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ART. I.—*The Apostles' doctrine and fellowship: Five Sermons preached in the principal churches of his diocese, during his spring visitation,* 1844. By the Right Rev. L. Silliman Ives, DD. LL.D., Bishop of North Carolina. Published by the unanimous request of his Convention. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 200 Broadway. Philadelphia: Geo. S. Appleton, 148 Chesnut street. 1844. pp. 189.

THIS title page is not, we think, remarkable for its modesty. Dr. Ives styles himself Bishop of North Carolina. Are we to understand by this, that he is Bishop to the exclusion of the Bishop of the Moravians at Salem and its vicinity, the validity of whose ordination his predecessor acknowledged; and to the exclusion of all Roman Catholic Bishops? Is it implied that all other denominations are rebels against his authority? Does he claim jurisdiction *in partibus infidelium*? He prefers to call the convention of Episcopal ministers and delegates of North Carolina "his" convention, rather than the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, as has been usual.

The first subject discussed is baptismal justification. We will permit the Bishop to define his own terms. "The term justification," he says, "may be expressed accurately enough for our present purpose, by the terms remission of sins, and regeneration, or, being born from above." In

another place, we have this language: "I say our justification, by which I mean our being in a state of salvation." In this definition, he agrees substantially with the Romanists, disagrees with the Thirty-nine Articles of his own church, and with protestants generally for the last three hundred years. He agrees with the Romanists: The council of Trent says "That justification is not only the remission of sins, but the sanctification and renovation of the interior man." He disagrees with the Articles of his own church: The eleventh article teaches "That we are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of Christ." This is the article on justification. The next article, which is on good works, proceeds to say, "Albeit good works, which are the fruits of faith, and follow justification, cannot put away our sins." In this case, the good works, which are distinguished from justification, are the essence and evidence of regeneration and sanctification. To be accounted righteous cannot, surely, mean to be born from above. It is too well known to need proof, that the Bishop differs, in his definition of justification, from the great body of protestant writers for the last three centuries.

Having disposed of Dr. Ives' definition, let us now attend to his doctrine. "Repentance alone," he says, "is not sufficient for our justification. Baptism in the name of Jesus Christ must follow. This, for the remission of sins, is indispensable. The necessity of baptism, I do not hesitate to affirm, is rendered, by the ordinary law of the gospel, as indispensable as that of faith, or any other term of salvation. That repentance according to the hope of the gospel comes too late, which shuts out baptism and living faith on the Son of God." The reader will no doubt agree with us, that these are most extraordinary declarations. That gospel repentance comes too late, which shuts out baptism! "Except ye repent ye shall all likewise perish." "Godly sorrow worketh repentance unto life." "There is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth." But according to Bishop Ives's doctrine, this heavenly joy is rather premature, and men may perish whether they repent or not, and repentance according to the hope of the gospel may be unto death, instead of unto life. In avowing such sentiments on a vital doctrine of Christianity, he has set himself against the Articles of his own church, and the creeds of all other evangelical churches; and he symbolizes with the Romanists, and becomes the advocate of a re-

ligion of forms. The doctrine of the Bishop is the doctrine of the Romish church. The council of Trent says, "If any one says baptism is not necessary to salvation, let him be accursed." The Roman catechism, composed by order of the council of Trent, has this declaration. "All sin, original and actual, however heinous, by the wonderful virtue of this sacrament, (baptism) is remitted and freely forgiven." The agreement, as our readers will see, between a so-called protestant Bishop, and the mother of abominations, is quite remarkable. Both make baptism essential to salvation, and both make it the instrument of justification. The Bishop asserts that baptism "is an instituted vehicle of God's grace and favour to our souls." The council of Trent says, "If any one says that the sacraments do not contain the grace they signify, let him be accursed," and, "if any one shall say that they do not confer grace *ex opere operato*, let him be accursed;" an agreement again, which is very wonderful. The same doctrine is taught in Tract No. 90, the most obnoxious of all the tracts issued by the Puseyites. That tract affirms, "That in justification, baptism is the hand of the giver, and faith the hand of the receiver;" and its authors distinctly enough give their opinion elsewhere, that baptism is the instrument of justification.

But the Bishop differs, as might be expected, from the thirty-nine Articles. The eleventh article asserts, that faith only is the instrument of justification; and the twenty-seventh teaches, that "baptism is not only a sign of profession, and a mark of difference, whereby Christians are discerned from others that be not christened; but it is also a sign of regeneration or new birth." The article in question proceeds to state that "the promises of forgiveness and adoption are visibly signed and sealed in this ordinance." This language is sufficiently explicit, and proves that the Episcopal church holds that baptism is a rite of initiation, a sign of a gracious change, and a seal of a covenant; which is the common Reformed doctrine on this subject; and if this is not sufficient, the well known opinions of the authors of these Articles ought to settle the question. Bishop Burnet, in his exposition of the thirty-nine Articles, takes the same view of the subject. Faith then, and not faith and baptism, is here affirmed to be the sole instrument of justification. But in the system of the author, baptism has an equally important place with faith. It is

made a fundamental article of Christian faith. Indeed, Bishop Ives maintains that a man may have living faith without justification, for he says, when speaking of Peter's sermon on the day of Pentecost, "Faith is the second thing enjoined by St. Peter, and in one sense, living faith, but not so living, as we shall see, as to be relied on ordinarily by the unbaptized for their justification." The faith here spoken of is living, in both cases; but not so living in one case as in the other. It differs, then, only in degree, not in nature. It is not a living faith in one case, and a dead faith in the other. We will venture to affirm that this whole statement about faith, is a mere figment of the imagination, for which there is not the least foundation in scripture. "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved," is a sufficient refutation of it. The Bishop also maintains that repentance precedes justification, and he calls an unjustified sinner a "convert." Then it is possible, according to his theory, for one who believes in Christ, repents of his sins, and is converted to God, to be lost. his faith and repentance still remaining; for a long interval frequently intervenes between conversion and baptism. We say, his faith and repentance remaining, for so the context and whole drift of his argument compel us to understand him. Or if he goes to heaven, he certainly, on this theory, goes there an unjustified sinner. The Bishop seems to have made his theory to suit his fancy, without much regard to "the church," which he lauds as the "keeper and witness of the truth."

Those who are acquainted with the arguments of Alexander Campbell, or of the Oxford Tracts on the same subject, will find little new in Dr. Ives's book. The same texts are frequently relied on to prove baptismal regeneration by one class, which are quoted with equal confidence by another, to prove baptismal justification, and by a third party to prove both. Some of the texts which Dr. Ives and others use for this purpose, may be easily explained by a reference to a well known scriptural division of baptism into two kinds, by water and by the Holy Ghost; or by supposing the last clause of a verse to be exegetical of the first; a frequent occurence in the scriptures. In other cases, baptism by water is added after faith or repentance, in order to inculcate an acknowledged duty, not with the view of teaching a fundamental article of religion, or that we are justified by it. In some cases, it is probable, baptism by water was

not in the mind of the speaker or writer at all: or the external rite may be made to include the thing signified; that is, remission of sins. This question, however, can be settled in another way. Paul has twice discussed justification at large, in Romans and Galatians. What doctrine does he teach on the subject? In the first three chapters of Romans he proves that it is impossible to obtain justification by what is generally called the moral law; and at the close of this argument, he distinctly draws the conclusion that men are justified by faith, without the deeds of the law. Then in the fourth chapter, he proves that circumcision cannot justify; and he again draws his conclusion at the close of this argument, just as he had done before. Now this was the place to mention the instrumentality of baptism in justification if it existed. He denied it of a rite, and a most important one too. Does he deny it of all rites? That he does, is the natural conclusion, if Paul himself does not make the exception. The Jew considered circumcision to be most important, and when Paul, therefore, denied justification of the greater, he denied it of the less. But Bishop Ives himself, in his argument on infant baptism expressly admits that baptism takes the place of circumcision. When therefore Paul denies justification of one, he at the same time denies it of the other. Are we justified by faith as an internal, and by baptism as an external instrument? This is the question for the Apostle to answer in the eight chapters of Romans, devoted to the discussion of the procuring cause, the instrument, the nature and consequences of justification. And as he has only mentioned faith as the instrument, the conclusion is fair that he knew of no other. The same remarks may be made on Paul's defence of the gospel method of justification in Galatians. Circumcision is again introduced, and the same result is arrived at. It is passing strange that in both these cases, no reference should be made to baptism as the instrument of justification, and that indeed, it should be only once mentioned. In this case, the Apostle simply says: "As many of you as have been baptised into Christ have put on Christ." Here the context requires that we should understand the phrase "put on Christ" to mean the abolition of the distinction between the Jews and Gentiles, and the renunciation of the old legal system; for he immediately adds, "There is neither Jew nor Greek;" and the same idea is in the verse which precedes the one in which bap-

tism is found. "Ye are all the children of God," he says, "whether Jews or Greeks."*

Our readers will smile when told that, according to Bishop Ives, Martin Luther, whose maxim was that justification by the righteousness of Christ, was the article of a standing or falling church, taught his doctrine on this subject. He gravely maintains, that this also was the doctrine of Calvin, of Melancthon, of the Augsburg, Helvetic, and Westminster Confesssions, and of the Synod of Dort. Because these authorities teach that salvation is not ordinarily obtained out of the visible church, why forsooth, they hold the monstrous doctrine of baptismal justification. In every case referred to, a positive denial of this doctrine can be found, and in some of them, arguments in favour of the protestant doctrine, which Bishop Ives will never be able to refute. Take two as a specimen of the rest. Calvin says, "Cornelius, who had received the remission of sins, and the visible gift of the spirit, was baptized, not that he might receive a larger remission from baptism, but a stronger exercise of faith." The Augsburg Confession says: "They (the authors) condemn that pharisaical opinion which overthrows the doctrine of faith, and does not teach such a faith in the use of sacraments, as believes that grace is given to us on account of Christ; but supposes that men are justified on account of the use of the sacraments, *ex opere operato.*" Can Bishop Ives be so little acquainted with church history as not to know that the creeds of the reformers were mainly formed, in order that they might bear a public testimony to the doctrine of justification by the righteousness of Christ alone, and against the very doctrine which he is now attempting to propagate? Does he not know that this was the main pillar on which the reformation rested? Has he not read history enough to know that Calvin, and Luther, and Melancthon spent their lives in combatting the very errors he now ascribes to them? History will be of little value, if so plain a fact can be successfully called in question; and good men would live to little purpose, so far as posterity is concerned, if their acts

* There is something apparently disingenuous in the manner in which the Bishop quotes scripture. He puts down; "Be baptized for the remission of sins," as a proof text, leaving out entirely the belief which forms a part of the sentiment. "Believe and be baptized for the remission of sins," is very different from, "Be baptized for the remission of sins," as the Bishop has it.

and words, so often repeated, cannot shield them from such unjust imputations.

Bishop Ives makes confirmation a part of a sacrament in the following language. "Would the laying on of hands, if it were designed only as a temporary thing, be thus attached, so as to be made in some sense, a part of a permanent and most esential sacrament of the church?" Again, he makes it the seal of the Spirit. "Every humble Christian, therefore, would hardly fail, one would think, to seek, through the laying on of hands, this seal of God's Spirit, this earnest of an eternal inheritance." He holds the doctrine, that grace is conferred by confirmation, in a sense which no true. Protestant would admit. He says: "The moment you come to years of understanding, you need the grace of laying on of hands." In his closing address on the subject, we find the following startling statement. "You have already received from the church all the spiritual nourishment which she is allowed to give you, till you ask for a new measure of grace in the laying on of hands. Should you delay, your souls will soon be in a languishing, starving condition." These, it must be confessed, are most extraordinary statements to proceed from the lips of a Protestant minister. The Liturgy of the Episcopal Church represents confirmation as intended to ratify and confirm the promises made by the sponsors of those baptized in infancy. The same appears in all that the persons confirmed promise to the bishop. In the prayer which follows, we find no mention of this extraordinary grace, without which "they would be in a languishing, starving condition." The bishop prays for the defence of those confirmed by heavenly grace, and for the daily increase of the Holy Spirit. And though we are far from approving the language of the Liturgy, yet the Bishop is not sustained by it, in the extravagant statements he makes as to the efficacy of confirmation. Let us now turn to the Romish Catechism. Here we find it stated; "That confirmation confers grace, that it brings men to the perfection of Christian firmness, and that that which is begun in baptism, is completed in confirmation." Of course, they are no longer in a starving, languishing condition. The Bishop then holds that confirmation confers grace; so do the Romanists. The Bishop calls confirmation a seal, and considers it a part of a sacrament; the Catholics call it a sacrament in full, and would probably agree with the Bishop in calling it a seal, though we have not been able

to find any statement to that effect, either in the canons of the Council of Trent, or in the Romish Catechism. In one respect, the Bishop seems to have left Rome itself in the back-ground. In answer to the question whether all Christians ought to be confirmed, the Romish Catechism says, "That although this rite is not essential to salvation, holy mother Church very much desires that all Christians should come to it that they may be made perfect." Nothing is said about the inability of the church, by prayer, preaching, or any other means, to do anything for the spiritual benefit of its children, unless they are confirmed. Int his respect, the Bishop has expressed himself with less caution and moderation than the fathers of Trent, a virtue for which they were not remarkable.*

We will now attend to Dr. Ives's arguments in favour of this rite. Every case in which the laying on of hands is mentioned in the New Testament, as a rite accompanying the bestowment of extraordinary gifts, is claimed as proving confirmation. But that this laying on of hands conferred extraordinary gifts, is evident from the case of the Ephesian disciples. When Paul's hands were laid on them, it is added: The Holy Ghost come on them, and they spake with tongues and prophecied. It is evident that the last phrase is exegetical of the first; the gift of the Holy Ghost enabling them to speak with tongues, and to prophecy. These two phrases then, the descent of the Holy Ghost, and speaking with tongues and prophesying, mean the same thing. This will be still more evident when we recollect that the gift of the Holy Ghost, which fell on Cornelius and his company, is explained in the same way, for it is added, "and they heard them speak with tongues, and magnify God." No laying on of the hands is mentioned in this case. The Spirit descended while Peter was preaching. When Ananias laid his hands on Paul, the restoration of his sight is mentioned, and the Holy Ghost with which he was to be filled; and yet, this occurred before the Apostle's

* Some of the old ecclesiastical writers, in describing confirmation, use the words *signo* and *consigno*. The latter may be translated *seal*, but it may also mean the ceremony of signing with the sign of the cross; and the whole ceremony was, from this circumstance, sometimes called *consignatio*. We find such phrases as this, for example: *Salutari signo vultum consignat.* Σφραγιζω, which may also mean to *seal*, in ecclesiastical greek very often means to sign with the sign of the crops. See Suicer, Bingham's Eccles. Antiq., article Confirmation.—*Eusebii Hist. Eccl.* Lib. III. c. 2.

baptism. According to Bishop Ives's theory, Ananias confirmed Paul, while he was an unjustified sinner, and Paul was filled with the Holy Ghost while in a state of condemnation. As to the Samaritan converts, it is not said that they spake with tongues, yet that is a very natural inference from the whole narration, especially from the conduct of Simon in offering to purchase the power possessed by the Apostles, of conferring the Holy Ghost. These are the only cases in which the laying on of hands is mentioned in the New Testament, in reference to private members of the church, unless the gift conferred by Paul on Timothy belongs to this category. It is not mentioned in the narrative of the conversions at Jerusalem, Antioch, or any other place. How the Bishop, then, can allow himself to say as he does, that the laying on of hands is always appended to baptism in the New Testament, when it is only twice mentioned in immediate connection with it, is to us astonishing; and in one of those cases it preceeds, and in the other, follows baptism. In the case of the Samaritan converts, baptism was not appended to the laying on of hands.

In this case, as also in that of baptism, an appeal is made to the Fathers. We have reserved what we had to say on this subject, until we arrived at the present point in the discussion, because it is our object to be brief, and simply to give a fair specimen of the arguments and reasoning of this extraordinary performance. The Bishop says: "The practice of the first Christians after the Apostolic age, affords a safe, and we think, an unerring guide to ourselves in settling this matter." We were prepared for some such statement as this, for he had told us in his first sermon, that "Christ promulgated the leading principles of the gospel, in a manner so diffuse and abstract, as to render their meaning and force doubtful." Now, we have the Fathers set forth as an unerring guide. It is presumed that they were not diffuse and abstract, and that their meaning is never doubtful, else they would not be a safe and unerring guide. In another passage, he speaks of "our branch of the Catholic church adhering to scripture, as taught by the early Fathers." We certainly do not intend to enter at large into the inquiry, what authority is to be ascribed to the traditions of the Fathers? But the very same authorities whom the Bishop has quoted to prove confirmation, will prove the duty of administering the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to children, of using the sign of the cross and chrism

as a part of confirmation; and that infants ought to be confirmed. As to some of these points, the testimony is just as good as it is for the laying on of hands. Why admit these Fathers as unerring guides in one case, and reject them in another? This statement of the Bishop is essentially Romish. But who are these unerring guides? He refers to a fourth epistle of Clement of Rome, and to the Apostolic Constitutions, of which he seems to think Clement is the author. Nothing can be more certain than that Clement was not the author of any of the works thus ascribed to him. These works were probably written in the age when pious frauds were fashionable, and are, according to the opinion of the best judges, not older than the fourth century. Eusebius of the fourth century, whom Dr. Ives calls a saint, and whom he quotes as authority on the same subject, testifies expressly, that many works were circulated in his day, purporting to be Clement's; but that only one epistle, which is the first, is the production of that Father. Jerome, whom he also calls a saint, gives substantially the same testimony. We will not allow ourselves to doubt, that in the mouth of two witnesses, both of whom stand so high in the Bishop's estimation, every word will be established. His next authority in point of time is the work of Dionysius the Areopagite: another spurious book. Neither Eusebius nor Jerome say anything about the writings of this father; although the former gives a short account of him, and the latter wrote a catalogue of the ecclesiastical writers, who lived before the beginning of the fifth century. The general, if not universal opinion is, that the so called works of Dionysius the Areopagite were written in the fourth or fifth century, and that they are downright forgeries. The third witness is Tertullian. We may place this father at the beginning of the third century; he died A. D. 220. Will the reader accompany us while we examine this witness, as quoted by the author? We will turn to his work on baptism. He says, "After baptism comes the holy unction, according to the ancient discipline, priests were anointed, and Moses anointed Aaron. After that follows the imposition of hands, which also followed an ancient rite; for Jacob blessed his two grandsons, and he crossed his hands, by which he portended the blessings which were to come from the cross of Christ." Thus far Tertullian. The reader will perceive that so far as can be inferred from his statement, the same person baptizes,

anoints, and imposes hands. The same authority, that of Old Testament usage, is given for both the latter ceremonies, except that the authority for chrism seems to be the better of the two, as that was a command, and the other was not. No intimation is given that it was an Apostolic practice. Tertullian says expressly in the same passage, that we do not acquire the Holy Spirit by baptism, thus contradicting the Bishop's doctrine of baptismal regeneration. He also says, the Spirit was invoked when hands were imposed, in order to obtain a blessing. The next father on the Bishop's list is Cyprian; then we have Eusebius and Jerome, and others in the fourth and fifth centuries. Their testimony is not more valuable than Tertullian's. Thus we see that the Bishop's primitive church takes its commencement at the beginning of the third century, and ends with the fifth. If we have correctly stated the case in regard to the three fathers first mentioned, it will be admitted that they have not been safe and unerring guides to the Bishop of North Carolina; and we fear the Bishop would not prove a safe and unerring guide to others, in the study of the fathers. Dr. Ives speaks of the Church as witness and keeper of the truth. In his sense of the word church, we are well persuaded, if history is to be believed, she has not proved a faithful witness, nor a trustworthy keeper. In closing our remarks on this part of the book under review, we are constrained to say, that he who can speak as disparagingly as the Bishop does, of Christ's way of instruction, and then hold up the fathers as a safe guide, will not be found, if he is consistent, zealous for the reading of the scriptures by the common people; but as they cannot read the fathers, they must be committed to the instruction of the authorized clergy, who may give them legendary tales, and books which owe their origin to the doctrine of pious frauds, instead of the simple word of God, and the genuine fathers.

The last sermon in this volume is on Apostolic Succession. As there is nothing new or striking in his reasoning, it is scarcely necessary to make any remark on it, Episcopalians have now generally abandoned the argument from the usage of the word επισκοπος, in the New Testament. They admit that it is used interchangeably with πρεσβυτερος; and yet as soon as they find it in a Christian father, even in the first century, they seize it as an argument in their favour. According to their own principles,

the presumption, to say the least, is exactly the other way. The probability is that the fathers would adopt the usage of the New Testament writers, with which they were familiar. This meaning being once admitted, must be ascribed to the word, until a contrary meaning is made probable. Circumstances are mentioned by the fathers whom Bishop Ives quotes, which prove that the New Testament usage was still retained; such as that the Bishop must marry, baptize, and be intimately acquainted with all his flock. The question, what means the word επισκοπος is debateable. It will answer no valuable purpose then, for the Bishop to assume the very point to be proved, and which settles the whole controversy; especially when his opponents have nothing to do but to retain the New Testament use of the word, to refute all his quotations at once.

But the most remarkable portion of the book is the appendix, in which we are furnished with a complete list of diocesan Bishops, from John the Apostle, to Bishop White of Pennsylvania. "This catalogue," he says, "has been taken from authentic records, and submitted to the test of the most searching criticism." And this is the only remark he makes about it. We should be pleased to know who made this searching criticism. If the Bishop is the author of it, we must be excused for saying, that this is not sufficient to satisfy us. He reckons without his host, when he supposes that his word alone will settle such a question as this. It is possible that legendary tales may be mistaken for veritable history, and the "pious" forgeries of superstitious monks, for "authentic records." This list comprises eighty-two Archbishops of Canterbury, and thirty Bishops of Lyons. It would seem then, that the author believes that the Bishops of Lyons, and the Archbishops of Canterbury always consecrated their successors; but this was never done in a single instance. Eight of the Archbishops received their consecration from Rome, and after the Norman conquest, the English hierarchy was changed. Lanfranc and Anselm were foreigners, who had foreign ordination and consecration, both Archbishops of Canterbury; yet the Bishop considers them as deriving their ordination from the Archbishops who preceded them. The rubrick of the Episcopal church requires the presence of more than one Bishop at a consecration; and Dr. Ives himself states that the Bishop of Arles assisted the Bishop of Lyons in the consecration of Augustine as Archbishop.

What does he mean then, by giving us one list only, when a canonical consecration requires more than one? He would indeed, have to give us scores of catalogues, for other lines of succession united with that of Augustine; even if we admit, as we certainly do not, that this line had not more than one of its links entirely broken. How is it proved that these ordinations in the period of the violent convulsions in the church, were canonically performed? When avarice and the lust of power pervaded the church, and created schisms, and promoted simoniacal practices every where, is the Bishop sure that his chain is connected in all its links? Does not Bishop Ives know that there was a struggle between prelacy and parity in Great Britain, from the time of the first establishment of Christianity, until the eleventh or twelfth century; and that complaints of the doubtful ordinations of some persons, were uttered by the prelatists during this period? Polycarp, the first in the catalogue, has not the word Bishop in his works at all, and exhorts the Philippians, of whose Bishops Paul speaks, to be subject to presbyters as their rulers. Irenaeus, the third on the roll, affirms that presbyters were the successors of the Apostles. The first three then, ought to be stricken out, as not being prelatists, and as to the rest, they have left no testimony whatever, for several centuries. This catalogue is then defective, in the Bishop's sense, in its commencement, and apostolic prelacy can never come from apostolic parity.

The Bishop farther maintains the monstrous paradox, that Calvin favoured Episcopacy, and sought to obtain it from England, for the church of Geneva. On this point he has been most ably refuted by Dr. Miller; but still he has the boldness to put forth the same disingenuous statements again, though in a form somewhat modified. It is hard to satisfy some people. After having been reviled for two hundred years for his influence in establishing parity, we are now gravely told that Calvin desired to see prelacy introduced into Geneva. In the very passages which are quoted by Bishop Ives, Calvin reasons against Episcopacy, and in favor of parity; and in one or two cases, the quotations given are arguments against the claims of diocesan Bishops. For example, Calvin's commentary on Titus, i. 5, is quoted as proof of the Bishop's position. The whole passage is an argument for parity. Calvin says, that Titus was moderator of the congregations that elected pas-

tors in Crete, and that there was not such an equality among the ministers of the church, but that some one might preside over the rest in authority, and council; that is, might be moderator; and in the latter part of the same sentence, he, in the most emphatic language, condemns the institution of clergymen by Bishops, which he calls profane and tyrannical. The exclusion of the less excludes the greater; if a Bishop has no right to institute a clergyman, he certainly has no right to ordain, in the Episcopal sense. The Bishop either did not read the passage in Calvin, or he did not understand it, or he wilfully perverted it.* In Calvin's work, De necessitate reformandae Ecclesiae, he reasons largely against the usurpations of Bishops, and in favour of parity; he speaks with contempt of Apostolic Succession; and yet, because when speaking of the Pope he says, "If such a hierarchy is given us as shall be distinguished for submission to Christ, he will anathematize those who will not submit to it," we are told that Calvin favoured Episcopacy. The meaning simply is, that he would receive all who submitted to Christ, as true Christians. We see some charity and moderation in this, but no conviction expressed, that Bishops alone have the right, by the laws of Christ, to ordain.

To prove that Calvin desired to obtain Episcopacy for the church of Geneva, a letter to Edward VI. is referred to, which, the account states, fell into the hands of two Catholic Bishops, and, it seems, never was seen by king Edward, for these Bishops answered it. Now there is but one person who is witness to this, and he lived long after Calvin, and does not affirm that he saw Calvin's letter. It is wonderful that he, who maintains that every separate fact in accusation must be proved by at least two witnesses, should not even give us one in this case. The Bishop's estimate of evidence seems to change entirely, when John Calvin is the subject of a slanderous report, and when a Bishop of his own church is tried.

Our readers will be amused when told, that Dr. Ives se-

* We might adjourn all discussion with Bishop Ives, until he learns how to translate latin better. He translates "Episcopatus ipse a Deo profectus est" thus, "He who is made Bishop proceeds from God himself." This is too bad. He cannot plead that this sentence is equivalent to "The Episcopate itself came from God," which is the correct translation; for Calvin wishes to teach that the law creating bishops, or pastors, (for he uses these names as equivalent) was made by God, and was not a human device. There is scarcely a correct translation in the book.

riously informs us, that when the Apostles preached to the people, as recorded in Acts, no prayers were used, and that the reason was, that there were no persons to make the necessary responses. Equally wonderful is it, that the Bishop should maintain, that saving faith partook largely of a miraculous character, in the Apostolic age. These and other absurdities we must pass over at present. Our aim has been to make our remarks as short as was consistent with a fair and correct understanding of the subject.

Thus have we endeavoured to present our readers with some specimens of the opinions and reasonings of one of the most thoroughly Puseyite productions, which has appeared in our country. Bishop Ives has evidently adopted fully, the spirit and the opinions of the Oxford tracts. His views of religion are radically different from those held by Protestants generally. He can be no longer regarded as standing on the Protestant platform, as to his doctrines. If the book we have reviewed, had been written by any other than one conspicuous for his station and influence in the church, we should have passed it by in silence. We have been surprised at the feebleness with which many of the positions assumed, have been defended; and at the many incautious and absurd expressions and statements the book contains.

ART. II.—*Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation.* New York: Wiley and Putnam. pp. 291, 12mo.

WE have in this work the result of the most elaborate attempt, which has been made in recent times, to establish a mechanical theory of the universe. The author, "working in solitude, and almost without the cognizance of a single human being," has presented us with the fruit of his labours in a compacted theory, for the support of which he has drawn, more or less, from almost every department of human knowledge. Astronomy, geology, chemistry, natural history, ethnography, physical and metaphysical science, are all laid under contribution for the establishment of his theory. His work gives proof of an extensive acquaintance with modern science, and of singular ability to connect together facts in real or seeming support of the su-

perstructure which he attempts to rear. The whole is presented in a style of severe simplicity, and with such a calm confidence as might seem to be inspired by the writer's thorough mastery of his subject and complete conviction of its truth. Even in those parts of his theory which others will feel to be the most astounding, he proceeds with a step, as calm and assured, as if he were dealing only with universal and necessary truths.

His theory commences, like most recent cosmogonies, with the nebular hypothesis of Laplace. This hypothesis, which Laplace gives with great diffidence, as a mere conjecture, our author puts forward with the utmost confidence, declaring that "it is impossible for a candid mind to refrain from giving it a cordial reception." That he himself has however but a confused and imperfect comprehension of it, is perfectly apparent. We propose to give a condensed statement of his account of the primitive condition of matter, and the successive changes it has undergone, although any attempt to abridge it must necessarily deprive it of much of its force. The plausibility which the author has succeeded in imparting to this theory depends very much upon the cumulative force of a number of particulars, no one of which possesses much weight when taken by itself.

The region of infinite space is supposed to have been originally occupied with matter exceedingly diffused, and intensely heated, termed nebulous matter. Whether this matter be created or self-existent, whether its properties are to be considered as inherent, or derived *ab extra*, seems to us of small moment to one who adopts the other parts of the theory set forth in this work. It is but just however to state that the author, though at the expense of his logical consistency, refers the properties of the "Fire-Mist" from which he builds the universe, to the will of a designing Creator. Through the action of the active properties with which this primitive matter was endowed, all subsequent forms and modes of being, organic as well as inorganic, suns, planets, satellites, vegetables, animals, and man himself, are supposed to have been evolved by mechanical laws, without any interference of the will of the Creator. The great law of creation is that of *development*, in obedience to which matter, under certain favourable conditions, passes spontaneously from one form into another,

generating systems of worlds, with all their different orders of inhabitants.

In the first instance nuclei are established at different points in the nebulous mass, around which the neighbouring matter is condensed by the attraction of gravitation. How these nuclei are formed, in the present state of our knowledge of nebulous matter, we cannot determine; but supposing them to be established, we can see how the attraction towards the centres should detach large masses of nebulous matter. And when these masses are detached, the same force which has separated them, our author contends, will have given them a rotatory motion upon an axis. He refers us for illustration of this point to "a well known law in physics that when fluid matter collects toward or meets in a centre, it establishes a rotatory motion; see minor results of this law in the whirlwind and the whirlpool —nay, on so humble a scale as the water sinking through the aperture of a funnel." This is one of many proofs which might be gathered from this book, that the author's acquaintance with science is extensive rather than accurate. He is continually at fault when he attempts to pass from the final results of scientific research and deal with the first principles involved. The rotatory motions of wind and water which he adduces in this instance have no relation to the matter in hand. They are produced by a hiatus and a pressure *a tergo*, and can of course shed no light upon the method by which a similar motion might have been established in a nebulous mass of homogeneous matter acted upon by a simple force. The most elementary knowledge of the doctrine of central forces would have been sufficient to prove to him that no single force acting upon the particles of an isolated mass of matter could communicate to them a rotatory motion. In such a mass a curvilinear motion must necessarily be the resultant of a tangential impulse and a central force. The single force of gravitation could give origin only to a rectilineal motion towards the centre, unless the particles were at the same time attracted by some neighbouring patch of nebulous matter. This mistake does not indeed vitiate the author's theory, but it detracts from the simplicity, which is one of its chief recommendations, inasmuch as two forces must necessarily be assigned to perform the work which he ascribes to one; or a perfectly arbitrary hypothesis must be assumed of the relative size and collocation of different nebulous masses

that their mutual interactions may account for the result.

The rotation having been established there is generated a tendency in the rotating mass to throw off its outward portions. The least excess of the centrifugal force, thus generated, over the central force, would separate the outer parts of the mass which would be left as a ring round the central body, revolving with the same velocity that the whole mass possessed at the moment of separation. This process might be successively repeated, until the mass had attained its utmost limit of condensation. The excess of the centrifugal force, through which this separation takes place, is supposed to be due to the agency of heat.

The condensation of a nebulous mass around its centre is attended by refrigeration, under which the outer parts acquire a solidity which begins to resist the attractive force. The condensation of the central mass, in the meantime, going on, a point is at length reached at which it shrinks away from its outer crust, which is left, like Saturn's rings, revolving around it.

These rings, unless they are composed of matter perfectly or nearly uniform would necessarily break into several masses, the largest one of which would attract the others into itself. The whole mass would then take on a spherical form, and become a planet revolving round the sun, and upon its own axis. The rotatory motion of this planet might, in turn, throw off one or more rings, which by a similar process would become transformed into satellites, having a three-fold motion on their own axes, around the planet, and with it around the sun.

Such was the genesis of our solar system, which shows in the different bodies composing it, all the variations, with one exception, which this law of construction was capable of producing. It contains some planets, which when thrown off were too much solidified, or from other circumstances so conditioned that they throw off no outer crust, and are therefore without satellites, while others are attended by these secondary products of the centrifugal force, in varying numbers. And again, in the space between Mars and Jupiter, where Kepler, listening only to the harmonies of the system, which as he expresses it, "he had stolen from the golden vases of the Egyptians" had prophesied the discovery of a planet, we have in the four asteroids an instance, which might have been expected sometimes to occur, in which the different portions into which

the planetary ring broke up were so situated that no one of them absorbed the others, and hence each became a separate minor planet. In the two rings of Saturn we are also presented with a case of what might rarely happen, in which the particles of matter composing the separated crust were so uniform, that it remained entire instead of breaking up into satellites. These varieties, inasmuch as they lie within the possibilities of the hypothesis, are deemed a confirmation of its truth. So also another apparently anomalous construction, that of solar systems embracing two or more suns, many of which are visible in our firmament, is supposed to render support to the hypothesis which at first sight it seems to threaten. Some of the double stars are found by careful observation to revolve around each other in ellipses, and hence it is fair to infer that they all do. A system of this kind would therefore be generated, precisely like ours, if there were given at the outset two or more nuclei, instead of one, in the diffused nebulous mass.

At this point the author again stumbles in referring the genesis of the motions in such a system to the same law which sometimes produces two or more neighbouring whirlpool dimples upon the face of a river. "These fantastic eddies, which the musing poet will sometimes watch abstractedly for an hour, little thinking of the law which produces and connects them, are an illustration of the wonders of binary and ternary solar systems." We must be permitted to say that the musing poet is much more profitably employed upon the whirling dance of these fantastic eddies, than the thinking philosopher, unless he thinks to better purpose. The one, in the subjective law which determines his musing, reaches a reality, while the other in his scientific search after the actual law of production, finds only a shadow.*

* Another amusing illustration of the carelessness of the author, to call it by no harsher name, is found on p. 24, where he informs us that "the tear that falls from childhood's cheek is globular, through the efficacy of the same law of mutual attraction of particles which made the sun and planets round." Why did he not add that the soap-bubble preserved its spherical form from the action of the same cause which determines Saturn's ring? The attraction of gravitation has as much to do in the case of the bubble as of the tear, that is it has nothing to do with determining the peculiar form of either, that form being due to the superficial action of the particles. Familiar illustrations of ultimate scientific principles are dangerous things in the hands of one who allows himself to think and speak loosely.

We find on p. 28 a still grosser error. "A chemist, we are told, can reckon with considerable precision what additional amount of heat would be required

This error of the author, however, affects his hypothesis only so far as its simplicity is concerned. He has, beyond all question, erred in supposing that he could generate the motions of a solar system, whether with one or more suns, simply by postulating in addition to the other conditions, the property of gravitation in the particles of nebulous matter. His postulates thus far are, diffused masses of nebulous matter filling immense portions of space; this matter intensely heated and endowed with a tendency to throw off its heat under the process of condensation; the origination, in some unknown way, of nuclei or centres of condensation at different points in these nebulous masses; and lastly the existence of a property in virtue of which the particles of this matter mutually attract each other in the inverse ratio of the square of the distance. These postulates though by no means distinctly put forth, are all embraced in the hypothesis, and it is therefore a matter of comparatively small moment that the error which we have pointed out renders an additional one necessary. But it tends to weaken our confidence in one who offers himself as our guide in tracing out the vestiges of creation, when we find him stumbling at the outset among the first elementary principles of physical science. Nor is he always consistent with himself. It has been seen that the hypothesis which he is expounding demands that the condensation of the nebulous mass should be accompanied by a process of cooling, so that Uranus, the outermost planet, was formed when the heat of the matter composing our system was at the greatest, and Mercury when it was at the least. This, the author supposes, will account for the decreasing specific gravity of the planets as we recede from the sun. The outer planets having been thrown off when, in consequence of the greater heat of the mass, its particles were more diffused, would of necessity be lighter than those that were subsequently detached. The greater heat too which these distant planets retain, he thinks, may be sufficient to compensate for the smallness of the portion which they receive from the sun's

to vaporise all the water of our globe—how much more to disengage the oxygen which is diffused in nearly a proportion of one-half throughout its solids; and finally how much more would be required to cause the whole to become *vaporiform*, which we may consider equivalent to its being restored to its original *nebulous* state." This confusion of vapour with nebulous matter is a blunder too gross to have escaped a mind accustomed to accurate habits of thinking. The conception which the necessities of the hypothesis compel us to form of nebulous matter is as unlike to vapour, as it is to granite.

rays. And yet in immediate connection with this exposition he asks, "where, meanwhile, is the heat once diffused through the system, over and above what remains in the planets. May we not rationally presume it to have gone to constitute that luminous envelope of the sun, in which his warmth-giving power is now held to reside? It could not be destroyed—it cannot be supposed to have gone off into space—it must have simply been reserved to constitute at the last, a means of sustaining the many operations of which the planets were destined to be the theatre." We cannot understand why this heat may not be supposed to have passed off into space,—and still less can we comprehend how it can have passed to the sun, when, by the hypothesis, the genesis of the sun with its attendant planets and satellites is to be explained by the continual escape of heat from the contracting mass. We see signalized here the extreme, unscientific haste with which the author frequently leaps to his conclusions. In the first instance he asks, whether we may not presume that the escaped heat has gone to constitute the luminous atmosphere of the sun, the proper answer to which would be, certainly not, unless we presume at the same time that the whole ground-work of the hypothesis, as expounded up to the very sentence preceding this, has disappeared. And then he passes without assigning any reason except the statement of two alternatives, which are by no means exhaustive of the possibilities of the case, to the peremptory conclusion, that this heat *must have been reserved* to constitute a magazine at the centre for the use of the system. But how reserved, and where? and how gathered around the sun after the cooling process had reached its limit?

A like gross inconsistency appears in his attempt to explain the apparent condition of the moon. The characteristics of the moon's surface forbid the idea that it is at present a theatre of life like the earth, but the author warns us against drawing the inference that it never can become so. "The moon may be only in the earlier stage of the progress through which the earth has already gone. . . Seas may yet fill the profound hollows of the surface—an atmosphere may spread over the whole." The rugged state of the moon is thus to be explained by the earlier stage of growth at which this body now is as compared with the earth. But it has been seen that the hypothesis requires that the moon should have been thrown off long before the

earth had contracted to its present dimensions; and on the page but one preceding this we find it stated that "the time intervening between the formation of the moon and the earth's diminution to its present size was probably one of those vast sums in which astronomy deals so largely, but which the mind altogether fails to grasp." In accounting for the invariable size and temperature of the earth, he again betrays his ignorance of the elementary truths of physical science. "The central heat," he says, "has for ages reached a fixed point, at which it will probably remain forever, as the non-conducting quality of the cool crust absolutely prevents it from suffering any diminution." It is true that there is no process of shrinking now going on in our globe, which we have any means of detecting. A very slight diminution of the diameter would affect the diurnal revolution of our globe, and it is demonstrable that the time of this revolution has not varied the three hundredth part of a second for the last two thousand years. And yet the hypothesis of the author would seem to require that the continual escape of heat from the central fires of the earth should lead to a still further condensation of its mass. This difficulty he meets, with sufficient boldness, by denying any degree of conducting power to the earth's crust, so that all the heat which existed within when the surface acquired, ages ago, this marvellous power, has been retained ever since, and is now imprisoned beyond all hope of escape. There cannot be many of our readers who need the information that this non-conducting quality of the crust is a pure fiction. If the crust be impervious to heat why is it that after we have reached, at the depth of some sixty or eighty feet, the region of invariable temperature, we find the heat increasing upon us with every foot that we descend? It is indeed true that the crust has a very low conducting power. Only a few years since Mairan and Bailly agreed in making the amount of heat received from the interior of the globe to be, in summer twenty-nine times, and in winter four hundred times that received from the sun; a calculation which gave promise of a speedy congelation from the rapid dissipation of the internal heat. But Baron Fourier succeeded in proving that the thermometric effect of the central heat upon the surface of the globe did not exceed the thirtieth part of a degree of the centigrade thermometer. The author of the Vestiges of Creation, however, is the first philosopher who has ventured to affirm that there is

absolutely no escape of heat from the interior, and to assign as the reason the non-conducting quality of the crust. If the interior of the earth is, as many considerations would lead us to suppose, in an incandescent state, there can be no doubt that a portion, however small, of its heat must escape and fly off into space. The unshrinking dimensions of the earth, which would seem to be in opposition to this conclusion, might be better accounted for by supposing that the contraction in some of the elements of the mass, due to this loss of heat, was balanced by an equivalent expansion of others in passing from a liquid to a solid state; or in many other ways, rather than by denying that any heat is lost, and assigning for it a purely fanciful reason.

It ought to be stated, in justice to Laplace, that the author of this work has, in many respects, misapprehended his nebular hypothesis; and that objections therefore may be justly taken against his statement of it, which would not lie against it in the form given to it by its proposer. The method by which he explains the *shelling off* of planets and satellites, through the hardening of the outer surface and the resistance thus opposed to the attractive force of the interior mass, is absurd upon its very face and utterly insufficient for the explanation of the facts of the case. Admitting the action of the principles stated as ruling the case, a spherical shell would be separated, and not an annular ring. The author confounds these together, speaking in one sentence of the separation of "the solidifying crust," and in the next terming this crust "a detached ring;" not only without any explanation of the manner in which the spherical shell has become transformed into a circular band, but apparently without any idea that he is speaking of two very different things. Into this difficulty he has been betrayed by introducing the comparative solidification of the crust as the cause of the separation. This separation is effected, according to Laplace's hypothesis, not by the hardening of the surface, but by the accumulation of matter in the equatorial region. In a fluid body revolving upon an axis, the matter would be heaped up at the equator; and the centrifugal force of the outer portion of the protruding belt thus formed being greater than of any other portion of the mass, a point would at length be reached at which there would be an exact equilibrium between this force and the central attraction. An annular ring would then be separated, which might, as in the case of Saturn's

rings, remain entire, or break up and re-unite in a satellite.

It would be an easy matter to multiply these special criticisms until the reader would be abundantly satisfied, that whatever may be the merits of the nebular hypothesis as expounded by Laplace, in the hands of this author it is hopelessly encumbered with absurdities and contradictions. If this hypothesis admitted of no better statement and defence, we should be compelled to dismiss it at once as one of the hasty, vague guesses so often made by unauthorized intruders upon the scientific domain. But we are willing, so far as this part of his work is concerned, to substitute the sage conjecture of Laplace, for his blundering guess.

We proceed, under the guidance of the author, to trace out the vestiges of creation as they are found upon our own globe. The earth when first separated from the solar mass filled the moon's orbit, its diameter being sixty times as great as at present. At that time it occupied twenty-nine and a half days in rotating upon its axis. After throwing off the moon it continued to shrink and cool, until it became stationary at its present dimensions. At this period the outer crust was a crystalline rock, such as granite, which was the condition into which the great bulk of the solids of the earth passed from their nebulous state. At the same time water was condensed from the atmosphere, and covered the crystalline mass with seas and oceans. These seas, in consequence of the unevenness of the crystalline surface occasioned by local inequalities in the cooling of the substance, were of enormous depth, some of them not less than a hundred miles, however much more. A process of disintegration would, under these circumstances, commence, which would be quickened by the great heat of the water. The matter thus disintegrated would be carried off and deposited in the neighbouring depths, thus giving origin to the earliest stratified rocks, which are composed of the same materials as the original granite, but in new forms and combinations. These sedimentary rocks have not been permitted to remain in their original position. The pressure of the melted mass below has protruded them up in inclined strata, and in many cases the granite in a state of fusion has forced itself through and cooled in irregular masses. As yet there are found no traces of organic life, but these appear when we arrive at the next series of rocks. The oldest remains are of zoophytes, mollusca, and fishes. Later in the history of the earth, and

separated by an immense period from the preceding formation, for all these successive vestiges of creation are supposed to be at a vast remove from each other, land plants and animals begin to appear. As the earth itself undergoes its series of transformations, a corresponding change takes place in the prevalent forms of life. New animals are found when a new condition of things appears adapted to their support. While through vast periods in which a thousand years were but as one day, changes were slowly wrought by the combined action of air, water, and fire, upon the surface of the earth, whenever any new pabulum of life was elaborated, a new race of animals appeared with organs fitted to the existing condition of things. Most of these races became extinct, as the progress of change unfitted the earth for their abode, and left in their fossil remains the data for this primeval history. The author traces these successive changes up to the point at which the land and sea having come into their present relations, and the former having acquired, in its principal continents, the necessary irregularity of surface, the earth became fitted for the occupancy of a tenant equipped like man.

This part of the work, like the account of the nebular hypothesis, is full of blunders. The author writes as if he had been at a geological feast, and come away with the scraps. The most recent discoveries are strangely blended with antiquated blunders, crude hypotheses are mingled with facts, and bold, unqualified assertions are made for which we have not one particle of evidence. It would be easy to sustain each of these charges by abundant specifications, but to go over the geological argument in detail would occupy more space than we can devote to the subject, and we hope to give sufficient evidence, without this, of the unsoundness of the author's hypothesis, and of his incompetency to deal with a scientific subject.

Thus far we have only the ordinary speculations of recent geologists, in accordance with which the matter composing the universe, in virtue of properties inherent, or originally implanted in it without any action upon it from without, is supposed to have passed through successive changes until it has reached its present form. But we now arrive at a startling peculiarity in this author's hypothesis, his account of the origin and development of vegetable and animal life. His position is, in brief, that life, in all its forms and with all its endowments, is evolved through the

action of mechanical and chemical causes. The fundamental form of organic being is supposed to be a globule, having a new globule forming within itself, by which it is in time discharged, and which is again followed by another and another in endless succession. The production of this globule is a purely chemical process, which may be any day discovered and repeated in the laboratory. But the rudimental vesicle, which is the simplest form of organization, not only propagates itself, it gives birth also to the next higher grade of being. There is an inherent tendency in matter, working itself out through mechanical and chemical laws, to ascend from the inorganic to the organic, and then through successive degrees of organization from the lowest to the highest. The most complex form of vegetable life was evolved in a direct line of natural succession, from the simplest,—the most perfect vegetable besides perpetuating its own type, gave birth to the rudest animal, and each form of animal life again evolved a form superior to itself until the appearance of man, the foremost of animals, arrested as yet the progress of improvement. But we have no good reason to conclude that this process is consummated. The present race suits the existing condition of our planet,—but the world is undergoing changes which may make it a fitting field of action for a higher race than the rude and impulsive one which now inhabit it. "There then may be occasion for a nobler type of humanity, which shall complete the zoological circle on this planet, and realize some of the dreams of the purest spirits of the present race."

The genealogy of man extends thus in a direct line back to the original nebulous matter of which the universe was composed. All his attributes of body and of mind are so many modifications of matter, produced without any extraneous interference, by the regular operation of natural causes. Thought is but the highest form as yet known to us of the same substance which in its rudest form composed the nebulous masses of infinite space; and the passage from one of these states to another, was effected solely by the inherit qualities of matter. What further capabilities of matter may be now lying dormant, it is impossible to say. The great law of development, in obedience to which the universe has passed from a chaotic state to its present ordered forms and motions, has not yet completed its work. New heavens and a new earth, with new races of beings

fitted to occupy them, may be contained within the undeveloped capacities of the present order of things. The universe, with its organic as well as inorganic forms, has reached its present state, and will pass on through all future changes, without any creative act or guiding control on the part of its Maker. When created, it was created complete in itself.

In support of the hypothesis that the organic world has been created, as the author expresses it, by law, or in other words, that it has been successively evolved by the operation of natural causes from the primitive form of matter, we have, in the first place, the analogy of the inorganic world. We have evidence that different solar systems, with their suns, planets, and satellites, have been built up and set in motion through the inherent qualities of matter, without the aid of any directing intelligence. In like manner we see that our globe has passed spontaneously through successive changes of state, in each of which it has been tenanted by such forms of vegetable and animal life as it was fitted to support. As the construction of the earth, and the different changes it has undergone, are the result of natural laws, why should we not suppose that the contemporaneous changes in the organic world were produced in like manner? "Why should we suppose that the august Being who brought all these countless worlds into form by the simple establishment of a natural principle flowing from his mind, was to interfere personally and specially on every occasion when a new shell-fish or reptile was to be ushered into existence on one of these worlds? Surely this idea is too ridiculous to be for a moment entertained."

A presumption having been thus established in favour of an organic creation by law, the author proceeds to inquire whether science can furnish any facts to confirm it. Such facts he thinks he has found, though he admits that they are comparatively few and scattered. The character of some of these facts shows strongly the difficulty under which he felt himself to labour in this part of the subject. Crystallization, we are told, is confessedly a phenomenon of inorganic matter, and its forms have a mimic resemblance, in some instances beautifully complete, to vegetable forms.* Electricity also, in its passage, leaves behind it

* Under this head the author gives without authority, but we suppose from Brande's Journal, an account of the old and now repudiated experiment of the *Arbor Dianae*.

marks which resemble, in the positive direction, the ramifications of a tree, and in the negative, the bulbous or the spreading root. "A plant thus appears as a thing formed on the basis of a natural electrical operation—*the brush* realized." This argument of course admits of no reply. There is no reasoning against a metaphor. We should as soon think of attempting to refute the man who declared that he had such a cold in his head that it froze the water with which he washed his face. There can be no surer mark of an unphilosophical mind than this hasty grasping after vague analogies.

In collecting his few and scattered facts in support of his hypothesis, the author next adduces the production of urea and alantoin by artificial means, and infers hence the possibility of forming in the laboratory all the principles of vegetable and animal life. It is also ascertained that the basis of all vegetable and animal substances consists of nucleated cells, that is cells or globules having a granule within them. All nutriment is converted into such cells before the process of assimilation; the tissues are formed from them: the ovum is originally only a cell with a contained granule. "So that all animated nature may be said to be based on this mode of origin, the fundamental form of organic being is a globule, having a new globule forming within itself, by which it is in time discharged." If then these globules could be produced artificially from inorganic elements, the possibility of the commencement of animated creation by the ordinary laws of nature might be considered as established. "Now it was given out some years ago by a French physiologist, that globules could be produced in albumen by electricity. If, therefore these globules be identical with the cells which are now held to be reproductive, it might be said that the production of albumen by artificial means is the only step in the process wanting." We must leave all comment upon this conclusion to the inimitable Touchstone; "your If is the only true philosopher: much virtue in If."

The next class of facts upon which the author relies are those which go to support the doctrine of spontaneous, or as he terms it, aboriginal generation. This doctrine, exploded for many years, has been recently revived, and is of course warmly espoused by the author of the treatise under review. In support of it he contends that animalcules and vegetable mould may be produced under circumstances

that exclude the presence of ova or seeds. Entozoa, or internal parasitic animals are also found within the viscera of other animals, where it is impossible that the living animal or the ova of such as are oviparous, could have been conveyed through the blood-vessels. How can their existence be accounted for, except upon the hypothesis of their spontaneous generation? And still further, organic life has actually been produced in the laboratory. Mr. Crosse, in the course of some experiments made a few years since, had occasion to pass a current of electricity through a saturated solution of silicate of potash, when he observed to his surprise insects appearing at one of the poles of the battery. He repeated the experiment with nitrate of copper, with the same result. Discouraged by the reception his experiments met with, he discontinued them; but they were subsequently repeated, with precisely similar results by Mr. Weekes, of Sandwich. Here then we have an instance in which an organized being has been produced by the operation of natural laws from inorganic elements. It is true this creature of the laboratory was but a microscope insect, but it is sufficient to decide the question of the aboriginal creation of a living organism.

This experiment will doubtless have all the force claimed for it by the author in its bearing upon his system, with all who can receive his interpretation of it. There is no question about the facts of the case. These no doubt occurred precisely as related by Messrs. Crosse and Weekes. That is, animalcular insects of the *acarus* kind, appeared in the different solutions through which an electric current was passed. The only question is respecting the proper interpretation of these facts. The author contends that it was a true creation of organic life from inorganic elements. This interpretation is favoured by the fact that the experiment was made by two independent observers, and in both cases resulted in the production of a hitherto unknown insect: that every precaution was taken by distilling the water, heating the substance of the silicate, and baking the wood of the apparatus, to destroy any ova which they might contain, and the atmosphere was effectually excluded during the course of the experiment; that one of the solutions employed, nitrate of copper, is a deadly poison and would have destroyed therefore the vitality of any ova which might be contained in it. In reply to this we remark, that Mr. Crosse's experiments have been repeated by others,

and without success in every instance except that of Mr. Weekes, a name known as yet to science only through this dubious experiment. The insect produced, instead of being a new one, is only a hitherto undescribed variety, among myriads, of a well-known species. The nitrate of copper could not be expected to destroy the ovum, if the insect lived in it; and some species of the acarus are known to be so tenacious of life that they will live in boiling water, and in alcohol. These experiments moreover occupied several weeks, in one case, eleven months, for their completion. It seems to us much more rational to suppose that notwithstanding the precautions taken to destroy and then to exclude the ova of the insect, some of them lived through the heat applied for their destruction, or gained access afterward, during the long course of the experiment, than that a result was produced not only perfectly novel, but in palpable contradiction to every other experiment upon the law of cause and effect. That a living being should be produced by mechanical causes acting upon inorganic matter, is not only a "novelty in science," without any kindred or relative phenomena lying in the same direction, but it is opposed to the whole body of our positive knowledge. That organic life can be produced only by organic life, is a law of nature generalized from innumerable instances. There is no law which rests upon a more general induction. It may possibly be found hereafter that this is but a particular case of some more general law, but no candid or philosophical mind, will be prepared to abandon it for such experiments as those of Messrs. Crosse and Weekes. To invalidate it upon such slender and doubtful ground, betrays a hasty credulity or an over-anxious zeal to support a foregone conclusion, utterly inconsistent with a philosophical mind. The truth is, Mr. Crosse's manufacture of insects was one of those blunders of the laboratory, of which like instances are not wanting, in which the result was hastly announced before it had been subjected to a sufficiently careful scrutiny. It has been rejected by every man of science in both hemispheres, and we suspect that Mr. Crosse himself laid aside his creative battery, not because of the unfavourable reception given to his discovery by the scientific public, but because he himself became satisfied of its unsoundness and was glad to abandon it as speedily and quietly as possible. We know nothing of his merits save from this one essay, but if he possesses any scien-

tific claims, as we are rather disposed to think he may from his hasty abandonment of this experiment, he will hardly thank the author of the Vestiges of Creation for dragging it forth from the obscurity into which it was passing, and placing it in the foreground of his theory.

The passage from inorganic matter to organized forms, having been thus accounted for, the author proceeds to explain and defend his theory of the progressive development of superior from inferior forms of being. There is an obvious gradation among the families of the vegetable and animal kingdoms from the simple lichen and animalcule up to the highest order of dicotyledonous trees and the mammalia. Though this gradation does not ascend uniformly along a single line upon which all forms of life can be regularly placed, yet it is incontestable that there are general appearances of a scale beginning with the simple and ascending to the complex. However different the external forms of animals, it is very remarkable that they are all but variations of a fundamental plan, which can be traced through the whole as a basis. Starting from the primeval germ which is the representative of a particular order of full-grown animals, we find all others to be merely advances from that type, with the extension of endowments and modifications of forms which are required in each particular case. Different organs are found to fulfil analogous purposes in different animals. Thus the mammalia breathe by lungs, the fishes by gills. In mammifers the gills exist and act at an early stage of the foetal state, but afterwards go back and appear no more, while the lungs are developed; while in fishes, on the other hand, the gills only are fully developed, and the lungs appear only in the rudimentary form of an air-bladder. In many instances, too, a particular structure is found advanced to a certain point in a particular set of animals, as feet in the serpent tribe, although of no use, but being carried a little forward becomes useful in the next set of animals in the scale. Such are the undeveloped mammae of the male human being. One species thus hints at or prophesies another higher on the scale. The higher also often bears traces of the lower from which it has come. Thus the *os coccygis* in man is neither more nor less than the bones of a tail, or as our author phrases it, a caudal extremity, existing in an undeveloped state.

But the most interesting class of facts connected with the laws of organic development yet remain. It has been

found that each animal passes in the course of its germinal history through a series of changes resembling the permanent forms of the various orders of animals inferior to it in the scale.

"Thus, for instance, an insect, standing at the head of the articulated animals, is, in the larva state, a true annelid, or worm, the annelida being the lowest in the same class. The embryo of a crab resembles the perfect animal of the inferior order myriapoda, and passes through all the forms of transition which characterize the intermediate tribes of crustacea. The frog, for some time after its birth, is a fish with external gills, and other organs fitting it for an aquatic life, all of which are changed as it advances to maturity, and becomes a land animal. The mammifer only passes through still more stages, according to its higher place in the scale. Nor is man himself exempt from this law. His first form is that which is permanent in the animalcule. His organization gradually passes through conditions generally resembling a fish, a reptile, a bird, and the lower mammalia, before it attains its specific maturity. At one of the last stages of his fœtal career, he exhibits an intermaxillary bone, which is characteristic of the perfect ape; this is suppressed, and he may then be said to take leave of the simial type, and become a true human creature. Even, as we shall see, the varieties of his race are represented in the progressive development of an individual of the highest, before we see the adult Caucasian, the highest point yet attained in the animal scale."

Thus the brain of man resembles in the early stage of foetal growth the form which is permanent in the fish. It then passes successively through stages which represent the brain of the reptile, the bird, the mammalia, until it finally takes on a form which transcends them all, and becomes the brain of man. The heart also passes through a similar set of changes, in which it seems to rehearse the history of the process by which through a series of ages it has become transformed from the heart of an animalcule to that of a man.

We are thus led to the supposition that the first step in the creation of life was a chemico-electric operation by which simple germinal vesicles were produced, and that there was then a progress from the simplest forms of being to the next more complicated, and this, through the ordinary process of generation. It is true indeed that what we ordinarily see of nature would lead us to suppose that each species invariably produces its like. But our observation of nature covers but a limited period. The time that has elapsed since the appearance of man upon this planet, is but a small fraction of the geological periods which preceded his birth. The law that like produces its

like, is in all probability only a partial generalization which would give place to a higher law upon a broader induction. We may borrow an illustration here from the celebrated calculating engine of Mr. Babbage. This machine is so constructed that while in motion it will present successively to the eye of the observer, a series of numbers proceeding according to certain laws. The machine may be so adjusted that the numbers shall follow each other according to a regular law up to any assignable point, and then the next number shall vary from the law, which shall be restored again in the succeeding one. Thus it may present in succession the natural numbers up to the one hundred millionth term, the next term shall depart from this order, and the next return to it again. The observer who should watch the operation of this machine would surely conclude that the law which governed it was the series of natural numbers. The space for the induction of this law may be made of any assignable extent; it may be made to include as many particular instances as there have been of the production of organized beings since the observation of man commenced; and yet it is found that this law, instead of being the governing idea of the machine, is but a partial expression of the method of its operation. So it may be in nature. Though each vegetable and animal brings forth only after its kind, so far as our observation has extended, yet through immense periods, such as geology deals with, it is probable that one species gave birth to a different and higher one. The gestation of a single organism is the work but of a few days, weeks, or months; but the gestation, so to speak, of a whole creation is a matter probably involving enormous periods of time. "All that we can properly infer therefore from the apparently invariable production of like by like, is, that such is the ordinary procedure of nature in the time immediately passing before our eyes. Mr. Babbage's illustration powerfully suggests that this ordinary procedure may be subordinate to a higher law which only permits it for a time, and in proper season interrupts and changes it."

As we do not wish to recur again to this mechanical illustration, we interrupt our account of the author's system to make a passing comment upon it. The introduction of this illustration for the purpose to which it is applied, is of itself enough to settle his standing as a philosopher. A man of true genius and of high attainments may some-

times blunder, but this is such a blunder as no mind accustomed to that accuracy of movement without which truth can never be discovered, though it may be occasionally stumbled upon, could by possibility have made. It is not by those who fight thus uncertainly, as one beating the air, that the cause of sound philosophy is to be advanced. In Mr. Babbage's machine, the effects produced are all alike, so far as causation is concerned in their production. Certain numbers are presented to the eye, marked upon dial plates, moved by wheels which are themselves set in motion by the action of a spring or weight. The numbers presented have no *real* differences from each other; they are distinguished by certain abstract relations which the mind establishes among them. When the varying term is presented, the *real* effect produced is precisely akin to all that have gone before it. And yet this is brought forward to prove that the law by which monkeys produce monkeys, may be only a particular instance of a more general law in accordance with which at the end of some immense period a monkey may produce a man. Let us suppose that while watching Mr. Babbage's machine, presenting to us successive numbers by the revolution of its plates, we should suddenly see one of those plates resolving itself into types, and these types arranging themselves in the order of a page of the Paradise Lost, or even of the Vestiges of Creation, is there any man in his senses who would not immediately conclude that some new cause was now at work? The argument drawn from this illustration is really too absurd for refutation. Its fallacy lies upon the surface. And it is by such considerations that men are to be persuaded to exchange the well-settled faith of ages for the great law of development!

The law of development, the author contends, is still daily seen at work, though the effects produced are somewhat less than a transition from species to species. Thus bees, when they have lost their queen, manufacture a new one by simply changing the conditions of the larva, so that it shall give birth to the insect in sixteen instead of twenty days. The same embryo will become a female, a neuter, or a male, according as it remains sixteen, twenty or twenty-four days in the larva state. Another instance, approaching more nearly to the production of a new species, is found in the changes which different tribes of the human family undergo from a change in their physical conditions. Poor

diet and other hardships will in course of time produce a prominence of the jaws, a recession and diminution of the cranium, and an elongation and attenuation of the limbs; and on the other hand, these peculiarities will disappear under favorable treatment. These facts fall indeed far short of the transmutation of species. But there is one reported case in which this has been effected in the vegetable world. It is said that whenever oats, sown at the usual time, are kept cropped down during summer and autumn, and allowed to remain over winter, a thin crop of rye will be presented at the close of the ensuing summer.

The idea then of the progress of organic life is, that the simplest and most primitive type, under a law to which that of like production is subordinate, gave birth to the type next above it, and so on to the very highest. Whether the whole of any species was at once translated forward, or only a few parents were employed to give birth to the new type, must remain undetermined. If an entire species was advanced, the place vacated would be immediately taken up by the one next below, so that the introduction of a new germinal vesicle at the bottom of the scale, would be all that was necessary to fill up the vacancy.

After attempting thus to establish his theory by facts in natural history, the author finds further confirmation in the history of the human race. He enters into a philological discussion to prove the identity of the different families of mankind, and then inquires in what part of the earth the race may most probably be supposed to have originated. Tracing back the history of each of the great human families, we find their lines converging to a point somewhere in the region of Northern India. This is true at least of all except the Negro; and, the author adds, "of that race it may fairly be said, that it is the one most likely to have had an independent origin, seeing that it is a type so peculiar in an inveterate black colour and so mean in development." We find thus that history is in harmony with the theory which generates man from the monkey, as it traces the origin of the race to that part of the world where the highest species of the quadrumana are to be found.

The race at their origin must of course be supposed to have existed in a rude and barbarous state, from which they gradually emerged and passed through the various forms of civilization which have appeared. Here as ev-

ery where, the author makes the facts of history bend to his purpose. There is not in all history one well authenticated case of an indigenous civilization. We have instances upon instances of nations and tribes that have declined from a comparatively high state of civilization into semi-barbarism, but not one in which a savage people, without intercommunication with others, has spontaneously risen from a rude to a civilized state. But in the face of this uniform historical testimony the author seizes upon an account which Mr. Catlin has given of a small tribe of Mandan Indians that were able to construct fortifications and had made some progress in the manufacturing arts, and builds upon it his argument for the inherent tendencies of the race to advance from barbarism to civilization. This account is given by a single observer of a tribe that has now passed from existence, and that was seen by him under circumstances which would naturally lead his imagination to make the most of the differences between them and surrounding tribes. If the facts were as reported, of which we stand in great doubt, we have no hesitation in saying that the history of that tribe, if it could be traced, would lead back to a state of still higher civilization. To this conclusion we are forced by the concurrent testimony of all history, in cases where it can be distinctly traced. That which is clearly known should be made to illustrate that which is doubtful; though this is a principle which our author continually tramples upon in his reckless grasping after support for his theory. A fanciful resemblance, an extemporaneous blunder of the laboratory, a rough guess of some early geological explorer, an exaggerated tale of some imaginative traveller, these are eagerly seized and employed to establish real relations, to oppose the most mature conclusions of scientific research, and to contradict the uniform testimony of history.

The historical argument is followed by one drawn from the mental constitution of animals. And here of course the grossest materialism opens upon us. Thought, and feeling too, are real material existences, akin to the imponderable bodies in nature. The rapidity of mental action is explained by the velocity with which light and electricity are transmitted. The alliances between man and the brute are strongly insisted upon. The human intelligence is pre-figured in the instinct of the lower creation, and is different from it in degree only, not in kind.

The affections and passions of the human heart all had their previous manifestations in brutes. "The love of the human mother for her babe was anticipated by nearly every humbler mammal, the carnaria not excepted. The peacock strutted, the turkey blustered, and the cock fought for victory, just as human beings afterwards did, and still do."

There is no act of the mind, no affection of the heart, in man, which may not be found in a ruder form in some one or more of the lower animals. That which is recognised as free-will in man is only "a liability to flit from under the control of one feeling to the control of another, nothing more than a vicissitude in the supremacy of the feelings over each other."

The absurdities of phrenology, as might have been anticipated, are fully endorsed; and we are told that the system of mind invented by Dr. Gall, is "the only one founded upon nature, or which even pretends to or admits of that necessary basis." In the most unqualified contradiction to this, we assert that phrenology is the only account of mental operations with which we are acquainted that has not one particle of support from induction. It purports to be a science of observation and yet flatly rejects all observation, and founds itself upon the purest constructions of the fancy. It maintains the existence of nearly forty separate organs of the brain, devoted to distinct functions, when every man who has ever dissected a brain, or seen one dissected, knows that there are no such organs there. As a physiological hypothesis it is as absurd and groundless, as that one particular spot in the stomach secretes the gastric juice for the digestion of beef, another that of mutton, and so on through the whole list of digestible articles. And as a "system of mind," as our author terms it, it never has risen above contempt in the judgment of any one competent to form an opinion upon the subject. It professes to make distinction between mental acts, and assign these to their several organs, without pretending to furnish any test of the degree of difference necessary to constitute a difference of organs; and as the organs themselves have no existence except in the supposed necessity created by the great diversity of the mental operations, rendering it impossible that such different work should be performed by the same instrument, it is fatal to its claims as a system of mental philosophy that it gives us no criterion of mental acts. If phrenology be true, its truth can only be es-

tablished by being preceded by a complete system of mental philosophy. No one who has made the human mind his study could be for an instant cajoled by the fooleries of this pseudo-science. There is not a single problem in the whole range of metaphysical science, upon which, if true, it would shed the least light. It has accordingly never received the sanction of one name of note in metaphysics; and it is equally destitute of authority from physiologists. It has received a certain degree of consideration from the populace, for reasons which it would not be difficult to explain to any one who has ever been in the track of one of the itinerant lecturers upon its mysteries; and it has been adopted by a few third or fourth-rate thinkers because it has furnished them a basis on which to build up a system of materialistic fatalism. But it has yet to receive its first sanction from any man, whose attainments in physiology or in mental science have placed him in the rank of those entitled to speak with authority. Its place has long since been settled by the only competent tribunal; and if in reply to this, we are referred to Gallileo, Copernicus, and sundry others who were rejected by their generation, we have only to say that we accept the issue of an appeal to posterity. The fate of the true seers of the race, who have been in their day cast out and afterwards exalted to the highest places of honour, constitutes the stock in trade of all adventurers, from Mesmer down to the last discoverer of a perpetual motion; and we have no desire to deprive the phrenologists of any consolation which they may draw from it.

The author shows the grossest ignorance in dealing with metaphysical questions. His language, which is not ordinarily deficient in precision, becomes here so loose and vague as to lead us to doubt whether he has ever mastered the simplest facts in mental science. Thus he defines perception as "the *access* of such ideas (viz: of the external world) to the brain." With still more vagueness and barrenness of meaning he says, "Conception and imagination appear to be only intensities, so to speak, of the state of brain in which memory is produced." And memory itself is said to be "a particular state of each of the faculties, when the ideas of objects once formed by it are revived or reproduced, a process which seems to be intimately allied with some of the phenomena of the new science of photography, when images impressed by reflection of the sun's

rays upon sensitive paper are, after a temporary obliteration, resuscitated on the sheet being exposed to the fumes of mercury." More senseless jargon than this we will venture to say was never uttered respecting mental phenomena. Imagination, an intensity of that state of the brain in which memory is produced! If this be not to darken knowledge with words, we know not where it can be found. Does he mean that imagination is only a more intense kind of memory? It would seem to be impossible that any man could perpetrate such an absurdity, and yet it is the only meaning which we can educe from his words.

When the author comes to treat, at the close of his work, of "the purpose and general condition of the animated creation," he is, as might have been foreseen, sadly at fault. What has a mechanical system of the world to do with purposes? Upon what part of his theory can he graft any general or ultimate ends? How can it furnish any standard to discriminate between superior and inferior, better and worse? It is an ontology, deprived of deontology, and its highest affirmation must of necessity be, whatever is, is. The highest conception to which it can reach is pleasure; and yet if the pleasurable feeling of a sensitive being and the cloud that hangs in the atmosphere, are alike products of nature, who shall say which is better, this or that? That we may not here do injustice to the author we will quote his account of the purpose of creation.

"That enjoyment is the proper attendant of animal existence is pressed upon us by all we see and all we experience. Everywhere we perceive in the lower creatures, in their ordinary condition, symptoms of enjoyment. Their whole being is a system of needs, the supplying of which is gratification, and of faculties, the exercise of which is pleasurable. When we consult our own sensations, we find that, even in a sense of a healthy performance of all the functions of the animal economy, God has furnished us with an innocent and very high enjoyment. The mere quiet consciousness of a healthy play of the mental functions—a mind at ease with itself and all around it—is in like manner extremely agreeable. This negative class of enjoyments, it may be remarked, is likely to be even more extensively experienced by the lower animals than by man, at least in the proportion of their absolute endowments, as their mental and bodily functions are much less liable to derangement than ours. To find the world constituted on this principle is only what in reason we would expect. We cannot conceive that so vast a system could have been created for a contrary purpose. No averagely constituted human being would, in his own limited sphere of action, think of producing a similar system upon an opposite principle. But to form

so vast a range of being, and to make being everywhere a source of gratification, is conformable to our ideas of a Creator in whom we are constantly discovering traits of a nature, of which our own is but a faint and far-cast shadow at the best."

The author confesses the difficulty which he finds in reconciling this view with the many miseries which we see all sentient beings, ourselves included, occasionally suffering. After much talk about general laws, which has very little bearing upon the difficulty which he is seeking to relieve, he arrives at the consolatory conclusion that "the individual is left to take his chance amidst the *melée* of the various laws affecting him. If he be found inferiorly endowed, or ill befalls him, there was at least no partiality against him. The system has the fairness of a lottery in which every one has the like chance of drawing a prize." We are thus at the close fairly landed without any disguise, "in the sty of Epicurus."

We have given as full an account of this remarkable work, as our limits would permit, accompanied by such special criticisms as we wished to dispose of in passing. Our first general remark upon the system which it teaches is, that no one can be at a loss in determining its place. It is the Epicurean system defended and embellished by modern science. This system, though it has received the name of Epicurus, existed before his day, and has since continually re-appeared under slightly differing forms. We find it taking a distinct form at the earliest period to which we can trace the Greek philosophy. It was clearly taught by Anaximander, of the Ionian school, the friend and disciple of Thales. His great difficulty, like that of the mechanical philosophers of all ages, was to account for the construction of organic beings; but it appears to us that he was quite as successful in overcoming this difficulty, as our author has been with all the appliances of modern geology and chemistry. He supposes that our globe was originally composed of a mixture of land and water, and assumed its present condition from the action of the sun, evaporating a portion of the original moisture. So long as the earth was more moist than at present, the sun's action was greater; and by a process similar to what may even now be witnessed on a smaller scale in marshy regions, it produced fermentous bubbles in the humidity, which being outwardly enclosed by filmy bladders, were converted within, into living creatures by the solar heat. In progress of time these living

creatures burst their shells, and came forth upon the dry ground, where however, they lived but a short time. These first animals were rude and imperfect, and a progressive development was necessary, before higher species could be produced. Man, he teaches, did not come at once, in his perfect shape and complete equipments, upon the earth. He was originally a fish, and reached gradually his perfect development. The genesis of organic life was supposed to be effected by a long and composite series of natural processes; and the higher forms of life to be evolved from the lower.* And we see not why the filmy bladder of Anaximander, engendered by the solar heat, is not as good and philosophical a starting point as the germinal vesicle of the author of Vestiges of Creation, produced by a chemico-electrical operation. The same system, in substance, was taught by Anaxagoras. It was indeed the prevailing system of the Ionian school of philosophy. It would be easy to trace this mechanical theory down through history, and show that it has never been for any considerable period, without its advocates. It is one of the possible forms of philosophy, and we must expect to find it re-appearing, however often refuted, whenever any philosophical movement takes place. In more modern times its most noted defenders have been Gassendi, Hobbes, the French school of Encyclopedists, Darwin, and Lamarck. The only novelty in our author's exposition of it, consists in the diligence with which he has collected and arranged the fragments of various sciences in its apparent support.

Some difference of opinion, we perceive has existed respecting the atheistic character of this work. The author cannot we think, with propriety be branded as an atheist. He recognises the existence of a Deity. He speaks of a personal God, distinct from the active energy implanted in matter. He sometimes breaks forth into apparently truthful and hearty expressions of reverence towards the Creator. It is indeed true that in his system we can discern no ground for this reverence. We cannot see why we should be called upon to adore and praise a Being who has manifested no moral ends in our creation; who has made us for gratification only, and left us so insecure of that, that in the chance melée we fail as often as we succeed; and to whom it is impossible we can be bound in any duty. But if the au-

* See Ritter's History of Philosophy, Vol. I., p. 275.

thor, even while expounding this heartless, bestial system, remains so far under the influence of better things that his moral feelings respond to their influence, we see not why he should be termed an atheist. That the system which he teaches, however, is an atheistic system, there can be no doubt. It has been so recognised in all ages of the world. It makes the senses the only inlet of ideas, and induction the only instrument for reaching the truth. From this beginning atheism is the necessary conclusion. When we have reasoned back from the phenomena presented to our senses until we have arrived at the primary nebulous matter so disposed and endowed as to evolve itself into all the forms which have subsequently proceeded from it, upon what principle of reasoning are we warranted in inferring the existence of anything antecedent to, or aside from this primary matter? If we are acquainted with no phenomena but those of matter, then the hypothesis of an original matter, endowed with certain forces, the nature and extent of which we learn by reasoning backward from their effects, is amply sufficient to account for the universe. As Laplace has said, "we do not need the hypothesis of a Deity." An original, uncaused, self-existent matter, capable of becoming all that we have seen it become, and of taking on in the future such forms as our science is able clearly to predict, this is the ultimate point which can be reached by the philosophy of induction, generalizing its conclusions from the phenomena presented to the senses. Every effect must have a cause, or rather every phenomenon must be preceded by an antecedent, adequate to its production, this principle will carry us back from the state of the universe to-day, to its state yesterday, and so on through the teeming days of the interminable geological periods, until we have arrived at the simplest condition to which we are able to trace the complicated phenomena by which we are surrounded. Here our progress is arrested. Of a creation strictly so called we have had no experience, and it is of course impossible that it can be established by any empirical principles of reasoning. If the principle that every effect must have a sufficient cause, is a general truth which we have reached by induction, nothing can be more illogical than to apply this principle under circumstances entirely different from those within which it was generalized. It was gathered from observation upon changes in existing matter; what application then can it have in explanation of the origin of mat-

ter? It is evident that the materialist cannot get beyond the reduction of the matter with which he starts, to its most elementary form, except by the sacrifice of his logic.

The author of this work does indeed admit an original creation, but every intelligent reader will feel that this is a needless and bungling superfluity in his theory. If matter, during the indefinite period which has elapsed since its creation, a period only not eternal, has maintained itself in being, and by virtue of its inherent properties formed itself into systems of worlds, and clothed these worlds with vegetable and animal life, there will be no difficulty in dispensing with the idea of creation. And while we see a logical necessity for surrendering this idea, we cannot perceive any moral or other advantage to be gained by retaining it. Of what avail is it to give us the idea of a Creator, if He who created does not govern us? The Creator in this system created necessarily, and all things are bound together in the necessary chain of cause and effect. The universe, in all its parts and beings, in all its processes and results, is but a stupendous machine, whirled about by its own inherent tendencies and driving on to we know not what end. In what relation then do we stand to the Creator? Shall we magnify Him for the power and intelligence displayed in His work? But power and intelligence are not proper objects of adoration except when directed to worthy ends. Shall we praise Him for his wisdom and goodness? But of these we can find no sufficient traces. We cannot pronounce upon His wisdom, while in utter ignorance of the end of creation, and of His goodness we are left equally in the dark. Abandoned to the operation of general laws, that without any discernible purpose or feeling work out their results,—left to take our chance amid the prizes and blanks, and worse than blanks, distributed by a stern undiscriminating necessity,—we see not that there is any occasion for admiration, reverence, or love towards the Creator. To love Him would be, as Spinosa says, to deny His nature. To pray to Him would be as idle as a dog baying the moon.

It is instructive to observe how a pure materialism, and a pure idealism meet in the same final result, though reaching it by such different roads. The system constructed by the author of the Vestiges of Creation is destitute of all moral purposes and aims,—man is only a self-conscious wheel in the machine,—and God can be nothing higher

than the active energy which works through all. In like manner Spinosa, starting with his "*unica substantia*," a pure mental abstraction, an *ens rationis*, constructs a system in which morality is identified with gratification, and God with the principle that permeates and acts through all things.

With most of our readers we trust it would be deemed an ample refutation of any system to show clearly that it was atheistic in its essential character. But we propose to make a further examination of this system upon its merits as a scientific hypothesis. And here we have a preliminary word to say upon the relations existing between science and revelation. The author of this work affects to consider the common notions entertained of the agency of the Deity in the creation, as grossly anthropomorphic and degrading. That He should put forth his power for the creation of man, that He should be summoned to interfere whenever a new species of animalcules or zoophytes was to be called into being, this is to take a very mean view of the creative power. That the august Being, who called all worlds into existence, was "to interfere personally on every occasion when a new fish or reptile was to be ushered into existence on one of these worlds,—surely this idea is too ridiculous to be entertained for a moment." It shows a singular obliquity of vision that he should not have seen that the only anthropomorphism here is in his own conception. It is not unworthy the Divine Being to have created even the minutest insects, for he supposes Him to have created them in the original act of will by which He created matter. But it is derogatory to suppose that He created them successively, by separate acts of will! Why it should be deemed so, we cannot conceive, except by transforming the idea of God into conceptions framed according to the standard of our own capacity of thought and action. From the limited nature of our faculties we are incapable of attending, without such distraction as impairs our efficiency, to more than one object at a time. Hence we feel when we see a man perpetually occupied with trivial affairs that he is acting an unworthy part, because we know that, from the infirmity of his nature, while thus employed he must be neglecting weightier matters. Shall we judge the Almighty by the same standard? Shall we conclude that while he is numbering the hairs of our head, he is failing to guide Arcturus and his sons,—that while inter-

fering to create a reptile or a fish, he is suffering some world to rush to ruin, or some angel to perish, from neglect! Reason teaches us to infer at once from the idea of God, that his infinite thought comprehends alike the great and the small, that his power and his goodness, omnipresent and almighty, act with undivided care in the production and government of the minute as well as the vast. It is only when men attempt to frame conceptions of the Divine Being from their gropings among dead matter, when they resolve freedom into necessity, will into law, the infinite into the indefinite, and the absolute into the conditioned, that they shrink from the irreverence of supposing that God notices the fall of every sparrow, and brings forth every lily of the field, and numbers every hair of our heads.

The author of this work is evidently fearful, after all his glosses, that his views will not be considered altogether consistent with the scriptures; for he adds, "I freely own that I do not think it right to adduce the Mosaic record, either in objection to, or in support of any natural hypothesis." It is undoubtedly true that the scriptures were not given to teach us natural philosophy; but it is equally plain that some truths of natural science are so distinctly asserted, and so interwoven with the moral system therein revealed, that they must stand or fall together. Such are the original creation of matter and the subsequent creation of man, by the fiat of the divine will. Such too we regard the descent of all mankind from one original pair, though the author says "this is an open question." The scriptures not only plainly assert this as a historical fact, but it is so connected with the doctrine of the depravity and redemption of the race, that if it should be disproved it would discredit the pretended revelation which teaches it. As a general proposition, it may be granted that the Bible teaches us no physical truth except in subserving to some moral end, but some such truths it does teach us, and these we are satisfied can never be set aside by the ultimate results of any true science.

In passing the chief points of the Vestiges of Creation under review, we are led in the first place to examine the foundations of the nebular hypothesis. This hypothesis the author says "is supported by so many ascertained features of the celestial scenery, and by so many calculations of exact science, that it is impossible for a candid mind to refrain from giving it a cordial reception, if not to repose

full reliance upon it." This he says, as we have already shown, without having mastered this hypothesis in its statements or in its principles, and while giving ample evidence of his utter incompetency to decide upon what is necessary to legitimate a scientific hypothesis. Hypotheses, as distinguished from theories, may very fitly be made by the natural philosopher to assist and guide him in his investigations. Indeed they are essential to the successful prosecution of scientific research. Without an hypothesis, by which the philosopher supposes some explanation of an observed fact by which it may be related to other facts, he could only make his experiments at hazard, instead of putting to nature the "*prudens questio*" of Bacon. If his experiments are not made at random, it must be for the purpose of testing something which he has beforehand supposed, that is of determining the truth or falsity of some hypothesis which he has framed. The more general this hypothesis becomes, that is, the greater number of dissimilar but analogous facts it explains, the more important it becomes as a guide to further experiment and reasoning. But a sound philosopher will always preserve the just boundary between hypothesis and theory. He will never confound a supposition with a real truth, a suffiction with a substance. He will use his hypothesis only as a suggestive contrivance, which classifying together certain facts, in an artificial relation, puts him upon the search after others which may confirm or modify the supposition already made. It was only in this light that the nebular hypothesis was proposed by Laplace, and subsequent observation has tended to diminish instead of increasing the evidence in its favour. "The features of celestial scenery," which suggested this hypothesis, were the appearances presented by the different nebulæ which are found distributed through celestial space. The powerful telescope of the elder Herschel first disclosed the fact that these remarkable objects, one or two of which are visible to the naked eye, existed in immense numbers, and presented very different appearances. Some of them appear like luminous clouds, irregular in shape, and with spots of varying degrees of brightness. Others are spherical or elliptic in form, and increase in brightness towards a central point. Sir William Herschel suggested that these brighter spots were centres of condensation around which the nebulous matter was slowly collecting, and this suggestion was the foundation of La-

place's hypothesis. Assuming the existence of a nebulous mass with a condensation going on towards the centre, and a rotation round an axis, he showed that such a condition of things might exist as would lead to the separation of successive rings, revolving round the central mass; which rings might in turn break up and form into planets, with satellites, generated in like manner, revolving around them. This hypothesis pretends to nothing higher than to show the physical possibility of such a construction of our solar system. It is a brilliant imagination; and no man who understands the difficulties of the problem, of which this is a conjectural solution, would venture to give it at present any more substantial character.

It is said that the first fruits of discovery with the great telescope of Lord Rosse has been the resolution of many of the hitherto unresolvable nebulæ into distinct stars. This, if true, weakens and goes far to destroy the chief evidence in favour of the hypothesis. It was conjectured from the different appearances which these objects presented that they were composed of nebulous matter existing in different states of condensation, and undergoing changes which are but a rehearsal of what once occurred in our system. If it turns out that these appearances were fallacious, and that the nebulæ which were supposed to exhibit the successive stages of condensation are composed of distinct bodies already formed, the ground for this conjecture is greatly weakened.

But M. Comte claims to have given a mathematical verification of the nebular hypothesis, and this claim is fully endorsed by our author. M. Comte is a bold and brilliant writer. Many of his generalizations show the divination of genius; and, on the other hand, under the show of great profundity, he is not seldom exceedingly shallow and superficial. In this matter, as in some others in his "*Philosophie Positive*," he has leaped to his conclusion. He has done nothing more by his parade of mathematical analysis than to prove, under another form, the well known theorem, that a body revolving around another, in obedience to a central force, is affected by the mass but not by the magnitude of the central body. Kepler's law he has not proved, nor is it possible that he should, without making assumptions as to the law of density of a nebulous mass, in making which he could have no other guide than the fact to be explained by it; that is, he must reason from the facts

to the conditions necessary to account for them, and then assuming these conditions offer them in explanation of the facts. M. Comte has not made the first step towards a mathematical confirmation of the nebular hypothesis; nor do we believe that the problem can ever be brought within the compass of mathematical analysis. It never can become a theory until we are in a condition to explain why so many and no more planets were thrown off,—why they were separated at the precise distances at which we find them from the sun—why the ring which separated between Mars and Jupiter formed itself into four planets instead of one—why Saturn's ring did not break up and form a satellite—why some of the planets have satellites and others not—and why some of these satellites move from east to west in orbits exceedingly oblique. And if all this were done, so as to establish it as a scientific theory, it would by no means follow that it gave us the true history of creation. Unless we can bring existing nebulæ sufficiently near to obtain our data from them, we can only arrive at the necessary data by suppositions derived from the phenomena to be accounted for. The primitive constitution of the nebulous mass to which we are thus led can never be aught else than an abstraction. If we could by postulating a nebulous mass of defined extent, density, and velocity of rotation on its axis, show that the present solar system is the necessary result, it would assuredly be the most splendid triumph which science has yet achieved. But it would by no means prove that the system had actually been constructed after this fashion. It would be a true theory, but whether it would be truth of fact or not is an entirely distinct question. The nebular hypothesis, which our author makes his point of departure, is as yet entitled to no higher consideration than a conjecture; and should it in the progress of science be established, which seems to us impossible, it will be only an analytical explanation of how the universe might have been constructed.

It will be found upon a careful examination of the argument drawn from geology, that our author has failed as egregiously in translating the records of the earth, as in deciphering the truths written upon the heavens. We have no intention of following him through this part of his argument. Whatever else may be proved by geological facts, it is certain that when placed in their proper order they lend no aid to the two points which he is most anxious to

establish, the origination of life, by natural laws, from inorganic matter, and the transmutation of one species into another. To seek for evidence of these truths in the fossil remains of an extinct world, while there is nothing to warrant them in the living processes which are now going on, is another illustration of the singular tendency of this author to interpret the clear by the obscure. The laws of life surely ought to be sought among the living, not the dead. If it can be shown that there is no ground, in any of the living operations of the present economy, for supposing that life is ever produced by the agency of mechanical or chemical laws from inorganic matter, or that one form of life ever begets other than its like, we may rest satisfied that these conclusions will never be set aside by any reasoning founded upon the exuviae of extinct generations.

We proceed then to inquire into the reasons which the author has given us for believing that living organisms may be constructed from inorganic materials by the inherent properties of matter. The resemblances given by crystallization and the electrical brush to some forms of vegetable life we have already dismissed as puerile conceits in the discussion of such a subject. His next argument is that urea and alantoin have been made in the laboratory. To discern the bearing of this upon the question in debate, it will be necessary to consider with more precision than he has done, what are the phenomena comprised in organization. In the lowest form of life we find two perfectly distinct operations, the production of an organic material, and the construction of the vital organs out of this material. The earliest observation which can be made of the germs of plants or of animals, presents a small globule or disc of albuminous matter, in which we can discover as yet no forms or attributes of the future being. The organs through which life is to be manifested and maintained have as yet no existence. Haller, and others after him, supposed that all the parts of the plant or animal existed already in miniature in its seed or ovum; but this is an assumption of a material existence against the evidence of the senses, the only authorized judges, and for which there is no reason except the metaphysical necessity created by a particular hypothesis of life. The most powerful microscopes have failed to detect in different seeds any such difference of structure as may furnish ground for a prediction of the genus or species which will be developed from it. This fact alone

is sufficient to destroy the theory that life is only the harmonious co-operation of the different organs of the living body, and that death is the result of their discordant action. There is in a living structure a mutual dependency of parts and functions, any serious interruption of which is the occasion of death. But to make life consist in this harmony is to put the effect for the cause. The harmonious play of the organs is itself the result of some principle which pervades and regulates the whole machine, and which must have preceded the machine, inasmuch as its agency is concerned in the construction and collocation of its different parts.

In tracing the progress of vegetable organization, we find, when the requisite physical conditions of heat, moisture and oxygen are supplied, that an action commences, the first observable effect of which is the appearance, in the fluid of the seed, of minute granules, among which are soon seen some of larger size and more sharply defined than the others. These increase in size apparently from the coagulation of the smaller ones around them. From these granules the cells are formed; and the different tissues which make up the plant are all developed from the cells thus constructed. The *nuclei* formed by the aggregation of the minute granules, and the cells into which these are transformed, are each of them "a living organism, analogous in its vital attributes to the simplest forms of vegetables and animals. It imbibes or is penetrated by the surrounding *plasma* (organizable matter) that serves for its nutriment, acts on, modifies, and metamorphoses it, appropriates what is fitted to its own particular nature, and rejects what is not adapted to its nature or function as excrementitious."* The construction of all the elementary tissues of which both vegetable and animal bodies are composed is by development from cells. In some pre-existing organizable material, which may be situated either within or without a cell already formed, new cells are developed, and these cells by various changes and transformations are converted into the elementary organic tissues.

Here are obviously two processes, going on contemporaneously, which ought to be distinctly observed. The first is the formation of the material from which the different organs are made, the other the disposition of this material, the shape and collocation given to it so as to fit it to play

* Introductory Lecture, by Samuel Jackson, M. D. Philadelphia, 1844.

its part in the living structure. The organizable material of which the vegetable tissues are composed is *gum*, produced directly by a formative process or through the intermediate state of *starch*, from inorganic elements. The proximate principles of animal tissue are fibrin, albumen, gelatin, ozmazome, and fatty matter. Each particle of the elementary organ attracts to it particles which it assimilates to its own substance, and endows with its own vital properties. While this process of nutrition is going on, the organ, which is growing up, receives at the same time its shape and proportions. The principle which determines each particular organ and builds up the entire structure, with each part complete in itself and harmoniously adapted to the whole, may and ought to be clearly distinguished from the assimilating power by which the organic material is elaborated. It may admit of question whether these are different methods of operation of the same fundamental law, or whether they must be traced to distinct causes, but they are obviously very different phenomena, and any theory, physiological or metaphysical, which does not separate between them must involve itself in inextricable confusion.

In the process of assimilation a striking change is wrought in the properties of matter. The vegetable, seizing upon carbon, hydrogen, oxygen and nitrogen, converts them into its own tissues, which again furnish the proximate principles of animal organization. These are in all cases at least ternary compounds of chemical elements; and, what is singular, the most important of them, fibrin and albumen, when analyzed in the laboratory are found to consist of precisely the same organic elements, combined in the same proportion. The materials thus furnished when taken up by the particular organs of the body are not only assimilated to them, but receive the like power of assimilating other particles. This process of transmutation bears a resemblance to those which are effected in the laboratory. The changes wrought in the organic material furnished, may be due to nothing more than modifications made in the arrangement of its ultimate particles. We are not disposed, therefore, to deny the possibility that fibrin or albumen may be some day manufactured by the chemist, though we fear not, for reasons which we have not space now to give, to hazard the prediction that they will forever elude his grasp. Urea and alantoin, it is said, have been thus made, and our author founds upon this a confident augury

that all the proximate principles of organization will ultimately be compounded at will in like manner. His theory then quietly proceeds as if this work had already been accomplished. The absurdity of this is apparent, when it is remembered that urea and alantoin, though they are products of living organisms, make no part of the material which enters into any organic structure; they are elaborated in the production of other things and thrown off as excrementitious. Let it be marked, too, that this refuse of the organic laboratory has been imitated only by using other animal products in its manufacture; and it will be seen how much ground the author has for his augury that albumen, which, in his utter and shameful ignorance, he declares to be "a perfectly co-ordinate compound" with urea and alantoin, may any day be produced in the laboratory.

But let us suppose that the hourly expectation which our author encourages us to cherish has been fulfilled, and that "some French physiologist has given out" that the art has been reached of compounding albumen and fibrin and all other organic elements. What progress shall we even then have made towards the organization of life? Precisely the same progress that was made towards the construction of the Parthenon when the marble was lying in shapeless masses, out of which the shapely temple was to be built. The power is yet to be evoked that shall give form to these materials and build them up into a structure in which each part shall be fitly fashioned and placed for the discharge of its functions in its ministry to the design of the whole. From matter prepared for that purpose, a cunningly devised mechanism is to be framed, giving evidence of the highest skill in the precise adjustment of its complicated members, and their harmonious co-operation to the production of a common end. Can we suppose that the power through which this is wrought is a property of matter! We confess that nothing seems to us more incredible and absurd, though this opinion we know has been maintained by many eminent physiologists.

It should be observed, however, that the question now under discussion does not lie within the proper province of the physiologist. It is his vocation to observe the phenomena of organization and trace the relations subsisting between them. His science deals only with phenomena, and the laws at which he arrives are, in no proper sense of the

term, causes of the effects ascribed to them. They are but generalizations of particular facts. When the further inquiry is made, after the substance which underlies the phenomena, the law-giver who has established the law, and the agent by whom it is executed, the physiologist has no advantage over other men. The course of his studies may rather have tended to make him an unsafe reasoner upon these higher questions. The habit which he has acquired of explaining one material phenomenon by a reference to some other of a like kind, disposes him to rest satisfied with the complete analysis of matter, and to feel when he has succeeded in determining the law under which any given fact falls as if he had arrived at its efficient cause. Intent upon his own science, in which he traces the ever-shifting forms and states of matter, until he has succeeded in reducing them to order, by classifying them under one or more general abstract terms, he pronounces the word *law*, and declares that herein we have arrived at the limit of human intelligence. It is not permitted to man to know more; all beyond is conjecture and doubt. Physiologists are apt, in the bigotry produced by exclusive devotion to a single science, to sneer at the mazy dreams of metaphysical speculation, forgetful that the moment they undertake to pronounce what *is*, as distinguished from what *appears*, they are themselves trespassing upon the department of metaphysics. We would not debar the physiologists from the discussion of these questions, but we would have them understand that when they take them in hand they have laid aside the scalpel and the microscope, and stand only upon equal terms with other metaphysical reasoners. The "*Metaphysic*" of Bacon, which is as veritable a science as any other, and the true and proper end of all the rest, can be reached by no man while he confines himself within his own particular department. We return therefore to the discussion of this point, unawed by the prestige of any physiological authority that may be arrayed against us.

In every organized being we have, in the entire structure, and in each member of it, a peculiar form evolved and maintained, at the same time that the material which enters into its composition is elaborated. To suppose that this peculiar material, necessary for the manifestation of life, and the wondrous shapes into which it is fashioned, each one instinct with intelligence and design, are the spontaneous products of matter, or the results of blind and un-

intelligent forces, seems to us in plain contradiction to every sound principle of reasoning. Wherever we find form, we have the evidence of a pre-existent idea of which it is the realization. To make matter the cause of form is as absurd as to make it the cause of its own existence. Matter as it exists in amorphous masses, or under the geometrical forms, given to us in inorganic nature, might be supposed the result of a concourse of atoms impelled by necessary laws. A blind unreasoning power is all that is necessary to account for it. But the mind at once perceives when organic forms are presented that these involve a previous intellectual conception. It is impossible for any mind that has not been bewildered by sophistry, to contemplate a plant thoughtfully, without receiving the impression of a pre-existing idea, the thought that when yet but begun in the germ it had a perfect existence somewhere, and that the elements of which it is composed, and the mechanical agencies employed in its construction, are but the instruments of a power which is itself the agent of and dependent on the organic whole. The assimilating, plastic power which transmutes the inorganic into organic matter, cannot itself be the cause of the organism, for it is one of its attributes. The dynamic forces, the chemical agencies of nature so far from producing life and organization, cannot operate to effect organism without the presence of life, or to destroy it except in its absence. We are driven thus to the conclusion that there is a specific principle of organization of which the vital or assimilative agency is the actuating power. Whether this principle is the creative idea of Plato, the constitutive form of Aristotle, the plastic nature of Cudworth, the *anima* of Stahl, the *nisus formativus* of Blumenbach, or the vital force of some modern physiologists, it is not needful that we pause to inquire. We are desirous not to explain the best method of conceiving it, but to make manifest the necessity of conceiving it under some form.

Every theory which refers the phenomena of organization to the properties of matter must leave the principal fundamental facts unexplained. If we admit that the vital processes are carried on by a species of chemistry, we still need the chemist. If electricity, as our author contends, is identical with the nervous power, we still need the electrician who, instead of leaving this fluid to range and burst in lawless disorder, directs it with evident purpose

and infallible precision to the accomplishment of the ends of the animal economy. What reason then have we for supposing that the attractions and repulsions of inorganic nature, however directed by human skill, can ever generate the organizing power which is necessary to the construction and maintenance of a living structure? Every *a priori* presumption is against it, and all experience contradicts it. We cannot indeed prove the abstract impossibility of such a genesis of life. The mode in which the organic principle has been conditioned for its manifestation in matter we can learn only from observation. But observation conducts us to the conclusion, that the necessary condition of its manifestation is the existence of a germ, which is the product of a previous organism; and that in the absence of this the production of a living being, either fully developed or in embryo, is as strictly a creative act as the calling new matter into existence. We cannot prove a priori the impossibility of generating matter by transmitting an electrical current through a vacuum, or by operating on existing matter, so that it should increase by the aggregation of new particles. We cannot prove this impossibility, because we know not, prior to experience, how the will of the Creator, the true efficient cause, has conditioned the introduction of new matter into the universe. But all experience has proved that, abstraction being made of the creative cause, *de nihilo nihil fit.* So with equal conclusiveness experience has proved that the organic power can never be called into action except by means of a germ which has been elaborated by an organized being.

To oppose this induction, which is sustained by instances without number, what has our author to produce? Mr. Crosse's experiment upon the manufacture of animalcules, already sufficiently noticed; the report given out, some years ago, by some French physiologist, that globules might be produced in albumen by electricity, and *if* albumen could be made artificially, and *if* these globules were identical with the reproductive cells of physiology, the process would be complete; and lastly, a few obscure facts in vegetable and animal economy. These facts demand a brief notice. In the first place we are told that white clover, under certain circumstances, will spring up in soils where we have every reason, except the growth of the clover itself, to suppose that there were no seeds; and that mushrooms may be made to spring up in an artificial compost

in which no seeds have been sown. In both these cases the presumption certainly is that the seeds, though unsown and undiscovered, were present. It is known that seeds may remain for ages without losing their vitality—some have come down to us from the days of the Pharaohs—and as in all other cases clover and mushrooms spring from seeds, and this is seen to be the law of vegetable creation, we are led to infer that in these cases also the lime and the prepared compost do but supply the favouring circumstances to stimulate to germination seeds already existing in the soil.

His next facts in favour of equivocal generation are founded on observations upon the production of the vegetation called *mould*, and the infusory animalcules. Into the details of these observations we cannot enter. They are to us entirely unsatisfactory. The infusoria or mould may have arisen from dried animalcules or their germs, borne in the air; the water may have contained the ova, which have afterwards multiplied rapidly; they may have found their way through some of the gases used in the experiment. The accuracy necessary to exclude such minute bodies is scarcely possible. That in all these cases the generation was by means of the pre-existing germs is rendered almost certain by Ehrenberg's experiments. He succeeded in detecting the real germs of the vegetable mould, and thus rendered it probable that, as this substance, like all other vegetable productions, grew from a germ, in the cases of its unexpected appearance, it also arose from germs, that had been diffused through the air or water, having found the situation requisite for their germination. He succeeded too in showing that the smallest animalcules, only the two thousandth of a line in diameter, possessed a complicated stomach, and organs of motion in the form of cilia, and thus overthrew one great argument in favour of their spontaneous origin. In others he detected the ova, and the propagation by means of ova. He found also that no animalcules were produced, when in addition to other precautionary measures, the air used in the experiment was passed through sulphuric acid. The result of his experiments, conducted with a view of testing the validity of those upon which the exploded doctrine of equivocal generation was revived, was decidedly, at every point, in favour of the universal law, *omne vivum ex ovo.*

The only other class of facts that calls for notice is the

existence of *entozoa*, or internal parasitical animals. The ova of these animals, it is said, are too large to be conveyed in the air, or to be absorbed by vessels from the food and carried to their nidus in the viscera. Such worms have even been found in the viscera of embryos. The existence of these parasitic worms is, we admit, exceedingly obscure and difficult of explanation.* In many cases we can trace the process by which the ova are introduced, and in those where we cannot, the hypothesis of their origin ought to be in analogy with all else that we know of the production of life.

We have on the one side an induction comprising innumerable instances, deciding that the fixed law of organic production is "*omne vivum ex ovo*;" we have on the other side a few obscure facts, in some of which it is difficult to trace the prevalence of this law, but not one of them of such a nature as necessarily to exclude it. There can be little doubt that a sound philosophy must lead us here to pronounce in favour of the law.

The other corner-stone of our author's theory, the transmutation of species, need not detain us long. The chief fact which he brings forward in support of the supposed transmutation, is the passage of the highest forms of life through successive states that are permanent in inferior animals. We cannot now enter into the anatomical details involved in this question; but we refer to the paper of Dr. Clark, already quoted, for evidence that the author has misconstrued and falsified the facts of the case, to establish the desired resemblance. But grant the analogy to be as complete and as strict as possible, what inference are we warranted in drawing from it? Nothing more than that we find, in organic nature, gradations of an original power, manifesting different energies under different conditions, and working out results that are similar after a general plan. The resemblances traced, however close, are only the adumbrations of the unity of organic nature. To construct a history out of these resemblances is to found a science upon a fancy.

But we have one instance in nature, the author contends, of an advance in species, and that the more interesting because it is effected, so to speak, "by a prolongation of the

* "Entozoa have been found in embryos, and in the eggs of birds: so also have pins and small pieces of flint." See Dr. Clark's paper, in the Reports of the British Association, vol. 3, p. 113.

gestation at a particular part of its course." It has been found that oats, if kept cropped down through the summer and autumn will yield a crop of rye the next summer. In the first place we doubt the fact, and in the second, if true it is nothing to his purpose, unless it be first proved that the rye is borne by the identical roots which sent up oat stalks the previous year.

In addition to these facts we have the account of the method pursued by bees to raise a queen from the same larva, which under other conditions would have produced a neuter or a male: this needs no comment for there is here nothing like a change of species. For the same reason we pass by the account of the changes produced in the human species by exposure to privation and hardship. It is a familiar truth that imperfect diet combined with other unfavourable physical conditions will, in course of time, affect injuriously the features and proportions of the body. But communities and tribes of men have been for ages, exposed to such hardships, they have suffered through successive generations all that debasing physical conditions could inflict on them, and yet we have never seen the slightest tendency towards a loss of species. The Greenlander, and the Hottentot, and the pigmy tribes of Ethiopia, have not only kept the human heart which responds to the "touch of nature that makes the whole world kin," but they have preserved a body, in no other sense approaching to the brute, than that it is less symmetrical and perfect than it would have been under better culture.

Upon such grounds as these the author would seduce us into the belief that we who now stand at the head of creation, have grown up from the simplest form of vegetable, by successive translations of species, until we have reached our present state. It will be seen that we have not a single fact that bears definitely and certainly upon the theory which he aims to establish, while in opposition to it we have an unvarying experience from the beginning of recorded time until now. The earth is full of seeds, the air is full of them; no sooner does the work of the coral insect, far off at sea, rise above the water and collect a soil, than it is covered with vegetation. Countless myriads of seeds are continually germinating, and yet it has never been found that the seed borne by one plant produced a species different from its parent. The same law, without exception, governs the propagation of animals. Experiments

without number have been made to effect a change of species, but without success. Individual varieties have been produced, but strictly limited by the essential character of the species. There is no law of nature more firmly established than that like produces like, in the vegetable and animal world. The two points upon which the author's theory turns, spontaneous generation, and the transmutation of species, are alike destitute of foundation. They are wild guesses among the possibilities of things, as far removed as possible from the prescient surmises which often point out the path of discovery. The author himself says of Lamarck's system, which differs from his only in being less conjectural and more consistent, that "we can only place it with pity among the follies of the wise." He has good reason to fear that his theory is not destined even to as long a life as is accorded sometimes to the mistakes of genius in its random divinations.

We confess that there is one argument for believing that man may have come from the brute, stronger to us than any he has adduced; it is that men exist who are capable of maintaining such a theory. The author indeed becomes quite sentimental in his censure of the common feeling that there is any degradation in such an origin; but if he will devise an explanation, of how this feeling came to exist so universally, and also why it is that the nearer the brute approaches the human form, the greater is our aversion, he will be driven to a deeper philosophy than he has yet reached, and may learn to know and reverence the sacred distinction between a person and a thing. If man were the creature that his theory makes him, if he possessed no faculties except such as are found in an inchoate form in the brutes, if he were designed for nothing higher and better than gratification, though we should still reject his theory as a scientific blunder, we should feel no aversion to it.

This brings us to the true point from which this system should be viewed, the phenomena of man's intellectual and moral nature. The author finds that man is "bound up, by an *identity* in the character of his mental organization, with the lower animals,"—and he is naturally led to seek for evidence of a common origin; we also find in man a certain resemblance to the brute, but co-existing with this, in palpable contrast and most evident superiority to it, we find quite another image, even the image of God,—and we

therefore in seeking for his origin are driven at once to some different line of derivation from that by which the lower animals have come. His system, while it professes to render a full account of man, owes all its plausibility to the suppression of the chief facts to be accounted for. It is as if a man in constructing a theory of the vegetable world, should confine himself to an account of the material elements which enter into the composition of plants, neglecting the assimilating process by which these elements are transmuted and the shaping power by which they are fashioned. There is a ground which is common to the organic and the inorganic world, but there is also a distinctive peculiarity by which the plant is differenced from the stone; and he would deserve small thanks at the hands of philosophy who should overlook this capital fact in constructing his theory. So in man, though there are common points between him and the lower animals, there are other features in which the only resemblance is one of contrast; and to omit these or what is quite as bad, if not worse, to mistake their true character and debase them into bestial qualities, in a theory, which aims to explain the origin and destiny of man, this to say the least of it, is the very extreme of ignorance. The man who in attempting to give a theory of electricity should seize only upon the fact that electrical attraction is in inverse proportion to the square of the distance and the attraction of gravitation in the same ratio, and hence infer their identity would justly expose himself to the ridicule which would assign him a place among the philosophers of Laputa. What better place does he deserve who sinks the attribute of free-will into a "liability to flit from under the control of one feeling to the control of another," who maintains that reason in man is nothing more than the educated instinct of a brute, who confounds obligation with interest and makes virtue synonymous with agreeable sensations, and after this shameful degradation finds sufficient likeness between man and the lower animals to warrant the conclusion that his perfections are but the full-blown flower which in them is seen in the bud? It is indeed easy for the gipsy, after he has stained the skin of the stolen child and clothed it in rags, to establish its likeness to his own brown and tattered offspring.

The sacred scriptures apart, which give a different account of man's origin, we should be perfectly willing now to yield every position which we have taken against this

author's theory, and grant that man's body may have been derived, as he supposes, by a regular line of succession through the brute creation; still we contend that he has that within him which never could have been thus derived. It is by certain analogies existing between him, and the lower animals that this descent is established, but we find that that which distinguishes man, that which constitutes and denominates him what he is, is out of all analogy with anything that appears in the brute creation; and if we are led therefore to seek for the origin of his body, together with those qualities which are found in a less degree in irrational animals, by transmission from them, we are compelled by the same analogical argument to conclude that the higher qualities, 'the nobility of reason, the infinity of faculties, the apprehension, like a god,' by which he is contra-distinguished from them, are to be sought, not by tracing a line of ascent from below, but a line of descent from above. If man's body with its appetites and powers came from the gradual improvement of the bestial form and nature, we must nevertheless conclude that God met this body and implanted in it a soul stamped with his image. To establish this conclusion we have only to show that man is possessed of faculties of which no rudimentary types are found in the inferior animals.

This the author denies. He carries out the philosophy of sensation to its legitimate conclusions, with fearless consistency. "It is hardly necessary, to say, much less to argue, that mental action, being proved to be under law, passes at once into the category of natural things. Its old metaphysical character vanishes in a moment, and the distinction usually taken between physical and moral is annulled as only an error in terms." It is difficult to reply to such shallow dogmatism as this. It is true that there is regularity and order in human action, so that a sagacious man may often predict far-off results. It is true, as this author asserts, that statistics have shown that in large cities about the same number of mistakes is committed annually in the direction of letters; and, he might have added, that in France it has been ascertained that the number of suicides and murders is the same from year to year, and not only so, but the different methods of death by poison, strangulation, drowning, and deadly weapons, have each its nearly constant number of victims; so that in cases where we might most certainly expect to find the wildest irregu-

larities of caprice we detect the operation of constant causes. But it is surely most extraordinary reasoning to infer from this regularity, the existence of a physical law by which it is secured. This is another instance still of the disposition which this author shows to seize upon superficial and partial resemblances in different objects, and conclude upon their perfect identity. "No man can say what may be the weather of to-morrow; but the quantity of rain which falls in any particular place in any five years, is precisely the same as the quantity which falls in any other five years in the same place." "So also, the number of persons taken in charge by the police of London for being drunk and disorderly on the streets, is, week by week, a nearly uniform quantity, showing that the inclination to drink to excess is always in the mass about the same, regard being had to the existing temptations or stimulations to this vice." We have in these cases a uniform result; and the immediate inference is, that the same law of causation prevails, and that the human heart with all its affections and passions is controlled and determined to a specific course of action by the same kind of influence which distils the rain from the clouds. Has the author no eye for the differences between these phenomena which he so unceremoniously identifies? Are the inward misgivings of the drunkard, the awful struggles with which he attempts to break from an indulgence which he knows is destroying him, the sense of shame and self-reproach, and the dread feeling of responsibility which prey upon his soul, are these of no account in determining whether the influence which prevails over them is the same in kind with that which determines physical events? Is the difference between physical and moral to be annulled, as only an error in terms, simply because we find that in one case as well as the other, like causes produce like effects? Are the facts given us by human consciousness to be thrust aside in determining this question?

This is, after all, the ground upon which the contest between this philosophy and a higher one, must be decided. It is doubtless important to detect and expose the scientific blunders of every particular system of materialism that is at any time set forth, with sufficient pretension and plausibility, to make it dangerous. But though we may thus refute one, we leave the way still open for the introduction of another. We have shown that the author of this work has failed at every point, in establishing his different posi-

tions, but we have not shown that some other explorer in the same direction may not be more successful. It is among the facts of consciousness that we must find the evidence which sets aside this, and all other systems of like kind. We are undoubtedly subject, in a degree, to the same kind of restraint which governs the physical world. We are placed within the range of the law of cause and effect, and form thus a part of nature. If we are entirely subject to this law, then we have no philosophy possible, but to etherealize matter and become ideal pantheists, or to make mind only an error in terms and run into materialistic fatalism. These are the only two courses left open to us, and it seems to us a matter of small moment which is taken. We see little to choose between the spectre world of Spinosa, and the sty of Epicurus. When a man has taken away virtue from us we care not what also he takes or leaves. But if besides the world of necessity there exists also a world of freedom, and if these two worlds manifest their interpenetration in man's consciousness, then another philosophy is not only possible but necessary, and materialism and idealism are both discredited as partial and incomplete.

This author maintains that "all mental phenomena flow directly from the brain," a fact which we learn, as he says, from observation. We contend, on the other hand, that this observation, inasmuch as it is limited to the external conditions of the phenomena, without regard to their intrinsic character, must necessarily lead to an erroneous conclusion. As fitly might we conclude that the air which by its vibrations conveys some ravishing strain of melody is the cause of music, because the presence of the one is essential to the existence of the other. Observation proves that the brain is the organ upon which the manifestation of mental phenomena is more immediately dependent, and this is all that it proves. To learn whether the brain is the proper cause of mental states, or only the necessary condition of their manifestation, we must extend our observation beyond the brain itself and consider the character of the effects of which we are seeking the explanation. The moment this is done consciousness decides the question. We feel that in every mental act a percipient agent is involved. Matter can only give us phenomena, and that which *perceives* must necessarily be different from that which *appears*. The simplest case of perception, the transformation of an external object into an act of thought or

will, is sufficient to overthrow every system of materialism.

But brutes perceive no less than men. They manifest intelligence, affection, and will. Here again, if instead of confining ourselves to rude outward resemblances, we look calmly into our own consciousness, we discover abundant evidence that we possess something different, not in degree only, but in kind, from any thing that is found in the brute creation. In the highest development of instinct we find nothing more than a kind of intelligence which selects and uses means adapted to secure immediate ends; and all the purposes and acts of the animal are strictly determined by its organization. The beaver, the bee, and the bird, each build according to a law impressed upon them, and if thwarted or placed under circumstances demanding some variation from the type, their contrivances are limited to an approximation to the original plan. Man too builds, but he builds after no type. He is free from all law except that which is self-imposed. He builds not only for convenience and use, but often for no purpose but the pleasure of giving expression to an idea. Instead of being restricted by types, he is himself a creator of types. Here he stands in direct opposition to the brute. If we compare together the dam of a beaver, and the Apollo Belvidere, we find the rude resemblance, that they are both constructions. But when we look more closely we find that the resemblance vanishes, and that they stand in marked contrast. The beaver builds according to a predetermined type, and for immediate use. The sculptor, without any regard to use, and in the exercise of perfect freedom, forms a conception which he feels to be beautiful, and then transfers this conception to the marble, in which the idea is so inwoven that it lives through all time, and speaks intelligibly to all hearts. In giving expression to his idea the artist is no copyist of a type that has been set him, either by previous labourers, or by nature herself. Neither the secret of his power, nor the source of our pleasure, lies in imitation. Had the sculptor who gave us the Laocoon group, copied the writhing and contorted limbs, the livid cheek, the agonizing struggles of some father, with his sons, crushed in the convolutions of a huge serpent, we should have felt, while looking at it, such painful sympathy as the sight of the actual scene would awaken. But instead of this he has so subdued the suffering, that it becomes the translucent medium through which

we see the "brave resolve of the firm soul alone;" nor is this all, but the fortitude itself is so consummately expressed that the mind rests not in that, but is borne inward until it is lost in communion with that humanity, of which fortitude is one of the attributes.

> "Here, lovely as the rainbow on the dew
> Of the spent thunder-cloud, to Art is given,
> Gleaming through grief's dark veil, the peaceful blue
> Of the sweet Moral Heaven."

Here is manifested a creative power, like in kind, though infinitely less in degree, to that which the Divine Creator put forth, when he fashioned chaotic matter into shape, weaving through it his thought, and giving it expression that made the angels sing over it for joy. It is a part of that image of God in which man was made; and he only deludes and degrades himself who seeks a kindred faculty among the brutes.

It would be easy also to show that man is contra-distinguished from the inferior animals by his possession of a faculty which gives him necessary truth, independent of all experience. He is capable not only of generalizing, from the notices of the senses, but he has intuitions of truths that are universal and necessary. We pass this, however, and ask the attention of the materialist to another fact in human consciousness. Besides the perception of the useful and the agreeable, which we have in common with the brute,—the beautiful and the true, which we have in contra-distinction from them,—we find ourselves possessed with the idea of the good. This idea is not subordinate to that of "gratification," as our author makes it. An act is never good because it gives us pleasure,—on the contrary, it pleases us because it is good. It is written, "blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness," and not, righteous are they that hunger and thirst after blessedness. Goodness is not a means but an end. We not only have this idea, but we feel its supremacy over all our other ideas. It is for the perception and realization of goodness that we have been made and endowed with all our powers of whatever kind. Hence in connection with this we find the feeling of moral responsibility, involving in it the consciousness of freedom of will. This is the capital distinction of man, his capacity to perceive moral excellence and to feel its power. It is through this that he be-

comes a partaker of the Divine nature, and feels himself to be immortal.

Of this part of man's nature it cannot be pretended that we find any anticipative prophesy in the lower animals; and hence the difficulty is met by denying substantially the validity of moral perceptions and qualities in man. Man is made for gratification, the distinction between moral and physical is an error in terms, free-will is a liability to flit from one feeling to another, virtue is of course but a name or a sound, and the feeling of moral responsibility a delusion of the weak and ignorant. Here is the proper turning point of this whole system. If these conclusions to which the author is driven, and which he does not hesitate to embrace, be true, then let his whole system be true. It is no longer worth a contest. But if they are false, then is his theory a falsehood and a foul libel upon human nature. If the sense of freedom which springs up amid the earliest play of our spontaneous impulses, and accompanies us onward through their regulation and control, in the exercise of which we feel ourselves standing over against nature, exempt from the law of necessity which binds all things else together by an adamantine chain,- -if this be a delusion, interposed to cheat us out of the knowledge that we are no more free than the river that seems "to flow by its own sweet will," then let us like the old Egyptian, feel and cherish our brotherhood with the bat, the beetle and the crocodile, nay with the ocean and the air, the storm and the pestilence. If the feeling that we were made for something higher than gratification is a superstition, if the visions of good that sometimes break in upon us, pure and glorious as the light of Heaven, are the unrealities of a distempered imagination, then let us dismiss our feelings of remorse, since in the perpetration of the greatest crimes we only make an unprofitable investment of capital, and the simple regret which might even be due to this as a blunder, defeats us of the happiness which might yet be at our command. But if, on the other hand, the peremptory truths of reason and conscience within us are realities—if we feel them to possess objective validity, so that we are constrained to believe in the real existence of things that are honest and fair and lovely—then the system gives the lie to our consciousness, and we know that it must be false whether we are able or not, to detect its scientific fallacies. Every man knows that the cause of his determination to any particular

course of action is different in kind from that which sends the cannon ball along its path. This is a plain and decisive fact, than which none other can be more certain. By the mass of mankind it is never called in question. We never hear the criminal excusing himself on the ground that his brain was badly organized, unless he has been under the tuition of some phrenologist. It is indeed possible for a man to deny the primary truths of consciousness; he may call in question the existence of any higher virtue than prudence, and obliterate the distinction between physical and moral as an error in terms. He may do this, for it is impossible to set limits to the capabilities of a vicious theory, or a vicious life. But after he has succeeded in proving that we are subject to the same necessity which governs other creatures, and that the notions of right and wrong, of merit and demerit, which are entertained by the whole human race are but universal delusions, the *idola tribus* of Bacon, he will still, when off his guard, involuntarily betray, by his admiration of self-sacrificing virtue, and his sharp indignation against wrong, his recognition of the morality which he has disproved. The denial of this power does not destroy it. At a thousand points the will, which he has thrust aside, rushes in and tears to atoms the conclusions of his puny logic.

Here then we leave this system, effectually discredited at the bar of human consciousness. In order to establish the derivation of man from the brutes, it is driven to overlook or to deny the very qualities by which man is constituted what he is, a rational and immortal being, and to set at naught the plainest of all facts, the most certain of all knowledge.

ART. III.—*The Vaudois: Comprising observations made during a tour to the Valleys of Piedmont, in the summer of* 1844: *together with remarks, introductory and interspersed, respecting the origin, history, and present condition of that interesting people.* By E. Henderson, D.D. London: 1845. pp. 262.

THE chief interest which this narrative possesses, arises

from its being the most recent intelligence we have from a region with which most Protestant people are pretty well acquainted, and from which they cannot but be anxious to hear from time to time. Dr. Henderson, who is favourably known as an author of travels in the East and in Iceland, and whose version and commentary on Isaiah we have heretofore noticed, gave but a fortnight to his tour, and travelled nearly the whole distance on foot, but with the volumes of Dr. Gilly and others at hand, this kind of general inspection and report is about as much as the reading community require at present. A condensed view of this part of the contents of the volume is, therefore, the most appropriate use we can make of it for our pages.

On the 16th of July, 1844, Dr. Henderson arrived at St. Jean, the first of the Vaudois parishes after entering the valleys from Turin, the Sardinian capital. Productive fields and vineyards, noble trees, and an industrious peasantry, a Protestant church on one side of the road and a more imposing edifice devoted to the Roman rites on the other, were features of the scenery which are characteristic of all the Piedmont villages. Notwithstanding the large majority of Protestant inhabitants, the patronage of the government enables the opposite and intruding party to maintain their places of worship in equal number, and in greater exterior show. In one commune there are but eleven Roman Catholics, but they have their own church. Their confidence in the partiality of the royal authority emboldens the Romanists to persist in many petty oppressions and insults, well calculated to irritate and keep alive the animosity created by the more serious persecutions of former times.

"The road improved as I approached La Tour. The landscape also became bolder and more interesting: the mountains in the back-ground rising in noble grandeur on both sides of the valley, especially Mont Vandelin, and the ruggedly projecting Casteluzzo, while the picturesque heights of Angrogna to the right, and the town and mountainous environs of Luserne, on the other side of the Pelice, crowded delightfully into the prospect. Just before entering La Tour I passed the beautiful villa of Holland, situated on a rising ground to the right. The estate belongs to a Vaudois, reported to be the richest proprietor in the valleys, but who was once conveyed as a prisoner to Pignerol, because he had refused to do homage to the host which was being carried past in procession. The Catholics

are very tenacious upon this point in the valleys, as well as in other parts of Italy. Some time ago an English major, who was on a visit here, happened to ride into La Tour while a procession was advancing through the street, and his horse becoming restive, dashed in among the priests and dispersed them in various directions. A serious complaint was got up against him, and had it not been for the prompt and spirited interposition of our ambassador at Turin, it is impossible to say what might have been the result. A case occurred lately at Nice, which at once shows the character of the Vaudois, and the effect of firm and consistent conduct. A young Protestant from one of the valleys, serving in one of the Sardinian regiments, was commanded, with the rest of his comrades, to present arms to the host as it passed. He complied with the order, but when the whole company to which he belonged fell down upon their knees, the Vaudois retained his erect posture, to the great offence of the Catholics, both his officers and others. He was tried by a court-martial, but when asked what induced him to act the part he had done, instead of giving a reply which might have thrown him into the hands of the spiritual power, he simply answered, that he had been guilty of no breach of military duty. Kneeling was no part of the discipline to which, as a soldier, he had been trained, though presenting arms in obedience to the word of command was. With that he had strictly complied, and he now stood upon his right to be acquitted as innocent of any charge. The reply produced such an effect upon his judges, that he not only received an acquittal, but exemption, along with other Protestants serving in the army, from the performance of duty during similar processions."

Dr. Henderson witnessed the following scene on a Sabbath.

"About the middle of the sermon we were annoyed by the singing of a Catholic procession, which became louder and louder, the nearer it approached. It roused the very dogs, which were lying about the aisles, and thereby increased the disturbance: to prevent further inconvenience, the doors, which had stood open for the admission of fresh air, were closed, and I hoped that the noise would gradually die away as it had increased; but the priests, apparently out of sheer spite, conducted the procession close round the church, so that it was impossible to hear what dropped from the lips of the preacher. When the annoy-

ance was at the worst, one of the elders called out to the minister, *Attendez un peu, Monsieur!* (Wait a moment, Sir), on which he stopped, and we all waited in silence till the mummery ceased. While indignant at this wanton interruption of Divine service, I could not sufficiently admire the composure with which the Vaudois submitted to it. They have learned by experience that remonstrance is vain, and patiently endure the triumph of their enemies."

At La Tour there has recently been erected, at the expense of two religious orders, a large convent, with a handsome church annexed, for the training of priests for the conversion of the Vaudois. With the usual liberality shown to such enterprises, the sum of nearly fifty thousand dollars was contributed to founding this institution, and from the same source about thirty-five hundred dollars are granted annually for its support. In the neighbouring village of St. Margarita is another new establishment, whether provoked by or having provoked that at La Tour, our author does not state. It is a large stone College for the Vaudois youth, under the presidency of the Rev. John Revel.

"An institution for the elementary education of young men designed for the ministry, for providing more efficient schoolmasters, and for supplying a higher grade of instruction to others whose parents might desire it, than could be obtained in any existing schools, had long been a desideratum. There had been a grammar-school of ancient date, to which Cromwell, by the advice of Milton, granted a contribution of 20*l.* per annum, and which had since been supported chiefly by annual remittances from Holland; but the instruction communicated, though it did full credit to the master, whose salary scarcely exceeded 35*l.* a year, was necessarily defective, and it had long been the desire of the pastors and other friends of education, to see a more effective establishment in the valleys. Their poverty, however, presented an insuperable barrier to the realization of their wishes, and matters might have dragged on in the old way, if it had not been for the attention given to the subject by the Rev. Dr. Gilly, now prebendary of Durham, to whose interesting works on the Waldenses, the deep interest which now exists in England on behalf of that people is principally to be ascribed, and whose efforts to promote their cause have been crowned with abundant success. It was one of the principal objects of that gentleman, on his second visit to the valleys, to institute such inquiries as

should enable him to proceed with the appropriation of the munificent sum of 5000*l.*, which he had obtained from a private source, and over which he had the sole and absolute control. The result was the erection of the present building."

The number of pupils last summer was fifty. The course is six years. At the close of this term the theological students repair to the universities of Lausanne, Montauban, and Berlin, or to the seminary at Geneva, where Dr. Merle D'Aubigné is a professor: theology and philosophy being prohibited by the government as subjects of instruction here. Besides the College there are fifteen central parish schools in the valleys, and one hundred and twenty others, of a smaller size, scattered through the hamlets. The total number of children in all is 4,368.* The school-masters, or regents, assist the pastors as readers and clerks on the Sabbath and at funerals. Their salaries range from $125 to half that sum. The original catechism of Ostervald is taught in these schools, and Dr. Henderson fills ten pages of his work with an extract on the single topic of justifying faith, to show that this doctrine is purely and fully inculcated on the children. The daughters of the pastors, and other female youth in better circumstances than the ordinary families, have an opportunity of supe-

* There are fifteen communes or parishes in the valleys. Dr. Henderson gives the statistics of each, as he visits them in succession, and from the several chapters we compile the subjoined table for the reference of our readers. The population of La Tour only is conjectural. Each parish includes several hamlets.

Parishes.	Vaudois.	Rom. Cath.	Vau. Scholars.
La Tour,	1,100	1,100	437
St. Jean,	2,325	125	418
Villar,	2,659	395	384
Bobi,	1,537	76	352
Rora,	684	41	180
Angrogna,	2,124	613	350
Prarustin,	2,407	60	432
St. Germain,	1,715	351	334
Pomaret,	1,515	222	230
Villeseche,	1,676	800	365
Maneille,	298	209	65
Macel,	792	246	215
Rodoret,	530	150	72
Prali,	793	11	177
Pramol,	1,358	150	357
	21,513	4,549	4,368

rior education in the Beckwith Institution at La Tour. Having mentioned the name of this distinguished benefactor of the Vaudois, we may here copy the tribute paid to him towards the close of the volume before us.

"Just before we came to a small village, we fell in with a school-house, on the gable end of which was an inscription to this effect: *Whosoever passes this way, let him bless the name of Colonel Beckwith.* There was something peculiarly affecting to my mind, that I should witness the expression of genuine Vaudois feeling towards one of my countrymen, at the last village I was to visit in the valleys. The coincidence seemed to intimate, that I should carry home with me one of the most pleasing impressions which my tour was calculated to inspire—the conviction that I had been travelling among a people that feel truly grateful for the benefits which have been conferred upon them by Englishmen. There is no merely human name more venerated in the valleys of Piedmont than that of Col. Beckwith. It is in every mouth, while his portrait is exhibited in almost every house. The latter circumstance has originated the saying of the Romanists: "Ah! you will not worship the Virgin, but you make no scruple of worshipping Colonel B." This benefactor of an oppressed and, in many respects a destitute people, was an officer in the British army, but, having lost a leg on the field of Waterloo, he retired upon a pension; and, having paid a visit to the Vaudois some twenty years ago, felt so deeply interested in their condition, that he forthwith took up his residence among them. Since that time he has been indefatigable in his exertions to promote their welfare. Not only has he done much for the relief of the poor—liberally supplying their wants from his private purse—but he has erected ten or twelve school-houses at his own expense. The school for educating the daughters of pastors and others, known by the name of the *Beckwith Institution*, was also founded, and is liberally supported by him. The Colonel generally pays an annual visit to his native country; but most of the year is spent in traversing the valleys and mountains, for the purpose of visiting the schools, superintending new erections, or devising fresh measures for meliorating the circumstances of the Vaudois."

We cannot forbear echoing the comment of Dr. Henderson.

"If christian gentlemen of independent fortune free from

the restrictions of office or of business, and having no family ties, only knew the luxury which this good man must feel in the midst of a grateful people, who look up to him as a father, it seems scarcely possible to conceive how they could resist the impulse to 'go and do likewise.' What an amount of human suffering they might alleviate! What ignorance they might remove! What good foundations they might lay for the time to come. To whatever quarter of the globe we turn, abundant scope for similar exertions is presented. The resolution requires only to be formed in the fear of God, and with a sincere desire to do good, and the enjoyment derived, as well as that imparted, will be sure to follow."

The opportunities of doing good by church-extension and school-extension are not more open or important in Piedmont than in the United States and its territories; and tenfold more could be accomplished if our wealthy Christians and philanthropists would imitate the noble example of the maimed British Colonel, and instead of increasing their benevolence only on the scale of proportion and co-operation, would esteem it a privilege to act independently and individually in doing all that they are really able to do by themselves.

The descriptions of the natural scenery of the valley greatly increase the interest of the narrative, and serve to explain the manner in which the inhabitants of the Alpine valleys have been able to sustain themselves, and preserve their peculiar faith and habits from encroachment, for immemorial ages. Dr. Henderson, at least, after the toils of climbing and descending the cliffs and precipices, among which their habitations are scattered, must have had a pretty decided impression of the comparative inaccessibleness of the home of the Vaudois. Let our pastors who walk on smooth pavements, or ride on smooth roads through their parishes, refresh themselves with a look at such parochial travels as this, and at fourscore.

"To reach Villeseche we had to climb a very steep acclivity, on the summit of which the village of the same name is situated. We here paid our respects to the aged pastor, Mons. Alexandre Rostaing, now in his seventy-eighth year, and the fifty-eighth of his ministry. He is the father of the Vaudois pastors, and holds the office of *Doyen*, which is more honorary in its character than involving the performance of any responsible duties. He has still a de-

gree of strength and vivacity, which no one would expect who is aware of the fatigues to which he has been exposed in the discharge of his ministerial functions, and the various illnesses to which he has been subject in the course of his long life. Not only has he to climb the mountains on his own side of the valley, in the deep snows of winter, and exposed to all the inclemency of the weather, in order to administer to his parishioners religious instruction and consolation; but, having descended into the valley, and crossed the Germanesca—an affair oftentimes of no small risk—he has to ascend the steep mountain in the opposite direction, where he has two annexed churches, in which, when not absolutely prevented by bodily indisposition, he has never failed to perform Divine service. He likewise makes it a point of conscience to repair to the High Alps, to visit his flock during their summer abode in the châlets, instructing the young, and preaching under the canopy of heaven to the listening multitude." Or this, at any age—"At the early hour of five o'clock I set out for Rodoret, on my way to Prali, accompanied by Mons. Canton, who kindly offered to be my guide through the intricate and difficult Alpine region which it was necessary to pass. We began immediately to ascend, but after a short time we descended again into the vale of Salsa, and then commenced the ascent of the mountain so called, which I found to be more rapid and fatiguing than any I had yet attempted to climb. That of Montanvert, near Chamouni, is nothing to it. For about an hour, we were sheltered from the rays of the sun by the thick forest of pines which covered its northern side, but after we had got about half-way up, they gradually became thinner; the mountain became more steep, and the heat more oppressive. Having every now and then resolutely forced our way upwards for a few minutes, we were compelled to sit down to rest on the stones, or the roots of trees, the ground being too damp from the copious dews of the preceding night to render it prudent for us to recline upon it. It was specially during these intervals of repose that I enjoyed the company of Mons. Canton. We sat and surveyed the mountains and valleys, the hamlets and cottages which comprise his parish, and talked of the value of souls, the preciousness of the Bible, the wonders of redemption, and the adaptation of the gospel to relieve the woes and supply the wants of fallen humanity. Some time before we reached the summit, the trees

entirely disappeared: we lost at length every vestige of a path, and were frequently obliged to creep up on our hands and feet, so steep and slippery was the grassy ascent.

"We now descended by a very steep pathway, which led us through a sterile and uninviting region to Rodoret, where we spent some time with the pastor, Mons. Daniel Buffe. On inquiry, I found that he had only been a few months in this remote and lonely village. The church was formerly annexed to that of Prali, the minister of which had to walk to this place in winter among the rugged precipices and frozen snows, almost every step he took being at imminent risk of life. To enable them to climb the icy pathways with anything like safety, the Vaudois wear clogs under their shoes, the soles and heels of which are studded with spikes more than an inch long. Mons. B. showed me a pair which he uses when he goes to visit his people during the winter months. The inhabitants of this parish are often poorly off for the necessaries of life. The little patches which they cultivate on the sides of the mountains are often swept away by avalanches; and even when their crops of maize, rye, and potatoes are suffered to come to maturity, the harvest is anything but luxuriant."

The removal of many of the peasants to the mountains increases the pastor's difficulties. "To these Alps the sheep and cattle are sent to graze for three months in summer. Numerous châlets, or small cabins, scattered over the sides of the mountains, serve both as dairies, and as habitations for the owners and their families. They are, for the most part, built of stone, but very humble in apearance, and by no means distinguished for cleanliness. Not only are the cattle tended in the rich pasturages which abound in these higher regions, but the excellent milk which they yield is made into cheese, and the long grass and moss is collected to be used as winter provender in the valleys. "What may be called the Alpine 'season' is one of peculiar enjoyment both to the Vaudois and their cattle. The latter show by their impatience some time before, that they have an instinctive presentiment of its approach. If the inhabitants feel pent up within their narrow limits in the valleys, where there are so many things to remind them of their constant state of exposure to the craft and subtilty of man, they breathe here a freer atmosphere; they roam at large, somewhat after the manner of the Nomades;

every object above and around is calculated to inspire delight, and some of the happiest days of their life are spent in these elevated retreats. Nor can any rural scene equal that of their Alpine Sabbath, when they assemble in some amphitheatre of rocks to celebrate the praise of Jehovah, to call upon his holy name, and to listen to the announcements of his truth from the lips of one of their beloved pastors."

The first public religious service attended by Dr. Henderson was in the parish of Angrogna. It was conducted as follows. The school-regent, at the desk below the pulpit, read three chapters of the New Testament, with the practical remarks of Ostervald's French Bible on the passage, all the services being conducted in that language, which the Vaudois understand. He next read the decalogue and our Saviour's summary of the law. The minister then offered, from the pulpit, a short confession of sins, and gave out some verses of a psalm, which were sung by all the people from musical note-books, and sitting. This was followed by a prayer, the sermon and the ordinance of infant baptism. The prayer, as well as the previous confession, was from a liturgy; the sermon is in all cases committed to memory by the preacher; the baptism was conducted very much according to our own Directory, excepting that the water was brought in a phial, which was poured at the proper moment into the two united hands of the minister, and thence poured upon the child. After the baptism, the regular services concluded with a general prayer, the Lord's prayer, the creed, a psalm and benediction. At the funeral of a child, the school-regent read a selection of scriptures, prescribed for such occasions, including nine of the psalms, and offered a prayer. When the head of a family is buried, the minister is expected to officiate.

The Lord's Supper is celebrated every three months. The youth are prepared for it by such instruction as will enable them to answer the questions proposed to them publicly, as to their faith in the gospel, their purpose to hold to that faith in the face of all opposition, their resolution to renounce sin and obey the divine commandments, their engagement to use the means of grace, and their confirmation of the baptismal vow. The communion-service is begun, as with us, by reading the history of the institution, and by inviting the believers and warning the unworthy. After the ministers and elders have partaken, the other com-

municants come forward in pairs, and receive the elements, the pastor repeating texts of scripture, and the congregation singing hymns as the service proceeds. When all have communicated, the minister gives an exhortation, offers thanks and pronounces the benediction. Some of the ministers lament that admission to the Lord's Supper is not more guarded, as with us, by examination of the applicant's evidence of knowledge and piety; and there is a small body who refuse to unite with the general communion, chiefly on this account. But there, as in other places, a more rigid discipline is forborne, lest an adverse party should gain the disaffected by their easier requisitions. The Vaudois dread to be too strict, lest they drive away some of their members to the Romanists. We fear there is some reason to apprehend the influence of such a policy among ourselves. It is sometimes pleaded that we must show more conformity to the taste and refinement of certain classes, in our places, times and modes of worship, or they will leave our plainer forms for those that are more attractive to the young and worldly. If we fall into this notion, we are in danger of losing one of the most efficient means of our purification from dross, which Providence has ever granted to the church. If the world is the chief bane of the church, the less we have of it the better.

From Dr. Henderson's incidental statements, however, we should draw very favourable conclusions as to the general prevalence of religious principles among all ranks of the Vaudois. He found prayer meetings in high esteem in many places, the Bible a familiar book in every hamlet, and often met peasants by the road-side, who were delighted with the opportunity of spiritual conversation. He quotes a passage from Jerome, as applicable with scarcely any abatement to the Vaudois of the present day. "'In every direction where there is a sound of human voices, it is the voice of psalmody. If it be the ploughman guiding his plough, his song is Hallelujah! If it be the shepherd tending his flock, the reaper gathering his corn, or the vine-dresser pruning the tendrils, his chaunt is the same; it is some song of David that he sings. Here all poetry is sacred poetry, and every feeling of the heart finds utterance in the language of the psalmist.'"

He gives this anecdote to illustrate the force of ancient opinions, even in a district whence the Protestants have been wholly extirpated since 1727. "In many of the

houses the old ancestral Bible has been preserved as an heir-loom, and, Catholics though they are, some of them would rather part with any article of their property, than with that invaluable treasure. About three years ago, the priests discovered the fact; and having obtained permission from their superior, they went into the houses of the peasants, and having taken their Bibles from them by force, to the number of forty or fifty, burnt them publicly in one of the villages! One of the Catholics, determined to resist to the last, took his position inside the door of his house, and, with a loaded musket in his hand, declared he would, on no consideration, part with his Bible, and would shoot the first man, be he priest or who besides, that should dare to set his foot over the threshold. Seeing him resolute, the party desisted, and left him in possession of the Scriptures, to the great annoyance of those whose authority had been set at defiance, and to whom no object is a greater eye-sore than 'the words of eternal life' in the hands of the people, in the 'tongue wherein they were born.' Soon after a fire broke out in the same village, and consumed all the houses, to collect money for rebuilding which the priests made the tour of the Protestant valleys. On applying to one of the Vaudois females, she asked them, without any fear or hesitation, whether the fire had originated in a spark blown from that in which the Bibles had been burnt. They were confounded by her question, made no reply, and proceeded to the next house."

We quote the following incident as a specimen of the pious Valley-man, as the name Vaudois signifies. "Among other persons whom I met was an ordinary peasant, who, on recognising me as a native of Britain, insisted on my turning back a few steps with him, to a house which I had just passed, in order to take some refreshment. The house, he said, was not his; but he knew the inmates would be forward to show me hospitality. Finding that I resisted his entreaties, he then begged to be allowed to walk part of the way with me; and throwing down his harvest implements by the side of the road, where he knew he might leave them in perfect safety, he accompanied me down the valley. Our conversation at once took a religious turn, when I was delighted to find that he evinced a high degree of spiritual life, and an intimate acquaintance with the doctrines of the gospel. He is, as he informed me, in the habit of meeting a number of his neighbours, who are

like-minded with himself, for prayer and mutual edification; and he rejoiced to learn that in England prayer-meetings are very common among those who are in the way of salvation. It was impossible for him, he continued, to describe the beneficial effects which resulted from their meeting at stated times for those objects. While their knowledge of the Scriptures, and their faith in their divine testimony, were increased, their love to one another for the truth's sake was also increased. They found, too, that it contributed to inspire them with greater boldness in the profession of the gospel. When he began to pray extempore before others, he found it a very formidable undertaking; but, by degrees, he acquired more readiness and self-possession; and now he was enabled by the Spirit, that helpeth our infirmities, to engage in the exercise without being influenced by the fear of man. All this he narrated with the most perfect simplicity, and without any indication of that spiritual pride, which the possession of gifts is but too apt to inspire. He seemed to regard the short interview we had with each other as a season of peculiar enjoyment, and it was not without some difficulty I prevailed upon him to return."

In one parish, at least, "it was touching to hear of the kindly attentions which the parishioners show to one another in all cases where assistance is required. If any of them is sick, his neighbours bring him bread and wine, and supply his lamp with oil at night. They also cheerfully take their turns in sitting up with him. If any of them happens to want help in getting in his harvest, or doing any pressing work, he has only to ask those who are near him to lend their aid, and he never meets with a refusal. Nor is he backward in his turn. What they do for him to-day, he does for them to-morrow. If two have differed, and are not on the best terms with each other, neither of them will on that account withhold his help when requisite. The parish is in a state of such excellent discipline that differences of a serious nature are scarcely known to arise."

A Synod of the Vaudois pastors was held while Dr. Henderson was in the valley, and gave him an opportunity of meeting sixteen of those brethren together.* Most of this

* Seventeen was the whole number of ministers in the valleys in 1844. There is a record of one hundred and forty having once met in Synod.

number have received their theological education at Lausanne, and their visiter gives this opinion of them. "Of the present Vaudois ministers I feel warranted to affirm, from my own personal intercourse with them, and from the testimony borne by themselves mutually, and by others, that they are sound in the faith; and that in none of their pulpits is 'another gospel' to be heard. They may not all preach the truth with the same degree of clearness, or the same degree of fidelity in their discriminative application of it to their hearers; but the truth, in its grand leading principles, they do preach, and thus sustain the character which they have inherited from their barbes, confessors, and martyrs, whose orthodoxy is beyond dispute. "With respect to education, they will bear comparison with the generality of pastors in the Lutheran, Dutch, and French reformed churches; and though they might not be able to compete with many who have distinguished themselves at our universities by the depth and extent of their classical and mathematical lore, yet, for general information, and an acquaintance with the leading departments of literature, they will not be found behind the majority both of the English and Scotch clergy."

We must give a condensed view of the chapter on the constitution and government of the Vaudois churches. These primitive people are wholly innocent of the notions of apostolical succession, prelatical bishops, and a pagan cultus. Their pastors were anciently called, in their own tongue, by the title of *Barbes*, which means nothing more than *Uncle*, an expression of affectionate veneration. A distinction of ranks among ministers was put down as a mark of the beast, in their "Book of Antichrist," dated 1120; and the Confession of 1655, now in authority, prescribes for the church "Pastors, to preach the word and administer the sacraments . . . together with elders and deacons, after the manner of the primitive church."

"The constitution of the Vaudois church," says Dr. Henderson, "comes nearer to the Presbyterian than to any other form of ecclesiastical polity now in existence." They have for their first church court the Consistory, composed of the pastor, elders, one or more deacons, and a legal adviser; the elders being chosen by the parishoners, and the consistory making the selection if more than the sufficient number are voted for. The second court is the Table or Board, consisting of three pastors and two laymen, form-

ing a kind of commission to see to the execution of the acts of the synod, and to perform synodical duties in the interval of the sessions. This Board superintends the pastors and school-masters, examines and ordains candidates for the ministry, conducts the synod correspondence &c. The highest court is the Synod, which meets but once in five years. The cause of this long interval is the necessity of obtaining the royal permission to hold a synod, the patent for which costs some two hundred and fifty dollars. The Synod is composed of all the pastors and two deputies from each parish. The Sardinian Governor of the province is present at the sessions, to guard against any injury to the national religion. The Moderator holds his office for five years, and during that term has many official prerogatives; none, however, that imply any distinction of ministerial rank above his brethren. The form of ordination is very similar to our own.

Owing to the poverty of the people, through their incessant persecutions and oppressions, they are not able to support their pastors, nor their institutions of education. A bounty is granted by the English government, and funds are collected in Great Britain, Holland, and elsewhere, for their assistance. The English grant, after being withheld for a long time in consequence of Piedmont falling under the sway of Napoleon, was restored within the last twenty years, and although the sum allowed was only equal to about one hundred and four dollars to each pastor, they all relinquished so much of their respective shares as would endow two additional ministers, and make some provision for superannuated pastors and widows, which was equal to an annual renunciation of forty dollars by each pastor. Each church has its *presbytère*, or parsonage, with a small glebe. The whole salary does not exceed three hundred dollars.

The history of the Waldenses and Vaudois, and the continued exposure of the survivors to the aggressions of a Popish government, have induced some Christians in England to exert themselves to secure the protection of the British power for the defenceless Protestants of Piedmont. They suppose that they have a good foundation for their efforts in treaties to which the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and Holland were parties, in 1690 and 1704, and in which the Duke of Savoy, as the sovereign of the Vaudois valleys, guaranteed the rights of that people to them

and their posterity. It was for the sake of acting more intelligently in this benevolent project that the present tour was undertaken, and it is the conclusion of the reverend traveller, that though the Sardinian government is not openly encouraging any ill-treatment of the Vaudois, there is enough in the situation of the two religious parties to call for some more positive regulations on the behalf of the weaker class. This duty is the more imperative, because in almost every country we discover strenuous efforts made by the Romish church, to establish and extend the reign of spiritual despotism. Indeed, there are strong symptoms of an inclination on the part of the court of Turin, to press upon the liberties of the poor Piedmontese. In the new Sardinian code of 1837, the Vaudois are prohibited to hold property beyond their ancient limits; they are not allowed to practice in the professions of law or medicine; they may not print any book, and must abstain from work on the Roman festivals. Now that the Protestant sympathies of the British government are growing weaker, it will require all the zeal and faith of the influential Christians of that country, in their private exertions, to withstand the Jesuit at the court of an Italian monarch.

ART. IV.—*Calvin's Institutes.* Presbyterian Board of Publication. Philadelphia.

THE General Assembly's board of publication have performed an acceptable service to the church in presenting this translation of the Institutes of the great Reformer. Time was when this work had a prominent place among the standard books of clergymen in all the reformed churches, having the same precedence there that Blackstone's Commentaries possess in a law library. No writer among the Reformers occupied so high a position as a theologian, no man was more consulted by his contemporaries, and his name was given to the system of doctrine maintained by the reformed churches, because of his pre-eminence in the defence of the faith once declared to the saints. It was not that Calvin taught any thing substantially different from his brethren, but for the reason that he was the

ablest defender of the common faith, that the doctrines maintained by the Reformers are inseparably connected with his name. The Institutes is his great work, and contains a complete summary of Christian doctrine. Eulogy and criticism in regard to a work like this is out of place, and no part of the design of this article; it has stood the test of centuries and will continue to the end of time, confessedly the greatest theological work produced by the Reformers.

An inspection of the causes of the hostility with which the Calvinistic scheme is assailed, and an exhibition of the grounds of this opposition, may not be without its use, in a day like this, when so many, both in and out of the church, "turn away their ears from the truth and are turned unto fables." Of course there is a cause for this hostility, many causes indeed, yet the real grounds of opposition are concealed and denied, and various pretences are brought forward which are utterly without foundation. It is alleged that the Calvinistic divinity makes bigots and fanatics, is of a persecuting spirit, intolerant and tyrannical, begetting a sour temper, hostile to human happiness, unrelenting and uncharitable. It would be easy to collect a host of epithets from every department of literature in which this impression is conveyed, and this apology for hostility attempted. The old slanders of the high church and tory party in England are served up in new forms, and the lie is repeated and multiplied indefinitely in the popular works of the day. The men who were, under God, the authors of English and American freedom, the Puritans of England and the Presbyterians of Scotland, are held up to the gaze of mankind as a set of sour hypocrites, who made up for their external sanctity by private corruptions, who were saints in public, devils in private, while the rakehelly, debauched and blasphemous Cavaliers are lauded as models of loyalty, generosity and good breeding. In the absence of all proof, every kind of dissimulation is presumed of men who perilled fortune and life for civil and religious liberty; who stood "in the deadly imminent breach" resisting the tyranny of the God-forsaken Stuarts, the forlorn hope of the world. The most profound hypocrisy is predicated of men who carried their Bibles with them to the camp, who were much in prayer, who sought the blessing of God in all their enterprises, and upon whose memories no stains of dishonesty or immorality rests; reasoning which assumes

that all piety is simulation, and faith, integrity and patriotism at bottom no better than a lie. The lives and achievements of these men are no reproach to the creed they professed, and the cause must be a bad one which seeks to maintain its ground by slandering those who saved the ark of English freedom, and gave free institutions to the new world. There is in the world's history no greater evidence of ingratitude and falsehood, reiterated until it assumes the aspect of truth, than the manner in which historians have treated the puritans, though indications are not wanting that justice, however tardy, may at length vindicate the memories of men of whom the world was not worthy—that Cromwell will not be utterly given up as a hypocrite, a villain or a demagogue, or Hampden as a traitor and a bigot. Every act capable of a doubtful construction is tortured to give evidence of the persecuting spirit of Calvinism; the banishment of assassins in England, the expulsion of Quakers in the new world, by those who were admitted by their enemies to be as merciful after victory as they were undaunted after defeat, is enlarged upon and magnified for the same purpose. Are the men who repeat these stale slanders ignorant of the facts of history? Can they make no allowance for men who, though far in advance of the age in which they lived, were yet tempted to occasional acts of severity by the conduct of those around them, and the prejudices of the age? If Calvinism is to be judged by the occasional indiscretions of its adherents, what should we say of Popery, red with the blood of martyred millions, whose souls cry out for retribution from under the altar of God—what shall we say of infidelity, whose reign of terror shamed the orgies of Nero and Caligula—what of the loyal and accommodating Arminianism of the high churchmen, who beggared and drove into exile thousands of the most virtuous and peaceful subjects of the British crown? Let Calvinism be judged by the facts of history—we are content. Let infidels and papists, Arminians and worldlings, while looking here and there for a blot on the banner of Calvinism, remember that until the eve of St. Bartholomew is forgotten, Laud's acts of uniformity erased from history, and the bloody tragedy of the French Revolution causes the flesh of men to crcep with terror, the charge of bigotry and persecution must fall back upon their own systems, and thus assailing Calvinism "they kick against the pricks." That the language of piety was not uniformly

the evidence of its power in the heart among the Puritans, is admitted. That the Puritans, in their struggle with Charles I. whose title of martyr is at once a burlesque and a blasphemy, were in every respect faultless, has never been asserted either by themselves or their friends, but the attempt to draw a comparison between the Calvinists and their opponents, unfavourable to the former, is impudent beyond expression. How much has been written to extenuate the conduct of men whose life was a libel upon human nature; whose shameless wickedness made the court of Charles the second the abhorred of God and man; who sacrificed the honour of the nation for the smiles of harlots, and were alike traitors to their country and apostates to their faith, while dark suspicions of interested motives, vague and unsupported charges of hypocrisy, are urged against the Puritans to shadow the glory of noble actions. What an array of calumniators caricature the manners, deportment and habits of the Puritans, to taint the reputations of the men who were an honour to human nature and ornaments to the Christian faith; who made the name of England a terror to tyrants, a strong tower to the oppressed. Do they not show by this that they are without sympathy for true goodness or greatness, resolving the one into hypocrisy, the other into ambition, endeavouring to produce the impression that all faith in God is fanaticism, all piety imposture?

But it is gravely charged that the Calvinistic divinity tends to licentiousness, that the doctrine of grace, of which justification by faith without the deeds of the law is the sum, renders men careless of good works; that the scheme which makes the divine purpose and efficacy the only foundation of hope and salvation, is a direct encouragement to inactivity and indifference. That some who have superficially examined the subject, or who have received their impressions of Calvinism from its enemies, may have been led theoretically to this conclusion is probable; but that any man who has ever had a clear intellectual apprehension of the doctrines of grace, or who has tried them by their fruits, can be honest in such a conclusion, is impossible. What was the faith of those who had the testimony of Jesus in the darkest period of the Roman apostasy? Who rejected the idolatry of the harlot, seated upon the scarlet-coloured beast, who made herself drunk with the blood of martyrs, and refused the cup of her abominations?

The Waldenses and Albigenses maintained the doctrines of grace, preserving the pure faith amidst cruel persecutions, provoked by the reproach which their virtue and piety reflected upon the dissolute morals and manners of both priesthood and laity in the Romish communion. And whenever, in the long lapse of centuries, an occasional light shone amid the darkness of the predicted apostasy, whenever a warning voice was raised in the bosom of Rome herself, against the terrible corruptions which indicated that the prophetical antichrist had reached the zenith of his ghostly despotism, that light was reflected from the pages of the Bishop of Hippo, that warning was heard from the followers of Augustine. What was the faith of the reformed churches as they came out of the spiritual Babylon and diligently sought the mind of the spirit in the holy scriptures? They found the Calvinistic system in the Bible and faithfully presented it in their confessions as the bulwark of the reformation against the corruptions of the papal hierarchy, and wherever, in the lapse of three centuries, Arminianism, Socinianism or Infidelity has weakened the faith of the people in their ancient symbols, true piety has, pari passu, disappeared and scarcely the form, much less the power, of godliness remains, when the doctrines of grace have been abandoned. The evangelical remnant in the church of England has always been Calvinistic; the English dissenters are in general decided adherents of the Westminster confession, while the numerous body of Wesleyan Methodists are Semi-Calvinistic, and their system, like the legs of the image seen in vision by Daniel, partly iron and partly clay. The witness-bearing church of Scotland who, above all the reformed churches, has maintained the integrity of her doctrinal standards, who has stood oftener in the breach for Christ's cross and crown than any other national church, has been chosen of God, in the nineteenth century, to startle a sceptical world with the evidence that the spirit of primitive Christianity exists. Never was a theory so contradicted by universal experience as the one that asserts that Calvinism tends to laxity; even candid men among opposers have felt constrained to admit that the power of Christian faith and the purity of Christian morals have never been so illustrated by any portion of the church visible, as by those who profess the hated creed of John Calvin. Strange paradox in the opinion of the world, that the advocates of divine sovereignty, ori-

ginal sin and election, who assert that men are justified by faith alone without the deeds of the law, should be careful to maintain good works, while those whose gospel is morality and whose hope is in the law, should so commonly prove unfruitful and careless of the moral virtues upon which they make salvation to depend.

In all the objections urged against the Calvinistic scheme, it is evidently assumed that it is inconsistent and unphilosophical, and therefore unscriptural, because the Bible cannot be supposed to contain any thing contrary to reason and sound philosophy. The exegesis of the sacred oracles by Arminians is evidently based upon the principle which is extended by the Socinians to a denial of the person and sacrifice of Christ, and all that is substantial in the gospel. Now if the assumption is false, if Calvinism is neither unreasonable nor inconsistent, if it is the true philosophy, the only consistent scheme of ontology, and if the supposed absurdities belong, in fact, to the opposing systems, then is the main objection gone, the grand difficulty removed, even in the case of those who are not to be satisfied with scriptural proofs, however conclusive. It must be obvious that such a subject cannot be disposed of in a single article, yet a few suggestions may be useful, by promoting a thorough examination of the question on the part of those who yet halt between two opinions. There are many sincere inquirers after the way of life who reject the Calvinistic scheme because they do not understand the system, or have become prejudiced by the stereotype slanders to which allusion has already been made, or disgusted with the pseudo-calvinism which affirms and denies in the same breath, and is as inconsistent with itself and the word of God as it is with the confessions of Westminster and Dort. A fundamental principle of the Calvinistic scheme is thus expressed in the Confession of Faith, chap. 3, sec. 1, "God from all eternity did, by the most wise and holy counsel of his own will, freely and unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass, yet so as thereby neither is God the author of sin, nor is violence offered to the will of his creatures, nor is the liberty or contingency of second causes taken away, but rather established." With this agree the synod of Dort and the articles of the church of England. The real objection of the philosophical opponents of Calvinism is not so much to the doctrine of the absolute predestination of God. The most respectable schools of

philosophy among the ancients maintained this truth upon the principles of natural religion and the conclusions of reason. The most absolute fatalism, based upon the divine decrees, is taught by many of the authors who deride Calvinism. That God foreordains whatsoever comes to pass, is the necessary conclusion of an intelligent deism, for if the principle of contingency be admitted in regard to the fortunes of created intelligences, why not in respect to their origin? If events are contingent, why not make all existences the result of chance? Atheism is philosophically the result of such reasoning, which the most gifted metaphysicians have always seen and acknowledged. It is not meant by this that the mass of men who reject the divine decrees are unbelievers or infidels; many truly pious persons do not apprehend this doctrine, and perhaps never will until the light of eternity is poured upon the subject, and their vision purified by the atmosphere of heaven. The being and attributes of God cannot be philosophically defended if the divine predestination be denied, and the weak evasions of the most able adversaries of the truth, such as that God did not choose to foreknow certain things, is no inconsiderable proof that they have felt that they were opposing a system philosophically impregnable. That many worthy persons believe that there is a middle ground on this subject, is not denied; but that they can successfully defend their position upon scriptural and philosophical grounds, is disputed. If God exists, all events are certain in his mind; "known unto God are all his works from the beginning," is the assertion of an apostle; but the foreknowledge of events as certain must be predicated of some assured ground of certainty; and where is this to be found but in the will of God, by whom all existences were called and are sustained in being? God's foreordination is plainly inferrible from his attributes. Would the all-seeing, the all-wise, and the all-merciful, call into being a universe the end of which he neither designed nor knew? Would the only wise God hang such interests upon a contingency, and leave it, after all, uncertain whether his counsel should stand, whether his purposes should be accomplished? Does a dark uncertainty, which may prove the chaos of a wicked world, rest upon the future? Unaided reason is abhorrent of such a conclusion. The philosophy of the stoics, of most systems in the pagan world, of Mahomedanism, and of ancient and modern Deists, sufficiently de-

monstrates this. They do indeed hold this truth in unrighteousness, and seek in their false inferences from it an excuse for their guilt, an apology for their depravity; were Calvinists to do the same, the opposition of science, falsely so called, would cease at once and forever. Does any man believe that the Calvinistic scheme really gives ease to the conscience; that it teaches the fatalism of the Mahomedans, or the philosophy of Hobbes, Collins and Hume, when the most bitter opposition is experienced from fatalists and infidels? Infidelity, indifference, and worldliness could have no controversy with a system of doctrine which furnishes a ready excuse for all irreligion. The avowed reason is not the real one; it is plausible and convenient, but false; which is manifest from the lives and recorded opinions of multitudes whose opposition to Calvinism would cease the moment they believed it to be what they hypocritically pretend that it is. The true ground of the hostility of such men to the Calvinistic scheme is this, that while it maintains predestination it prevents its abuse; securing the divine purpose and glory without excusing the guilt of the transgressor; teaching God's sovereignty without impeaching man's accountability; showing from the scriptures that the wrath of man shall praise Him, and yet the sinner be punished, who in his opposition shall glorify his creator while securing his own condemnation, of which the death of Christ is the most illustrious example. "Him being delivered," says the apostle, "by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, ye have taken and by wicked hands crucified and slain." If the Supreme Governor is able to secure his glory and the great interests of his government by overruling and restraining the conduct of wicked men, without interfering with their freedom or responsibility, then is the reason of the permission of sin manifest, and the philosophy of being disclosed. The question, "why doth he yet find fault, for who hath resisted his will?" is sufficiently answered by the fact, that men are to be judged by the motives and not the results of their conduct, and that God has other purposes to answer in bearing long with men, besides that of salvation. "What" says the apostle in reply to this question, "if God, willing to shew his wrath and make his power known, endured with much long suffering the vessels of wrath fitted for destruction." If the glory of God and the greatest good are secured in the moral universe without any infringement of

freedom, and without furnishing any apology for sin, which is the conclusion of Calvinism, what is there in it unreasonable or unphilosophical?

It is not the understanding but the heart which rejects this truth; the wicked and impenitent will always be offended in the doctrines which make the wrath of man to praise God, though graven upon the rocks by the pen of truth, or uttered by the voices of the seven thunders at noon-day.

But the objections against the Calvinistic scheme, are not confined to infidels and the openly irreligious. Professing Christians, whose sincerity is unquestioned, inquirers after truth whose motives are not impeached, stumble at this stumbling stone. They can see no beauty in Calvinism that they should desire it, no consistency that they should believe it, and while they would by no means doubt the piety of those who embrace the system as that revealed by the Spirit of God in the sacred scriptures, they cannot consent to it and seem to wonder that those who do, should ever exhibit the power of true religion, and that a tree so evil should ever produce good fruit.

It is assumed by this class of objectors that predestination and freedom, divine purposes and human accountability are inconceivably and fatally at variance, and that the belief of the one necessarily involves the denial of the other. Now without entering upon the nature of the freedom of the will, it is sufficient to say that no man can prove that God's sovereignty and man's freedom are inconsistent, or that contingency is necessary to liberty; it is an assumption without evidence or argument, a conclusion without a premise. The inductive philosophy does not allow theory to contradict fact, which is exactly what is done by the opponents of Calvinism. It is not too much to say, that the phenomena of the universe demand the admission of both foreordination and freedom, that the actual government of God cannot be explained without it, and that to set them in opposition is to make one first truth contradict another. Predestination is inseparable from the existence and attributes of God, freedom and accountability are demonstrated by the testimony of consciousness. We are as certain of the latter as we are of our own existence, of the former as we are of the existence of an intelligent first cause. The agreement of propositions is to be inferred from their truth. What is more common in mathematical investigations than

the conclusion of the agreement of quantities or lines with each other, by their common agreement with a third; or in natural philosophy the observation of phenomena and the acknowledgment of truths, the mode of whose agreement no man pretends to understand. It is not the object of science to reconcile, but to ascertain facts; their agreement is presumed. To attempt to controvert facts by speculations about the mode of agreement, to argue against established truths, because the points of union are not seen, is bad reasoning and false philosophy, yet this is the cause of the opponents of Calvinism. The scriptures assert the foreordination of God and the accountability of man in a variety of forms and connexions, but they never reason upon their agreement, or argue their consistency, for to do this would be descending from the major to the minor proof. Do not the inspired writers treat this subject as the Baconian Philosophy deals with all ascertained truth, while the opponents of the Calvinistic divinity fall into the ways of the exploded philosophy of the schoolmen? Calvinists are often tempted to follow their opponents, and theorize about the consistency of doctrines whose agreement no man should be permitted to doubt after their truth is established. The cause has suffered by the speculations of orthodox writers, who have darkened counsel by their speculations. As independent truths, predestination and freedom are easily established by reason and scripture; the one is a necessary inference from the wisdom, power and goodness of God, the other is matter of personal consciousness; the one is the only sure ground of confidence in the divine government and in the final triumph of holiness, the other has its witness in the voice of conscience and in the universal recognition of obligation by all men in every age and under every form of government. Establishing the truth of the two propositions, we reconcile them by the highest possible evidence. Denying the one we rush toward atheism, abandoning the other we fall into fatalism. The attempt to divest the subject of mystery, is as vain as the effect to explain existence itself. Life is a mystery, profound, unfathomable, yet it is a truth, a reality which no one is permitted to question. Can man by searching, find out the mode of the underived and infinite being of God, or of the existence of finite beings? We may descend the scale to the lowest forms of vegetable life and the same inexplicable mystery attaches to the vegetation of a blade of grass. We reach

the boundaries of human knowledge, when we have ascertained facts, and to theorise about their agreement or disagreement, is sounding beyond the reach of our line. The doctrine of predestination is honourable to God and safe for man. Where can power be so safely lodged as in His hands? Who that exercises confidence in the supreme Governor can regret that He doth what he will in the armies of heaven and among the inhabitants of the earth? Who that loves his race will complain that their destiny is in the hands of the ever blessed God? Would any one prefer to have the moral universe upon the ocean of contingency, exposed to irretrievable ruin, subject to a hopeless wreck? Dare any man commit his own interests and those of mankind to such a hazard, and maintain a system which renders it possible that the ploughshare of final ruin may be driven on the hopes of a world? Who would seriously prefer a blind chance to the purpose of a wise, omnipotent and benevolent Sovereign able to bring good out of evil and light out of darkness? Creation itself was a blunder or an absurdity, if He who made all things knew not the issue of his own work, for there cannot be a more unworthy or irreverent idea of God, than that which presumes Him to have left the issue of creation uncertain. Rejecting the mystery of predestination, the opponents of this doctrine rush into a palpable absurdity; departing from the foundation of the divine decrees, they involve themselves in the chaos and old night. Is it not enough that we are conscious of freedom and accountability? Must God be robbed of his attributes to make assurance doubly sure? The very difficulties of the Calvinistic scheme are analogous to those which lie all around us, in the actual government of God. The varied fortunes of men, irrespective of their choice, the wonderful differences in human condition, which result from birth and parentage, which are the sovereign allotments of God, the working out of events in the divine providence against all human calculations and foresight, the impression that has ever haunted the minds of men who have played a great part in the drama of life, that they were raised up for the very purpose of executing the divine judgments, or fulfilling the divine purposes, of which Attila and Napoleon are examples, the one styling himself the scourge of God, the other the child of destiny, and the constant occasion every man has to see the working out of the ends of providence in despite of human sagacity, enter-

prise or opposition, are all so many corroborative proofs that the doctrines of Calvinism are but the exponents of the actual mystery of life. Nor does our experience fail to contradict the theory that predestination is irreconcileable with liberty for while we are compelled to notice the course of providence working out events and accomplishing ends by actors whose motives, designs and desires tend to anything rather than the glory of God or the good of mankind; while every one is made at times to apprehend in his own case, that a man's heart directeth his way but the Lord directeth his steps; yet who ever felt his moral agency infringed, his sense of accountability weakened, or found here an apology in his conscience for his guilt? The opposition to Calvinism is a war of theory against facts; the objections made are never practical, the excuses offered are never felt, the argument is unphilosophical and unreasonable, because it assumes what cannot be proved, that predestination and freedom are inconsistent. Were the principles advocated by the enemies of the Calvinistic scheme carried out, there would be an end of accountability, and law and government would be made to appear the most inexcusable tyranny. What culprit might not point out unfavourable circumstances with which the providence of God has surrounded him, and show to the entire satisfaction of the court and jury, that he might have been a very different man had his birth and parentage been other than they were, had not the pure and blessed influences which have surrounded them in childhood, been withheld from him, and plausibly excuse himself from condemnation. Yet the uniform experience and common sense of mankind, while admitting the premises of such a defence, deny the conclusion, and even the conscience of the criminal finds no relief, for he knows that he has done the things that are worthy of death, that he has treasured up wrath against the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God. It is an ultimate fact that man is so constituted that no exciting causes, no exposures, no providences can purge his conscience from a sense of guilt, and though it may be evident that others have been made to differ only by the providence and grace of God, he neither excuses himself nor is excused by others on this account.

The Calvinistic scheme is assailed by fatalists, because it maintains that God is not the 'author of sin,' that no 'violence is offered to the will of the creature,' nor their ac-

countability as 'moral agents taken away but rather established,' and by Arminians for the reason that it teaches that 'God foreordains whatsoever comes to pass,' the latter charging the Calvinists with denying accountability, the former alleging that they are not consistent predestinarians, who thus misrepresented and assailed on either hand, are compelled between opposing fires to do battle for the truth. Nobly have the old Calvinists maintained their position, unmoved by denunciation, unseduced by blandishments, separating themselves from false friends, amidst the reproaches of intolerance and antinomianism.

The doctrine of original sin, which lies at the foundation of the doctrines of grace and redemption, is naturally the next point of attack assailed not only by rationalists, but by many who are nominally orthodox. Positions most unreasonable and unphilosophical, are assumed in opposition to this fundamental truth by those who, wise in their own conceit, charge the old Calvinists with being 'behind the intelligence of the age;' the connexion of cause and effect is denied, sin made a contingency uncaused and underived, and if actual transgression is admitted to have any connexion with the sin of Adam, every possible form of that connexion is denied; the imputation of his guilt, the corruption of human nature in the apostasy, are scouted. What is this but to affirm and deny in the same breath? Those who reject the universal depravity of man are far more consistent in their opposition, and it has been well remarked by a leading organ of the Unitarians in this country, that the denial of original sin is removing the key stone out of the arch of Calvinism. The corruption of human nature is the only sufficient cause, the only satisfactory account of actual transgression, if men are universally sinners, and this is the conclusion of reason no less than of Revelation.

The wisest of the ancient pagan philosophers acknowledged the universal corruption of human nature, though they knew not the remedy and had but one imperfect tradition of the apostasy. Let modern Rationalists mark the testimony of men whose conclusions were the result of profound observation and experience, centuries before Augustine was called to defend a doctrine, until then undisputed in the church, against the assaults of Pelagius. Plato asserts that "if children were born virtuous by nature, we should seclude them from contagion and guard them more sacredly than jewels." Plutarch affirms that "depravity is transmit-

ted in generation, hence the disorders of the soul, the diseases of the body and the cares and fate of mortals." Horace in one of his Odes asserts that no man is born free from vice. Sopater declares that "there is innate inclination in man to sin." Seneca says, "we have all sinned, some in greater things, some in minor. Nor do we merely come short now, but we shall continue to do so to the end of life." Thucydides that "all men sin both in public and private." These opinions are not expressed as articles of faith or as a dogma of religion, but philosophically as the conclusions of experience. They are the natural result of sound reasoning from effect to cause, to which all profound observers of human nature must unavoidably come. The contest of Rationalists and Pelagians is not merely with Calvinism and the scriptures, in their opposition to the doctrine of original sin, but with the reason and common sense of which they profess to be devoted adherents.

The opposition to the doctrine of particular election is equally groundless, for it flows naturally out of the attributes of God, and is the expression of his determination to secure the salvation of the entire number that can wisely and consistently be saved on the principles of his moral government. The only ground of encouragement, the safe hope of a ruined world, is in the revelation of the purpose of God to give his Son 'a seed to serve him.' The promise of the spread of the gospel, and of the universal reign of Christ in the period of millennial glory is founded on the doctrine of the divine election, which interfering with the freedom of no man and opposing no one obstacle in the way of the salvation of any, encourages the greatest offender with the hope of divine aid to rescue himself out of the snare of the devil, and encourages the church to press forward in the work of preaching the gospel to every creature, among all nations, being assured that God will "take out of them a people for his name," and that in no place where the word is dispensed shall there be wanting "a remnant after the election of grace." Take another view of election. God in the beginning either determined to save all men or a part only, or to leave the matter of human salvation contingent. He either provided for the salvation of all in the atonement, or for a portion of mankind, or he made the gospel scheme an experiment, the issue of which is uncertain in his own mind. If God preferred the salvation of the whole race, then is that end secured in the plan of redemption through Jesus

Christ, who by 'one offering hath perfected forever them that are sanctified;' if of a part only then is that result in like manner attained; if he had no purpose in the case, then the salvation of any is doubtful, and there is no certainty that Christ shall have seed to serve him or that he shall see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied; then the foundations of our hope for the world's recovery are forever removed, and the ark of the church is floating over the trackless waters without the guidance of Jehovah Jireh, without pilot or compass—

> "A boat at midnight sent alone
> To drift upon a moonless sea."

Which of these conclusions is the most scriptural, which the most reasonable in view of the testimony of experience that few find the gate or walk in the way of life? Do not the goodness and power of God secure those results which he from all eternity saw to be most desirable for the general good? He will certainly accomplish the salvation of the greatest possible number which he sees it to be wise and best to save, and all others will be left to the choice of their depraved will, to "walk in the ways of their heart, and in the sight of their eyes, and finally to perish in their darling corruptions." Will the champion of liberty and free-will, complain that the non-elect are left to their freedom? Why one nation has the gospel and not another, why one individual is taken and another left, why the period of the universal and effectual calling and sanctification of all men, is deferred until the millennium, are questions unsolved in the sacred scriptures, and unimportant for us to know. To limit the divine power, to deny, as some do, the possibility of its exertion beyond its actual influence, is to impeach the omnipotence of God, to abandon all correct views of regeneration, and to make salvation a matter of debt instead of an act of sovereign grace. The voice that called Lazarus from the grave, would have caused earth and sea to render up their dead had it been addressed to them; it was a demonstration of omnipotence, and the pledge of a future resurrection; the spirit that quickeneth might, so far as power is concerned, as easily regenerate all as one, had it been adjudged wisest and best in the counsels of the Trinity, and the effect to justify the ways of God to man by limiting the divine power, is worthy of the rebuke with which a similar folly is chastised in the sacred scriptures, "will ye speak wickedly for God, and talk deceitfully for Him, will ye ac-

cept his person, will ye contend for God? Shall not his excellency make you afraid and his dread fall upon you." The argument that if God were able he would save all men, is subversive of the gospel, because it is no more of grace and favour, but a mere exhibition of the limits of God's power, who would upon this principle be bound to confer salvation upon all men if he could. Nor is it a sound conclusion, to affirm that because the atonement was sufficient in its nature for the salvation of all men, it must have been made for all; the inference from the premises is not legitimate; besides it destroys the character of the atonement as vicarious, unless the doctrine of universal salvation be conceded. To say that Christ laid down his life for all men, while he secured the salvation of a part only, seems to us neither sound reasoning nor scriptural theology, exhibiting as it does, the only wise God as laying foundations which it was never intended should be built upon. It has been well said that there is not gospel enough in some of the new theories of the atonement, to satisfy a pious mind or furnish a reasonable hope of salvation, they are 'broken cisterns which will hold no water.' The old Calvinism is the only scheme consistent in all its parts, or agreeable to the word of God, and the attempt to win men by yielding to their unreasonable objections the cardinal points of the plan of salvation by grace, will prove futile; those who engage in it will find at last that they have not gained the enemy, but have rather gone over to them, and that in abandoning the outposts they have surrendered the citadel.

The opposition to Calvinism is not confined to the open attacks of fatalists on the one hand, and Arminians and latitudinarians on the other. The most formidable attacks are made upon the Calvinistic scheme by those who acknowledge its symbols, and are solemnly pledged by their ordination vows and public profession to maintain them; men who claim to defend, as a whole, a system of doctrine, all the details of which they deny, or so explain and modify as to leave the impression that they cannot be defended on the ground of reason and scripture; that is the old Calvinism; but they have a young Calvinism, a new philosophy in the field of controversy, mounted on the war horse of Pelagius, about to "witch the world with noble horsemanship." Sometimes they agree, sometimes they differ; when it suits their turn they represent the position of the old Calvinism as God-dishon-

ouring, soul-destroying, and altogether monstrous; at another time, and for another purpose, they will sweetly assure you that between the old and the new there is no material difference. Honest men hardly know what to say when they hear Calvinism praised by those who deny its main positions; who are with you and against you, as it may happen; who do not hesitate to call original sin original nonsense; who ridicule the idea of the imputation of Adam's sin or Christ's righteousness, and then gravely allege that they hold to the Confession of Faith, and do not differ from the older divines. Charity hopeth all things, but it is impossible to give a construction to such conduct which will reconcile it with truth and honesty. That the old Calvinism is the true scriptural divinity, may be inferred from the fact that it is charged by one class of objectors with producing, in the lives and examples of its professors, an excessive strictness and austerity, an exaggerated devotion to spiritual interests; while another kind of opposers denounce the system as unfruitful in revivals of religion, producing a dead orthodoxy, more anxious for doctrines and symbols than for the salvation of souls. The constant recognition of the hand of God in all events, which is characteristic of Calvinists; the fact that they hold to the substance and not to the shadow, to the life and not to the forms of religion; that they look upon the present state as a pilgrimage in which the believer is engaged in a severe conflict with his remaining depravity, and with the powers of darkness, is of course offensive to formalists, a perpetual reproach to the gay and thoughtless, an unpardonable offence to the profligate, while their habitual caution of novelties, their refusal to believe every spirit, their unwillingness to do evil that good may come, excites against them the opposition of those who have a zeal without knowledge, or who are ambitious to become the founder of a new system of divinity, adapted to the wants of the age, or who "privily bring in damnable heresies." Infidelity, formality, and fanaticism make a common target of the Calvinistic scheme; and this is no inconsiderable proof that it is the system of doctrine revealed by the Holy Spirit in the sacred scriptures. The formal, the false, the fanatical and the superstitious, are fully forgiven by the irreligious masses, while Calvinism meets with no favour, and finds no apologists among them; the reason is obvious, the one gives them a plea for ridiculing all religion, the other compels them to suspect that it may be a reality. The wonder

that has sometimes been expressed, that the high Calvinism of the Presbyterians and Puritans should have produced so energetic and decided a cast of character, is the result of an unphilosophical and shallow view of the subject. The fatalist denies the use of means to ends, and stupidly remains in the vicinage of the plague; the Arminian, looking only to the means and not to the power, has really no encouragement to vigorous effort, and soon falls into indifference, satisfied with the religion of forms and externals. Fanaticism moves the soul to its inmost depth, and developes energies grand in their strength, but fearful from their misdirection. Calvinism combines the power of all opposing systems without admixture of their errors, acknowledging predestination, yet maintaining that the purposes of God are ordinarily accomplished by means, that the certainty of action does not destroy its freedom or impair the obligation to do with our might what our hands find to do. With the Arminian, the Calvinistic divinity admits the importance of well selected means to a desired end, but denies that the end justifies the means, asserting that "duties are ours, events are God's." Fanaticism lives and has its power in a real faith, however absurd its object; Calvinism inspires a living faith in realities. The latter is like a magnificent river, moving toward the ocean of eternity, fertilizing an empire, and bearing upon its bosom multitudes to the desired haven; the former is the same river, rising above its banks, overwhelming in its terrific course all things in a general ruin, and burying the broken fragments and dead bodies in a common grave. Every argument to effort and action, to patience and self-denial, which is found in man's accountability, and in the proper use of means, belongs to Calvinism; while faith in the firm purpose and promise of God excites invincible energy in the execution of great attempts. No hardships can deter, no discouragements can hinder the man who in the path of duty knows that God can work by few as well as many, and is able to make him stand, "though earth and hell should unite against him." All the elements of power are in the system which combines a firm reliance upon an overruling providence with a high sense of duty, irrespective of consequences; which encourages effort by the promise of divine assistance; which commands the creature to work out his salvation with fear and trembling, because it is God that worketh in him both to will and to do; which excites the church to proclaim the gospel in every nation and to every

creature, upon the promise that the Son shall have the heathen for his inheritance. Is it then any marvel that the old Calvinists were distinguished for their earnest piety, for their courage in attempting great enterprises, their fortitude under reverses, and their indomitable spirit in the defence of violated rights? Were not these characteristics the fruits of their faith, the exponents of their creed? The day that John Knox was laid in the grave, the Regent of Scotland said, "there lies one who in his life never feared the face of man." What were earthly monarchs to men who held communion with the King of Kings, who gazed by faith into the "thick darkness" where Jehovah dwells, who grappled in their spiritual conflicts with principalities and powers, with evil spirits in high places, and who were persuaded that there was "no power but of God?" Such men were victors in defeat, conquerors at the stake. Death only hallowed their influence; the grave of every martyred Presbyterian in Scotland is "a fortress of freedom;" the memories of the Puritans, whose bodies were exhumed and exposed to the insults of the populace on the restoration of the second Charles, will be honoured when the Stuarts are forgotten. Let Calvinism be known by its fruits; let the end be judged by the long line of martyrs and witnesses of Jesus, who have sealed their faith with their blood, after illustrating it by their lives; by the memories of our fathers, who kindled anew the sacred fire, when despotism was about to crush out the last spark which yet glimmered upon the altars of freedom; by the present position of the Calvinistic churches pressing forward in the van of Christendom to the conquest of the world, confident in the purpose and promise of God, the ark of their faith floating unhurt amid the tumultuous waters which rage and roar, but are not able to destroy. The floods have lifted up, O Lord, the floods have lifted up their voice, the floods lift up their waves, the Lord on high is mightier than the voice of many waters, yea than the mighty waves of the sea!

Jas. H. Saunder.

ART. V.--*Proceedings of the meeting in Charleston, S. C., May* 13—15, 1845, *on the Religious Instruction of the Negroes, together with the Report of the Commit-*

tee and the Address to the public. Published by order of the meeting. Charleston, S. C. B. Jenkins. 1845. pp. 72.

This pamphlet is an important document, on the religious instruction of the negroes in the southern states, and fully confirms us in the opinion, that the interest on this great subject is becoming wider and deeper and more efficient from year to year. The fact that such an amount of feeling exists, as would prompt to the measure of inviting planters and professional gentlemen from all parts of South Carolina, and some from Georgia, to meet in conference, and that a respectable number did convene at a short notice, and in a very busy season of the year, (for planters are not the inactive beings some would have us believe)—individuals too attending from a distance of a hundred and a hundred and fifty miles—surely demonstrates that the minds and hearts of many southern men and Christians are seriously engaged on this subject.

On looking over the names subscribed to the circular, and in the list of those who attended the meeting, we were impressed with their high character for respectability and talents. There are some of the first names of the South, gentlemen who have adorned the halls of our national legislature, the seats of literature, the pulpit and the bar, and diffused over the communities in which they reside the sacred and salutary influence of lives of active benevolence. What is peculiarly grateful in the character of this meeting, is the fraternal union of ministers and members of the different denominations of Christians. There were representatives from the Episcopal, Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, and Lutheran churches. Their communion was not interrupted in the slightest degree. They met and consulted, and discussed their questions; they prayed together and departed as brethren beloved. There are times and seasons when we feel assured that the prayer of our Divine Master was not, neither indeed shall be, offered in vain: "Holy Father keep through thine own name those whom thou hast given me, that they may be one as we are."

The meeting was in session the better part of three days, moderated by the venerable Daniel Elliott Huger, the present successor of Mr. Calhoun in the Senate of the United States. That our readers may be put in possession of the

origin and action of the meeting, we introduce an extract from the Address to the holders of slaves in South Carolina, by the standing committee of Ten, with which the pamphlet opens. This address we should be happy to transfer entire to our pages, on account of its excellence, did our limits permit it; and we cannot but express the hope that it may find its way into our leading religious journals, and thus be impressed upon the minds of thousands of our brethren in the North, as well as in the South.

"In March last, a few persons considering the importance of a general and efficient attention to the religious instruction of the negroes, met in conference on the subject; and believing that the end would be essentially promoted by collecting and diffusing accurate information respecting the nature, extent and results of the efforts known and understood to have been in progress, they addressed a circular to a considerable number of gentlemen, interested in planting, in all parts of our state, requesting them to attend a meeting in Charleston, on the 13th of May, in order to interchange information and opinions, and to consult upon the proper use to be made of the facts which might thus be obtained. With a view to care and definiteness, they were also requested to furnish in writing, if convenient, and if not, orally, replies to certain inquiries contained in the circular. Although there is reason to believe, that from a want of information of the nearest post-offices to the parties addressed, many of the circulars were not received, or were received too late, the proposed meeting was respectably attended; and was continued by adjournments on the 13th, 14th, and 15th May. The occasion proved to be one of deep interest; many letters were received and read, and several gentlemen communicated verbally their information and views, which were afterwards reduced to writing. These letters and statements were referred to a committee of five, to be condensed into a report, with such other information as they might possess or obtain on the subject, to be published with an address by a standing committee of ten, appointed to carry out the resolutions of the meeting. The committee of five having performed the duty assigned them, the standing committee have now the pleasure of placing before the public their report, and of commending it earnestly to general and careful perusal. It proffers information upon a subject of the highest inter-

est both to masters and slaves, in a religious view; and of obvious relation to the character, comfort, efficiency and management of our negro population. It contains, 1st, extracts from forty-four letters received in reply to the circular, from twenty different districts and parishes of this state, all from persons of high respectability; to which are added communications from two gentlemen of Georgia, who, on account of their known interest in the subject, and their long continued personal exertions in this department of benevolence, were invited to take part in our deliberations and to furnish their views. 2dly, Extracts from seventeen letters received by a member of the committee from persons resident in eight of the other slave-holding states; and 3dly, notices of the action of ecclesiastical bodies. The letters under the first head are, for the most part, details of the personal experience and observation of the writers, given with all the freedom and candour appropriate to the occasion. Those under the second head afford less of detail, but manifest a common feeling on the subject gratifying and encouraging. The statements under the third head present a general view of plans and operations, destined, we trust, to be more effective, with some results that will arrest and reward attention. Notwithstanding a want of statistics, to be regretted, they still show the system of which the enterprise is susceptible, and will suggest facilities to those who may find it necessary or useful to afford their people the aids of missionary labour.

"These papers, taken together, will be found to collect the scattered rays of light shed, by individual experience and example, upon the practical difficulties which the inculcation of religious and moral truth upon our negroes must be admitted to involve. They afford, for instance, direct or indirect notices of the different plans or means of instruction, both of children and adults; the catechisms used and approved; the catechists employed, and whether black or white; Sunday and infant schools for religious instruction; the expediency of coloured preachers and teachers; the influence of preaching, and of doctrinal or practical preaching; hours of worship for negroes on plantations; provision for their worshipping with the whites; the influence of a personal interest in the object on the part of masters, and of their example; the happy agency of mistresses; the comparative influence of religious teaching on the young and the adult; and lastly, its influence on the

labour, discipline and good order of plantations. The standing committee, therefore, feel a confidence that the report will not only suggest subjects of serious thought to reflecting persons, that will afford inducements to take up this matter in greater earnest. They believe that he who concludes to bear his part in it, will find much that he may desire for guidance, and much that he may need under disappointment or discouragement."

Having carefully read the letters in answer to the circular, from South Carolina and Georgia, we shall now present, in brief, the information to be derived from them.

The coloured population of many districts is given, and it occurred to us that whenever the number of church members was reported, the proportion to the whole population was much larger than we had anticipated; the Baptist and Methodist churches embracing the chief part of them, and next in order the Presbyterian and Episcopal. We regret that we are not furnished with such accurate returns from all the districts heard from, as would enable us to form a valuable statistical table, showing the relative proportion of church members to the whole population, and the comparative numbers attached to the different denominations, and the proportion of children and youth collected in Sabbath schools. We presume efforts will hereafter be made to bring out this desirable information.

There is a very marked attention to the accommodation and comfort of the negroes in the houses of public worship throughout the country. In cities, towns, villages and country places, the galleries, and where they do not exist, seats in the body of the churches are appointed to the negroes, and there they assemble with the whites and partake of the same spiritual privileges and ordinances; so that no church building is properly constructed which does not make provision for the servants of the congregation. It is true that these accommodations are not sufficient, in many instances, for the negro population, but the provision of them shows that there is a desire, on the part of the owners, that their people should have access to a preached gospel. It is said that the behaviour and attention of the negroes, when engaged in public worship on the Sabbath, are remarkably good. There is no impediment thrown in the way of the negroes attending public worship; nor are settled ministers and missionaries forbidden to preach to them. The letters contain such expressions as the following: "The

privilege of attending religious services is, I believe, universally granted;" "there is not a plantation that has not the liberty and opportunity of attending public worship;" "I have found the owners of plantations around, not only willing, but desirous that I should preach to their negroes;" "many of the largest planters are affording their slaves every opportunity of attending the instructions of the missionaries;" "even non-professors of religion pay liberally for the instruction of their slaves;" "no master hinders his people from attending the public worship of God." The general fact throughout the Southern country is, that the negroes are permitted free access to the house of God on the Sabbath; and acceptable ministers and missionaries meet with no obstructions to their labours among them. The field is white for the harvest; a great and effectual door is opened to all regularly settled ministers and missionaries who choose to enter it. We do not deny that there are exceptions to this rule; but we would ask the question, if there are not men, even in the most improved parts of our country, and enjoying the most constant and extensive privileges, who not only do not go to church themselves, but give their families no encouragement to do so; nay, further, who do at times, by authority, keep them at home? We ought not to look for perfection. Throughout the letters we discover but one feeling in respect to the religious instruction of the negroes, and that is a feeling of unreserved approbation; the ministers speaking not for themselves alone, but for the communities also, in which they reside. Nor must we conclude that nothing less was to have been expected since the circular was addressed to the friends of the cause only; for we know that the circular was sent promiscuously to individuals throughout the state, the opinions of many of them on the subject being entirely unknown to the gentlemen who issued the circular. The design of those gentlemen was to elicit public feeling and sentiment, and not to pack their information or their meeting.

The instruction communicated to the negroes is altogether oral with a few exceptions. It is well known that the custom and laws of the slave-holding states prohibit a knowledge of letters to the negroes. We are aware that there are large numbers of our Southern brethren who do not believe either in the justice or expediency of this measure, and who would very gladly see the laws repealed.

There are also gentlemen of the first families and influence, who do not hesitate lo avow their opinions on this subject. But it is very difficult, at the present time, after all our agitations, to move, even in matters of obvious justice and policy, without incurring suspicions, and perhaps awakening an opposition which would check at once the onward progress of things, and overthrow our present widely extended efforts in behalf of the spiritual redemption of the negroes, and leave us to silence and despair. "All men have not faith." "I have many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now." Herein is wisdom. Let impatient spirits quietly search for it. A ship fast ashore may require a power almost, if not quite, equal to her destruction, to force her back into her native element; but the quiet swelling of the mighty tide bears her up and she is safely and surely afloat. The oral instruction enjoyed by the negroes of the South is of inestimable value to them. Their faith cometh by hearing, and thousands of them are savingly converted to God; while a vast amount of religious knowledge is diffused through the mass, and exerts most restraining and salutary influences. What true child of God will not rejoice in this? There is less sensitiveness on the subject of teaching negroes to read than some have supposed. No objection is made to any watchman, or minister, or prominent member of the church, using his Bible and Psalm book in conducting the worship of his coloured brethren. They teach each other to read about as freely as they have a mind to do so. Some white families acquaint their servants with letters. In cities, we often see coloured choirs, with psalm and music books; and they do support schools, where children learn the rudiments of the English tongue. A minister in one of the letters states, that "of 213 negroes belonging to the people of his charge, 22 can read, and probably two-thirds of the whole number can spell, and begin to try to read." This is, however, an extraordinary case. A gentleman writes, "on my Waccamaw plantation, a negro, who can read, teaches the children to repeat the catechism, and during the summer months reads the appointed service of our church on the Lord's day." A missionary tells us, that "on some plantations, finding negroes of good character who can read, he gets them of an evening and on the Lord's day to teach he children their catechism."

The instruction is divided into preaching and teaching.

This is the result of the long experience and observation of many labourers in this field. Preaching alone, however plain and instructive, will not meet the necessities of the people; for let it be as plain and instructive as it may be, many are too ignorant in the first principles of religious truth to be much profited by it. The negroes enjoy the regular preaching to the whites, which we should remark, in a general way, is so far above their comprehension, that but a minority of them derive solid and definite instruction from it. In very many churches in South Carolina, as we perceive by the letters, and we may add, from our own observation and knowledge, in very many churches throughout the Southern states, they are assembled in the afternoon or evening of the Sabbath, after the dismission of the whites, and are particularly preached to by their pastors and stated supplies. The sermons are of the nature of lectures, comprehending in their range, all the doctrines and duties of religion, and made plain by a copious use of parables, miracles, historical events and biographical sketches. Preaching on plantations during the week is resorted to also, by some regular pastors, and particularly by missionaries, and the kind of preaching is very similar, and in most cases identical with that which is addressed to them on the Sabbath. The custom of catechising the negroes on the sermons delivered to them, is pursued by some and not by others, and is a custom which must be left for adoption or rejection to the good judgment of ministers and missionaries themselves. We fervently hope that preaching particularly to the negroes of their congregation, (as it is increasing in our churches,) may ere long become universal with our pastors and stated supplies.

The teaching, embraces meetings with church members at stated seasons and intervals, for the purpose of laying before them their duties, and acquainting them with their sins and dangers; meetings also for the watchmen, who are instructed and assisted in the knowledge and discharge of their duties; and meetings also of inquiry, for the instruction of persons under conviction of sin; under darkness and doubt; and under sentence of suspension or excommunication; but above all, the Sunday School for the instruction of children and youth and such adults as choose to unite with them. These Sunday schools are conducted on the infant school plan when a sufficient number of competent teachers cannot be attained. It is a

pleasant fact in this benevolent work, that whenever undertaken at the suggestion of the regular pastor of a congregation, and under his supervision, and it is known he takes a conscientious interest in it, the instances are exceedingly rare, in which a competent number of teachers, both male and female, from among the whites, cannot be obtained. We have frequently witnessed—and the letters afford us examples—the zeal and perseverance of teachers, male and female, through many long years, and some of them years of trial and discouragement. The attention of the Southern churches is now turning more and more efficiently to the establishment of Sabbath schools for the instruction of the coloured children and youth. The number of schools already established is large and is annually increasing. The main hope of permanently benefiting the negroes, lies in early and constant attention to the rising generation. Take the most stupid and vicious congregation of negroes, and if you can secure the children in the Sabbath school, although you have to contend with the traditionary ignorance and views of the adults, yet in six or eight years, many of these adults will be removed from earth and their places filled by their children, and almost an entire change for the better will appear. The new generation will be far in advance in intelligence, virtue and piety, of the old one. Hence patience is the virtue to be inculcated on all who labour for the good of this people; they must sow the seed and wait to gather it after many days; and they shall gather it. Some of these schools, and we have frequently visited them, numbering from fifty to two hundred and fifty, taught by a single minister or missionary or by a sufficient number of pious teachers, with their bright faces, and clear voices, and perfect respect and order, present a scene both touching and delightful. In perhaps most of the schools, adults are to be found, but it is far less easy to bring them into the catechetical mode of instruction, than the young people. They succeed best when put into classes by themselves, and given in charge to some well established Christian. An experienced teacher and labourer for years, says in his letter, "Catechetical instruction alone for adults, (such as is given to children) does not interest them sufficiently to keep up their attention, but must be accompanied with familiar illustrations and exhortations, and should be short, but frequent."

We observe, also, that much instruction is given by

owners and their families in a private way. The owner acts as priest in his own household. He assembles his people for evening prayers in his plantation, and there reads and explains the scriptures, sings and prays with them. The children and youth are regularly catechised on the Sabbath day at some convenient hour, and once, twice, three times, or every day in the week, by some member of his family. A gentleman writes: "The children are taught constantly during the week by Mrs. M. and our sons, and know the catechism and several hymns." Another: "there are several plantation Sunday schools, conducted chiefly by ladies." This kind of effort is also on the increase. It has its serious difficulties and trials, and requires an amount of zeal and resolution and perseverance for its prosecution through a series of years, known to those only who engage in it. A gentleman from Virginia writes: "this system opens to our ladies of the Southern states, an ample field for Christian benevolence and enterprise. A few of our ladies here have already engaged in this field, so manifestly opened by God himself, and others are fully prepared to follow their footsteps." We have instances in the letters, of churches and chapels being erected by owners in their plantations, for the accommodation of their people, where they assemble for evening prayers, for catechetical instruction, and to hear the gospel from their regular pastor or missionary. The practice of building plantation chapels is extending. Such accommodations are greatly needed on plantations; the houses and rooms occupied by the negroes for their religious meetings being often too small and inconvenient. We observe further—and this is confirmed by our own knowledge—that the negroes on the plantations enjoy the privilege of meeting together for social worship in the evening, as frequently as they desire to do so. Their devotions are led by the watchman, or by some established member of the church on the place, and whenever they are able, they read the word of God. The prohibitions are exceptions to the general practice, and we readily discover for them a reason in the character of the owners, or in the abuse of the privilege in some flagrant manner on the part of the people themselves.

The employment of missionaries exists to a greater extent than we had supposed, and there is an evident disposition, on the part of Southern Christians and owners, to increase their numbers, and to supply the immense multi-

tudes collected along the great river bottoms and in wide spread districts, who otherwise must live and die, in a great measure, destitute of a knowledge of Christianity. It is said that even worldly men cheerfully contribute to the support of such missionaries. An association exists in Charleston, having for one of its avowed objects, the assistance of owners in the support of missionary or ministerial labour, who without this aid, would remain, both themselves and people, in great destitution.

The difficult question of the employment of negro watchmen and preachers, is differently disposed of by different writers in the letters. Some assert their usefulness; others deny it. The conclusion to which we have arrived, after giving the question no small attention, is that they may be employed to advantage in the evangelization of their own colour. But of course, great care should be taken in the selection, and in the supervision exercised over them. In general they should remain in connection with the white churches and ecclesiastical bodies to which they belong. The separation of the two classes of society in the Southern states, into distinct churches and ecclesiastical connections, we believe would be decidedly an evil of great magnitude. Such separation we have never considered beneficial in the instances which have come under our own observation. It however, becomes our Southern brethren, who may be opposed to the employment of colored assistants in the ministry and government of the church, to inquire, if history has ever furnished any example of a people successfully christianized, without their being to some considerable extent, the agents of their own improvement and elevation. We think not. It is essential to the perfection and permanency of such a work, that it should be so. Hence, whatever difficulties may attend the employment of coloured helps, as ministers and watchmen, the difficulties should be avoided in the best manner possible, and such arrangements made, as may conduce to the advancement of true religion and the peace and order of the people, and the welfare of community.

The letters are unanimous in the declaration, that religious instruction, faithfully and perseveringly given, produces the happiest effects upon the general conduct and character of the negroes. One gentleman remarks that it "has a salutary influence upon them in all the domestic and social relations of life, and upon their individual char-

acters, in respect to chastity, truth, honesty and reverence for the sabbath." Another, that the effect is "to assimilate them more to the whites, not only in their manner of speaking, but of thinking and acting. And hence I believe it practicable for an experienced observer to single out from a large number of negroes, thrown promiscuously together, those who always have attended church and those who have not." A missionary states the fact, that "of thirty-nine couple he had united in marriage in five years, he had not heard of one that had broken the marriage vow." The language of another letter is: "the benefits may be seen by the most superficial observer. They have so improved that they seem to be almost another set of beings. Their improvement has been in proportion to their instruction, &c." The people are more orderly and well-behaved; their management on the plantations more easy and pleasant; their labour equally profitable. Planters who have employed missionaries, and tried religious instruction, give it their decided approval, not only on Christian grounds, but on grounds of interest and economy. The reflex influence of religious instruction is one of its happiest features. Owners are improved in all respects. Their discipline becomes milder, the necessity for severity passing away with the improvement of their people; they attend more conscientiously to their physical comforts, and more carefully guard their families from immoral tendencies and separations.

The letters disclose another fact, which, although we have already touched upon it, we take great pleasure in presenting again, as it is directly contrary to many statements which we have seen confidently put forth to the discredit of the South; namely, that the religious instruction of the negroes, meets with decided and general approbation. It is considered the right of the negroes and the duty of the South. We assert this on the evidence furnished by the letters in this pamphlet from South Carolina and Georgia, and from the other slave-holding states, and we assert it on our own information, gathered minutely and extensively from every part of the Southern country. The opposition to religious instruction is no greater than from the natural character of men we might reasonably expect. It frequently has its foundation in ignorance, or prejudice, or in abuses which have attended injudicious means and measures.

The chief items of information of a general nature from the letters in answer to the circular, we have now noticed, and they are of such a character as to afford the highest satisfaction to the friends of humanity and religion. The letters from other slave-holding states, addressed to a member of the committee, are encouraging, and show that the interest in the work is extending on every hand. They are chiefly from ministers regularly engaged in the instruction of the negroes; and some are from distinguished lawyers.

A sketch is given, in the conclusion of the report of the committee, of the action of ecclesiastical bodies. In the Episcopal church, we have encouraging notices of the dioceses of Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia. Of these the diocese of South Carolina is most distinguished. "There are several clergymen acting as missionaries, who are wholly given to the work, and some catechists; while almost the entire body of the clergy are in their respective parishes, to a greater or less extent, engaged in it. The laity also of this diocese, embracing many of the most distinguished and wealthy citizens, are supporters of the work; contributing not only of their substance, but giving their own personal attention to it." Of efforts made in the dioceses of Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana and Alabama, the committee possessed no information.

The Methodist church "has advanced above all others in direct and well sustained efforts in the coloured field." The present number of coloured communicants in the slave-holding states is estimated at 160,000; the number of missionaries, having charge of 18,000 church members and 100,000 attendants on their services, between 80 and 90. More than 1,000 negroes are in connection with the Methodist church in Texas. The South Carolina conference has sixteen missionaries to the negroes; the Georgia conference twelve; Tennessee five; Alabama seven; Memphis nine; Arkansas one; Mississippi seven; North Carolina two; Virginia two. These missionaries, we believe, are for the most part, supported by the Southern conferences, and hereafter will be entirely so, as this church is now divided into the Methodist Church North, and the Methodist Church South. Of the Baptist churches the committee could furnsh no general information. They however say, "the proportion of coloured to white members is greater in this

than it is in the Methodist church, although the Methodist may have in the aggregate a greater number. By a late return, the estimate of members is 700,000; of this number we set down one-seventh as coloured, that is, 100,000. There are many ministers who devote a part of their time to the negroes; we do not know the number of missionaries exclusively devoted to them. Some associations are actively engaged in the work. There are more coloured licensed ministers, and more coloured churches regularly organized of this than any or all the other denominations put together. The Alabama state convention of Baptists, at its meeting in Tuscaloosa, Nov. 1844, took up the religious instruction of the negroes with much solemnity and zeal. At the late convention in Augusta, Georgia, made up of delegates from all the slave-holding states, for the purpose of separating from the Northern portion of the church, very special mention was made of the negroes of the South as a field for missionary labour, and claiming the attention of the church in its new organization. This augurs well for the negroes in the Baptist church South." Of the Presbyterian church the committee remark, that "the movement in this church in favour of the religious instruction of the negroes, for the last ten years has been gradual, and for the two years past rapid and extensive; as a consequence, ministers and churches are doing more than ever towards the evangelization of this people. We notice a growing interest in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South and North Carolina, Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee. In all these states there are a number of ministers who devote a considerable portion of their time to the negroes; some acting almost as missionaries; while the number of missionaries is increasing. We know of very many Presbyteries in different parts of the states just mentioned, every member of which is more or less engaged in the work." We would invite the special attention of our ministry and membership to the following statement of the committee. "There are three grand features which the Presbyterian church is endeavouring to make prominent in the religious instruction of the negroes; first, to unite the master and servants in one charge, that each class may receive its just proportion of labour; second, to establish in all the churches Sabbath schools and classes of instruction for children and youth especially, and for adults also; and to encourage such schools privately in house-

holds; and third, to open the field as fast and as far as possible, to missionaries duly qualified and employed." Let our church but faithfully carry out these "three grand features of the work," and the whole ground of present operation is covered, and eternal blessings are conveyed to perishing thousands. Why may not these three departments of effort be brought before all our Southern Presbyteries, and prosecuted with patient and persevering energy? Had we the opportunity, we would address ourselves to every member of our Southern Presbyteries, and say, Brethren will you bring this work before your own Presbytery? See that it is done for the love of the Redeemer and the souls for whom he died.

We cannot forbear inserting the conclusion of the report of the committee, and adopting it as our own. "The letters which have been addressed to this meeting from the states of South Carolina and Georgia, breathe a spirit of devotion to the cause, and diverse from the spirit of the world; and they reveal an amount of individual and long continued activity, which has affected us with surprise. We discover also from the letters from other states, (which might have been multiplied,) that there exists much of the same devotion and activity in them. We feel confident that if the voices of all the friends of the religious instruction of the negroes, could be heard, even as fully, from every slave-holding state, as has been from South Carolina, and the amount of their labours told, their voices would be as the sound of many waters, and their multitude and their labours would exceed our most sanguine expectations. In looking back for fifteen years, we rejoice with gratitude at the progress which the work has made. The truth is not to be disguised; the leaven hid in three measures of meal has been silently and powerfully pervading the mass. From Maryland to Texas, and from the Atlantic to the Ohio, the subject is spoken of; the great duty is urged and acknowledged; and feeling lives in action. What is peculiarly a subject of gratitude is that all denominations of Christians are entering the field. It is wide enough for all. It lies at our own doors, and God in his providence and holy word has laid the duty upon us to cultivate it. We can anticipate nothing but his displeasure, if we neglect it. Indeed we look upon the religious instruction of the negroes as THE GREAT DUTY, and in the truest and best sense, THE FIXED, THE SETTLED POLICY OF THE SOUTH. We believe

God has so moved (and will continue so to move) upon the understandings and consciences of our Christian citizens, and so opened the door of access to the negroes, and so demonstrated by his blessing, his regard for the work, that we can never go back. The flood has fairly set in. Difficulties and obstructions we may encounter, but the stream will rise higher and higher and flow with a current that must sweep every thing away before it. The work must go on. Let us look humbly and believingly to the sustaining grace, wisdom and power of the great God and our Redeemer, and all will be well."

A similar meeting to the one we have been considering is to be held in Charleston, in February, 1846. We shall look forward to its action and results with deep interest, convinced as we are, that if the same spirit of wisdom and grace and brotherly love shall rest upon its members, as that enjoyed by the members of the meeting this year, it will be a source of incalculable good to the coloured population of the South. And we venture, in hope of the Divine blessing, to make the suggestion, why may not meetings of this kind, and for the same purposes, be convened in all the Southern states respectively? There is no impossibility; there can be no objection; there will be no difficulty. It only requires some few in each state to make the call. It will be responded to. Baltimore, Richmond, Raleigh, Knoxville, Lexington, Mobile, Tuscaloosa, and New Orleans, would be convenient and favourable points for the different states. Shall the thing be done? Let the sincere friends of this good work prayerfully consider and answer the question.

As we closed the reading of the proceedings of this Charleston meeting, a reflection forced itself upon us, which we cannot refrain from expressing, with the hope that if it has not already occurred to our readers, it may not be unacceptable to them. That reflection was this: in view of these efforts, and others of a similar kind, in behalf of the best interests of the negroes of the Southern states, originating with and carried forward by Southern Christians and philanthropists, who can fail to perceive and appreciate the wisdom, the policy, the true piety, and the just adherence to the spirit and letter of the holy scriptures, exhibited by our General Assembly in its late action on the slavery question? It has since met with the hearty ap-

proval of the overwhelming majority of the people of these United States, and given to our church the position of a conservative body, and a character for sobriety, sound judgment and Christian charity, which we fervently pray may ever be continued to her.

ART. VI.—1. *Des Classes Dangereuses de la Population dans les grandes villes, et moyens de les rendre meilleures.* Par H. A. Frégier, Chef de Bureau a la Prefecture de la Seine. Bruxelles. 8vo. pp. 632.

2. *The Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of New York; with suggestions for its improvement.* By John H. Griscom, M. D. Fellow of the College of Physicians and Surgeons; Physician of the New York Hospital; late Physician of the City and Eastern Dispensaries.

IN great cities the extremes of good and evil are brought out in strong relief; splendour and squalidity, munificent philanthropy and abject vice. Great moral investigations may therefore be made to advantage in such a population, just as diseases are best studied in an hospital. To the superficial traveller, the predominating character of a metropolis is that of wealth and luxury; but he who leaves the proud thoroughfare, and penetrates the lanes and alleys and suburbs, begins to learn that the wretched are far more numerous than the happy. The moralist also learns, that there are questions of something more than statistics and economics; that, as vice engenders poverty, so, reciprocally, poverty engenders vice. "Lest I be poor, and steal, and take the name of my God in vain," admits of a very wide application.

America is not the country of great cities: it is happy for her that she is not. To thousands of our scholars, the serio-comic lamentations over urban annoyances, which are so remarkable in Horace, Juvenal, Pope, Swift, Gay and Johnson, are as unknown as events of the mythic ages. They scarcely understand the evil of being "in populous city pent," enjoying as they do "sweet interchange of hill and valley, rivers, woods, and plains, now land now sea, and shores

with forest crowned, rocks, dens, and caves;" nor can they well expect to realize the dire calamities of an overgrown population. Yet we go on bravely, and in our march already "gall the kibe" of our transatlantic brethren. New York, Philadelphia, and New Orleans begin to show, on a scale not very much reduced, and in a proportion far higher than the ratio of their size, all the strong lines of city distress and peril. Cause and effect show their constancy of relation, and one wonders to find centuries working so little change in teeming capitals. If Umbricius should return, he would discover the same miseries in New York as he lamented in Rome under the Caesars; not merely the "incendia, lapsus tectorum assiduos, ac mille pericula saevae urbis," but amidst these, and preying on these, the keen, scheming, smooth-tongued, inventive, successful visitant; not as of old a Greek, indeed, but as good as Greek; the picture is to be verified in Wall, Nassau, or Chatham streets, as though it were of yesterday.

> Grammaticus, Rhetor, Geometres, Pictor, Aliptes,
> Augur, Schœnobates, Medicus, Magus, omnia novit,
> Graeculus esuriens in cœlum jusseris ibit.

It is well for us Americans, that all the important civic experiments have been tried beforehand in Europe; so that we may know whither we are tending, and if we are wise, may provide against contingencies, of which we should never have dreamed, but for the experience of our elders. It is this which makes us look on books like those of Frégier, and Parent-du-Châtelet, as full of instruction to ourselves. We must not pass them by because the scene is not laid in America. It is amusing to see with what zest some of our travelling correspondents, in writing from abroad, detail as peculiarities of London or Paris, those things which occur at every step in New York; the last instances which meet us are those of 'one-price-stalls' and 'chiffonniers,' both which are now fairly domiciliated among us. The truth is, scarcely any evil springs up in the soil of any great city, which does not appear somewhat modified in all. And when, on observing a municipal condition somewhat more advanced than our own, we descry enormous social evils, we have good reason to expect the same, when we shall have reached the same stage. If moreover it should appear that any prophylactic measures, in police or in morals, could have prevented the ripening of such evils, we derive at once a lesson of the highest importance, in regard to our own social progress.

The work of M. Frégier owes its origin to a question proposed by the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences of the French Institute. The problem was, "to determine, after positive observations, what are the elements, which in Paris, or in any other great city, go to make up that part of the population which forms a dangerous class by its vices, its ignorance and its misery; and to point out the means, which may be used by the government, by rich men, or by intelligent and industrious labourers, to improve this dangerous and depraved class." The prize offered was awarded to M. Frégier, and this will cause no surprise to any one who shall read his work, a volume characterized by every quality of research, fulness, eminent method and perspicuity, and sound benevolence, which could be demanded in such a task. It contains facts of the most singular sort, hitherto never disclosed to public view, respecting the vicious and wretched inhabitants of cities. As the author justly observes, the causes of crime are the same everywhere. In considering his subject, he first gives a statistical view of the vicious class, properly so called, as well as of the dangerous class; secondly, he describes the manners and customs of these classes; thirdly, he suggests preventive, and fourthly, remedial methods.

It is not our intention to give an analysis of the work, and we shall especially pass over the statistical part, valuable and interesting as it is. There is also one large class of dangerous persons, highly interesting to the philanthropist, and occupying a large space in this volume, which for very obvious reasons we shall omit altogether. The manners of the dangerous classes, and their way of life, will afford us some gleanings, at once painful and instructive.

It is common to speak of drunkenness as not prevailing in France. M. Frégier would lead us to a different conclusion. Among the labouring classes, he speaks of it as a passion which often absorbs all others. He tells us of a father and mother both weighed down with drink, lying at midnight unable to open their own doors; of a workman who ate but a pound of bread a week, in order to spend the rest in drink; of three chamber-fellows, who sold almost all their clothes, and kept only a coat and a pair of boots, for common use; of drunken families having only one bed for the whole; of factory girls, who may be seen on any Sunday or Monday, completely intoxicated, coming out of the shop of the rogomiste, sometimes mother and daughter

struggling together, in the endeavour to hold one another up. Those who work in manufactories are the principal victims of this vice.

It may not be without its use to single out a particular class of the lower population, and under the guidance of our author to examine them in detail. For this purpose, we will choose the chiffonniers. The extension of industry, since 1830, says M. Frégier, has given a certain importance to the chiffonnier, who is at the bottom of the industrial scale. Men, women, and children, can all easily devote themselves to an employment which demands no apprenticeship, and whose tools are very simple; a basket, a prong and a lantern. The adult chiffonnier, in order to gain twenty-five to forty sous a day, according to the season, must make his three rounds, two by day and one by night; the first between five and nine, the second between eleven and three, and the third between five and midnight. In the intervals, he picks and assorts his *marchandise*—so he calls it—and goes to sell the result to some wholesale chiffonnier or rag-broker. Many of these keep magazines where the itinerants may store their spoils.

The operation of sifting and assorting takes place either in or out of doors, according to the condition of the workman. If he has a house, he tries to have a separate apartment where he may look over his booty. His basket contains not only his wares but his dinner. From the filth which he explores, he takes whatever may avail for his meals, roots for his soup, crusts of bread, or fruits. This assortment of the pickings is quite a study, especially when the pannier is full, and the master in good humour.

The chiffonniers live in the faubourgs, especially the quarters Saint-Jacques and Saint-Marceau. If you go through these regions, says M. Frégier, about the hours of coming in, you will be able to judge of the various elements which compose this trade. Bending over his basket, the wanderer will show you with a smile a great beef-bone, which he considers a prize, and while he makes his heap on the pavement, he will tell you that competition ruins trade, that there is no humanity in kitchens, and that chiffonniers begin to be defrauded even of bones and broken glass. There are moments of luck which brighten the life of the street-picker, as when turning over his pile of garbage, he alights on a silver fork or spoon thrown out by mistake. Such prizes are more numerous than might be

thought, and the occasions are solemnized by a copious repast and large company.

In regard to the sanitary condition of cities, it is unfortunate that the overhauling of these masses should take place within doors. Most of those who keep house have but one apartment. Here they deposit their results, and here they make their assortment, among their children, and with their help. The area of the room is filled with débris of animal, vegetable, and mineral matter. It is suffocating to enter the place. The sweetness of the air is not enhanced by the presence of a large dog, sometimes two, which the chiffonnier takes along in his nocturnal patrole. The average gain of these people is from fifteen to twenty sous, or for children, about ten. There are children who leave their parents at a tender age, to subsist by chiffonnage. Their life is nomadic and almost savage. They are remarkable for audacity and asperity of manner. After some years, they become to such a degree estranged from their families, as to have lost the remembrance of their surnames and former place of abode. Strange as this may seem, there are tokens of an approach to the very same thing, among the juvenile vagabonds of our own cities; the boys who live in gutters, and are ready at any moment of the night to run with the engines, or to form the swell-mob. The chiffonniers are great frequenters of drinking houses, where they affect some ostentation in their outlay. They are devoted to brandy, in particular, believing that it gives them as much sustenance as solid food, mistaking the artificial tone produced by the liquor for a mark of real strength. They are not always satisfied, at the cabarets, with simple wine; they must have it mulled, with abundance of sugar and lemon. The chiffonnier is a Menippus by profession; wrapped in his rags, he insulates himself from the masses. No inhabitant of our large cities can have failed to observe, that within a few years, there is a very decided tendency towards the formation of a similar class among ourselves; indeed there can be little doubt, that many of the loathsome objects, who ply in our kennels, have taken their degrees in foreign towns.

What we have just said of chiffonniers, may be said of sporting gentlemen, who live by billiards, betting-books, and faro; we not only imitate the old world, but receive their professors; as any one may surmise, from the rainbow waistcoats, moustaches, rings and kennel-buttons, which

are met in Broadway and Chesnut street, Camden and Long Island. Whatever discount may be made from the statements of Mr. Green, the reformed gambler, there can be no doubt, that the class which he denounces is amazingly diffused through our country. Paris however is their *habitat*. There they are to be studied at home. Thence, fully accomplished, they go to all parts of the civilized globe, ready for desperate hazards, for millions or Sing-Sing, as the die may fall. The genius and eloquence, prostituted in the person of an arch-gambler, are astonishing:

> Ingenium velox, audacia perdita, sermo
> Promptus, et Isaeo torrentior.

We know of nothing in criminal habits, not even intoxication, which savours so much of madness, as the passion for gambling. So our author found it in Paris. The phrensy pursues them into the very prisons, where there are instances of persons, who after losing in a moment the fruit of a week's work, have nevertheless ventured to stake in advance the bread which was to keep them alive for the next month, two months, and even three months; and the ferocious winners have been seen, in such cases, to watch for their victims, at the time when victuals were distributed, and not to quit them, till they had extorted the dole which was necessary for their life. The physicians of the central house of Mont Saint-Michel observed a convict, who played with such fury, in the infirmary, that, ill as he was, he would gamble away the little portion of broth or of wine, which had been prescribed for him, and at length died of inanition.

It would be difficult to find any thing more novel or entertaining, than the particulars given by M. Frégier, of frauds, thefts, and robberies, in all their modifications. We cannot abridge or extract, so as to give any adequate notion of the details. Here we have the contraband traffic, over or *under* the walls, to avoid the city imposts; smuggling under clothes—by escalade—by throwing bladders of liquor over the walls—by excavation under them. Here we have also the different species of theft; as of the *cambrioleurs*, who steal from rooms; the *bonjouriers*, or *voleurs au bonjour*, or *chevaliers grimpants*, who come by mistake into lodgings, before the inmate is up; the *rouletiers*, who frequent the depots and places of arrival; the *boucardiers*, who rifle shops; the *floueurs*, who play the sharper in the public gardens and cafés. There is a famous

game at stealing, which bears our national name, *vol à l'americaine*, and which is fully described. Our own police reports of every day, which are, we lament to say, too numerous, and so inviting that a paper has been established devoted to this one topic, show very plainly that there is no advancement in criminal art and malignant ingenuity, which is not immediately transferred to this country. As was said above, we receive the villains themselves, fully accomplished, and in thorough practice. It was but the other day, that a police-man evacuated one of our chief steamboat offices of no less than six English pickpockets, at one time.

It will be remembered, we trust, by our readers, that in the first number of this journal, for 1841, we furnished them with an elaborate article upon the POOR OF GREAT BRITAIN. We would invite attention to the statements there made; and in particular to those which concern the health of cities; of cities, which a German author calls the 'graves of our race.' We have now to add a few statements respecting Paris, from M. Frégier, whose moderation, exactness, and official character place his testimony above all suspicion. The subject is important, and has engaged the attention of philanthropic men abroad. We have not seen the work of M. Piorry, 'on dwellings, and their influence on human health and disease;' but it is recommended as truly valuable. It is the more important to consider this subject, because we are in a stage of our national advancement, at which we may profit by all the sad experience of the old world. There are as yet no insuperable hinderances to such a mode of architecture, as shall secure the highest comfort of even the lowest classes. But it will soon be too late, and in our walks through those districts of our great cities where new buildings are going up, our hearts sink at the absolute contempt manifested for all the admonitions of experience. Landholders and builders still go on, excluding sun and air, covering the earth, and crowding human beings together, as if there were no mortal results inevitable from such a course; and this in a country, where space so large is afforded us by providence, as to cut off every excuse. Even in our country towns, out of New England, and sometimes even there, the original plan has often neglected every thing like squares, parks, or promenades, and the subsequent erections have made them impossible in time to come, as busi-

ness and population increase, and the dangers of overcrowding are multiplied, cupidity increases also, and not an inch of soil can be spared, for beauty or for health, if it can go toward the foundation of a store, a factory, or even a tavern. The whole subject of architecture, in its sanitary relations, deserves a consideration which it has never received in this country.

In Paris, M. Frégier says that the working classes are confined, by the dearness of lodgings, to the old quarters of the *Cité*, and to the straitest and closest streets of these quarters. It is the lot of the poor in every country under heaven. Yet, if it is not possible completely to remedy the inconveniencies of such a condition, these, he argues, may surely be lessened, by modes of construction suited to the state of the poor. In such attempts there would be a double advantage; they would lessen the causes of public insalubrity, and they would give honest and frugal working people means of procuring lodging suited to their necessities, and favourable to good morals and domestic peace. It is in this moral aspect of the subject that it bears directly on national prosperity.

The labouring people of Paris live in various ways. Sedentary workmen and heads of families reside generally in their separate houses. Unmarried operatives, living habitually in the capital, take chambers, sometimes furnished, sometimes unfurnished. As rent is one of the most indispensable of domestic expenses, the head of a family pressed by other wants of the greatest necessity, will naturally seek the cheapest abode. The habitations, of which M. Frégier speaks, are in certain quarters, and certain streets of these quarters: they are old, dilapidated, and in bad order. The proprietors put them at low prices, and hold out a lure for poor families. We shall presently compare with this the state of things in New York. If the lodgings were healthy or sufficient, there would be no reason for stricture; but they are dirty, dark, insecure. They are small, and as parents and children sleep in the same chamber, the result is as disastrous to health as to good morals. Moreover, the condition of the sinks and other outlets of offensive matter is such as to give occasion for infectious exhalations, the more injurious, because most of the inmates spend their working hours in shops and factories ill ventilated and crowded with human beings. So ill-constructed are these buildings, for the most part, that no modification

would accomplish much; and this should go to enforce the importance of beginning aright, in the foundation of towns and cities. The attempts, in 1823, '24, and '25, to build a better class of houses for operatives, failed, because the best apartments were too high in price, and those who could afford to live in them did not desire the proximity of the poor, in the stories above them; so that the enterprise was a losing one. It was also a period of feverish speculation, very unfavourable to an experiment, of which the success depended so much on the low rents which were offered. M. Frégier calls upon capitalists, of benevolent disposition, to unite in erecting the proper sort of buildings, which, he thinks, would offer a net revenue equal at least to two-thirds of the average returns of houses in Paris. He proposes also joint-stock-companies, for the erection of numerous piles, and for the purchase and alteration of old conventual and other edifices of great extent. Care should be taken, that the tenants of such buildings should bring certificates of good character, signed by some master-workman and countersigned by the mayor of the commune. On this topic, more nearly connected with public morals and national happiness than will be supposed by a superficial observer, M. Frégier speaks with a most amiable enthusiasm.

All the operatives of Paris are not equally unfortunate as to lodging. From twenty-five to thirty thousand operatives, engaged in building, flock to the capital annually from certain departments, and are gathered in chambers, where they lie during the season. Many of these chambers are held by persons from their own country; the masons abound in the quarter of the Hotel de Ville, and the carpenters in the faubourg Saint Martin. These brave fellows are very frugal. They get their lodging for six francs a month, including the washing of one shirt a week, and soup, daily, for which they furnish the bread. The police testifies to the uniform good conduct of these persons. But living together in so close a manner, after being accustomed to the fresh air of the country, they suffer very much from typhoid disease. The want of ventilation in houses and lodgings is of course more injurious to those who work in close shops and factories.

Of all the poorer classes, says M. Frégier, the chiffonniers are those who have the most infected and disgusting habitations. Even among these, there is an upper circle.

Those of the better class occupy one or two rooms which they hire. Others own a pallet on which to lie, in a room which they share with others. The agents of the police who visit these dens, describe them as sufficiently disgusting. Each lodger keeps by him his basket of filth, and such filth! These savages do not scruple to pick up dead animals, and to pass the night amidst this offensive prey. When the officers enter, they almost suffer asphyxia. On the opening of such orifices as exist, the spectacle is appalling. It is a trait of manners peculiar to this class, that they amuse themselves in their lodgings by the chase of rats. There are chambers which contain as many as nine beds, separated by little passages; and the contiguous beds are sometimes occupied by persons who have never seen one another. Difference of sex is little regarded. In the quarter of la Cité there is a house notorious for the picture of female debasement which it presents. The lodgers are old female drunkards, generally suspected as thieves. In the descents of the police, they sometimes discover all these hags, in their respective lairs, a scene recalling the picture of Leonarda in Gil Blas. These wretched people, of both sexes, spend ten sous for drink, by day, and then pay two sous for lodging, by night; here is the source of wretchedness. It is to provide for such degraded creatures, that the *night-asylums* of England have been instituted. M. Frégier gives reasons for thinking that they do more harm than good.

The chapter upon the rage of the Parisian populace for spectacles forcibly reminds us of the condition of things under the Roman empire, when, according to Juvenal, the people who once awarded fasces, legions and empire, had come to long for two things only, *panem et Circenses.* And still more painful is it to observe the same tendency among ourselves, as proved by the advertisements of every print, and the posting-bills of every corner. The drama has come down at length to cater for the very lowest dregs of society. Goethe was driven from the stage-directorship of Weimar, by the admission of some canine performance, we scarcely remember what; but these are the things which now constitute the great attraction. In Paris, the rage for theatrical amusements is greatest among merchants' clerks, labourers, and apprentices. This class, or more properly, this multitude, is that which defrays the

expense of the extraordinary and monstrous plays, set forth by a school "whose delirious muse delights in violence, adultery, incest and murder." These atrocious dramas attract the idle public, there as here; for, in the class of which we speak, no one stays away for fear of contamination. Another school of writers, to excite the vulgar curiosity, bring on the stage, as their heroes, malefactors of consummate address. These captivate the spectators, by the nonchalance or humour exhibited before and after the greatest crimes, and by infamous buffooneries neutralize the natural emotions of indignation which might be ready to break forth. As instances are given *l'Auberge des Adrets* and *Robert Macaire*. Such of these plays as can be adapted are speedily transported to America. The same watchful enterprise, which floods the literary kennel with the novels of George Sand and de Kock, and which makes certain windows in Nassau Street a public nuisance, is not slow to americanize the worst of the French comedies. We have before us the extreme evil, as it exists in Paris; and this for our warning. There, this species of literature has attained its acme, it is 'the triumph, the apotheosis of criminal audacity.' "The six most vaunted dramas of the new school," says a British writer, "comprise eight adulterers, five prostitutes of different classes, six victims of seduction, &c.;" we must spare our readers the sequel of the enumeration. Observe the effect of all this on the rising race, as depicted by our author. The Parisian child enters very early on the career of active life. From the age of five or six, he runs on errands, and becomes familiar with the events of the street. His curiosity is continually on the stretch, for all around him is new. He is affected not only by the pleasures within his reach, but by those which are remote. He learns from his comrades that the playhouse is a place of enchantment. By degrees he finds out the secret method of getting entrance by petty pilfering or peculation. A multitude of poor families are constantly suffering from such larcenies, which they often suspect, but cannot prevent. This fondness for the theatre is one of the most common causes of the vagabond life of poor children; it is an observation established by both English and French authorities. The child of the poor lacks those tender assiduities which in other classes spring from maternal care. When the father and mother have done their day's work, all their pleasure is in repose; the child finds no solace in

a desolate house; he goes abroad, to the street, quays, boulevards, theatres. In Europe and America, the most casual observer must be struck with the number of children, who throng the entrances of the playhouse. Children have been brought home from the theatre in a state of delirium. The passion prevails, proverbially, among the youth of our cities; and this is one of the most serious elements in computing the moral tendencies of theatrical amusements.

We have been looking a little at the causes of misery which prevail in great cities in the old world. We have seen squalid want, suffering, disease and vice, as the almost constant results of a too dense population. We are perhaps disposed to say that such evils can never reach ourselves; that they are the maladies of mouldering and senile society; that our largest towns are comparatively new, offering nothing to engender or foment physical and moral evils of so frightful a character. But this is running too fast, and shutting our eyes to the dangers which already begin to overtake us; and it is for this reason that we have selected the publication which has the second place at the head of this article.

Dr. Griscom is a highly respectable physician of New York, where the substance of this discourse was delivered, last winter, at the Repository of the American Institute. His suggestions were originally addressed, in the form of a letter, to the mayor. The committee of the city government, to whom it was referred, determined to pass it by. The appeal is now, very properly, made to the public, on the subject of *Sanitary Reform*. Omitting much important matter, as less pertinent to our scope, we ask attention to the following statements respecting the dwellings of the poor.

"It is often said that 'one half the world does not know how the other half lives.' The labour of raising the veil which now separates the two halves, by which the misery and degradation of the one, have been concealed from the view of the other, has been theirs and their associates. Howard, called by distinction *the Philanthropist*, revealed to the gaze of the astonished multitude the interior of the prisons of England, and straightway the process of reform commenced in them, and continued until the prison system of the present day, has become one of the most striking examples of the spirit of the times. But Chadwick and Du Chatelet, especially the former, are diving still deeper into the subject of moral and physical reform. They are probing to the bottom the foul ulcers upon the body of society, and endeavouring to discover the causes of so much wretchedness and vice, which fill the prisons and work-houses.

Howard's labours tended to *cure* the disease, Chadwick's to *prevent* it. These operations constitute a highly important part of the great work of melioration and improvement, in the condition of mankind, now going on, in nearly all civilized countries, and which characterize the present age.

"If not on a par, in importance, with the improvement in education, which has of late made such rapid strides, it certainly is second only to it, and indeed it may well be questioned, whether improvement in the physical condition of the lower stratum of society, is not a necessary precedent, in order that education of the mind may exercise its full and proper influence over the general well-being. Teach them how to live, so as to avoid diseases and be more comfortable, and then their school education will have a redoubled effect, in mending their morals, and rendering them intelligent and happy. But without sound bodies, when surrounded with dirt, foul air, and all manner of filthy associations, it is vain to expect even the child of education, to be better than his ignorant companions, if indeed you do not, by educating him, give him an additional weapon, by which he may prey more successfully upon his fellows.

"This country, and especially this city, it is hoped, will not much longer be behind others in this cause of the suffering poor and depressed humanity. Some movements, promoting this investigation, have recently been commenced, but much is yet to be done. The path has been pointed out to us by pioneers across the Atlantic; there is abundant disposition to pursue the object, which only requires to be sought out, and put to work by the authorities, to procure all the desirable results of such labours.

"*The system of tenantage* to which large numbers of the poor are subject, I think, must be regarded as one of the principal causes of the helpless and noisome manner in which they live. The basis of these evils is the subjection of the tenantry, to the merciless inflictions and extortions of the *sub-landlord*. A house, or a row, or court of houses, is hired by some person of the owner, on a lease of several years, for a sum which will yield a fair interest on the cost. The *owner* is thus relieved of the great trouble incident to the changes of tenants, and the collection of rents. His income is sure from one individual, and obtained without annoyance or oppression on his part. It then becomes the object of the lessee, to make and save as much as possible, with his adventure, sufficient sometimes to enable him to purchase the property in a short time.

"The tenements, in order to admit a greater number of families, are divided into small apartments, as numerous as decency will admit. Regard to comfort, convenience, and health, is the last motive; indeed, the great ignorance of this class of speculators (who are very frequently foreigners and keep a grog shop on the premises) would prevent a proper observance of these, had they the desire. These closets, for they deserve no other name, are then rented to the poor, from week to week, or month to month, the rent being almost invariably required in advance, at least for the first few terms. The families moving in first, after the house is built, find it clean, but the lessee has no supervision over their habits, and however filthy the tenement may become, he cares not, so that he receives his rent. He and his family are often found steeped as low in de-

pravity and discomforts, as any of his tenants, being above them only in the possession of money, and doubtless often beneath them in moral worth and sensibility.

"It is very frequently the case that families, after occupying rooms a few weeks, will change their location, leaving behind them all the dirt which their residence has occasioned. Upon this the next comers will sit down, being so much occupied with the hurry of moving, and with the necessity of placing their furniture immediately in order, that the attention to cleansing the apartment is out of the question, until they are 'settled,' and then, if done at all, it is in the most careless and inefficient manner. Very often, perhaps in a majority of the cases in the class of which I now speak, no cleaning other than washing the floor, is ever attempted, and that but seldom. Whitewashing, cleaning of furniture, of bedding, or persons, in many cases is *never* attempted. Some have old pieces of carpet, which are never shaken, (they would not bear it,) and are used to hide the filth on the floor. Every corner of the room, of the cupboards, of the entries and stairways, is piled up with dirt. The walls and ceilings, with the plaster broken off in many places, exposing the lath and beams, and leaving openings for the escape from within of the effluvia of vermin, dead and alive, are smeared with the blood of unmentionable insects, and dirt of all indescribable colours. The low rooms are diminished in their areas by the necessary encroachments of the roof, or the stairs leading to the rooms above; and behind and under them is a hole, into which the light of day never enters, and where a small bed is often pushed in, upon which the luckless and degraded tenants pass their nights, weary and comfortless.

"In these places, the filth is allowed to accumulate to an extent almost incredible. Hiring their rooms for short periods only, it is very common to find the poor tenants moving from place to place, every few weeks. By this practice they avoid the trouble of cleansing their rooms, as they can leave behind them the dirt which they have made. The same room, being occupied in rapid succession, by tenant after tenant, it will easily be seen how the walls and windows will become broken, the doors and floors become injured, the chimneys filled with soot, the whole premises populated thickly with vermin, the stairways, the common passage of several families, the receptacle for all things noxious, and whatever of self-respect the family might have had, be crushed under the pressure of the degrading circumstances by which they are surrounded.

"Another very important particular in the arrangements of these tenements must here be noticed. By the mode in which the rooms are planned, *ventilation is entirely prevented.* It would seem as if most of these places were built expressly for this purpose. They have one or two windows, and a door at one side of the room, but no opening anywhere else. A draught of air through, is therefore an utter impossibility. The confined position of the dwelling itself, generally, prevents the access of the external current of air, even to the outside, to any considerable extent, The window sashes, in addition, perhaps are so arranged, that the upper one (if there are two) cannot be let down, being permanently fastened up; hence the external air, poor as it is, cannot visit the upper section of the room,

unless by opening the door, by which the interior of the room is exposed to view. If there is a sleeping apartment, it is placed at the extremity of the room farthest from the windows, is generally but little larger than sufficient to hold a bedstead, and its area is reduced, for air. by the bed furniture, trunks, boxes, &c. and having no windows, fresh air and sun light are entire strangers to its walls. In this dark hole there is, of course, a concentrated accumulation of the effluvia of the bodies and breaths of the persons sleeping in it, (frequently the whole family. several in number,) and this accumulation goes on from night to night, without relief, until it can easily be believed the smell becomes intolerable, and its atmosphere productive of the most offensive and malignant diseases. There is no exaggeration in this description. I cannot too highly colour the picture, if I would. What, then, will be thought of the condition of thousands of our fellow-citizens in the *winter season*, when every crevice is closed to keep out the cold air, and when I state, that what I have described, I have repeatedly seen and felt in the *summer*, when the windows and doors are opened to the fullest extent, day and night, admitting all the ventilation possible, small as it is.

"I have had recent occasion to visit several of these pestiferous places, and I pen these paragraphs in the month of August, with their sight and smell fresh upon my senses.

"The almost entire absence of household conveniences, contributes much to the prostration of comfort and self-respect of these wretched people. The deficiency of water, and the want of a convenient place for washing, with no other place for drying clothes than the common sitting and bed room, are very serious impediments in the way of their improvement. Without any convenient or safe place to deposit wood, or coal, or food in large quantities, all their purchases are by 'the small,' from the neighbouring grocer, (who is perhaps the landlord,) at prices from 10 to 50 per cent. above the rates at which they might be obtained, under better circumstances.

"But the most offensive of all places for residence are the *cellars*. It is almost impossible, when contemplating the circumstances and condition of the poor beings who inhabit these holes, to maintain the proper degree of calmness requisite for a thorough inspection, and the exercise of a sound judgment, respecting them. You must descend to them; you must feel the blast of foul air as it meets your face on opening the door; you must grope in the dark, or hesitate until your eye becomes accustomed to the gloomy place, to enable you to find your way through the entry, over a broken floor, the boards of which are protected from your tread by a half inch of hard dirt; you must inhale the suffocating vapour of the sitting and sleeping rooms; and in the dark, damp recess, endeavour to find the inmates by the sound of their voices, or chance to see their figures moving between you and the flickering blaze of a shaving burning on the hearth, or the misty light of a window coated with dirt and festooned with cobwebs—or if in search of an invalid, take care that you do not fall full length upon the bed with her, by stumbling against the bundle of rags and straw, dignified by that name, lying on the floor, under the window, if window there is;—all this, and much more, beyond the reach of my pen, must be felt and seen, ere you can appreciate in its full force the mournful and disgusting condition in

which many thousands of the subjects of our government pass their lives."

We are prepared to believe, from what we have often seen, in professional visits, that in all this there is no exaggeration. In some districts, the courts are below the level of the streets; at every rain, water must be baled out of the cellar, that is, the dwelling. At No. 50 Pike street, two families, of ten persons, inhabit a cellar, about ten feet square, and seven feet high, having one small window, and the oldfashioned inclined door. In consequence of these and other causes, disease becomes a public expense. The three Dispensaries, during the year ending March, 1844, prescribed for 54,282 persons.

Dr. Griscom adduces testimony, chiefly of missionaries under the direction of the City Tract Society, to show, that the congregation of different sexes and all ages, in the same apartments, degrades moral sentiment; that the prevalent physical distress is a bar to moral and religious instructions; and that the demand is urgent for municipal intervention. In one garret, with sloping roof, one broken window, and no ceiling, the Rev. Mr. Orchard found three families, of men, women, and children, without bedstead, or any bed, except a bundle of rags on the floor.

The discourse before us contains admirable suggestions in regard to Ventilation, a subject which has particularly engaged the author's attention; and one which requires to be more seriously studied, not only in reference to the dwellings of the poor, but the structure and arrangement of churches, lecture-rooms, schools, and colleges.

Our subject has been an unpleasant one; and it would be a wanton trifling with the reader's sensibility if there were nothing to be proposed. Except in hope of lessening misery, we would invite no man into a lazar-house. It is very plain, that every great city is a nodal point of depraved society, a *fomes* of the public vice; which becomes rank and malignant at home, and propagates abroad, with all the momentum derived from metropolitan wealth and influence. We perceive, on examination, that vice and misery reside very much in the same location. The Christian problem is, to lessen, if possible to remove them. Christ aimed at both. He healed while he reformed and saved. The church has followed him in this, even under the most corrupt forms. No adulteration or debasement of Christianity has ever availed to remove this characteristic. The

papist and the socinian have never failed to exhibit noble examples of beneficence. But while religion is always and every where operating to a certain extent, there is a painful conviction forced upon us, as we survey our city population, that the heart of the evil is not reached. Our present church-methods do not penetrate to these masses. Some supplementary measures must be adopted.

In a simpler state of society, the poor are fairly within reach of the church; witness the easy relief, by church-door collections, of the Scottish poor, for three centuries. In rural parishes, the pastor can with ease visit every rich man, and lend his aid to every pauper. Under religious establishments, the *plebs ecclesiastica* was cantoned off into parishes, which nominally exist, though with ludicrous insufficiency, even in the great capitals. But our American city-evils have, by a horrid hypertrophy, grown far beyond the arms-length of clerical or parochial care. What can a city-pastor do, in the way of visiting his own flock, compared with what is demanded of him? In the absence of parish limits, and amidst the unlimited elective affinity of hearers, his people are scattered over many square miles; and in his laborious walks to see remote parishioners, he recalls the verses of Horace:

> Cubat hic in colle Quirini,
> Hic extremo in Aventino; visendus uterque.

The church-session, beautiful in theory, is not what it was meant to be in practice; and we fear there are many ruling elders, who are by no means versed in visitation of the distressed. As to deacons, to whom such cases would be peculiarly appropriate, they are unknown to many congregations even by name.

Then it is to be considered that tens of thousands, in Philadelphia and New York, fall under no evangelical influence whatever, being stated attendants on no worship; and this is the very mass within which, for the most part, these great evils exist. They do not come to relief; the relief must be carried to them, or they must remain unrelieved. This we consider the great fact to be considered by philanthropists in our cities. Some mighty consentaneous assault must be made upon the citadels of evil. To be thorough, it must be an organized effort. Some beginnings have been made, but they have not carried the Christian public with them in such a way as to ensure their success. The City Mission, or more properly, the City Tract

Society of New York, is an institution which has the merit of exemplifying Dr. Chalmers's territorial system, on a scale more extensive than any known to us. And the Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor, has applied the very same methods to the relief of temporal suffering. The result of a few months' experiment has in a great degree relieved New York from the annoyance of begging at doors. If the principles of these associations can be pursued and realized, to the extent which they deserve, they will do much for our largest city; we trust their benignant influence will not be confined within its limits.

The evils which swarm and multiply in our great cities are too numerous and too malignant, to be left to cure themselves. Neither will the ordinary, every-day progress of church-effort suffice to abate the nuisance. They must be taken by assault, and by a direct aggression for this very purpose. We believe indeed that true religion never exists in any community, without lessening its social evils and increasing its general happiness, to a certain extent. We believe with M. Frégier, that "Christianity, as an instrument of civilization, is at once the most flexible and the most perfect, which has been placed within the reach of man." But it must be brought to bear. Churches may possess a certain degree of health and happiness, in the midst of a vicious community, without being strong enough or numerous enough to affect the corrupt mass to any sufficient extent. This is the precise state of the fact in our capitals. There are hundreds of churches, but there are hundreds of thousands, who do not belong to them. These persons must be sought out, must be visited, must be made objects of continued and reiterated applications. Supply and demand are not reciprocal agents in morals; these are wants which do not supply themselves. The gospel and the means of elevation must be carried to them. And there are, at this very moment, abundant resources in the churches, to accomplish this end, fully and economically, if they were only organized and brought into action.

There are difficulties connected with this branch of philanthropy, similar to those which encumber the subject of education. There must be unity of plan, division of labour, territorial partition into small fields, numerous labourers, and frequent going over each district. But such a plan, it is found hard to accomplish, in such a condition of society as ours. A government might canton off a city, and carry

domiciliary inspection or relief to every street; but this would not answer our purpose. Were our religious population homogeneous, so that we all were of one persuasion, it would be an easy task to carry the gospel and temporal relief to every poor inhabitant. But we are divided into numerous sects. What shall then be done? Shall we have each denomination of Christians, in its distinctive capacity, to set about the work? It is most evident, that nothing safe and effectual can ever be accomplished by such means. There are a thousand recesses of evil, which the Baptist or the Presbyterian, as such, could never reach. No way seems to be left, but that of Christian union, of various sects, holding common truth. Here, if any where, is a fair field for such exertions; and we are glad to have it in our power to avow a hearty sympathy with efforts of this kind which are now in progress.

Providence has ordered it so that great cities contain all the instrumentality needed for their conservation and advancement. While on one hand they exhibit gross and alarming evils, such as profligate expenditure, luxury, open crime, extreme instances of filth, disease, ignorance, brutality, intemperance, licentiousness, and violence; they afford, at the same time, the means of removing these; namely wealth, intelligence, leisure and piety, in such amount and in such proximity, as to make co-operation easy. So, in fact, the most signal efforts of philanthropy are put forth in cities. Were the energies of religious people in our populous towns organized and concentrated as they might be, the effects would be such as no example has yet reached. The principal obstacles are the jealousy of sect, and the very low state of vital religion. It is our deliberate opinion, that at no time, within thirty years, has the flame of piety burnt lower, in the churches of all persuasions, than at the present hour. Many usages are kept up, *ex opere operato*, in a cold, traditionary way; but the glow which we all remember is no longer present; and so long as this is the case, it is vain to expect great acts of daring or of sacrifice, in opposition to surrounding vice.

It will be easily gathered, from what we have written above, that we are disposed to rely very much on methods, which for brevity we will characterize as frequent, domiciliary, and in districts; in a word, *City Missions*, but modified upon the principle of Chalmers, to which we have been converts for twenty years. Much within that period,

it was our lot to fall in with David Nasmyth, whose name is indissolubly connected with this mode of charity; a man of singular benevolence and energy, and, if we understand the term, of genuine eloquence. The memoir which has been lately published affects us with sadness; for it shows how a single error may almost nullify the great actions of a lifetime. The error of Mr. Nasmyth was distrust of the regular ministry, a sentiment which he allowed to gain possession of his mind to such a degree, that at length he seriously advised his coadjutors to have as little as possible to do with clergymen, in the conduct of city missions. As a natural consequence, all his later efforts had a desultory, wild and irregular character, which deprived them of any claim to permanency. We are not of those who would have every thing in the hands of the clergy. We have no morbid dread of lay-teaching. We have never, for an instant, joined in the partisan cry against the labours of colporteurs. We are not prepared to vindicate those jealousies on the part of ministers, which tend to paralyze the arm of the laity. But we are clearly of opinion, that, in every measure, which concerns the dissemination of the gospel, it will be found disastrous to leave out of view that class of men whose precise function this is, by the appointment of Christ. This seems to be also the judgment of Mr. Nasmyth's biographer. Our lamented brother was burning with a love for souls. He had certainly alighted on one or two great principles, in regard to the evangelization of cities. His method, in its last application namely, as it applies itself to the poor and vicious, in their habitations, we deem the only true one. It is, in its great points, that of the New York City Tract Society. But we have not yet seen it presented in such completeness of practice, as to educe the combined energies of the Christian body. No language could well go beyond the truth, in commending the labours of such men as Messrs. Wetmore and Hartley. But these are labours in a single city; and labours, even there, which are scarcely recognised by many evangelical churches. The rapid growth of our population, and with it of ignorance, irreligion and crime, warn us that what we do in this matter must be done quickly.

Am. Quar.

ART. VII.—*Principle of Protestantism as related to the present state of the Church.* By Philip Schaf, Ph. D. Professor of Church History and of Biblical Literature in the Theological Seminary of the German Reformed Church. Translated from the German with an Introduction. By John W. Nevin, D.D. Chambersburg: 1845. pp. 215.

THE importance of the subject of which this book treats, the ability which it displays, and the attention which it has excited, all claim for it an elaborate review. Such a review would be a very difficult task; one which we should not be ambitious to assume, even if circumstances beyond our control had not shut us up to the necessity of confining ourselves to this short notice.

It is a book not easy to understand, especially that part of it, which has proceeded from the pen of Dr. Nevin. We have read the whole twice over, and yet we are very far from being satisfied that we adequately comprehend its principles. This obscurity is no doubt due, in part, to the nature of the subject. Every thing that involves the nature of the church, pertains to one of the most difficult departments of theology; one in which the indefiniteness of language almost unavoidably leads to more or less confusion. The obscurity, however, of which we complain, we are disposed to attribute in no small measure to the manner in which the subject is treated. The book is thoroughly German. The mode of thinking, and the forms of expression are so unenglish, that it is not easy for an American to enter into the views of the authors. German writers have many characteristic excellencies; but they have also some characteristic faults. They are seldom very intelligible. Their preference for the reason over the understanding leads them to eschew Begriffe, definite conceptions, and to abound in ideas, whose import and limits are indeterminate. It is hard, therefore, in many cases, to tell precisely what they mean. This whole book is about the church, and yet we have tried in vain to find out what the authors mean by the church. Is it the body of professors? or the body of true believers? or the two in inseparable union as one body? These are questions we cannot answer; and therefore we cannot tell what interpretation is to be put upon their language. If a writer speaks of man

in such a way, that his readers are at a loss to determine whether what he says is to be referred to the soul or to the body, or to the whole as a unit, they must be at a loss whether to assent or dissent. This is precisely the state of mind in which the perusal of this book has left us. This remark is intended to apply in a measure to the whole work, but more particularly to the introduction and appendix, which are by far the most difficult to understand.

The first point which Prof. Schaf endeavours to establish, is that the Reformation was neither a revolution nor a restoration. It was neither a violent disruption from all that preceded it, nor the return of the church to the state in which it had existed during any preceding century. As to both these points, we presume, he speaks the general sentiments of Protestants. The middle ages were no doubt pregnant with the Reformation; the church lived through all those ages, and Protestantism was the revival, through the word and Spirit of God, of a backslidden church, and not a new creation. It is also no doubt true, that as in the case of an individual believer, who is brought back from his declensions, and by the grace of God rendered more enlightened and stable than at any previous stage of his career, so the church of the Reformation was in a more advanced state than the church of the second or third centuries. No one would think of comparing the works of the Fathers with those of the Reformers as to enlightened, scriptural and comprehensive views of the gospel.

When again Prof. Schaf speaks of the distinguishing principles of Protestantism, he follows the common method of evangelical theologians. Those principles are the doctrine of justification by faith, and the supremacy of scripture as the rule of faith. The former is our continued protest against the error of a mediating church or priesthood. It is undoubtedly the vital principle of Protestantism that God is now accessible to all men by Jesus Christ; that all who hear the gospel may come to Christ, and through him to God, receiving, in virtue of union with Christ by faith, the imputation of his righteousness for justification, and the indwelling of his Spirit for sanctification. In this liberty of access, lies the priesthood of all believers. And so long as this is asserted, do we protest against the great error of Rome, that men can only come to God through the church, or through the mediation of other men as priests, by whose

ministrations alone the benefits of redemption can be applied to the soul. The reverse of this is true, and the reverse of this is Protestantism. We are in the church because we are in Christ, and not in Christ because we are in the church. The analysis and exposition which Prof. Schaf gives of this great doctrine of justification by faith alone, is thoroughly evangelical. We commend it to our new school brethren as a mirror in which they may see the true principle of the Reformation, and thence learn how far they have lapsed towards Romanism in their denial or explaining away of the corruption of our nature by original sin, and in making justification mere pardon, to the exclusion of the imputation of the righteousness of Christ. Our author, however, presents this doctrine too exclusively "in opposition to all Pelagian and Semi-Pelagian error." He does not present it sufficiently in its opposition to the doctrine of a mediating church, which was historically its most prominent aspect. When the sinner asked, What must I do to be saved? the answer which the Spirit of God, and their own dear bought experience taught the Reformers to give, was: Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved. That alone can save you; and that can, and most certainly will. And by faith they meant, not mere assent, but, as Dr. Schaf says, a personal appropriation of the merits of Christ. That is all the sinner needs in order to secure his justification, and with that blessing, sanctification and eternal life are inseparably connected. The answer given by Rome and "ecclesiasticism" in general, to the momentous question, What must I do to be saved? is, Come to me, I have the merits of Christ; I have the Spirit; I have the custody of the blessings of redemption. Your own act of faith will do you little good; you can only come to Christ by me; I give you his merits and grace in baptism; and if you lose them, I alone can restore them by the sacrament of penance. It was in opposition to all this; it was as their protest against this, the very thing that made them Protestants, that the Reformers said, we are justified freely by faith alone. We need not your mediation, Christ is every where present. And we can and must, each one for himself, lay hold on him by faith, and we know that whosoever believes on him hath eternal life, though he has never heard of the church, or of a priest, or of the sacraments. It is this aspect of the doctrine of justification by faith alone, which Prof. Schaf has failed to render promi-

nent; and it is the *apparent* denial of this view of the subject by Dr. Nevin, which forms the stumbling block, presented in this book. It is this which gives his portion of the work, the Puseyite aspect which has created so much anxiety. We say "apparent denial," because we are not satisfied that it is any thing more than apparent. For while he speaks somewhat too contemptuously of those who make the turning point between us and Rome, the question, "whether salvation be an individual concern or something that comes wholly by the church;" p. 12, and says: "We are not Christians, each one by himself, but we become such through the church;" p. 200, still he pronounces "ecclesiasticism, as held by Rome and also by Oxford," a terrible error; and declares it would be treason to the gospel to reject "the position that religion is an individual interest, a strictly personal concern, a question between a man singly and his maker. He that believeth shall be saved; he that believeth not shall be damned." p. 12. We can only repeat what we have already said, as to our inability fully to comprehend his meaning on this point; and comfort ourselves with the conviction that it is impossible to hold the doctrine of justification by faith alone, as it is stated in this book, and yet mean by saying, "we become Christians through the church," what Puseyites mean by such expressions.

In the exposition, given by Dr. Schaf, of the formal principle of Protestantism, viz: that the scriptures are the only infallible rule of faith and practice, we in general concur. As the doctrine of justification by faith is the protest of the Reformed against the Romish doctrine of a mediating church; so the assertion of the sole infallible authority of the written word of God, is their protest, against the doctrine of an inspired church to whose teaching we are obliged to bow. As the church, according to Rome, consists of all who profess the Christian religion and are subject to the Pope, the wisdom and teaching of that body, consisting in great measure of unsanctified men, is but another name for the wisdom and teaching of the world. But if by the church is meant the body of true believers, in whom Christ dwells by his Spirit, and whom he leads to the knowledge of the truth, then indeed to differ from the church is a serious, and if on any essential doctrine, a fatal matter. It is by losing sight too much of this distinction, that Prof. Schaf is led to attribute much more weight to the usages and

opinions, i. e. to the traditions, of the visible church, than we think is due to them, consistently with Protestant principles. This is a subject, however, on which we cannot dwell. We only wish to express our dissent from the obvious or apparent meaning of some of his remarks on tradition; which though we think they admit of a good sense, yet more naturally express one with which we cannot concur. We are more sensible of the difference of views between our author and the mass of his American readers, as to this point, from the conclusions to which his principles lead him, than from the statement of those principles themselves. He condemns not only the more rigid Puritans, but most of the Reformed churches for repudiating the usages, (ritual traditions,) of the church, and commends the greater regard of the Lutherans for such traditions. In this respect he will find few American Protestants to agree with him.

The two great diseases of Protestantism our author represents to be Rationalism and Sectarism. He gives a historical sketch of the rise and progress of the former in Germany, and concludes with the expression of his conviction that "the most dangerous enemy with which we are threatened on theoretical ground, is not the catholicism of Rome, but the foe within our own borders; not the hierarchic papacy of the Vatican, but the worldly papacy of the subjective understanding; not the Concilium Tridentinum, but the theology of unbelief, as proclaimed by a Rhoer, a Wegscheider, a Strauss, a Feuerbach, and others of the same stamp." This is a very natural view to be taken by a theologian born and educated in Germany, who has been accustomed to see comparatively little of the evils of Romanism, and before whose eyes the desolations wrought by Rationalism were constantly present. In itself considered, however, and in reference to the state of the church in America, we consider Romanism immeasurably more dangerous than infidelity. Not by any means, as some have said, a greater evil; but an evil more dangerous to Protestantism. This is only expressing our conviction that a false religion is more likely to spread than mere irreligion; and that the human mind has greater affinity for superstition, than for infidelity.

The section relating to "Sectarism" we consider as more marred by false principles and false views of facts and of their historical relations, than any other in the book. Here

we think our author betrays erroneous principles as to the unity of the church, too much forgetting that it is a spiritual unity, arising from the union of believers with Christ and from the indwelling of his Spirit; and which manifests itself in unity of faith, of love and of communion. There is therefore more of real unity, more real brotherhood existing between the evangelical denominations of America, than is to be found in the church of Rome, the church of England, or in the Reformed or Lutheran church of Germany. The true unity of the church is therefore, in a measure, independent of external ecclesiastical union. It is marred by all diversity of faith, all want of love, and by all refusal of intercommunion and fraternal subjection and intercourse; and is destroyed by the entire absence of any of these bonds. It is not, however, necessarily interrupted by separate ecclesiastical organizations, or diversity as to modes of discipline and worship; uniformity and unity being very different things. We do not suppose that Dr. Schaf denies this, but he constantly speaks as though he regarded external union, that is, union secured and expressed by outward bonds as far more essential to unity of the church than appears to us consistent with its true nature.

Again, his principles as to conformity and the preservation of outward union, seem to us erroneous. He says, the Reformers had "they been permitted to preach the pure word of God with freedom, and to administer the sacraments according to Christ's appointment, would have remained in their original communion." He blames the Puritans for separating from the established church of England, and condemns the recent secession of the Free Church in Scotland. All this we think betrays very wrong notions as to the principles involved in such questions. Such separations are a duty, which we owe to God and to the real unity of the church, whenever unscriptural terms of communion are enjoined. If the Puritans, in order to their connexion with the church of England, were required to declare their "assent and consent" to all and every thing contained in the book of Common Prayer, then those who could not assent to the baptismal or burial service, or to the semi-deification of Charles I., were bound in conscience to separate from that church, and to protest against the schismatical principle of making such matters terms of Christian communion. The same remark may of course be applied to a multitude of other cases.

When our author says that sects have their origin in sinful ambition and pride, we think he is wrong as to the majority of cases, as far as evangelical sects are concerned.—They have much more commonly had their origin in the imposition, by those in authority, of unscriptural terms of communion. In many cases no doubt they have arisen from narrow-mindedness, and scrupulosity, but even in such cases, there is something to respect in the assertion of the supremacy of conscience. We miss in our author any definite conception of Sectarism, or what it is that constitutes a sect. Why are the Congregationalists, or Baptists any more a sect than the German Reformed, or the Episcopalians?

In the account given by Dr. Schaf of the Puritans, of Cromwell, of the relation of the church in this country with the English Independents, we think he shows that he is from home. He is speaking of events, which as they did not occur in Germany, cannot be supposed to be so well understood by a scholar so thoroughly German. He betrays also the disadv ntage under which he labours as a stranger, when he comes to speak of the state of things in this country. The paragraph on p. 116 in which he speaks of the multiplication of sects in America, is an extravagant exaggeration. It is easy to string together a number of names of religious parties, here and anywhere else, and not more here, than in England, or even Germany, but what do they amount to. The vast mass of our population belong either to the Romish, the Episcopal, the Baptist, Methodist, Congregational or Presbyterian churches, including in the last named, the English, Dutch and German Presbyterians. Beyond these all other sects are made up of handfuls, and these are to be found wherever there is liberty enough for what actually exists to make itself known.

We are not to be considered as apologists for "Sectarism" because we object to the exaggerated statements of the nature and extent of the evil given by our author. We admit that it is a very serious evil, and one which the friends of the church, in the true sense of the term, should endeavour to correct. What then are the means by which these two diseases of Protestantism, viz., Rationalism and Sectarism, are to be cured? To the answer of this question Dr. Schaf addresses himself in the latter part of his book.

He begins by saying that Puseyism is a well meant, but mistaken effort to accomplish this cure. It is represented

as a legitimate reaction from false or ultra-Protestantism; an attempt to cure Rationalism by subjecting the judgment of the individual to that of the church; and Sectarism, by merging all parties into the outward unity of established uniformity. There may be some truth in this genesis of Puseyism; but we are disposed to assign it a less honourable origin. We believe it had its birth in wrong views as to the nature of religion, and wrong principles as to the nature of the church. Prof. Schaf thinks its end legitimate, but its means mistaken. We think its end a mistaken one, and therefore its means illegitimate. Rationalism and Sectarism were not the real evils which it proposed to cure, but Protestantism itself, i. e. the gospel, salvation by grace, justification by faith, the worship of God in spirit and in truth, instead of outward forms or inward mysticism or superstitious reverence. The gospel is the great evil against which it is directed with consummate skill. We cannot therefore regard it as embodying any great truth. It is not the expression of the sense of need of Christian unity, in the proper meaning of the term, but rather of the desire to be religious and secure heaven by some means sanctioned by antiquity, but which does not include submission to the gospel.

What means then does our author propose for the cure of the diseases of Protestantism? "Historical Progress. Puseyism looks backwards; we look forwards. It looks towards Rome... We towards Jerusalem." Here comes in again the idea of the gradual development of Christianity, with which the work commences. Not that Christianity admits of any improvement, but simply that it comes gradually to be better understood and more fully to pervade the church and the world. As the advanced Christian believes just what he believed when a babe in Christ, but apprehends it more justly, and is more under its influence; so the church of the Reformation, was in advance of the church of the third century, and the consummated church will be in advance of the church of the Reformation. In all this there is much truth. In the manner in which it is presented, and in the exhibition of the means by which this development is to be carried on, there is a great deal that is due to the peculiar philosophical and historical training of the writer; much that we do not understand and much with which we cannot agree. And yet there is much that is healthful and encouraging. It is very plain from this brief analysis of the

book before us, that the apprehension that Dr. Nevin and Prof. Schaf are tending toward Puseyism, if by Puseyism be meant prelacy and Rome and what is necessarily connected with them, is altogether unfounded. It would be suicidal in them, and entirely opposed to all their principles, to step out of the line "of historical development" to which they belong. They are in the Reformed church: that church is an immeasurable advance on the church of the middle ages, to go back to the ground which the Puseyites are endeavouring to regain, would, in their view, be for men to turn children. Their motto is Forwards. What is the future they have figured for themselves and for the church, we cannot distinctly discern.

We confess we have not much faith in the means of progress on which these gentlemen seem to place their main reliance. German philosophy and German theology appear to be the great sources of their hopes, as far as human agency is concerned. We once heard a distinguished German professor say, "England and America are the hands of the church, Germany is the head. She must do the thinking, they the work." A division of labour with which we ought to be content, especially if our working does not depend upon our understanding their thinking. Prof. Schaf's book is imbued with the same idea of the relative vocations of the several portions of the church. "Germany is the proper home not only of the Reformation, but of all the deeper spiritual movements which have been called forth by this, during the last three hundred years." "It is the proper home of Protestant theology." If we allude to German Rationalism, we are told "only an archangel can become a devil." To Germany therefore we must look for the impulse and the light to impel and guide this onward movement of the church. We are very ready to admit the great superiority of Germany in all that can be attained by research and concentrated labour. We admit too that the German mind is in some of its attributes favourably distinguished from the English and American, but we think Dr. Schaf not only over estimates this superiority, but finds it, in some instances, in those very peculiarities where the advantage is on the other side. The Germans have never been celebrated for their ability to distinguish between the unknown and the unknowable, they cannot discern the limits of human knowledge; and by passing those limits they lose all the criteria of knowledge, and are unable to

distinguish between truth and the phantoms of their creative imaginations. To our apprehension the willingness of the English mind to rest content within the sphere which God has assigned it; to submit to the laws of its nature, and to confide in the principles of belief impressed upon our constitution, without attempting either to question the legitimacy of those laws, or the conclusions to which they lead, is worth more as a means of attaining truth, than all that mysterious "power of perceiving the supernatural, the infinite, the harmonious unity, the essence of things, the primal idea of the absolute,"* which is the peculiar excellence of our German brethren.

In order to decide what the church has to hope from German theology, in securing the anticipated progress in divine knowledge, it would seem natural to inquire what that theology, since its revival, has actually accomplished. A question we are not competent to answer. On the one hand, we are disposed to hope that it has not done much in unsettling old landmarks, when we find such thoroughly evangelical exhibitions of the doctrine of justification, as that given by Prof. Schaf, and when we see that the very best of the recent German theologians are precisely those who are most like the Reformers. On the other hand, we cannot repress our fears when we find that to those most imbued with this theology, every thing seems alike. Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, as philosophers; Daub, Schleiermacker, Marheinecke, as theologians, seem to be regarded as differing from each other, and differing from received standards, only as to their mode of presenting truth. When we express surprise, that men who seem to deny a personal God, to deny sin, to deny the continued personal existence of the soul after death, should be referred to as substantially sound, we are told we do not understand these writers, and therefore are not competent to form an opinion on the subject. The sufficiency of this answer we should feel bound to admit, were it not for two circumstances. First, we see the professed and thoroughly instructed disciples of these schools in Germany itself, asserting that these philosophers do in fact teach what their words seem to imply, viz., that there is no God, no sin, no conscious existence hereafter.— And secondly, when we hear some of the most highly educated and devout, among the Germans themselves, denounc-

* Dr. Schaf's definition of reason, p. 102.

ing as an utter abomination those very systems and writers, who are so much lauded in this country. Here then are two classes of men, neither of which can be summarily set down as destitute of the Anschauungsvermögen, the power of perceiving the absolute and infinite, who unite in condemning just what those among us most zealous for German philosophy and theology, unite in lauding. We confess that this, more than any thing else, far more than any confidence in our own limited knowledge of these systems and writers, makes us fear their influence. We are afraid of their confounding all the landmarks of truth, of leading men to see no difference between holiness and beauty, sin and defect, fate and providence, a self-conscious universe and our Father who is in heaven.

While we say this from a deep conviction of its truth, we are not insensible either to the merits of this work or to the advantages which the author derives from his familiarity with the varied learning of his native country.—The evangelical character of the leading doctrines of his book, the seriousness and warmth of feeling which pervade it, and the high order of ability which it displays, give ground to hope that Dr. Schaf will prove a blessing to the church and country of his adoption.

An Examination of President Edwards' Inquiry into the Freedom of the Will. By Albert Taylor Bledsoe. H. Hooker. Philadelphia.

We know nothing of the author of this treatise, and are, therefore, not likely to do him injustice through prejudice. We *guess*, however, that wherever he may now reside, he must have had his birth and education in the land of the pilgrims; for without intending any disparagement to the Middle and Southern states of our union, it must be admitted that the sons of New England excel in metaphysical research and acumen. Whether it be owing to climate, education, or some other cause, the people of this section of country possess a power of nice discrimination, which, perhaps, is not equalled by that of any nation on the globe. The subject of the freedom of the human will, it must be confessed, is one of the most abstruse, and to most men, the most perplexing, which falls within the range of human knowledge; and yet more books have been written on this subject in this little territory, than, as far as we know, in any country in the world.

President Edwards, by his work on this subject, has acquired a reputation for profound research and conclusive reasoning, superior to that of any other American author. And as no answer was attempted, either on this side the Atlantic or the other, which acquired any celebrity, the friends of the Edwardean theory of the will considered it unanswerable. But still many were not satisfied. They were of opinion, that there must be a flaw in the reasoning, somewhere; for they felt that upon this theory human liberty was annihilated. And it cannot be denied, that Edwards has made use of the same arguments in the main which, long before his time, had been adduced by the infidels Hobbes and Collins, and at a later period, by Lord Kaimes. It cannot be truly said, that the public sentiment generally acquiesced in the conclusions of Edwards; the contrary was the fact, and however plausible his reasoning might appear, it was received with the same suspicion and incredulity, as the logical argument of Berkeley, to prove that no external world existed. Such men as Dr. Johnson, Dr. Beattie, Dr. Reid, and Dugald Stewart, scouted the theory as absurd, in the view of common sense. But if Edwards be wrong, why has not the fallacy of his reasoning been pointed out? This challenge has been long before the public; and at length, more than one champion has entered the arena, in opposition to this metaphysical giant. Dr. Tappan, of New York, has lately attacked Edwards, in a work in three volumes, one of which is occupied expressly with a review of Edwards's "Inquiry." And here, in the volume before us, we have another attempt to subvert the theory of "moral necessity" and "the influence of motives," from the very foundation. This author does not seem to have been aware that he was engaged in performing very laboriously, a work of supererogation; that is, if Dr. Tappan has effected what he designed. We presume, therefore, that Mr. Bledsoe had not seen the work of his fellow labourer.

Our judgment of Mr. Bledsoe's acumen of intellect is very favourable; and evidently he has thought much and read much on the subject; and we are of opinion that he has succeeded in pointing out some considerable errors in the work which he assails, and has shown, at least to our satisfaction, that Edwards is often inaccurate in his definitions, and confused in his views of the nature of the will in relation to the desires and affections of the mind; which

our author, in accordance with some other writers, calls "sensibilities."

But having said this much in favour of the book, we are now constrained to say, that we differ, toto cœlo, from the positions which he assumes, and on which his whole system is founded. The first of these is, that human volitions can, in no proper sense, be called "effects." The other main position is, that our feelings, that is, our desires, passions &c. have no causal influence on volition. As to this point, the ingenious author seems to think that he has placed the defence of liberty on entirely new ground. He labours to prove, that none of the defenders of liberty have availed themselves of this principle. And no wonder; for there is scarcely a truth more evident to the consciousness of all men than that their volitions are powerfully influenced by their feelings. If a man is in danger of perishing by hunger or thirst, have these appetites no influence to lead him to will to seize the food or drink within his reach? A system built upon such a false foundation cannot stand.

The author's attempt to answer the argument from divine foreknowledge is a curiosity. We never saw a stronger case of a man striving against evidence; he is like a strong man in water over his depth and unable to swim, catching at objects which cannot aid him. Yet he acknowledges every thing which Edwards considers important. He acknowledges the absolute certainty of all events, as foreknown, and admits that there is some kind of necessity that they should come to pass. And Edwards's argument requires nothing more.

The unfortunate and improper use of the word "necessity," by Edwards and his followers, has done more to prejudice the minds of sensible men against his system, than all other causes. According to the proper usage of language, liberty and necessity are diametrically opposite; and to say a thing is necessary, and at the same time free, is a contradiction in terms. Certainty and necessity are not the same; for although every thing necessary is certain, every thing certain is not necessary. Volitions, in certain given circumstances, may be as certain as any physical effects, but volitions are free in their very nature. A necessary volition is an absurdity, a thing inconceivable. To call this certainty "moral necessity," or "philosophical necessity," will forever mislead, and produce confusion of ideas, in the most exact thinkers.

We are of opinion that all that is wanted on this subject, is not a new theory, but greater precision in the use of language, and a clear distinction between the will and the other active powers. Dr. Day has written well on this subject, and has removed a number of the grounds of objection to Edwards's system; but on some points he is not so discriminating and accurate as we could have wished. And as to our author, we are of opinion that he has lost his labour, for he will find few thinking men willing to go with him in adopting the principles on which his whole theory rests.

The Works of the Rev. Richard Cecil, late Minister of St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row, London. In three volumes. New York: Robert Carter. 1845.

If we may apply to the author one of his own expressions concerning Rutherford, "Cecil is one of our classics." His "Remains" will continue to be his great work; it merits a place by the most celebrated *Ana* and Table-Talk. That conversation must have been rich, of which the gleanings are such as these. But while we give the first place to these, we set a high value also on the works which he prepared for the press. His biographies are all excellent; that of Newton is established in its reputation. The life of Bacon is fitted to be very useful to professors of the fine arts. The "Friendly Visit to the House of Mourning" is one of the best manuals for the bereaved, that we have ever read. The Sermons, though good, original, and evangelical, are to be regarded rather as sketches, than as finished productions; they probably give but a faint idea of that great preacher, who was so long the shining light of London. Mr. Pratt, who lately went to his rest, tells us that Mr. Cecil's extemporaneous style was far more easy. Even here we may observe, however, the impressiveness, boldness, and pathos which belonged to his great character. These volumes we cordially recommend to every class of readers, but chiefly to young preachers; we know no better model of a clergyman, in modern times. There are things in these volumes, which if read in time, and with due impression, will leave their mark and character for life. Like the thoughts of Bacon, Selden, or Pascal, they furnish seeds for many meditations. Reading Cecil will tend very much to take the chill off our watery preaching, and to cure young men of the hum-drum or Blair method. The

thoughts are sharpened to an edge, and fasten themselves like goads. Mr. Carter has not published a book more to our mind, since he began his useful labours.

Elements of Rhetoric and Literary Criticism, with copious practical exercises and examples. For the use of Common Schools and Teachers. Including also a succinct history of the English Language, and of British and American Literature from the earliest to the present times. On the basis of the recent works of Alexander Reid and Robert Connel; with large additions from other sources. Compiled and arranged by J. R. Boyd, A. M., Principal of Black River L. and R. Institute. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1845. pp. 306, 18mo.

This little work has two great merits. One is its tendency to promote and facilitate the early practice of English composition, as a necessary part of a common education. The other is the great variety of information, as to books and authors and the language itself, which it brings within the reach of ordinary teachers and their pupils. Its faults arise almost entirely from its being, as the title page avows, a compilation. Although drawn from the best sources, and with no small diligence and judgment, it is still deficient in unity, the materials or ingredients being neither wholly in agreement with each other, nor sufficiently impressed with the stamp of the author's own mind. This appears particularly in the fact that, while his rules are, for the most part, those which prevailed half a century ago, his most attractive specimens belong to a later period of our literature. Thus we have, at no great distance from each other, Blair's condemnation of unimportant words at the end of a sentence, and extracts from Wilson and contemporary writers, who regard the prohibition with contempt, both in theory and practice. The criticisms upon English writers, and especially on those of recent date, though often just, are now and then too sweeping and dogmatical, and not sustained sufficiently by samples of the faults alleged. A principal defect, in this part of the volume, is the hasty or injudicious choice of characteristic passages. To those already familiar with the authors, this is of little moment; but the object should have been to give correct ideas of their manner to a very different class of readers. What conception of the merits or the faults of

Coleridge can be gained from the perusal of three epigrams? As usual, our statement of particular defects fills much more space than our general commendation, which we think it proper therefore to repeat, by stating it as our opinion, that the adoption of this little manual in schools, and even in the lower classes of our colleges, would, under the direction of judicious teachers, tend to great improvement in the art of composition, and to the diffusion of much useful information as to English literature. Mr. Boyd has evidently taken special pains to make the literary merits of the Bible, and the literature of our own country, duly prominent in his compilation, although chiefly drawn from British sources. The worst thing about the little work, in point of taste, is the interminable title page, which is rather a preface, or the table of contents to one. In nothing of a minor kind has the taste of publishers and authors more improved than in the substitution of a simple title for these misplaced advertisements.

Reasons for Repose. A morning conversation with a Christian under temporary alarms respecting the Truth of the Scriptures. By the late Rev. Richard Cecil, M. A. Published by the American Tract Society. pp. 64.

Every thing which Cecil said or wrote has a certain mark upon it, which renders it memorable. On subjects connected with the defence of Christianity against infidels, he writes with peculiar pertinency and feeling; perhaps from having been himself the subject of many skeptical misgivings, in early life. The book, though very small, is very valuable.

The Raising of Lazarus from the Dead. New York. 18mo. pp. 79.

This is another pleasing volume issued by the Tract Society.

Life in Earnest. Six Lectures, on Christian Activity and Ardour. By the Rev. James Hamilton, author of 'Harp on the Willows,' etc. New York: Robert Carter. 1845. 18mo. pp. 167.

The striking title seems to have come from Arnold. The lectures are in that vivid, popular style, which does not

task the reader, while it conveys and impresses serious truths. Mr. Hamilton has acquired much reputation, as well by his preaching, as by several brilliant publications of this sort. The subject is most important, and the work is fitted to be useful.

Profession is not Principle; or the name of Christian is not Christianity. By Grace Kennedy, author of the Decision, Anna Ross, Jessy Allan, &c. From the sixth Edinburg edition. New York: R. Carter. 1845. pp. 164, 18mo.

This is a volume of established reputation, and like every thing from the pen of its accomplished and pious author, is well suited to convey evangelical truth. Few writers of religious fiction have, in our judgment, equalled Miss Kennedy; and the opinion, which we formed many years ago, was that this was one of her best works.

Christian Retirement; or Spiritual Exercises of the Heart. By the author of 'Christian Experience as displayed in the Life and Writings of St. Paul.' New York: Robert Carter, 58 Canal street. 1845. 12mo. pp. 476.

The Meditations—for so they may be called—of which this volume is made up, are remarkable for their spirituality and unction. It is a kind of writing, which though fragmentary and even desultory, will continue to be sought with avidity and perused with delight by a large class of Christian readers. It deserves its place among the kindred works of Mason, Meikle, and Serle. It seems to us to have this good quality, that it exalts Christ, and abases the sinner. To many it will be better than elaborate argumentation.

The Letters of the Rev. John Newton, &c., to which are prefixed, Memoirs of his Life, &c. By the Rev. Richard Cecil. New York: Robert Carter. 1845. 8vo. pp. 380.

It is too late to recommend John Newton or his works; and it is almost superfluous to say that his letters are his best productions. They are the conversation, rather than the laborious composition, of this animated, experienced, affectionate Christian. To tell the truth, if his other works

were lost, we should not greatly lament, provided we had this invaluable correspondence. It will be a cheap purchase for any one who procures it.

Gospel Promises; being a short view of the great and precious promises of the Gospel. By the Rev. Joseph Alleine, author of an 'Alarm to the Unconverted,' &c. New York: R. Carter. 1845. 18mo. pp. 167.

The name of the author is recommendation enough. We will add, however, that the book is one of uncommon value, abounding in scriptural consolations for the weary and heavy laden; laying open the riches of the covenant; exalting the grace of the gospel and the excellency of Christ; and disarming unbelief, by the express, repeated, and gratuitous offers of the divine word. We should be glad to know that it was in the hands of all such as doubt and are disquieted, and such as are tempted to take a servile, narrow, and legal view of the gospel plan.

Spiritual Direction and Auricular Confession; their history, theory and consequences, being a translation of "Du Prêtre, De la Femme, De la Famille." By M. Michelet, Professor in the Faculty of Letters, &c., Paris. Philadelphia: James M. Campbell, 1845. pp. 224.

The controversy between the university and clergy in France has given rise to many works of general interest and value. Some of the most celebrated writers have engaged in the conflict, which is probably but just begun. The above work by Michelet is of peculiar interest, not only as exhibiting the kind of bondage in which the Romish system holds its votaries, but the utter hopelessness of that bondage, when men have no other weapons than those furnished by natural religion or philosophy to contend against their oppressors. This writer portrays in lively colours the degradation and misery consequent on the dominion of the priesthood, but he does not seem to have the least idea that that dominion is inevitable, unless men are made free by the gospel. If men know not how, each one for himself, they may obtain pardon and reconciliation with God, they must of necessity be subject to those who profess to have the keys of heaven committed to their hands.

History of the Great Reformation. By J. H. Merle D'-Aubigné. 3 vols. Philadelphia: J. M. Campbell, 1845.

Mr. Campbell has published a new and very neat edition of this popular work, which is sold at the very moderate price of one dollar, or one dollar and fifty cents, according to the binding.

1. *Papal Rome as it is; by a Roman. With an Introduction*, by the Rev. W. C. Brownlee, D.D. By Rev. L. Giustiniani, D.D.., formerly a Roman Priest, now Minister of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. Philadelphia: J. M. Campbell, 1845.
2. *History of the Robe of Jesus Christ, preserved in the Cathedral of Trêves.* By J. Maux, Professor in the Great Seminary. To which is added an account of the miraculous cures performed by the said Robe, &c. Translated from the French, with Notes. Philadelphia: James M. Campbell, 1845.

Two works well suited to give a lively impression of the miserable superstition and ignorance to which the antichristian domination of the Pope has reduced those subject to his unmitigated sway.

Internal Evidence of the Holy Bible, or the Bible proved from its own pages to be a Divine Revelation. By Rev. J. J. Janeway, D.D. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1845.

This work consists of two parts. In the former the author gives the arguments in favour of the divine origin of the Bible, founded on the miracles and prophecies of which it preserves the record. In the latter the arguments are derived from what the Bible teaches, concerning God, concerning man, the moral law, and the work of redemption, showing the adaptation of this whole system of truth to the necessities of fallen man. This is a wide range of legitimate argument, which the author has gone over with that perspicuity, correctness, and excellence of spirit, which have distinguished the other productions of his pen.

Rills from the Fountain of Wisdom, or the Book of Proverbs, arranged and illustrated. By William M. Engles, D.D. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1845.

This book is a felicitous conception. Under numerous appropriate heads, such as, The Fear of God, The Fear of

Man, Docility, Filial Obedience, and the like, the aphorisms of the inspired sage are regularly classified. Each collection of these aphorisms is followed by a practical comment, illustrating and enforcing the subject to which they relate. We think the book is one which is well adapted to answer the end for which it was written.

Memoirs of the Life and Character of Mrs. Sarah Savage, eldest daughter of the Rev. Philip Henry. By Sir J. B. Williams, LL. D. To which are added Memoirs of Mrs. Anne Hulton, and Mrs. Eleanor Radnor, daughters of the Rev. Philip Henry. By their brother, Rev. Matthew Henry. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1845.

These are interesting records of a family whose names are revered wherever the English language is known.

Five Discourses on the moral obligation and particular duties of the Sabbath. By A. O. Hubbard, Pastor of a Church in Hardwicke, Vt. Hanover: William A. Ruggles.

This is a very sound and useful little book; one which we wish could be more extensively known.

Practical Christianity in a Series of Essays. By John Bowdler, Jr., Esq., of Lincoln's Inn. First American, from the Edinburgh edition. Boston: Benjamin Perkins & Co., 1845.

We have read this little book with great pleasure. It is evidently the product of a refined and highly cultivated mind, and is imbued throughout with a sweet, devotional spirit. The plainest Christian may read it with profit, and yet it is just such a book as one would wish to place in the hands of a person of education and taste; presenting, as it does, the practical aspects of religion, in a pure and elevated style, and yet in a manner adapted to impress the conscience, and sway the affections. The topics embraced in the Essays, are, Supposed Connexion between Religion and Melancholy:—Practical View of the Character of Christ:—The Atonement:—Submission to God:—Trust in God: Love of God:—Faith:—Hope:—Spiritual-Mindedness:—Thankfulness:—Prayer:—Humility:—Eternity of Future Punishments:—Epistle to the Philippians:—Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

The Pilgrim's Progress, by John Bunyan, with Explanatory Notes by Thomas Scott, D.D., with a Life of the Author. By Josiah Conder, Esq. Philadelphia: Joseph P. Engles, Publishing Agent, north-east corner of George and Seventh-Streets, 1845. No's. 1, 2, & 3.

THIS is a re-print, in numbers of about fifty-six pages, each, of the splendid edition of the Pilgrim's Progress, published by our Board of Publication. Of this edition, we have already had occasion to speak in the strongest terms. The paper, typography and engravings are all in the highest forms of the arts. The publication will be completed in ten numbers, at twenty-five cents each. At such a price, we cannot but hope that thousands of families will avail themselves of the opportunity to procure this sumptuous book. Independently of the unrivalled reputation of the text, the elegant embellishments of this edition cannot fail to refine and cultivate the taste and the imagination; while their tendency, to say the least, is to awaken and improve a higher class of feelings.

The Israel of God: a series of practical Sermons. By Stephen H. Tyng, D.D., Rector of St. George's Church, N.Y. Third edition. New-York: Robert Carter, 1845. pp. 307, 8vo.

THESE are, as the title page informs us, practical Sermons. They are upon interesting and most important subjects, connected with the vitals of religion, and belong unquestionably to the class of evangelical discourses. It is impossible to read a page anywhere, without perceiving that the author has no sympathy with the ritual and Oxford school. The volume is not remarkable for any laborious exposition of difficult points, or any novelty of views or striking originality of thought and diction. But it has higher qualities: it is full of plain, scriptural, catholic, saving truth; urged with affection, earnestness, and unction. Whatever may be the judgment of merely literary circles, this is the kind of sermons which renders the preacher a blessing to his flock. The reverend author sometimes uses a text in a manner which we should not have ventured on; but the tendency of the whole work is to honour the gospel and save the soul. The usefulness and popularity of the author are sufficient proofs that this is the species of pulpit discourse which attracts and holds the minds of an American audience.

Perfect Peace: Letters-Memorial of the late John Warren Howell, Esq., of Bath, M. R. C. S. By the Rev. David Pitcairn, Minister of Erie and Rendall. With an Introduction, by the Rev. John Stevenson, author of "Christ on the Cross." New York, 1845. pp. 175. 18mo.

Mr. Stevenson belongs to a class of Evangelical clergymen, in the Church of England, with whom we have to feel our communion; a class which we lament to know is so small in America, namely that which is indicated by the names of Cecil, the Noels, Goode, and Bridges. The little book here presented, under his auspices, has passed through nine editions. It is a truly delightful view of the work of divine grace, upon a highly cultivated mind. The aspect of gospel truth which it presents, with great clearness, is that which is the life and soul of genuine piety; but which, at the same time, is often obscured by a legal system. This is a suitable volume for medical men; for men of intellect and science in general; for Episcopalians, who have the misfortune to listen to cold ceremonious preaching; and for all who wish to have the riches of Christ set plainly before them.

A Universal Gazetteer: containing topographical, statistical, and other information, of all the more important places in the known world, from the most recent and authentic sources. With a map. By Thomas Baldwin, assisted by several other gentlemen. Philadelphia. Lindsay & Blakiston. 8vo. pp. 544. 1845.

Our first feeling, on taking up this book, was one of surprise that the attempt had not before been made to supply so obvious a defect in our literary apparatus. The previous experiments, so far as they are known to us, have been either too limited in scale, or too imperfect in execution, to deprive this volume of its claim to priority. Our next feeling was a feeling of alarm lest the task should have fallen into incompetent hands, and ended in a superficial catchpenny performance, which could only serve to aggravate the evils that made it necessary, and discourage the efforts of superior competitors. From this apprehension we were soon relieved by a perusal of the introduction and a brief inspection of the gazetteer itself. While the book, as its size shows, can claim to be nothing more than a beginning, it is one which affords promise of an admirable

ending. We have no hesitation in pronouncing it one of the most scholarlike productions of our native press. The authors show not only a familiar knowledge of the modern languages, but a highly respectable acquaintance with general philology. We are particularly struck with that invariable sign of real scholarship, which consists in a freedom from the two extremes of desperation and presumption, of concluding that nothing can be done, and of assuming that every thing is easy. The proof of real learning and discretion lies in doing what is possible, and confessing what is not. In the case before us the difficulties to be overcome were, first, that of determining what pronunciation should be given as the true one; then, that of ascertaining it; then, that of representing it, so as to be practically useful and convenient. As to the first point, the authors judiciously determined to give the native sound of foreign names, except where English usage is already fixed, and in that case to give both. As to the second, they have been equally prudent in resolving to give nothing except upon authority. With respect to English and American usage, there will of course be diversities of judgment and of practice, even among those who make the book a standard. With respect to foreign names, the confidence of the reader will be greatly strengthened by the list of persons given in the preface, to whom the authors have applied for the solution of their doubts, including some of the most eminent teachers and practical linguists in the country, not only in relation to the European but also to the Oriental languages. With respect to the notation, Walker's system is substantially adopted, but simplified and otherwise improved. Under this head we may mention, as a proof of the compilers' judgment, the method which they have adopted for enabling the common English reader to acquire the foreign pronunciation of names substantially, without perplexing him with sounds of which his organs are incapable, while by the very same notation those who have more acquaintance with philology can ascertain, and if they please adopt, the foreign sounds with all their niceties, at least so far as these can be expressed on paper; for it is scarcely necessary to observe that such attempts can never do more than approximate to the complete attainment of the object, and that the question of success and merit is always therefore relative. One of the most interesting results in this case is the knowledge afforded of the English usage, not only with respect

to foreign names, but also to those of British and Irish places. We all know something of the anomalies of our mother-tongue in this respect, but many readers in America will here learn for the first time to say *Annick*, *Dedford*, *Sisseter*, and *Yaul*, for Alnwick, Deptford, Cirencester, and Youghall. We are pleased with both the diligence and taste displayed in the citations from the Poets, as authorities for the accent and sometimes for the vowel sounds of certain names. Among the names thus settled may be mentioned Génoa, Córdova, Grenáda, Mílan, and we add with some surprise, St. Heléna, the penultimate accent of which, as a modern name, is here established by the authority of Wordsworth and Montgomery, while, on the other hand, Alexandria and Philadelphia, as ancient names, are to have a penultimate accent! In short, we look upon this volume as highly creditable to its authors, and as full of entertainment and instruction to all who take an interest in orthoepy. The display of scholarship is chiefly in the Introduction, which contains a very interesting view of the comparative sounds of the European languages. The work, however, is not merely a Pronouncing Gazetteer, but contains in a brief space, the results of the latest geographical authorities, such as Balbi, Malte Brun, M'Culloch, and the Penny Cyclopaedia of London.