally what was so intended, who interprets spiritually that which is spiritual; who neither mistakes parable for history, nor poetry for prose, nor prayer for prophecy; who neither merges double senses, where they are really intended, into one, nor violently splits one into two or many; and who aims to discriminate between these cases not by an *a priori* canon or an empirical nostrum, but by using the reason with which God has endowed him, under the control of faith and in reliance on the teaching of the Holy Spirit, not by wholesale, but in detail, as the cases occur, with due regard to the analogy of faith. That the different parts of this great work are so seldom well performed by the same writer, is a cogent reason for preferring an eclectic and comparative investigation, to the prejudiced adoption of some one school or writer, to the condemnation and exclusion of the rest.

The opposite effects of this unhappy partiality may be discerned in the assurance with which some condemn the English Bible as unworthy of confidence, while others seem to substitute it for the inspired text, as fully as the Septuagint and Vulgate are thus substituted by the Oriental and the Papal Churches. The introductory essay, which is here reprinted, although not without intrinsic value, is chiefly interesting from the recollection of the place held by the writer in the public estimation at the time of its appearance, twenty years ago, contrasted with his subsequent decline and fall.

Chemistry, as exemplifying the wisdom and beneficence of God. By George Fownes, Ph.D. Chemical Lecturer in the Middlesex-Hospital Medical School. New York: Wiley & Putnam. Philadelphia: J. W. Moore. 1844. pp. 158, 12mo.

This is a modest but admirable volume. It presents a general and popular view of most of the remarkable and interesting discoveries of modern chemistry, and particularly of that department of the science which is altogether of very recent date—vital chemistry. The common reader will find the curious facts of this beautiful science stripped of their technicalities and simplified so as to be easily intelligible to a mind of ordinary cultivation. and in as great detail as he will probably desire; unless the fascination of the subject should seduce him into a full study of it. The facts presented are arranged with special reference to the display of the evidences of the wisdom and goodness of God. This indeed was the primary object of the book. The author received for it the premium of one hundred guineas, offered by the royal institution of Great Britain, out of the proceeds of a legacy of one thousand pounds, left to them by Mrs. Acton of London, the interest of which is to be appropriated for a prize essay, once in every seven years. The volume may be considered as a sort of supplement to the Bridgewater Treatises. The author is thoroughly master of his subject. We recommend the book to all our readers, who wish to know the state of the argument in favour of natural theology, as drawn from this science. They will find it clearly and strongly stated, and they will find a body of information, which will be of great use in the illustration of truth.

Journal of Prison Discipline and Philanthropy. Published under the direction of the Philadelphia Society for the Alleviation of the Miseries of Public Prisons, instituted 1787. Vol. I. No. 1. January, 1845. Philadelphia: Josiah Tatem. pp. 96.

This periodical is to be published quarterly, at two dollars a year, or 75 cents a single number. The present number contains ten articles replete with valuable information. There is no subject which within the last twenty-five years has attracted more general attention, and with regard to which more important reforms have been introduced than that of the discipline of Public Prisons. In this country there are two rival systems contending for the approbation of the public, the Pennsylvanian, or separate labour plan, and the New York, or social and silent labour plan. The advocates of the latter system have too long had almost exclusively the ear of the public, and through the publications of the Boston Prison Discipline Society, and those of a similar society in New York, have had the argument almost to themselves. We are glad therefore to see that the Philadelphia Society have determined to have an organ of their own, that the other side of the question may be fairly presented. The high reputation attained by the Pennsylvania prisons, in Europe especially, renders it the more necessary that the principles on which they are conducted should be known, and the results of experience regarding them fairly stated.

Critical Exposition of Baptism, embracing the Mosaic Baptisms, John's Baptism, and Christian Baptism, clearly establishing the scriptural authority of Affusion and Sprinkling and of Infant Baptism. By Leicester A. Sawyer, A. M., President of Central College, Ohio. Cincinnati and New York. 1845. pp. 188.

An estimate of this book, founded simply on its unpretending size and shape, would be exceedingly erroneous. We have seldom met with more originality, or more of the results of learning wholly free from its parade, within so small a compass. Besides a brief but full and clear enumeration of the common arguments on both sides of the question, it contains some new and striking views, including several ingenious scriptural interpretations. It is further characterized by vigorous thought, laconic brevity without

obscurity of style, uncommon closeness and uncommon fairness of reasoning, independence and freedom from sectarian and party bias, with a high degree of confidence and boldness of opinion, very quietly expressed, not so much *in modo* as *in re*. From the last of these qualities arise the only faults with which a candid critic could well charge the author. Some of his philological decisions seem to us too peremptory and unqualified, and his assertion of the scriptural authority of sprinkling or affusion too exclusive. As an instance of the author's independence, with respect to sects and parties, we may state that he not only strenuously advocates the doctrine of infant church membership, and urges the duties flowing from it, but pleads for an equivalent to confirmation and for distinguishing between those admitted to the church *ab extra* and those brought up within it. By the way, it seems to us that in contrasting the Episcopal and Presbyterian theory and practice on this subject, he has done injustice to the latter by not taking into due account the difference between old fashioned Presbyterianism and the lax modifications of it which have been produced by Congregational influence. Besides the qualities already mentioned, or rather as the joint result of all, we may describe the book as eminently readable, at once entertaining and instructive, and on most points perfectly convincing. This, with its small dimensions, which might else be a disadvantage, will we trust give it general circulation, in the prospect of which we shall abstain from more particular description, and even from attempting to exhibit what is really original and novel in the author's views or arguments.

An Essay, towards an Easy, Plain, Practical, and Extensive Explication of the Assembly's Shorter Catechism. By John Brown of Haddington. From the Sixth Edinburgh Edition. New York: Robert Carter. 1845. 12mo. pp. 356.

The remarkable proficiency of Scottish Christians, even the humblest, in religious knowledge, and the intelligent steadfastness with which they have usually held fast to the truth, in opposition even to their own instructors when these have gone astray, may be ascribed, among other providential causes, to early study of the truth, not only as it stands in scripture, but in systematic form, and especially in cate-

chetical form, catechetical exposition of the scripture, and catechetical explication of the catechisms themselves. This searching, sifting method has been proved by experience the most if not the only efficacious means of thoroughly imparting elementary instruction upon any subject; but to theology it seems peculiarly adapted either by its nature or the early date at which it was applied, in consequence of which it may be said, in the lapse of ages, to have almost reached perfection. Of the particular work before us we need only say, that it is by John Brown of Haddington, and that this edition is a beautiful and cheap one.

Christian Experience as displayed in the Life and Writings of St. Paul. By the Author of Christian Retirement. First American from the seventh London Edition. New York: R. Carter. 1845. pp. 418.

The idea of this little work is excellent, an exhibition of Christian character derived from the writings and example of the great apostle. Among the topics separately treated, are his natural disposition, his conversion, his persecutions and other trials, his delight in preaching, his success, his attachment to his converts, his prayers for them, his correspondence, his kindness to the poor saints, his supreme love to Christ, his integrity, his tenderness, his self-renunciation, his fidelity, his submission to authority, his views of heathenism, of the second advent, of the law and gospel, of justification, of sanctification, of the spiritual conflict, of the Christian's consolation and his future glory, of the special gifts of God and his eternal love. The topics, though arranged in chapters, follow each other somewhat irregularly, perhaps as they were first suggested to the author in the reading of the scriptures. The execution, although scarcely proportionate to the conception, affords evidence of piety, refinement, and experimental knowledge of the truth. Like most of the English evangelical writings of the same class, it exhibits the two elements of strength and sweetness, but not mixed in due proportion; and is characterized by an undue recurrence of exclamatory paragraphs beginning with the interjections *Oh* and *How!* But these are trivial faults, compared with the substantial merits which commend the work to pious readers.

Civil Wars of Rome. Select Lives of Plutarch, newly translated by G. Long. Series I. London: Charles Knight and Co. 1845. 18mo. pp. 288.

This is one of Knight's shilling volumes, and a charming one it is. There was a day when boys had not Robinson Crusoe, Sandford and Merton, or Peter Parley: they read Plutarch; and were thereby better off than we their descendants. We owe a good half of Roman history to Plutarch, making all allowance for so much of the beautiful cloud as has been blown away by Niebuhr and Arnold. Never, we believe, was there such a story-teller. The lives of the Gracchi move us like a tragedy; and we can scarcely persuade ourselves, that under old Roman names, we are not reading the history of Jonathan and the anti-rent conspiracies. But to those who have little Greek. Plutarch has been a sealed book. The translation of North, was made from the French of Amyot, Those of the Langhornes, commonly used, have the intolerable fault of too many versions, a freedom which pushes the translator's style into the place of the author's. Mr. Long's is charmingly literal. Through pure English, it shows us the ancient Greek, at every turn, like a fine figure through mail-armour. It will instruct thousands who cannot read the original; and it will drive those who can, with renewed zest, to the author's own works: the Greek of which, as we have formerly said, has a peculiar bearing on the interpretation of the New Testament. The translator is one of the most laborious, prolific, and useful book makers in the world. Having been successively professor in the Universities of Virginia and of London, and editor of some principal works for the Useful Knowledge Society, now dissolved, he has acquired a name which gives currency to anything connected with classical antiquity, linguistical research, or Roman Law.

The World's Religion, as contrasted with genuine Christianity. By Lady Colquhoun, daughter of Sir John Sinclair. New York: R. Carter. 1845. 18mo. pp. 207.

This little work, by an excellent Scotch lady, is similar in tendency and sentiment to Wilberforce's View, but not without distinguishing merits of its own. Notwithstanding its familiar theme, it is far from being commonplace in

thought or language, and in some parts, exhibits no small measure of originality, as for example, in the chapter on capacity to taste joy.

Advice to a Young Christian, on the Importance of aiming at an Elevated Standard of Piety. By a Village Pastor. With an introductory Essay by the Rev. Dr. Alexander, of Princeton, N. J. New York: R. Carter. 1845. 18mo. pp. 196.

This, though not announced as a new edition, appears to be a reprint of a little work originally published more than fifteen years ago, and generally understood to be from the pen of the Rev. Dr. Waterbury, now of Hudson. To some, we know, it has afforded comfort and direction in the crisis of their spiritual history, and trust that it will yet afford the same to many more.

A World without Souls. By J. W. Cunningham, A. M., Vicar of Harrow on the Hill. New York: R. Carter. 1845. 18mo. pp.

This elegant and interesting fiction, by the author of the Velvet Cushion, was a favourite on both sides of the water, many years ago. Its reproduction in this handsome form, recalls to mind the pleasing fact, that its pious and accomplished author still retains his old position, in a double sense, not only as vicar of Harrow on the Hill, but as a zealous champion, by word and pen, of the same principles which he maintained a quarter of a century ago.

The Romish and Prelatical Rite of Confirmation Examined, and proved to be contrary to the Scriptures, and the Practice of all the earliest and purest Churches, both Oriental and Western. By Thomas Smyth, D. D., author of Lectures on the Apostolical Succession, Presbytery and not Prelacy, the Scriptural and Primitive Polity, &c. With an Appendix, on the duty of requiring a Public Profession of Religion. New York: Leavitt and Trow. 1845. 18mo.

As this work can scarcely be said to be published, at our time of going to press, we cannot pretend to do more than notice it, as forthcoming, and as worthy of special regard. And the same remark applies to another treatise, from the same learned and indefatigable author, on the "Name, Na-

ture, and Functions of Ruling Elders;" of which we have not the exact title. Both are so treated as to demand the close attention of all who are interested in the maintenance of Presbyterian institutions. The Appendix, mentioned above, contains an elaborate and able defence of certain formalities, in regard to which we have taken a ground materially differing from those of our author; and part of it may be considered as a reply to what has been heretofore urged in our pages.

The Communicant's Companion. By the Rev. Matthew Henry. With An Introductory Essay, By the Rev. John Brown, Edinburgh. New York: Robert Carter, 58 Canal St., and Pittsburgh, 56 Market St. 1845.

A new, neat, and cheap edition of a standard work.

The Divine Origin of Christianity. By Rev. J. G. Pike, Author of "Persuasives to Early Piety," &c. &c. New York and Pittsburgh: Robert Carter, 1845. 12mo. pp. 176.

A popular exhibition of the usual arguments in behalf of Christianity and of the necessity of a divine revelation; presented in a devout spirit and pleasing style.

The House of God: A Discourse delivered at the request of the officers of the Second Presbyterian Church at Mobile. By Rev. W. A. Scott, D. D., Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, New Orleans. New Orleans: 1845. pp. 40.

The design of this discourse is to illustrate the importance of the church, the House of God, as the stated place of meeting for religious worship and instruction; a design which is well executed throughout. The sermon is published at the request of the members of the congregation for whose benefit, it was delivered.

Systematic Benevolence; A Sermon delivered before the Presbytery of Indianapolis, by Rev. D. V. Smock. Indianapolis: 1845.

This discourse is founded upon Acts xx. 25, and 1 Cor. xvi. 2. From these passages the author deduces the following sound principles. 1. Every one should give. 2. He should give systematically. 3. At stated times. 4. He

should give as the Lord has prospered him. 5. He should give without the solicitation of agents. 6. Where and when the duty of giving is neglected, agents are a necessity and a blessing.

Necessity of the Atonement. A Sermon preached in the Chapel of the South Carolina College on December 1st., 1844. By James H. Thornwell, Professor of Sacred Literature and Evidences of Christianity. Published by Request. Columbia: 1845. pp. 72.

IN this sermon the author first combats the doctrine that the atonement was a matter of expediency merely; that its primary object was to inspire a salutary fear, or to prevent the evils of gratuitous forgiveness. He then supports the opposite or Catholic doctrine, that the necessity for an atonement, on the assumption that sin was to be pardoned, arises from the justice or moral rectitude of God; that sin is punished because it deserves it, and not merely to prevent others from sinning; and that an atonement is a satisfaction to justice, and not merely a device to teach the evil of sin. These points are conclusively argued, and well enforced.

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