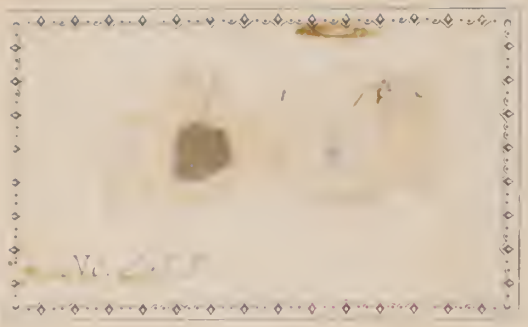

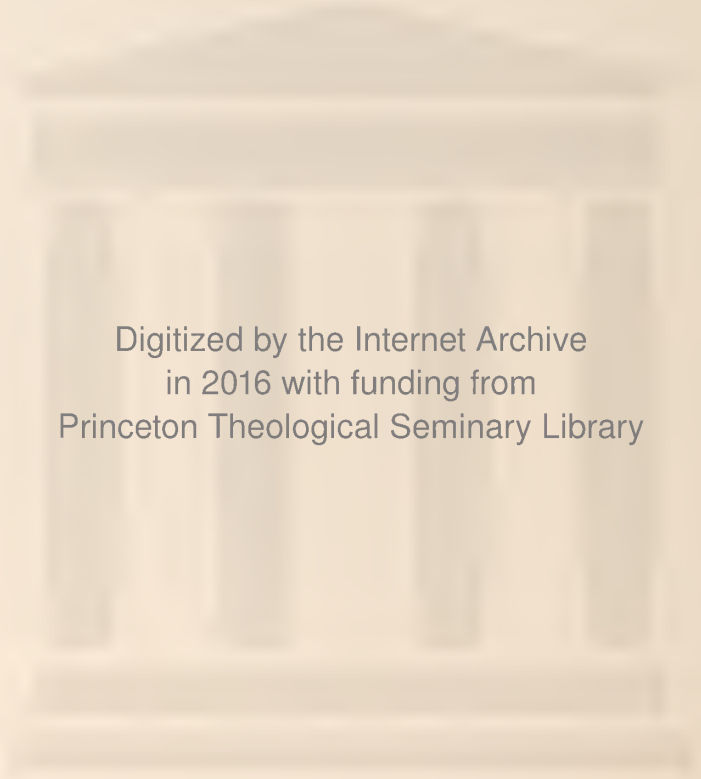

THE

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ART. I.—*The works of John Owen, D. D.* Edited by the Rev. William H. Goold, Edinburgh. New York: Carter and Brothers, 1850, 1851, 1852. 8vo.

THAT this is the best edition of Owen's works, we do not doubt for a moment. It is identical as to every letter and point with the Edinburgh edition of Messrs. Johnstone and Hunter, everywhere known for the beautiful impressions which they have produced, under the auspices of the Free Church. The series of volumes is rapidly coming out, and five have already appeared. For such a book, the price is surprisingly low. What is of more importance, the edition is a critical one, under the eye and hand of a clergyman of Edinburgh, Mr. Goold, who unites for his task several admirable qualities; extensive reading, accurate scholarship, a turn for minute collation, indefatigable labour, and a thorough acquiescence in the theology of the seventeenth century.

It was fit that the great Puritan champion should be introduced to our generation by a Calvinist and a Presbyterian, rather than by any laxer descendant of the nonconformists, who, if they should revisit their old haunts, would scarcely recognize their ancient Independency among the Congregationalists of England.

In regard to the editorial care which has been bestowed on this enterprise, we learn something from the work itself, and something from other sources. The towering reputation of Owen led to efforts towards an edition of his collected works as early as 1721, under the patronage of Asty, Nesbitt, Matthew Clarke, Ridgely, and Bradbury. One folio volume appeared, and thus the affair ended. It was dedicated to the venerable Sir John Hartopp, the friend of Owen, to whose stenography we owe some of our best samples of the great preacher's extempore discourses. The life was by Asty. It was inaccurate, and, as Cotton Mather said, did not "contain so many pages as Owen has written books." Though it was the age of weighty tomes, which a man could hardly lift, οἷοι νυν βροτοι εἰσι, it could not sustain so ponderous an undertaking. The exposition of the Hebrews, of itself, was four folios. Yet Manton's works had been gathered into five such volumes, Goodwin's into as many, Charnock's, Flavel's, and Howe's, into two each, and Bates's into one. The first successful effort was that of Mr. Baynes, under the editorial charge of Mr. Russell, a dissenting minister near London. It reached twenty-one octavo volumes, including Mr. Orme's Memoir. This edition, begun in 1826, is the one which is seen on the shelves of our scholars; but the cost was great, and it has long since been scarce in the market, so as abundantly to justify the Scottish publishers in essaying a new reprint on more moderate terms.

We rise from the examination of these volumes with high respect and unusual satisfaction. Everything that Mr. Goold has done commends our approval, and as much are we thankful for his wise reserve, as for his care and learning. Only those who have worked for the press, losing sleep and health at the slavish comparison of texts and lections, worrying out the meaning of hopeless periods, reforming incompatible orthographies, and threading the maze of preposterous punctuation, and perspiring over proofs and revises, can render due credit to the editorial moil. The work has found a workman fitted to his task. Former editions had been grossly inaccurate. In some of the works, printers had persisted in following some impression indescribably corrupt, in preference to later copies

corrected by the living author. It is believed that few writers have suffered more from this sort of mangling, than John Owen, and few could endure it less; for he wrote rapidly, published in troublous times, and was characteristically careless of little things. This is an affair in which, as every literary observer knows, bad continually grows worse. Consequently which of us is there, who has not been both amused and vexed at the inextricable tangle of sentences in the smaller reprints? The author himself was betrayed into lamentation over the plight to which his "Theologoumena" came to him, "nobis a prelo a capite ad calcem operis absentibus." And he jocosely annexes the following note to his "Death of Death." "I must inform the reader, that I cannot own any of his censures until he shall have corrected these errata, and allowed besides many grains for literal faults, viz: *parius* for *parvus*, *let* for *set*, *him* for *them*, and the like; also mispointing and false accenting of Greek words, occasioned by my distance from the press; and something else, of which it would be too much tyranny in making the printer instrumental in the divulging." Even the saturnine face of criticism melts into a smile over the Oxford edition of our authorized version, in 1717, known as the "Vinegar Edition," because in Luke xiii. 7, we read, "Then said he unto the dresser of his *vinegar*, Behold these three years," &c. But perhaps the instance given by droll Cotton Mather will be regarded as climacteric; who thus prefaces the final table of errata in his Magnalia: "The Holy Bible itself, in some of its editions, hath been affronted with scandalous errors in the press-work; and in one of these they so printed these words, Psalm cxix. 161, '*Printers* have persecuted me without a cause.'"

The present editor deals reverently with the author's text, in the spirit of that honest exactness which happily marks the criticism of this century. The standard of collation has been some edition which may have engaged the author's eye. Necessary additions are enclosed in brackets. Slight grammatical inaccuracies are corrected, but no liberties are taken with antique phraseology. The words and style are Owen's; as should be the case in every edition for the learned. The shocking punctuation of the seventeenth century, made more annoying

by careless compositors, has been amended. Even the italics have been put back into the text, in cases where they had a significancy of emphasis. The ones, twos, and threes, of the author's endless divisions, have been made conformable to an intelligible enumeration; no small endeavour, as any sedulous reader can attest. The scripture quotations have been revised, and the numerous passages from the Fathers have, so far as was possible, been verified and duly noted. These are the points which make a reader secure and satisfied in reading an edition, and which lead us to give this edition the preference to all others.

After ascertaining and perpetuating a true text, it remained for the editor to elucidate the contents. Here one must steer nicely between a show of help by scanty unimportant scholia, and a mass of pedantic and overloading annotation. Mr. Goold has borne sternly towards the side of modest frugality; but with equal learning and judgment. So far as we have observed in five volumes, he has touched the felicitous mean. His remarks prefatory to the several treatises are sufficient to indicate their drift and furnish their history. Some of the ecclesiastical and literary anecdotes which his long familiarity with famous libraries has here supplied, are novel and illustrative. His notes in the margin have, with scarcely an exception, taken us back to the text with increased understanding, and we need scarcely add, they are always favourable to old theology, in its strict interpretation. If the keen and vigilant Presbyterian sometimes looks forth from the foot of the page, we are not the men to complain. A complete Index is promised. A valuable Memoir, in flowing but condensed style, is furnished by the Rev. Andrew Thomson. The treatises are arranged in three grand divisions, as Doctrinal, Practical, and Controversial. If there should be a demand, these volumes will be followed by the Theologoumena and the Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The whole work is purchased in America at five dollars for four volumes.

Thus have we endeavoured to apprize our readers of what they may hope for, in this newest edition of John Owen's writings. But we seize the occasion to add a few remarks on the treatises themselves, and especially on those already issued;

in the confident expectation that some who have despaired of gaining benefit from a rare and voluminous author, and others who have not adverted to his merits, will take occasion to provide themselves with the whole. The volumes before us are, by number, the first, second, fifth, eighth, and ninth; the first three respectively concerning Christ, the Trinity, and Justification, and the remainder containing Sermons.

The first volume is chiefly occupied by two immortal works; one on the Person of Christ, the other on the Glory of Christ. The *Christologia*, or Declaration of the glorious mystery of the Person of Christ, God and Man, was first published in 1679, when Owen was about sixty-three. It rather assumes than undertakes to prove, the dogmatic points as to Christ's proper divinity; it shows this fundamental doctrine in its relation to other truths, and its bearing on inward experience. The author with his usual sagacity foresaw the prevalence of Unitarian corruptions. "Events justified these apprehensions of Owen. A prolonged controversy on the subject of the Trinity arose, which drew forth the works of Bull (1685), Sherlock (1690), and South (1695). In 1710, Whiston was expelled from Oxford for his Arianism. Dr. S. Clarke, in 1712, published Arian views, for which he was summoned before the Convocation. Among the Presbyterian Dissenters, Pierce and Hallet (1717) became openly committed to Arianism." In addition to what we have quoted from the editor, we earnestly commend to every reader who concerns himself with the annals of degraded doctrine in England, the life of Waterland prefixed to his works, and written by Bishop Van Mildert; a treatise rather of doctrine-history and the literature of British Christology, than a biography of the great dialectic warrior and worthy successor of Bull. Particularly would we refer to this masterly dissertation, and to this treatise of Owen, those novices in theological polemics, who imagine that the knots of this perplexed line of reasoning were undiscovered until the days of the Connecticut controversy. *Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona.* Dr. McCrie ranked this treatise and its pendant next after Calvin's Institutes. Owen ends his preface by words of Jerome which show its temper; "Sive legas, sive scribas, sive vigiles, sive dormias, amor tibi semper

buccina in auribus sonet, hic lituus excitet animam tuam, hoc amore furibundus, quære in lectulo tuo, quem desiderat anima tua."

The other treatise is on the Glory of Christ. If we should speak our mind, we should declare it one of the most remarkable effusions of a great and transported mind, at the threshold of heaven, which the Church has ever seen. It is theology fired with spiritual love. It was Owen's dying testimony, penned "for the exercise of his own mind." On the day of his death, when a friend said to him, "Doctor, I have just been putting your book on the Glory of Christ to the press;" he replied, "I am glad to hear that that performance is put to the press; but O, brother Payne, the long looked-for day is come at last, in which I shall see that glory in another manner than I have ever done yet, or was capable of doing in this world." It would be a token for good, if our younger ministers should be found possessed of a relish for such a treatise as this, in which they would find a theological vigour and discipline that none ever surpassed, united with a spirituality, unction, and sublimity, equally rare in the modern pulpit.

The second volume, on the Trinity, contains the well known treatise on Communion with God, a Vindication of the same, and an essay of about seventy-five pages on the Doctrine of the Trinity. No performance of Dr. Owen is more full of his peculiarities than that on Communion; none is likely to be more unpalatable to readers of wavering theology, and superficial experience. Its conclusions startle those who have learnt from recent exegesis to treat the Song of Solomon as an expression of amatory warmth. But as some are found even now to prize the letters of Samuel Rutherford, the same class will not undervalue a writer who like Rutherford was equally at home in the niceties of scholastic distinction, the strategy of polemic defence, and the raptures of divine contemplation. The book appeared in 1657, after Owen's vice-chancellorship at Oxford, and was the summary of pulpit exercises, extending over some years of pastoral teaching. Our editor remarks with justice, that the term Communion, used in the title, denotes not merely the interchange of feeling between God in his gracious character and a soul in a gracious state,

but the gracious relationship upon which this holy relationship is founded; which will account for the strong admixture of doctrine with the details of evangelical emotion. The leading topic, however, is the illustration of a distinct fellowship with each adorable person of the Trinity. The doctrine thus avowed was regarded by many at the time as "a new-fangled one and uncouth." The public for whom it was addressed was unlike our own religious world, and could relish both the erudition and the experience.

Citations of classic and patristic Latin and Greek, and copious adduction of Hebrew originals, rabbinical glosses and sentences of school-doctors, stand side by side with fervid description of evangelical raptures, and the longing of divine affection. Something of the same blending of scholarship and seraphic love is seen in the voluminous Saint's Rest of Baxter, in its unabridged form. But all readers were not Puritans, and the work was assailed; which gave occasion to the vindication against Sherlock, which stands second in this volume.

William Sherlock was father of the more celebrated Dr. Thomas Sherlock, Bishop of London. His attack on Owen was delayed until the work had been seventeen years before the public. He charged on it enthusiastic teachings such as we attribute to the Quakers; as that divine knowledge is to be obtained from the person of Christ, apart from the truth revealed in the Scriptures. But his objections were made to cut widely and deeply into the limbs and vitals of evangelical truth, and revealed an enmity against the entire body of Calvinistic divinity. Sherlock impugns vindicatory justice, which was Owen's citadel for the defence of expiatory atonement. He ridicules the notion of being saved by acquiescing in a plan of grace which leaves nothing to be wrought by the believer. He denies the soul's personal union with Christ, as mystical and absurd. He derides the forensic imputation of Christ's righteousness. In short, he anticipates almost all the cavils of American new-divinity; and we wish those who employ his spent missiles would give heed to the vigorous argument by which they are retorted. In many respects the apology is more fitted to our time than the offensive treatise which preceded it. It deals more with the cardinal points of dogmatics; it bears

more marks of ripe discipline, and it glows with the zeal of a man aroused by unjust attack. A spirit of bold conviction pervades the reasoning, which necessarily takes a wide sweep over the principal heads of theology. "Truth and good company," says Owen, "will give a modest man a little confidence sometimes." The war extended itself. "Robert Ferguson, in 1675, wrote against Sherlock a volume entitled 'The Interest of Reason in Religion,' etc. Edward Polhill followed, in an 'Answer to the Discourse of Mr. William Sherlock,' etc. Vincent Alsop first displayed in this controversy his powers of wit and acumen as an author, in his 'Antisozzo, or Sherlocismus Enervatus.' Henry Hickman, a man of considerable gifts, and pastor of an English congregation at Leyden, wrote the 'Speculum Sherlockianum,' etc. Samuel Rollè, a nonconformist, wrote the 'Prodromus, or the Character of Mr. Sherlock's Book;' and also, in the same controversy, 'Justification Justified.' Thomas Danson, who had been ejected from Sibton, and author of several works against the Quakers, wrote 'The Friendly Debate between Satan and Sherlock,' and afterwards he published again in defence of it. Sherlock, in 1675, replied to Owen and Ferguson in his 'Defence and Continuation of the Discourse concerning the Knowledge of Jesus Christ.' He was supported by Thomas Hotchkis, rector of Staunton, in a 'Discourse concerning the Imputation of Christ's Righteousness,' etc." A second part of the work by Hotchkis, in 1678, has been discovered by Mr. Goold, in addition to Orme's search, and also two more by Sherlock, "An Answer to Thomas Danson's Scandalous Pamphlet," 1677, and a "Vindication of Mr. Sherlock against the Cavils of Mr. Danson."

The short "Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity" has been widely circulated. It appeared in 1669. Among other signs of acceptance, it was translated into Dutch. It was written for the use of ordinary Christians, which will account for the absence of abstruse argument and heavy learning. The doctrine of Christ's Satisfaction, elsewhere so largely handled by Owen, is here discussed in a more familiar way, against the Socinianism which had already made havock in the continent, and was creeping in among the English, as it has since weakened and defiled the theology of some in our own country who

build the sepulchres of their Puritan fathers. In this popular essay, Owen condenses the matter which may be viewed in mass in his Exercitations, Commentary, and answer to Biddle.

The fifth volume, which is the next in order, contains the great work on Justification. In regard to this we cannot do better than to borrow from Mr. Goold's prefatory note. Socinus and Bellarmine both wrote against this article "stantis aut cadentis ecclesiæ." The work of the great Romish controvertist still remains to overshadow many later and feebler antagonists of the truth; and Owen scarcely ever fails to keep his eye upon this subtle and audacious polemic. But there were domestic errors also, which tended to shape the course of the argument. In 1649 Baxter published "Aphorisms on Justification," with a view to certain prevalent Antinomian abuses. Though a holy man, and though at a later date less erroneous, he erred in this book, as elsewhere, by needless and useless compromises. To these Aphorisms Bishop Barlow traces the first departure from the received doctrine of the Reformed churches on the subject of justification. In 1669, Bishop Bull, in his "Apostolical Harmony," declares that "faith denotes the whole condition of the gospel covenant; that is, comprehends in one word all the works of Christian piety." How strange the cyclical motion by which again and again this violent hypothesis comes into sight in the progress of theology! This is indeed to be justified by works under the denomination of faith. Baxter and Bull are great names; many rose to answer them. They were supported by many. Among these was Sir Charles Wolsley, in his "Justification Evangelical," (1667). Sir Charles says somewhere to a correspondent concerning Owen, "I suppose you know his book of Justification was written particularly against mine." Owen's work appeared in 1677. But it is no ephemeral contribution. In Socinus and Bellarmine he had a nobler quarry than the baronet and parliament-man; and in bringing down these he generally did the work for all, of that day and of this. "On his own side of the question," says the editor, "it is still the most complete discussion in our language of the important doctrine to which it relates." "A curious fact," says Mr. Orme, "respecting this book, is mentioned in the Life of Mr.

Joseph Williams of Kidderminster:—'At last, the time of his (Mr. Grimshawe's, an active clergyman of the Church of England) deliverance came. At the house of one of his friends he lays his hand on a book, and opens it, with his face towards a pewter shelf. Instantly his face is saluted with an uncommon flash of heat. He turns to the title page, and finds it to be Dr. Owen on Justification. Immediately he is surprised with such another flash. He borrows the book, studies it, is led into God's method of justifying the ungodly, hath a new heart given unto him; and now, behold, he prayeth!' Whether these flashes were electrical or galvanic, as Southey in his Life of Wesley supposes, it deserves to be noticed that it was not the *flash* but the *book* which converted Grimshawe. The occurrence which turned his attention to it, is of importance merely as the second cause, which, under the mysterious direction of Providence, led to a blessed result."

Owen's purpose in writing this extraordinary work is fully expressed by himself. He says truly that it is vain to recommend the doctrine of justification to such as neither desire nor endeavour to be justified. It was not therefore a diatribe *ad scholas*. "I lay more weight on the steady direction of one soul in this inquiry, than on disappointing the objections of twenty wrangling or fiery disputers." "It is the practical direction of the consciences of men, in their application unto God by Jesus Christ for deliverance from the curse due unto the apostate, and peace with him, with the influence of the way thereof unto universal gospel obedience, that is alone designed in the handling of this doctrine." Yet it would be a sad error to infer from this that the book is experimental or practical in any such sense as not to be learned. There is nothing extant of theological erudition or dialectic skill and strength, which attains a higher degree than this treatise. A system of dogmatic history on this and allied points might be digested from its pages. He pursues the great professor, cardinal, and controvertist of Romanism through all his *ambages*. He shows himself familiar with the whole tenor of scholastic argument, and cites with freedom and understanding Lombard, Aquinas, and Anselm. He is equally at home among the Socini and the Polish Brethren. He lived among writers in English who had

brought out all the strength of the Pelagian and Arminian objections, and it is little to say that he knew them *intus et in cute.* But his power is shown most of all in exegesis of Scripture, and this will surprise no one who has ever used his commentary on the Hebrews in the way of perpetual collation with later interpreters. We hold a dogmatic head to be as necessary a propædeutic to exposition as a multiform learning in philology; and Owen had both, according to his times. If he maintained an error against Walton and was defeated, it was a prejudice of reverence, and was common to the best men of his day. Raised on the shoulders of giants we see further than he; but we must feel humble when we measure his greatness even in regard to Hebrew and Grcek lexicography, grammar, and hermeneutics. It is precisely in the analysis of hard places, and the enucleation of consistent senses, by the aid of united learning, acumen and judgment, that he overtops all later commentators.

The entire subject of Justification is treated in detail. Here is discussed all that relates to those nice questions touching the meaning of the term—its uses in Scripture, in the fathers, and in the schools—the forensic nature of the act—the two-fold justification of the later Romanists—the place of faith in justifying—imputation—the necessity of good works—and the discrepance between Paul and James. If the new divinity would learn more and subtler objections than it has framed, and see all its vaunted armoury arrayed in more formidable might than by themselves, with overwhelming refutation of greater arguments than they have mustered, by one who often anticipates the very cavils of the nineteenth century—let them come hither. We do not bind ourselves to Owen's interpretations, distinctions, or definitions; but if the topic has educed anything more athletic and commanding, we crave to see it. What is remarkable, two centuries have not made this argument obsolete. So far as it oppugns Baronius, Vasquez, and Hosius, it is the very feud which is between us and our Wisemans, Kenricks, and Hugheses. In these parts, and in all that concerns the Arminians, it is our debate with the corrupt portion of New England. If the anti-socinian passages have lost some of their freshness and pertinency, it is because the latest

form of Unitarian unbelief has reached an aphelion far more wide of truth than the tenets of Socinus.

The remaining article in this fifth volume is the "Gospel Grounds and Evidences of the Faith of God's Elect," and, as a posthumous work, was given to the world in 1695, by Dr. Chauncey, pastor of the Bury Street congregation, in the service of which Dr. Owen died twelve years before, and of which Dr. Watts became pastor in 1687. It is altogether on the marks of true faith, and is a help to self-examination, but with that mixture of didactic statement with description of spiritual states, which appears in all Owen's experimental theology. We may observe that he repudiates a tenet which has been dear to great numbers in Scotland, and some in America, to wit, that faith is an especial assurance of a man's own justification. "*That*," he wisely observes, "it will produce, but not until another step or two in its progress be over."

Two volumes, the eighth and ninth of the complete series, but the fourth and fifth in the order of appearing, are filled with sermons; being the most full and accurate collection which has ever been published. One volume contains all that came from the press in the author's lifetime. Among these is one which Mr. Goold has reclaimed from the "Morning Exercises against Popery, at Southwark;" it appears now for the first time as a part of Owen's works. The sermon on "Human Power Defeated," is for reasons given assigned to the posthumous class. So many of these are what some denominate occasional discourses, that we owe much to the editor's research, for the historical statements which show their pertinency to the time and audience. Owen was more honoured as a preacher by contemporaries than by later generations; but a preacher can be judged only by those who hear him. Both friends and foes attested his power. His preaching was followed by saving effects. He was frequently called to officiate before the Parliament, and usually received their thanks, at a time when this tribute was sometimes bluntly denied. These discourses were often prepared in a very short time, amidst many public cares, so that, to use his own words, they were sometimes "like Jonah's gourd, the offspring of a night." After some judicious remarks on their excellencies, the editor concludes, "that their

chief blemish—if it be a blemish—is the tendency of the author, in the fertility of his resources, to compress within the limits of one sermon what, to minds less affluent, would have furnished materials for several sermons."

To be more particular, two of these sermons, entitled "Ebenezer," commemorate the deliverance of Essex County and Committee, in 1648. When Colchester, after a severe siege, yielded to the parliamentary army under Lord Fairfax, Owen was a pastor at the neighbouring town of Coggeshall. The sermons relate to this event, and the similar successes at Rumford. They have been regarded as too warlike in their tone; but when we consider them as delivered to victorious soldiers, we are rather drawn to the evidence they afford of a deep and pervading religious interest in the minds of the commonwealth-men. We can scarcely figure to ourselves a popular preacher using such language as this to a military audience in our day. They are full of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, are textual, doctrinal, evangelical, and spiritual. "Consider," says the preacher, in peroration, "if there be so much sweetness in a temporal deliverance, Oh! what excellency is there in that eternal redemption which we have in the blood of Jesus! If we rejoice for being delivered from them who could have killed the body, what unspeakable rejoicing is there in that mercy whereby we are freed from the wrath to come! Let this possess your thoughts, let this fill your souls, let this be your haven from all future storms. And here strike I sail, in this to abide with you and all the saints of God for ever."

There is a discourse on "Righteous Zeal encouraged by Divine Protection," with an addendum on Toleration. It was preached before the Commons, January 31, 1648, a fast day, on account of the execution of Charles the day before. Owen's consenting to appear on such an occasion, is regarded by Dr. McCrie as "the greatest blot on his public life." History says of the sermon, that "it was so modest and inoffensive, that his friends could make no just exception, nor his enemies take an advantage of his words another day." Nor was it reckoned against him, after the Restoration, until 1683, when, a few weeks before his death, parts of the sermon were publicly burned at Oxford. In 1710, by an order of the

House of Lords, the Oxford decree was in its turn burned by the common hangman. Mr. Orme vindicates the Independents, as a body, from any imputation founded on Owen's appearance at this time. We need scarcely add that the Presbyterians never required such a vindication; for it is well known that the Scottish Covenanters immediately on hearing of the decapitation hastened to proclaim his son king, under the title of Charles II.

The Treatise "of Toleration" comes strangely in, after this sermon. It is calm and noble. In our day and country where the word *toleration* is lost from the vocabulary, in any such sense as this, and in our Church which has amended the Confession of Faith on this head, we might spare some of Owen's ponderous arguments; but they have abiding value in the history of religious liberty.

In a sermon on Rom. iv. 20, preached in 1650, after Owen had been in Ireland, there are some expressions which have peculiar interest at this hour. He is exhorting the Parliament to engage in missionary work, and after allusion to the massacre of forty thousand Protestants in 1641, thus proceeds: "God's work, whereunto you are engaged, is the propagating of the kingdom of Christ, and the setting up the standard of the gospel. How is it that Jesus Christ is in Ireland only as a lion staining all his garments with the blood of his enemies; and none to hold him out as a Lamb sprinkled with his own blood to his friends? Is it the sovereignty and interest of England that is alone to be there transacted? For my part, I see no further into the mystery of these things but that I could heartily rejoice, that innocent blood being expiated, *the Irish might enjoy Ireland, so long as the moon endureth, so that Jesus Christ might possess the Irish.* But God having suffered those sworn vassals of the Man of Sin to break out into such ways of villany as render them obnoxious unto vengeance, upon such rules of government among men as he hath appointed; is there, therefore, nothing to be done but to give a cup of blood into their hands? Doubtless the way whereby God will bring the followers of the beast to condign destruction for all their enmity to the Lord Jesus, will be by suffering them to run into such practices against men as shall righteously expose them to ven-

geance, according to acknowledged principles among the sons of men. But is this all? hath he no further aim? Is not all this to make way for the Lord Jesus to take possession of his long since promised inheritance? And shall we stop at the first part? Is this to deal fairly with the Lord Jesus?—call him out to the battle, and then keep away his crown? God hath been faithful in doing great things for you; be faithful in this one, *do your utmost for the preaching of the gospel in Ireland.*"

Two sermons are on the "Branch of the Lord the Beauty of Zion;" and one of them was preached at Edinburgh, after Cromwell's severe dealings with the Presbyterian forces at Dunbar. Cromwell, on taking possession of the Scotch capital, had some sharp correspondence with the Presbyterian clergy. In reply to one of his lectures which he read them, and in allusion to his famous preaching colonels and prophesying privates, they sent from the castle their utterance of "regret that men of mere civil place and employment should usurp the calling and employment of the ministry, particularly in Scotland, contrary to the government and discipline therein established—to the maintenance whereof (say they to the victorious Independent) you are bound by the Solemn League and Covenant." Cromwell, in his rejoinder, says, "The Lord pity you!" He is sarcastic upon the Presbyterians for their inconsistency in "crying down malignants,* and yet setting up the head of them, Charles Stuart." The sermons are dedicated to the man in power, but without commendatory phrases, and with a quasi apology for being found among men-at-arms. Another sermon commemorates what Cromwell styled "the crowning mercy" of "Worcester fight," which decided his control of all England; and still another is on the death of Ireton. But all these yield in regard to the greatness of the occasion, to one which follows the great Protector's death. This also was delivered before Parliament, and it betrays, as Mr. Goold remarks, a spirit of anxiety as to the future developments of Providence. It may be observed of all these discourses, that though pronounced before excited political bodies, in troublous times, they are

* We thought we had reached an end of marvelling at Webster's American Dictionary, when we came upon the following definition, (Springfield edition, 1848, p. 689, "MALIGNANT, 2. A name of reproach for a Puritan."—[*Obs.*]

made up chiefly of the great and permanent truths of theology, and contain pungent spiritual counsels to men in power. An extract, otherwise suggestive, will serve as a specimen. "Labour personally (says he to the legislators) every one of you, to get Christ in your own hearts. I am very far from thinking that a man may not be lawfully called to magistracy, if he be not a believer; or that being called, he should be impeded in the execution of his trust and place because he is not so. I shall not suspend my obedience while I inquire into my governor's conversion; but yet, this I say, considering that I cannot much value any good, but that which comes by the way of promise, I confess I can have no great expectation from them whom God loves not, delights not in. If any be otherwise minded, I shall not contend with him; but for this I will contend with all the world, that it is your duty to labour to assure Christ in your own hearts, even that you may be the better fitted for the work of God in the world." These are sayings which might sound oddly in the ears of modern legislatures.

There are sermons of a different character in this volume, such as must have given more scope to the author's mind, in its habitual and favourite exercise of grappling with the great doctrines of reformed theology and transmuting them into experience. Of this class are the discourses on Reproof, on the Authority of the Scripture, and on the Romish Chamber of Imagery. They were delivered at Pinner's Hall, by Presbyterian and Independent ministers, who were glad to unite in this labour of love as soon as the penal laws began to be suspended. We have often wished that some wealthy men in our cities would set up something like the week-day lectureships of London, a number of which still exist, and from which so many volumes of sound theology have proceeded. The first lecturers were Dr. Bates, Dr. Manton, Dr. Owen, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Collins, and Mr. Jenkyn. Out of a controversy about Antinomianism grew the lectures at Salter's Hall. The editor's prefatory note informs us that these lectures at Pinner's Hall were only the resumption of a series which had been interrupted by the Restoration. During the wars of the Commonwealth, the pious Londoners used to meet in crowds at seven in the morning, every day, using different churches in rotation. It was a

concert of prayer for friends in the army. When the war declined, this became a casuistical lecture. The discourses were printed in numerous volumes, some of which are still seen on book-stalls and in old collections, under the several titles of "The Morning Exercise Methodized," 1660, 1661, 1674, 1683, and 1690; and "The Morning Exercise against Popery," 1675. Of earlier date are "The Morning Exercise at Giles-in-the-Fields," 1655, and "The Word of Faith, at Martin's-in-the-Fields," 1655.

Among the sermons of this volume the reader will find Owen's "Country Essay for the Practice of Church Government there." In the preface he indulges in this sharp sally. "Those names which men are known by when they are oppressed, they commonly use against others whom they seek to oppress. I would, therefore, that all horrid appellations, as increasers of strife, kindlers of wrath, enemies of charity, food for animosity, were for ever banished from amongst us. Let a spade be called a spade, so we take heed Christ be not called Beelzebub. I know my profession to the greatest part of the world is sectarism, as Christianity; amongst those who profess the name of Christ, to the greatest number [Papists] I am a sectary, because a Protestant; amongst Protestants, at least the one-half [Lutherans] account all men of my persuasion Calvinistical, sacramentarian sectaries; amongst these, again, to some [Episcopalians] I have been a puritanical sectary, an Arian heretic, because anti-prelatical; yea, and amongst these last not a few [Independents] account me a sectary, because I plead for Presbyterial government in churches; and to all these am I thus esteemed, as I am fully convinced, causelessly and erroneously." His "Essay" or programme of a church-organization comprehends the following provisions. Ecclesiastical boundaries are to be marked, not by the civil power "with the precincts of high constables," but by ministers and other Christians. Ministers actually in office are to remain. Elders, chosen "annually or otherwise," are to join in rule and admonition. The ministers are to act "jointly, and as in a classical combination, and putting forth all authority that such classes are entrusted with." It is allowable, that other officers chosen by the brethren be added to these. The latter

part of the discourse discusses the subject of Toleration. This is not the place for examining the question of Owen's theory of church government. Mr. Thomson, in his Memoir, is studiously moderate on this point. We may with the utmost safety go his length, if no further, and conclude that Owen modified his independent tenets as he grew older, admitted that a government including lay elders might not be useless, admitted a certain connection of particular churches in regard to powers, and admitted the propriety of synodal action in cases of flagrant error or defection. That Owen was a zealous maintainer of an eldership which did not preach, or what has been called a congregational Presbytery, must be known to all our instructed readers.

The Posthumous Sermons fill the remaining volume, and fall into two classes; those which were prepared for the press by the author, and those which were reported from notes taken in hearing. Or, dividing them by time, as our editor does, we have those published at different years, severally, to wit, 1690, 1721, 1756, and 1760. The discourses on the Strength of Faith are in the best strain of his peculiar blending of dogma with experience, and contain some keen thrusts in a style almost satiric at the Arminianizing church-divines of the day, who harped on the charge of solifidianism, which Owen shows lay as justly against their own articles. In preaching on the Nature and Beauty of Gospel Worship, he touched a favourite theme, more fully treated in his "Spiritual Mindedness." Here we have the philosophy of Puritanism, as opposed to the ritualism of the Laudians, which lives again in the Puseyism of our own age. This required masterly and delicate handling, in a time when Familism, early Quakerism, and other enthusiastic schemes, were drawing mightily towards that disuse of external, and as they pretended, "carnal ordinances," an error charged on dissent and perhaps exemplified by such isolated antiprelatists as Milton in old age.

Casuistical Theology was deeply considered in a time when thousands were under conviction of sin, in a travailing nation, pervaded by intense anxieties respecting personal salvation, and urging their way by various paths, true and false, towards inward peace. The church-meetings of exercised brethren

were much taken up with cases of conscience, such as always arise under discriminating utterance of the truth, but which in that period of earnestness were more formally brought to the test of Scripture and argument. We dare not affirm that this morbid anatomy of the soul was not sometimes carried to an extreme, but we are sure the inward workings of the heart, and the actings of the new creature, under the Spirit of God, and against the temptations of the adversary, were never laid bare with a more skilful hand than that of Owen. Mr. Goold has judiciously indicated the differences between this legitimate method, and that "art of quibbling with God," which had the same name among the Jesuits, and received its *coup de grace* from the pen of Pascal. He refers us also to the casuistical literature of Protestantism, as found in Mayer, Bishops Sanderson and Taylor, Dickson, Pike and Hayward, and the Morning Exercises. Fourteen cases of conscience are here treated in as many short discourses at church-meetings. Every page reveals something of both preacher and hearers; a spiritual physician, learned, skilful, daring, and compassionate, and a community widely agitated with inquiries such as in our times would scarcely collect a congregation, especially on a working-day. Some of the questions answered are these: What conviction of a state of sin, and of the guilt of sin, is necessary to cause a soul to look after Christ? What are the evidences that we have received Christ? How are we to recover from decays? May we pray to Christ, as Mediator? Is prevalent sin consistent with a state of grace? These are topics for all time, and are here discussed with the author's known pungency and scriptural wisdom.

Owen often, if not generally, preached extempore; and the only approach we can make to a knowledge of his manner in this kind must be derived from the short-hand reporter. Though the world, we may fairly presume, never possessed a system of philosophical stenography until the phonographic invention of Pitman, it has had short-hand-writers from a very early age. The *notarii* of the Romans took down the substance of all great orations. They are mentioned by Pliny and Martial, and some manuscripts contain specimens of the symbols used in this tachygraphy, as it was called; these may

be examined in any Tauchnitz edition of Cicero. Almost all the sermons of Augustine were taken from his lips in this manner; not to speak of similar reports of certain Greek fathers. We owe thirty-eight discourses of Owen to the ready pen of a loving hearer, Sir John Hartopp. Of this good man, Dr. Watts says, in his imaginative and original sermon on the 'Happiness of separate Spirits;' "When I name Sir John Hartopp, all that know him will agree, that I name a gentleman, a scholar, and a Christian." He was often in parliament, and was a warm friend of Dr. Owen. As to the sermons, "he wrote them in short-hand from the Doctor's own mouth, and then took the pains to transcribe them into long-hand, as thinking them worthy of being transmitted down to posterity." The like affectionate care has preserved to us some of the most useful labours of Robert Hall. In regard to matter, these reported sermons of Owen remind us constantly of his other works; though, being parts of ordinary parochial teaching, they are often on plain subjects, the daily nutriment of God's people. But as to style and manner, they have some striking peculiarities, even after due allowance has been made for lacunæ in the report. The transitions are rapid; the illustrations are more brightly figured; the whole air is quick and familiar; and instead of the circumvolved and lumbering amplifications which rolled from the great Doctor's copious quill, we have sentences almost as brisk and curt as those of his more mercurial nonconformist brethren. A comparison of Owen's written and oral homiletic style is worthy of being recommended to young preachers. Of these sermons twenty-five constitute a series which has been printed again and again, under the title of 'Sacramental Discourses.' An edition of them appeared in 1844, with a preface by Dr. Alexander of Edinburgh, a learned and able divine, who speaks of the collection "as, upon the whole, one of the most useful and instructive companions to the Lord's table with which the literature of the country can supply them."

Thus we have gone over the contents of these five volumes with the confident expectation that even this meager outline will induce some to procure the entire work. But we must not deny ourselves the liberty of adding some remarks on the cha-

racter and merits of this great theologian. Among his coëvals he was by common consent ranked as foremost in the array of Calvinistic Nonconformists. His services to the cause of religion and liberty were not confined to the products of his study; he was great in the pulpit, in the guidance of troubled consciences, in the polity of education, and in what his own age denominated "affairs." Hence he became the target for many a flight of arrows from errorists, high-churchmen and malignants, carrying the venom of South's wit and the barbed doggerel of Butler's iambics. He was so far an Independent, as to suffer in the estimation of such Presbyterians as distrusted Cromwell and could not forget the field of Dunbar. Yet his ponderous wisdom and shining piety overbore all temporary dislike, and secured him a name which none have more tenderly cherished than our ecclesiastical progenitors. His immense erudition joined to an exhaustive, crushing logic, and a fervour as high as that of the mystics, but purer and more scriptural, caused his writings to be the almost necessary arsenal of succeeding polemics. His philology, his school-divinity, his classic stores, his thorough reading in all heresies, and his unanswerable reasonings, were tenfold more honourable, because they resulted not in novel hypotheses, but in fortifying the catholic tenets of the Reformed faith. In this respect he was a strong contrast to Richard Baxter, who had equal knowledge of recondite literature, equal ardour, equal sincerity, and vastly greater command of eloquent diction, in "English pure and undefiled;" but who was for ever goaded by the œstrum of inventive genius, misled by the lights of his restless imagination, puzzled by distinctions akin to those of Aquinas and Scotus, whom he so often quotes, and wasted in speculations intended to better but really marring the symmetrical reformation edifice. Hence it is the hortatory works of one, and the theological treatises of the other, which are respectively their glory. As unlike was Owen to John Howe, but for other reasons. We do not remember any expatiating ascents of Owen, sustained through such a career of spiritual soaring, as some of Howe's. Owen displays more of the process, the heave and groanings of the engine, the powerful and often tedious exercitation on originals, textual sources, and dogmatic sequence, the repeated downfalls of the

tilt-hammer on heretical sophisms, and the obstructed but triumphant passage from inward strength to palpable effects. Howe seldom spends long time on the Hebrew and Greek text, meddles little with the genesis and growth of schools and opinions, hardly ever looks aside at opponents, never disturbs his gradual rise to unearthly elevation by the technicalities of the books, but platonizes in a Christian sense, floats away on his own happy wing, consistently with common faith, but in a language all his own, free from the trick of contemporary quaintness and puritanic mannerism, yet swelling into peculiar eloquence for those who can accompany him through the occasional heaviness of his preliminary movements. It is remarkable how few sentences can be detached from Howe's folios, expressive of the critical definitions of strict Calvinism, which, on the whole, he nevertheless admitted; while in Owen such may be found *ad aperturam libri.* With Manton, Charnock, Bates and Flavel, it would be a violence to compare John Owen; great in a certain way they cannot aspire to be named as his compeers.

We do not rank Owen among metaphysical divines. By saying this, we are far from denying to him a perspicacity equal to any, exercised by long converse with the intricacies of scholastic ontology and psychology. In places innumerable, he evinces his power of sustaining divine truth by showing its correspondence with the nature of spiritual things and the record of consciousness. At the same time it is certain, that his method of inquiry and proof is exegetical and dogmatical, rather than philosophical. Our meaning may be most briefly indicated by stating that in the respect intended he is unlike Edwards and the New England theologians. In the same way he also differs from earlier writers, such as Twisse. A profound reverence for the inspired Scriptures, as the material of all theological science, compelled him into the lines of laborious interpreters; so that even where the titles under which he ranges his thoughts are those of the old *theologia dogmatica*, the process of argument conducts him perpetually to a closeness of exegesis, which was limited only by the apparatus of his day.

As a polemic he was formidable. Such any writer must needs be who has mastered all the libraries of error, and nerved

himself by all the labours of the dialectic palæstra, besides possessing invention, clear understanding, manly judgment, and immovable love of truth. It was not however by smart fetches, nimble fence, or the suddenness of single dashes, that he achieved his victories. The mode of his day took time for campaigns; and this was favourable to Owen, who never left an unreduced fortress in his rear, and loved to pursue his adversary in every movement, and drive him from every cover. In so doing he is often tedious, but he is never weak and never sophistical; and there is a glow of interest, when after a lengthened preparation, he concentrates his columns, and overwhelms a Socinian or Popish enemy by the irresistible summation of his argument. Yet it is nowise surprising, that readers of a hasty or fastidious turn should regard many of his dissertations as unreasonably drawn out.

The wonder is, that a writer of such intellectual force and such store of learning, should have displayed the majesty of his faculties in treatises on the inward experience of the renewed soul. This must be admitted as the fact. Leaving out of view sermons, and passages of great unction, interspersed throughout his doctrinal works, we need only remind any reader of the books on Communion, on Temptation, on Indwelling Sin, on the Mortification of Sin, and above all on Spiritual Mindedness. In these he shows a heart exercised with long and sore trials, accustomed to self-inspection, with reference to the highest spiritual standard, and sensitive as to the slightest harm threatening the work of the Spirit. The Antinomian tendencies of the day led him to use the probe with an unflinching hand, and to apply the tests of regeneration with a severity which is sometimes appalling. His lofty idea of a true spiritual worship, under the New Testament, as distinguished from all fancies, frames, imaginary elevations, ceremonious offices, and pompous service, appears and re-appears in every stage of his protracted authorship. On the other hand, the joy of religion, as converse most assured and intimate, with the Mediator, God manifest in the flesh, beams with a holy radiance over all the numerous works which treat of Christ. He would have been out of his element in such a directory for details of Christian practice as fills several volumes of Baxter's works, and his

talent lay as little in convictive application of the law, such as we find in the famous Call to the Unconverted, or Alleine's Alarm; but when he undertook to carry his clew through the mazes of an experienced heart, he did the work of guidance so as to be without a rival. This it is which has endeared his writings to the most spiritual of the evangelical churches, even among the unlettered; while the masculine theology which underlies this stratum of experience like a mass of granite, has commended the same treatises to minds otherwise prone to turn away from experimental religion.

The style of Owen has been sufficiently stigmatized, till there is scarcely a dainty polisher of smooth periods who has not learnt to gird at it. Notwithstanding some undeniable awkwardnesses, it has qualities of characteristic greatness. Its very unwieldiness often holds the attention and leaves impressions such as the author purposed. Owen's sentences abhor melodious rhythm, and twist themselves into cacophony, disappointing the ear of all cadence; as if one with a fine voice should try to sing out of tune. The natural directness, unstudied tenderness, and manly grace of Baxter's incomparable English is certainly wanting; yet Owen is English too, and often most so where he is most huge and exorbitant in his homely circumlocutions. No one can plead in his behalf that he was ruined by classical reading, for it is agreed that his Latin is worse than his vernacular; see the Theologoumena *passim*. All cunning balance of clauses was far from his thoughts. Labouring with anxieties of another sort, he broke forth in words which threw themselves into unusual but strong array, making the style a genuine effluence of the man. Similitudes and metaphors are not numerous, and when he goes into his garden, all is welcome that tells his meaning, be it weed or flower; but we could give a *hortus siccus* of such illustrations, equal to any we ever read for rugged force and power over the imagination. He revelled much more in those formulas, even down to illative particles, which denote the articulations of logic, and loved to play with these technical phrases, as a swordsman preludes his assault by motions proper to his art of defence. There are moods in which the student who is capable of an interest in such great wrestling of ratiocination will take

a peculiar delight in these very formalities of the schools. They had not yet invented our way of crushing a heretical opponent with rose-leaves and violets, or turning the dialectic spear into a thyrsus of epigrams. We can never cease to regret that a man so truly admirable as Robert Hall should have allowed himself to disparage our great theologian in words so contemptuous as some which are ascribed to him. The well known remark about the "continent of mud," recorded by Dr. Gregory, is traditionally said to have been repeated by Hall to the late Dr. John M. Mason, who was an enthusiastic admirer of Owen, and well able to vindicate him. Something similar is found in the Reminiscences of a Mr. Greene, prefixed to the fourth American volume of Hall's works; a memoir which up to the moment of this present writing stands clearly first in our list of puerile biographies. Among a score of vapid or foolish sayings (often deriving their quality doubtless from the conduit) perpetuated in this helpless collection, Hall is made to say of Owen; "I can't think how you can like Dr. Owen. I can't read him with any patience. I never read a page of Dr. Owen, sir, without finding some confusion in his thoughts, either a truism or a contradiction in terms." It was adventurous in Mr. Hall, (supposing him to have ever said it,) so summarily to depose the acknowledged champion of English Calvinism from a place accredited to him by the suffrages of theologians, themselves great, and of various and opposing schools. It was a false judgment, perhaps adopted early, in his Socinian days, left uncorrected by any sufficient perusal of Owen's works, and favoured by the strong repugnance of a delicate tasteful scholar for the austere, antiquated and uncouth style of the mighty but slipshod Nonconformist. How unlike this the recorded opinions of Watts and Doddridge, and (not to confine ourselves to dissent,) of Cecil, who said: "Owen stands at the head of his class of divines. His scholars will be more profound and enlarged, and better furnished, than those of most other writers. His work on the Spirit has been my treasure-house, and one of my very first-rate books." Indeed it would be easy to fill pages with extracts, in the nature of testimonials to the esteem in in which Dr. Owen was held first by his contemporaries, and

then by sound and capable theologians of each succeeding generation down to our own day. But he asks no witnesses; his works are before us, to speak for themselves.

David Craig in.

Art. II.—*Early Christianity in the British Isles.*

Britain was first invaded by the Romans, about half a century before the birth of Jesus Christ. The horrible rites of Druidism then prevailed over the Island. With the inhabitants of Britain, and with the appalling rites of this superstition, the Roman people were made acquainted through the Commentaries of Julius Cæsar. Under the Emperor Claudius, who invaded the Island in person, about A. D. 43, the country was for the most part subjugated to the invincible arms of the Romans; and it continued in their possession down to the middle of the fifth century. It is a fact sufficiently ascertained by history, that the Roman conquests led to the extermination of Druidism, and thus, in the providence of God, paved the way for the introduction of Christianity.

Of the first introduction of Christianity into Great Britain we have no authentic information. The legendary records of the monkish historians of the middle ages are unworthy of credit. But while we do not acknowledge the authority of tradition, we may at least listen to its voice, and collect the substance of what it has most unvaryingly handed down to us. Tradition often contains the outlines of historical truth, and while rejecting its amplifications and details, we may in some instances allow the main circumstances to be true.

In the traditionary annals of the British Isles, we find the name of the apostle Paul mentioned as the first who planted the gospel among the Britons. This is one of the most uncertain and vague of the many traditions on this subject. But Bishop Stillingfleet, Adam Clarke, and others, have supposed that this account is corroborated by the words of Clement of

Rome, who wrote in the first century, and whose epistles are generally considered as authentic records of remote Christian antiquity. He tells us in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, that Paul published the gospel to "the utmost bounds of the west." By the utmost bounds of the west, some have argued that Britain must be meant. But this is merely conjectural. There can be little doubt that Clement here refers to Spain. Paul, when he wrote to the Romans, had preached the gospel from Jerusalem to Illyricum; and casting his mind still farther towards the western ocean, he embraces Spain in his generous designs, and says to the Romans, "Whensoever I take my journey into Spain, I will come to you." And again he says, "I will come by you into Spain." The words of Clement prove that he performed this contemplated journey into Spain, and thus became the herald of the gospel from the east to the west, even as far as the shore of the western ocean. So that the tradition of the planting of the gospel in Britain by the apostle Paul, must be rejected as resting on the most dubious evidence. The same is true of another legend, which gives this honour to the apostle Peter.

There is another tradition of high antiquity, which ascribes the introduction of Christianity into Britain to Joseph of Arimathea. Joseph, with eleven other disciples, is said to have been sent into Britain to introduce the gospel of Jesus Christ. He sought permission from one of the kings of the Britons to settle on a rude and uncultivated piece of land called Glaestiny-byrig (Glastonbury). This request having been granted, a chapel of wicker-work was built, in which the gospel was preached, and the true God worshipped for the first time in the British Isles. This tradition runs through all the early legendary histories of Britain, and is even to be traced in some of her ancient charters. While there is much that is clearly fabulous connected with this story, it may be that the main circumstances are true.

According to the learned Dr. Jamieson, the Culdees, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel, affirmed that they received their evangelical doctrines, and their peculiar modes of worship from the disciples of the apostle John.

There is another tradition handed down to us by the venera-

ble Bede, which states that Lucius, king of Britain, having embraced the Christian religion, sent (A. D. 156) to Eleutherus, Bishop of Rome, for instructers in the Christian faith, and that this request was granted. If there be any truth in this, we may safely conclude that the Christian religion had been introduced into Britain long before the time of king Lucius, and having made its way among his subjects, had at length been embraced by the king, to whom tradition gives the honour of being the first of the kings of the earth who embraced the religion of Jesus Christ.

From these traditions there is good reason to conclude, that Christianity was introduced into Britain towards the close of the first century, and by missionaries from the east. But we gladly leave this region of doubt and uncertainty, and turn to authentic history, which clearly indicates the existence of Christianity in Britain at a very early period.

Tertullian, who flourished in the second century, affirms that Christianity had found its way into those places of Britain, where even Roman valour could not penetrate. Discoursing on the words of David, Psal. xix. 4, "Their line is gone out through all the earth," he says, "Even all the boundaries of the Spaniards, and the different nations of the Gauls, and those parts of Britain which were inaccessible to the Romans are become subject to Christ: *Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo subdita.*" We have no reason to doubt the testimony of this father, and this is a clear proof, not only that Christianity was established in Britain before the middle of the second century, but also that it had penetrated into the remote and unconquered regions of Caledonia, and that our rude, invincible, northern forefathers had at this early period been subdued into the obedience of the gospel. The traditions of the Culdees, already spoken of, confirm this testimony.

We have the further testimony of Origen, who flourished in the first of the third century, to the existence of Christianity in the British Isles before his time. Speaking of the prophecies of Ezekiel, he says: "When, before the advent of Christ, did *the land of Britain* agree in the worship of one God? But now on account of the churches which are spread to the uttermost bounds of the world, the whole earth invokes the God of

Israel." This testimony is decisive to the existence, and even to the prevalence of Christianity in Britain at the beginning of the third century. In the fourth century bishops from the British territories were present at the Council of Sardis. In the fifth century we have accounts of three different councils held in Britain, for the regulation of doctrine and worship; thus proving beyond all question that the Christian religion had taken firm root, and was widely spread over the various independent states or kingdoms into which Britain was then divided.

Meanwhile, the Christian religion had become deplorably corrupt in doctrine and discipline; and there is the clearest evidence of the participation of the British churches in the degeneracy. After the fall of Paganism, Rome began to be regarded as the seat of ecclesiastical government; and efforts were made to bring the whole Christian Church to submit to the supremacy of the Roman bishop. It would seem that the British churches generally yielded. But there is every reason to believe that the simple Christians of Scotland and Ireland retained the primitive simplicity of Christian doctrine and ordinances. Celestine, Bishop of Rome, is indeed said to have ordained Palladius, and sent him to the Scots as their bishop. But there is no evidence that this mission succeeded. Indeed, nothing further is known of Palladius, but that he died and was buried at Fordoun in the Mearns. St. Patrick, too, is said to have been ordained by Celestine and sent as archbishop to Ireland, where in forty years he converted the whole island to the faith. But of all this there is no proof. It is pretty certain that St. Patrick was a Scotchman, and that he instructed the Irish in the pure faith and simple worship of the Scottish churches. That he established the Presbyterian form of government is very evident. He established 365 churches, and ordained 365 bishops besides 3000 elders. There were thus one bishop and about eight elders for each church;—just the Presbyterian institution of our day, a minister for each church with his session. So that we claim St. Patrick, not only as a Scotchman, *but as a good Presbyterian.*

It would seem then, that amid the general corruption of the Christian Church, Christianity continued to exist in something

of its primitive purity, in the remote regions of Scotland and of Ireland:

"The pure Culdees
Were Albyn's earliest priest of God
Ere yet an island of her seas
By foot of Saxon monk was trod—
Long ere her Churchmen by bigotry
Were barred from wedlock's holy tie."

At the end of the fourth century, the Britons were continually harassed by irruptions of Saxon barbarians. After a severe and prolonged struggle the invaders prevailed, and about the middle of the fifth century, they possessed themselves of the finest and most fertile regions of the Island. The Anglo-Saxons were distinguished for their strength and warlike bravery. They were idolaters, adoring the sun and moon; giving worship to Woden their great ancestor, as well as to two goddesses, named Rhæda and Eostre. They also had another goddess whom they named Hertha, or Mother Earth. They had many idols, and venerated stones, groves, and fountains. It would even seem that they occasionally, if not statedly, offered up human sacrifices. Thus it happened that Britain was again covered with heathen temples filled with priests and idols. Christianity however still prevailed among the Britons, Picts, and Scots.

We come now to that period when it is necessary to speak of the mission of the monk Augustin. He was sent by Pope Gregory to convert the inhabitants of Britain from heathenism, and the following is a brief history of the origin, nature, and results of that mission.

About the year 584, Gregory, who afterwards was raised to the Papal chair, was one day passing through the market of Rome, when he saw some beautiful youths who were there exposed for sale as slaves. He asked where they came from, and the answer was that they were from Britain. He then inquired whether they were Christians or Pagans? On hearing that they were idolaters, he exclaimed with a sigh, "Alas! alas! that men of so fair a complexion should possess minds so void of internal grace." On being told that the name of their nation was Anglè, he remarked, "It suits them well, for they have the beauty of angels, and they should be co-heirs of the

angels in heaven." When further told that the province from which they came was called Deiri, struck with another verbal coincidence, he exclaimed that they should be "delivered from the wrath of God" (*de ira Dei*). And when told that the name of their king was Ælla, this completed the impression already made, and he enthusiastically cried out, "Halleluiah! the praise of the Almighty Creator must be sung in these regions."

Gregory now applied to the Pope, and begged to be sent to convert the British. The Pope consented, and Gregory left Rome; but before he had proceeded three days on his journey, the Pope was forced to recall him. When Gregory himself became Pope, he selected Augustin for this mission, who, with forty other monks, landed on the isle of Thanet in 596. They had an interview with king Ethelbert, who received them hospitably, and gave them a mansion at Canterbury for a residence. Their labours were soon crowned with success. In a short time the king was converted, and ten thousand of his subjects were baptized in one day. Augustin was consecrated archbishop.

Among the advices which Gregory gave to Augustin, there was one which was but too well observed, and which led to the introduction of the grossest abuses. It was, that he should not destroy the heathen temples, but only cast out the idols, wash them with holy water, and consecrate them as Christian churches; that he should accommodate the ceremonies of worship to those of the heathen, and that as the Saxons had been accustomed to kill oxen in honour of the devil, so now they might do the same for the glory of God! The state of things in this professedly Christian Church must have been truly deplorable, and instead of reforming, they went on from bad to worse.

In the year 604, Augustin died, at which time the conversion of the Saxons was confined to the kingdom of Kent. But it soon after extended through the whole nation, and during this century all the English churches were united upon the model, not of the apostolic church, but of the church of Rome.

Augustin was successful, as we have seen, in converting the Saxon inhabitants of Kent to Christianity, or at least to Romanism; and his labours led ultimately, though not during

his lifetime, to the whole of that people, inhabiting the kingdoms of Essex, Northumberland, (Deiri,) Wessex, Mercia, and Sussex, making the same profession. He also prevailed on the British Christians to adopt many of the forms and dogmas of the Romish Church; and from this time the Roman pontiffs claimed to have the spiritual domination of the British churches. But Christianity never was extinct in Britain. During the period that elapsed between the arrival of the Saxons, and their conversion to Romanism, Christianity certainly did exist among the Britons and the Scots. So that to call Augustin the apostle of Britain is absurd, and to claim for the church of Rome the honour of having first introduced Christianity into the Island, is insupportable.

We shall not attempt to trace the history of the church in Britain through the long dark night of papal error, ignorance, superstition and immorality. From the sixth century until the Reformation, the history of the church in Britain as well as in the rest of Europe, is a sad detail of papal usurpations, the laws of Jesus Christ trampled under foot, the simple ordinance of Christian worship thrown aside, and pompous rites and gorgeous ceremonies substituted in their place; in a word, religion was accommodated to the ambitious views of princes and bishops on the one hand, and to the vicious, depraved inclinations of the people on the other. But we turn from this melancholy picture to notice the preservation of Christianity in much of its primitive purity among the mountains and glens of Caledonia.

We have already alluded to the people called Culdees, and we now propose briefly to sketch their interesting history.

The Culdees derive their name from the Gælic expression *Gille Dè*, or servants of God. We have already seen that Christianity prevailed among the Scots from a very early period, and there is no evidence of their religion having become corrupted. There are ample reasons for believing that down to the sixth century a pure and primitive form of Christianity still existed in Scotland, as well as among the mountain fastnesses of Wales. The first definite mention of the Culdees as a peculiar people, is in the year 563, when Columba entered upon his mission. He was a native of Ireland, and of royal

descent. He founded the Abbey of Iona, consisting of twelve ministers, of whom he was the presbyter-abbot, or permanent president. But while this is the first mention of them by their name, we find that they claim for themselves a very early origin, and there are many things which prove that they had received their tenets before the early corruptions of the churches had been allowed to creep in, and that they had preserved them in much of their original purity and simplicity. From the sixth century onwards their history is deeply interesting, as serving to show that among the Scottish Highlands and Islands, as well as among the Alps of Italy and France, the religion of Christ Jesus, a free and scriptural faith, and a simple, apostolical form of worship and of discipline, found a secure refuge.

From Iona missionaries were sent out and monasteries were founded at Dunkeld, Abernethy, Monimusk and other places. These settlements invariably consisted of twelve presbyters, with a presbyter-abbot chosen by themselves from their own number, who claimed no prelatical authority, but was simply a permanent moderator of the presbytery.

The Culdees began by and by to find their way into the southern regions of the island. A settlement was formed at Lindisfarne in the kingdom of Northumberland, and under the preaching of the Culdee missionaries many of the Pagan Saxons were converted to Christ. But in the beginning of the seventh century, Romanism had made such progress in this portion of the island, that the non-conforming Culdees were forced to abandon their settlements and return to Scotland.

Meanwhile the Culdees continued to prosper, and to found religious and literary institutions in various places throughout Scotland. They cherished education and literature, and many of the works of the old Culdee authors, written in Latin, are said to give evidence of a good acquaintance with the sacred languages.

The Culdees seem to have suffered much from the furious wars which raged between the Scots and the Picts. And when these were ended by the overthrow of the latter, and the complete blending of the two nations into one, there was scarcely time to recover from the effects of this warfare, before the

Danish pirates invaded the western isles. In 801, Iona was overrun by these fierce invaders, and again in 877; on both of these occasions many of the poor Culdees were slain with the sword, while others fled into Ireland. In 905 they suffered still more severely, and in 1059, their invaluable collection of books was plundered, and the monastery destroyed by fire. Still the poor Culdees lingered about the venerated Isle until the beginning of the thirteenth century, when they were effectually driven from Iona by the usurping powers of Rome.

Next to the parent settlement at Iona, the monastery at Dunkeld was the most important; but as early as 1176, the abbot of Dunkeld yielded to the Roman pontiff, and was made a diocesan bishop. In 1230 the Culdees of Monimusk were deprived of their privileges, and all their monasteries were finally suppressed by prelatical fraud or tyranny, about the year 1300. But long after the monasteries were suppressed, the scattered remnants of this people may be traced in the western counties of Scotland, especially in Kyle. So that from the second century down to the time of the Lollards, we can trace the preservation of true religion, as well as Presbyterian government, in Scotland. With the time of Wycliffe and the Lollards, begins the dawn of the Reformation. The story of the triumph of truth over error, there is no need for us to tell.

The Culdees have been branded as barbarians by their papal enemies. Their barbarity consisted in their nonconformity to Romanism, and their opposition to papal tyranny. From various incidental notices of their disputes with the English churches, who had long since yielded to the corruptions of Rome, we learn something of their religious tenets. They refused the authority of tradition, and acknowledged the Bible as the only rule of faith and practice. Bede says that they received "only such things as were contained in prophets, evangelists, and apostles." They also bore testimony against clerical celibacy, auricular confession, prayers for the dead, transubstantiation, and the worship of saints and relics.

We have already hinted at the Presbyterianism of the Culdees. We find curious incidental proofs of their opposition to popery and prelacy in the accounts which we have of the

Synods and Councils of that time. In 601 there was a Synod held, at which Dinooth, abbot of Bangor, declared that "they owned no other subjection to the Pope of Rome, but what they were bound to by the Christian duties of love and charity." In the canons of the Council of Ceale-Hythe, called by Wulfred, archbishop of Canterbury, there is one especially enacted against the Scottish ministers. The fifth canon of this Council solemnly decrees that no Scotsman should be allowed to baptize, to say mass, or to perform any clerical duties. The reason assigned for this was, that it was not known by whom these Scotsmen were ordained, or whether they were ordained by a bishop at all; for there was no metropolitan in that country, and they paid but little regard to orders in the clergy.

We have also the most decisive testimony to the purity of their lives. Bede speaks of them as eminent for their love of God, for their regular lives, for their observance of works of piety, and for their chastity. To this we may add, that they were not strangers to classic lore. Their libraries were extensive and valuable. Gibbon tells us that the library at Iona at one time afforded some hopes of an entire Livy. Of these collections of books there are now no traces. Many of them were plundered and destroyed by the Danes, others were scattered over Europe, and not a few of them are to be found in the Vatican. Indeed, Dr. Jamieson supposes that there are more remains of Culdee literature there than any where else. So that education as well as religion, or rather, in connection with religion, flourished in Scotland, even through the darkest of the dark eyes.

To this outline of the history of the introduction and preservation of pure Christianity in the British Isles, we add a few reflections:

1. We are indebted to early missionaries of the cross for the introduction of the gospel among our pagan forefathers; how deeply we should therefore feel the obligations we are under to the cause of missions. As the early Christians received Christ's command, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature," and obeying it, carried the gospel even to the utmost bounds of the known world; so should we feel our obligations to send the knowledge of the true God, to the most

inhospitable climes, and to proclaim the gospel of love and peace among the most cruel and degraded of the tribes of men. It will be difficult to find races of men more cruel and hardened than were our Druidical and Saxon ancestors. Wherever the gospel of Jesus Christ has not yet shone, thither let the ministers of Christ hasten with good news about salvation to lost and perishing sinners.

2. We can trace the history of our church—the simple Presbyterian, apostolic church of Scotland and Ireland—back to a period when Druidism had not wholly disappeared, and long before either prelacy or popery had ventured to put forth their lordly claims; and we can trace it down to the days of John Knox, and from thence onwards to our own time. We make no account of succession on the authority of tradition; but it is pleasing to read the annals of our church in her purity and gospel sincerity, when thick darkness brooded over all Europe. It is matter of gratitude, that even then there existed in Britain a body of disciples of Christ, who took the Bible as their guide, who preserved a scriptural creed and a simple apostolic form of church government, and who maintained a life and conversation becoming the gospel. They were men who appealed from popes and prelates to the authority of Christ and his Apostles. They gladly suffered persecution for conscience' sake, and though overpowered and driven by cruel tyranny from their homes, and the homes of their fathers, they did not cease to exist up to the time of the Reformation. We rejoice in their fidelity and in the fruits of holiness in which their lives abounded. "Here is the patience of the saints; here are they that kept the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus Christ."

3. From the disputes and controversies between the primitive Culdees and the churches of Britain which had conformed to the church of Rome, we learn, that from the earliest ages of the papacy down to our day, a regular system of error, deceit and tyranny has been practised by that church. To this system the word of God is at variance on every point; and the noble companies of believers, whether in the valleys of the Alps, or among the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, who have made a stand against these corruptions, have ever taken the

Bible as the sole infallible rule of faith and practice, in opposition to the assumed authority of tradition, or of councils and popes. True Protestantism, whether in early or in latter days, has ever been and is now characterized by Scripture doctrine in opposition to the inventions of men; God's way of salvation, in opposition to the ways of man's devising; freedom of thought, in opposition to ecclesiastical tyranny; primitive simplicity in the order and government of God's house, in opposition to prelatical orders of clergy and gorgeous rites and ceremonies; Christ, in opposition to Antichrist. Nothing can exceed the wickedness of papal Christianity. Nothing can be more disgraceful than its history. As the witnessing remnant of the Church of Christ among our forefathers did, so let us also make no compromise, enter into no alliance with this son of perdition; let us give no encouragement to this monstrous anti-christian establishment; and let us faithfully seek to resist its progress and thwart its designs by proclaiming far and wide "the truth as it is in Jesus." For ourselves, let our motto be, in the words of John Lambert, the English martyr, who when fixed to the stake, his legs being burned up to the stumps, lifted up his hands flaming with fire, and cried, "NONE BUT CHRIST!—NONE BUT CHRIST!" A living faith in the Lord Jesus Christ will break down the most complete system of scholastic subtlety and popish superstition. Let us oppose to the pomp, the lordliness and the tyranny of Romanism, the simplicity, purity and freedom of the religion of Christ our Saviour.

ART. III.—*National Literature, the Exponent of National Character.*

WE may know what manner of spirit a man is of, with far more certainty from his writings, than from his biography—from what is inevitably disclosed, than from what is designedly confided to us. We may have as perfect a daguerreotype of a man's mind as of his face; as faithful an impression of his moral nature as of his personal appearance.

Milman's edition of Gibbon's "Decline and Fall" of the Ro-

man empire is garnished with a frontispiece representing the author's face. But the features of that sleek, obese and self-satisfied countenance are not more distinctly visible to the bodily sight, than the intellectual and moral attributes of the man, as depicted in his great work, to the mind's eye; his admirable constructive ability, reducing to perspicuous and philosophic forms, vast masses of intractable materials—bringing into orderly array, and distributing into picturesque and graceful groups, innumerable hordes, barbaric and semi-civilized—conducting his majestic narrative with clearness, simplicity and ease, over periods divided by centuries, and over regions separated by continents. And the moral qualities of the man—with what painful distinctness—with what undeviating consistency—do they appear! His perpetual proneness to doubt when the agency of God is in question, together with an unbounded and unfailing confidence in his own self-sufficiency—the stubborn sceptic in regard to every thing divine—the prostrate idolater of human reason and earthly glory—his subtle spirit of malignant hate of God and of his Christ—his unslumbering venom and insidious unbelief,

"Sapping a solemn creed, with solemn sneer;"—

his profuse professions of philosophic candour, together with his disingenuous shifts and Iago-like innuendoes—his essential coarseness of mind and his icy coldness of heart—his utter insusceptibility of pure sentiment and lofty emotion—are qualities stamped as visibly on his pages, as the features on his face. Admirably as he has depicted other characters, Gibbon has delineated none more faithfully than his own.

The word is the mind uttered; the writing is the mind recorded. Every writer, therefore, does and must express his character in his works. He may try to conceal or to change it; but the thing is impossible. He may imitate another man's characteristic style; he may adopt another man's known sentiments; but let him speak, and he will instantly betray himself in spite of his disguise. The hands may be the hands of Esau, but the voice is the voice of Jacob.

It is felt to be morally impossible that a kind-hearted man

could have written the letters of Junius. The fountain of their inspiration is Marah. The strong, essential spirit which preserves them from decay and oblivion, is a spirit, not of pure patriotism nor of profound wisdom, but of satanic spite, exulting in the consciousness of the pain it inflicts. His genius is animated; his eloquence inspired by malignity.

The stronger and the more simple the nature of the writer, the more adequately is it expressed in his writings. In the very greatest mind, there is a union of manly strength and child-like candour, and these are the qualities which impress themselves most obviously, most readily, and most indelibly on one's writings. Milton needs no biographer; his writings show us the man—in all the strength of his vehement convictions—in the too dogmatic confidence, in the conclusions of his own reason, with a too proud consciousness of the purity of his purposes, the strength and splendour of his genius, and the deathless duration of his fame. Lord Byron too, although he has often spoken, written, and acted falsely, on system, and with set purpose to mislead, yet has deceived no one, or none but men extremely credulous. He has twice drawn his own portrait, yet no practised eye will mistake one for the other, the false for the true. In the one, he has represented himself as he desired men to think of him, as isolated in feeling from his race, because so immeasurably elevated by genius above it, as having little in common with mankind, and therefore indifferent alike to their censure and their praise, while dreading the one and panting for the other. Again, he has drawn the picture of one, whose moral culture in early youth was entirely neglected, or most unwisely conducted;—of one, conscious of great talents and great ambition, but withal wayward, impulsive, self-indulgent, and impatient alike of opposition or constraint;—of one, not peculiarly insensible by nature to moral obligations, nor dead to the sublime sentiments and sympathies of natural piety, nor incapable of generous impulses and noble deeds; especially when they were likely to attract admiration, and elicit applause;—of a man really unhappy, because too sagacious not to see his errors; with a moral sense too enlightened, not to know his guilt; unable always, and altogether to stifle the voice of an unwelcome monitor within,

threatening the just judgment of God;—of a man, to whom repose was indeed impossible, because of the ceaseless conflict between his conscience and his passions; because of the abuse of great powers, of high aims, and the everlasting forfeiture of fair renown. The most high God himself has revealed his nature in his word. As in the prophet's vision the spirit of the living creature was in the wheels, so in the very words of Scripture does there reside the Spirit of the incorruptible God. "The words that I speak unto you, (says our Lord) they are spirit and they are life:" John vi. 63. "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God," is in the highest signification of the term θεοπνευστος. 2 Tim. iii. 16. God expresses the eternal majesty, the untainted and infinite truth, the glorious fulness, the transcendent and holy beauty of his nature in his word, as apostate man exhibits the feebleness, the ignorance and the perverseness of human nature in every thing that he writes, as in every thing that he does, in every imagination of his heart, and in every work of his hands.

The ground on which all men, wise and unwise, learned and ignorant, are required to receive the Bible as divine is, that it is instinct with the Spirit; it is invested with the incommunicable glory of the Most High God. As the Roman penny bare the image and superscription of Cæsar, so does the Bible the image and superscription of Jehovah. These the devout believer rejoices to recognize, in representations of the divine nature everywhere consistent with itself and accordant with his own most intimate, exalted and hallowed convictions; in the authority with which it addresses his conscience; in the consolation which it administers to his bruised spirit; in the holy peace which it diffuses through his troubled bosom; in the superhuman majesty of its doctrines; in the simple grandeur of the style in which men inspired of God speak of the things of God. The Author of this book, in full, must be more than man, for he knows man far better than man knows himself. The feeling expressed by the woman at the well of Samaria is perfectly coincident with the common experience. "Come, see a man which told me all things that ever I did; is not this the Christ?" John iv. 29. The language of the mind enlightened and renewed by the Spirit of truth is, "To whom shall we go?

Thou hast the words of eternal life." "If I had not come and spoken unto them, (said our Saviour of the unbelieving Jews) they had not had sin: but now they have no cloak for their sin." John xv. 22.

While the external evidences of Christianity are to be reckoned of great value as the proper accompaniments, appendages and vouchers of the truth, the most convincing and essential of its evidences are to be found in the substance of the faith itself; in the correspondence of divine revelation with all that we know of God, while it conveys an immeasurable and inestimable addition to the stock of our knowledge, and corrects that which we may have derived from the contemplation of his works, the course of his providence, and the constitution of our own nature. The internal evidences of the Bible are the contents of the Bible; and they are to the external what the altar is to the gift that it sanctifies, and the temple to the gold. The word, therefore, whether it be of God or of man, is the infallible revealer of character.

To pass from the proposition that the writings of an individual indicate his individual character, to the position that the literature of a nation is the exponent of the nation's character, is only to pass from a lower and more limited generalization to one higher and larger. It is not to assert any thing intrinsically more improbable, or in the nature of things more inconceivable. The analogy between the manifestations of individual and of national character in the intellectual productions of each respectively, if not perfect and uniform, are yet sufficiently marked and sufficiently sustained to afford valuable instruction. The literature of a nation is the purest expression of the nation's life. The prevailing literature of France, of England, of Germany, or of Italy, conveys an impression of these several nations scarcely less definite, and not at all less just, than that which is left on the mind by the traits of particular writers, as of Gibbon, Milton, Junius, or Byron. Nay, the prevailing literature of a nation as represented by several, sometimes by a single writer, thoroughly national and in perfect sympathy with his generation, may reflect the political, social and spiritual condition of the nation at the time.

Chaucer, the bright morning-star of English poesy, was

born in 1328, and died in 1400. He may be taken as the poetic representative of England during the latter half of the fourteenth century. Possessing a mind of extraordinary cultivation and calibre, enlarged by travel, and enlightened by familiar acquaintance with the men and manners of many nations—of a free, joyous, and princely spirit—pronounced "wise" by Milton, and quoted as authority in one of the most elaborate of his immortal and invaluable treatises—writing a rude language with unrivalled and inimitable sweetness—and infusing a portion of the harmony of his own spirit into his mother-tongue—softening its rigours, and imparting to it a graceful cadence and refined music, while he retained its native vigour and untamed energy, he may be taken as the representative of an age marked by turbulence—by frequent disorders—often by terrible calamities and crimes—as we learn from the pictorial page of Froissart—but often adorned by examples of knightly courtesy and heroic valour, and occasionally by the influence of lettered taste and true piety. Himself not only a scholar, but a soldier, Chaucer may be regarded as especially the representative of the reign of Edward III., a prince eminently sagacious, enterprising, and successful, in the arts both of peace and war.

Every great writer reflects while he receives the spirit of his age; thus the literature of a nation becomes its interpreter and witness. He acts powerfully upon that spirit, but it in turn reacts upon him. Accordingly we discern a family likeness—a cyclical character—in writers who appear at or about the same period. Among the great writers of the Augustan age of old Rome, not only do we find a community of language and of general culture, but of moral sentiment and feeling. The same general harmony may be observed in the splendid constellation of taste and genius which gave such an impulse to the fine arts, and imparted so æsthetic a character to the earlier years of the pontificate of Leo X. Modern Italy can boast no nobler names in painting—in poetry, with the solitary exception of Dante—or in architecture—than those which grace this epoch. The majestic forms of Michael Angelo and Raphael rise at once before us, as the representatives and ornaments of this brilliant era.

So far is superiority of endowment from conferring peculiar exemption from this prevailing influence, that the most gifted men have invariably been found most fully imbued with the reigning spirit of the time and country in which they lived, to be at once the most faithful interpreters and the noblest ornaments of the age. The greatest writers have always been most intensely national, while they have been most truly catholic. The fruit which they bore belonged not only to the soil, but to the season. The name of the original must be appended to a bad portrait, that the observer may know whom it was intended to represent. But no one who had ever seen the originals of the pictures executed by Lely, Van Dyke, or Sir Joshua Reynolds, could be at a loss for a moment to identify them. These great painters were not more faithful to nature and art, than are great writers to themselves and to their times.

No man, assuredly, ever possessed a more original and comprehensive spirit than Shakspeare. There was no enigma of character which he could not interpret, no phase of character which he could not depict. While nobly negligent of petty and pedantic proprieties, he is instinctively observant of permanent and universal truth. His soul, clear and ample as the sky, spreads over every land, and gives its proper colouring to every object. He is beyond all comparison the best delineator not only of individual peculiarities, but of national manners. His Romans are true Romans, genuine descendants of the son of Mars and Ilia. His Frenchmen are real Frenchmen. They belong to the gay land of hills and vines; and are as native there as the hills and vines themselves. Although men—having a human heart and countenance—they would be out of place in any other country—aliens and strangers speaking in an unknown tongue. But of all the men that ever lived, Shakspeare was the most truly and thoroughly national. Homer was not so intensely Greek, Burns was not so profoundly Scotch, as Shakspeare was intensely and profoundly English. We see this not only in the affectionate and exalted tribute which he bestows upon his country—in the dower of beauty, far more precious than of gold and silver, with which he has lavishly enriched her;

> This royal throne of kings, this sceptred isle,
> This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
> This other Eden, demi-paradise;
> This fortress, built by Nature for herself,
> Against infection, and the hand of war;
> This happy breed of men, this little world;
> This precious stone set in the silver sea,
> * * * * * * *
> This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England.
>
> *Richard II. Act 2d.*

But we see it in the whole tenor of his writings and in the whole structure of his character. Not only has he dramatised a large portion of her history, but whenever he may be supposed to be uttering his own sentiments, he speaks of his country with the fond enthusiasm and unconscious exaggeration of a lover. Even Shakspeare himself rises to unwonted warmth of fancy and ardour of emotion, when England is his theme. He is then refreshed in spirit and renewed in strength—like Antæus when he touched the earth. But not only is Shakspeare an Englishman, he is an Englishman of the age of Elizabeth and James I.—the grandest period in the intellectual history of his country, if not the grandest in the intellectual history of mankind.

The same common resemblance which we perceive among the great minds of the time of Augustus in ancient Rome, of Leo X. in modern Rome—of Queen Anne, in the later history of England—and of George III. at a period still more recent—we find in the age of Elizabeth and James I. Although Shakspeare occupies an unapproachable eminence above all his variously and greatly gifted contemporaries—although in that "charmed circle none durst walk but he"—yet did he stand in relations of most intimate sympathy and brotherhood, to the men of his own time. So strong indeed is the family-likeness between the dramatic works of Shakspeare, Ben Johnson, Beaumont and Fletcher, Ford and Massinger, that it is morally impossible for the most sagacious critic to decide with rational confidence on the authorship of the particular parts of plays, in the composition of which several were jointly concerned; not to insist upon the well-known fact, that in every tolerably complete edition of Shakspeare's dramatic works, whole plays are to be found whose title to such an exalted position

has been questioned by the best informed and most discerning critical judges. That Shakspeare was in most perfect sympathy with the age in which he lived, no one can doubt, who to the knowledge of his works, unites even a moderate acquaintance with the contemporary dramatic literature. Even the common rural superstitions of the age are preserved in the imperishable productions of his genius, as in most precious amber.

The literature of a particular period is the reflex of the agencies at work. It is the general *resultant* of the forces, operating on the nation's mind at the time. The character of the national literature, therefore, must of necessity vary, at the different periods of the nation's progress or decline. As there are certain geological phenomena connected with the earth's strata, which are supposed not only to indicate the formation of the soil, but the precise period of its history; so there are certain forms and phases of mental manifestations, which not only point out the particular cast of the national mind, but the particular stage of intellectual and moral advancement which the nation has reached. Thus the actual progress of a people may be inferred from the species of literature which it has produced, as well as from the success with which it has been cultivated. In the mind, as in the garden, certain plants and flowers appear to attain maturity more rapidly than others. Epic poetry had well nigh arrived at perfection in Greece long before the best productions of the historian appeared. The chronological relations between Homer and Herodotus—still more between Homer and Thucydides—are neither fortuitous nor uninstructive. It may indeed be generally observed that the earliest historical records partake of the epical character. The partitions which divide truth and fable, history and poetry, are then too thin to be exactly regarded. Men first admire, then analyze, and finally understand the objects and phenomena presented to their observation. Accordingly we have first the poetical-historical narrative, as illustrated in the early chronicles of almost all nations, especially in Herodotus and Froissart—and afterward the historical-philosophical disquisition—the nearest approaches to which among the ancients, we find in Thucydides and Tacitus; and which among the moderns has well nigh reached perfection in Niebuhr's His-

tory of Rome, and in several of the leading historical writers of Germany, France, and England, who, animated by his example, have been emulous of a like fame. It might seem almost a profanation to rank poetry among the fine arts. There is, however, a degenerate species of poetry, which like architecture, sculpture and painting, may exist in an effeminate age, and among a fettered race, as the minister of a refined voluptuousness. But the noblest poetry, like the loftiest oratory and history, can live only when it respires the breath of heaven, the pure and sweet air of freedom. As none but a free people can possess a noble, national character, so none but a free people can produce a noble, national literature.

The nations of the earth do undoubtedly perform an appointed and appropriate part, in accordance with the purpose of God. They describe a circle which he has designed. They fill the place which he has assigned them. They accomplish the end which his all-wise providence contemplated. Every thing connected with the nation's life—every element which enters into the constitution—every influence which even indirectly and remotely modifies the nation's character, especially its literature—determines the permanent influence which it is to exert, and the particular place in the annals of mankind which it is to occupy. These influences are often extremely subtile, delicate, fugitive, in their nature; irregular, partial and interrupted in their action; and therefore peculiarly difficult to define and trace. Like the great agencies of nature, they are more intelligible in their results than in their processes; more perceptible in their ultimate issue, than in their immediate action. Thus much, however, seems certain, that as in the case of an individual, early influences and events, those which work while the nation is receiving its bias and its bent, are most durable and decisive. In the testimony borne to this point, the history of all the great nations, ancient and modern, appears to be coincident and conclusive. The character and institutions of Moses are perpetually visible in the history of his people, even to the present hour. Never perhaps, before or since, was the influence of one man on a whole nation, so pervading and so permanent. An impression far less profound indeed, but still lasting and important, was left

on Sparta and Athens, by Lycurgus and Solon. And although we may not be able to discern so clearly the influence of any one commanding mind upon the character and destiny of the Roman people, yet who can fail to see the collective spirit of their early rulers, and the cherished traditions of their early youth, reproduced and constantly active in their aggressive policy—in their stern military discipline—their unquenchable thirst of martial glory—their inhuman indifference to the rights, the feelings and the interests of individuals, save as connected with the collective majesty of the State, and conducive to its security and renown? All these influences we discern in their proper representative, the Roman literature. Their very language, harsh, abrupt, energetic, and decisive, is evidently the language of empire and of law. It is the language of a people, destined to be the military rulers of the world. It is wholly destitute of the harmony, the flexibility, the variety, the copiousness, and the sweetness of the Greek tongue—as the literature which it embodied was wanting in the originality—the untutored and inimitable grace—the imaginative richness—the philosophic subtlety—the unmeasured and inexhaustible fulness, of that natural fountain of knowledge, refinement, sensibility and power—the Hellenic mind.

Influences akin to these, if not identical with them, have hitherto operated among ourselves, and imparted their peculiar character to American literature. It has been reproached, and not without the semblance, at least, of justice, with being too decidedly practical in its character—too gross and utilitarian in its tendencies—as having too little of the pure polish—the high culture—which marks comparatively the literature of England, and injuriously, perhaps, because in excess tending to barrenness and effeminacy, the literature of several of the older nations of Europe, as France, Italy and Spain. In a word, our contributions to literature have been thought to resemble our contributions to the World's Fair—to be more remarkable for solid and sterling utility, than for curious workmanship and nice art.

While homely vigour, strong sense, and earnest purpose, are qualities which have generally been accorded to our literature, it has been thought to sustain a relation to the literature of

England like that which the literature of Rome bore to the literature of Greece; to be comparatively deficient both in originality and in elegance.

So far as the charge of a lack of refinement is true, the character and circumstances of the early fathers of our republic will serve to account for it, while the acknowledged elegance of many of our living writers proves that it has already lost much of its force.

The order of our literary development was just the reverse of that of classical antiquity and of England. In them, there was first the development of the imaginative faculties; in us, of practical thought. The noblest poem of antiquity was produced in the infancy of the nation, and is coloured with the rosy light of the early morning. Our first literature, on the contrary, was almost exclusively confined to the domain of practical theology and political oratory. Springing out of urgent circumstances, it is eminently direct, bold and business-like; and to this fact mainly may we impute the reputation of our country for utilitarian tendencies in literature. It was not until times comparatively recent, that the nation has enjoyed the repose necessary to the production of the finer forms of literature. We are, besides, too near the period and persons of grand historic interest for the purposes of the imagination. Literature has its perspective not less than painting. The spectator may stand too near in time to an event, as he may stand too near in space to a picture, to gain the best impression of either. In gazing on a historical epoch, as on a natural landscape,

"'Tis distance lends enchantment."

Not to speak of the original settlers of our country, who had to contend with want and the wilderness, the men who laid the foundations of our government were eminently practical men. They had a higher and a harder work to do than merely to study, to enjoy, or even to create the elegances of literature. It was theirs not indeed to devise, but to develope and perfect the theory, to define the powers and to regulate the action of the wisest, happiest and freest government which the world has ever known. The works of Franklin, the patriot-sage, and of

Washington, the father of his country, may be taken as the representatives of this period of our national history. If these men and their illustrious compeers did not write poetry, they performed deeds which it will be the brightest ambition and glory of the poet fitly to celebrate, in epic or in lyric strains.

> "In chorus or iambic, teachers best
> Of moral prudence, with delight received . .
> High actions and high passions best describing."
> *Paradise Regained.* Book IV.

When we look over our broad land and happy people—when we survey the goodly heritage of our free government and equal laws—our liberties, civil and religious, gratitude to our revolutionary fathers may properly mingle with our thanksgivings to the Father of lights, from whom cometh down every good and perfect gift. And if the heart of the Greek dilated with pride, when he recalled the fabled exploits of Theseus and Hercules, surely the American may exult, when he revives within him the recollection of this, the Heroic Age of his country. Patriotism is partly an instinctive sentiment, partly a rational conviction. As a conviction, it rests a preference of our own above every other land—not on the single circumstance that it is our own—that we were born in it—but on an intelligent apprehension of the incomparable advantages which it possesses and confers. Hence the peculiar importance of a knowledge of the historical and present condition of other nations, on the part of our own people.

We are now, it may be hoped, prepared to answer the scornful interrogatory of Sidney Smith, "Who reads an American book?" The inquiry was made in the year 1820, in the Edinburgh Review. "In the four quarters of the globe," says the reviewer, "who reads an American book? or goes to an American play? or looks at an American picture or statue? What does the world yet owe to American physicians or surgeons? What new substances have their chemists discovered? or what old ones have they analyzed? What new constellations have been discovered by the telescopes of Americans?" &c., &c.

Even thirty years ago this wholesale charge of absolute intellectual barrenness was exaggerated and unjust. For even

then we had produced orators as eloquent as Bolingbroke, Chatham, or Burke, and three divines at least who might bear comparison, each in his own proper province, with any on the long and honoured roll of England's ecclesiastical authorship. We allude of course to President Edwards, President Davies, and Doctor John M. Mason.

Jonathan Edwards would have been an eminent man in any age of the Church. Had he lived within the first five centuries, he would have taken rank for metaphysical acuteness and immovable adherence to what he believed to be the truth, with Athanasius and Augustine. In the thirteenth century his scholastic subtlety and inexhaustible fertility of ingenious thought would have made him the rival of Thomas Aquinas, and Duns Scotus. In the sixteenth century he would have been regarded by all good men as the fit associate of Calvin and Melancthon, to whom indeed he was related, not only by his personal excellence and general theological agreement, but as an able minister of the New Testament, and a good steward of the manifold grace of God. Since his time our country has produced many very able and many very excellent divines; many far more learned than Edwards, especially in the important department of scientific exegesis. But we suppose it will not be thought injustice to any living or to any departed divine, to assert that in originality and depth of mind, and in the value of his contributions to theological literature, President Edwards remains unrivalled. For popular use and for popular edification, no sermons in the English language surpass those of President Davies. As a vigorous and polished writer, as a popular and effective preacher, Dr. Mason was acknowledged in his own day to be fully equal to any English clergyman.

With the splenetic violence not rare with him, Dr. Samuel Johnson is reported to have said to a person with whom he was disputing, "Sir, I am bound to furnish you with arguments; I am not bound to furnish you with brains." In like manner may we say to the witty reviewer—Sir, we are bound to furnish you with good books; we are not bound to furnish you with knowledge and candour.

We are glad to see that the tone of the British press in

regard to our literature, as well as every thing else connected with our country, has very much improved of late. The time has passed by when the ridiculous fictions of Mrs. Trollope, Captain Hall, Mr. Dickens, *et id omne genus*, could be confided in, even by the more ignorant and credulous of their own countrymen. The last English travellers whose writings have reached us, Lord Carlisle and Lady Mary Wortley, are with few exceptions as favourable in their judgments as any candid American could desire. For our own part, we believe the former contemptuous tone of the English press toward American literature to have proceeded not more from political jealousy than from pure ignorance. We therefore attribute the altered tone of their public journals quite as much to improvements in steam navigation, as to the obvious advance in our national literature.

It will be as much for the literary as for the political interest of England and America, that a good understanding should subsist between them. Our own originality will hardly be improved by laborious deviations from established models, or the purity of our style by any affected eccentricities of orthography and syntax. Until the Revolution their literature was ours, for until then we were one people. We may therefore lawfully feel pride mingle with the pleasure with which we study the great productions of British genius. We need not eschew every thing received in order to establish our own originality. Our language will not be refined by contempt for Milton, Bacon, Shakspeare, and Addison; nor our theology exalted by a voluntary ignorance of the judicious Hooker, the eloquent Bishop Taylor, the gentle-hearted Leighton, the exhaustive Barrow, the invincible Chillingworth, the learned and vigorous South, the ingenious and unanswerable Butler—men who were the strength of the English Establishment—the ornaments and defenders of our common Christianity. And are we likely to profit by a neglect of the great nonconformist divines, John Owen, the glory of Oxford and prince of the Puritan theologians—the profound and philosophic Howe—the fervent and saintly Baxter—the silver-tongued Bates—the heart-searching and heavenly minded Flavel? Are these the men to be despised and neglected?

Toward English literature, we should seek to steer clear of the two extremes of servile imitatiom on the one hand, and ignorant contempt on the other. Real originality, whether in an individual or in a nation, is never repressed by a wise and generous culture. It is only the feeble who sink beneath the weight of other men's thoughts. The strong are made stronger by knowledge, as the arch is strengthened by the weight it sustains. A common soldier might have fainted under the weight of armour which an Ajax or Achilles could wear with graceful agility and wield with deadly effect.

It must be conceded, however, that American literature has borne its fairest fruit since the illiberal criticism of the Edinburgh Reviewer was made. In historical composition, Sparks, Marshall, Irving, Bancroft, and Prescott, have nobly asserted our country's claim to an honourable place in this high department of letters.

In poetry, also, we can "note no deficience"—to adopt a favourite phrase of Lord Bacon. Our poets have been both abundant and prolific. It would be grossly unjust and invidious to compare the poets of youthful America with the "sceptred kings" of old England's poetical realm—with the patriarch Chaucer—"the sage and serious" Spenser—"the myriad-minded" Shakspeare—and the colossal Milton. Still we have several, as Bryant and Longfellow, who in purity of sentiment, in exact and various learning, and in sweetness and elegance of versification, are even by the admission of British critics fully equal to the most gifted of their living bards. In a very acute and intelligent reviewal of "The Golden Legend," which appeared in the February number of Blackwood, the following estimate of the accomplished author is given. "In perfect candour (says the critic) we must own, that in our opinion, Longfellow at this moment stands beyond comparison at the head of the poets of America, *and may be considered as an equal competitor for the palm with any of the younger poets of England.*"

Of the literary criticism in our country, it may be remarked that it is too uniformly laudatory, and therefore comparatively powerless and worthless. But, akin to this amiable error is one of its most conspicuous and characteristic excellences. It is

eminently catholic. Owing in part, perhaps, to the conflux of many men of various races and nations to our hospitable shores; in part, perhaps, to the very immaturity of our literature, there has not yet arisen among us any one decidedly predominant school or system. Our critics and our people appear to possess a hearty relish for very different kinds and styles of excellence. In this particular we think it should be granted that we contrast favourably with the older nations of Europe. The spirit of British criticism, for example, is extremely contracted. We should be disposed to attribute the fact alleged mainly to the operation of two causes—political bias, together with family influence and personal considerations. It is hard for us to believe that the purest and most native school of modern English poetry—that which is proud to acknowledge Wordsworth as its hierarch and head—could have been assailed with such rancorous virulence by so discerning a critic as Lord Jeffrey, had he not considered their politics worse than their poetry. The favour extended to Joan of Arc—a juvenile and very imperfect poem—compared with the coldness with which Thalaba and Kehama were received—works produced in the full vigour of a remarkably gifted and richly cultivated mind—may show to some extent the operation of these malign influences.

Our most eminent essayists—Channing, Everett, Bancroft, Prescott, Whipple, Legare and Webster—illustrate the more liberal spirit of American criticism. As a philosophical essay on the objects and writers of history, Mr. Webster's recent lecture before the Historical Society of New York will not suffer by comparison with Macaulay's masterly and elevated essay on the same subject. Indeed, as a diplomatist, orator, statesman and scholar, in the native majesty of his thoughts, in the admirable perspicuity, the idiomatic grace, the elegant simplicity and manly strength of his style, we should be inclined to pronounce Mr. Webster the equal, at least, of any living Englishman.

The most important element of national, as of individual character, is Christianity. An intelligent and heart-felt faith in God is incomparably the most powerful and salutary influence which can operate on any subject. That which has impressed its comparatively high and pure character upon the literature of the leading nations of the modern world, is the truth and

Spirit of the Lord from heaven. Purifying the hearts of men—those hidden fountains of thought and feeling—the faith of Christ has purified their words and actions. Like the tree pointed out by Jehovah to Moses, which possessed the singular property of rendering the bitter waters sweet, Christianity infused into the corrupt spring of human sentiment and emotion has made it comparatively pure.

When faithful to the essential condition—the invariable law—of its existence, the literature of Rome had declined with the declining character of the nation, Christianity appeared to revive and restore it. And although the purposes of Providence, in raising up that ambitious and aggressive power, were almost accomplished at this period, and the Roman people were about to be trodden down and dispersed, or to lose their hereditary and distinctive character by amalgamation with the barbarous tribes which overran the empire; yet it was light from the Star of Bethlehem, which shone on their darkness; it was Christianity, which seasonably intervening operated alike on captive and conqueror. The strong man armed, represented by Pagan literature, was dispossessed by one stronger than himself. The votaries of the old idolatry made a desperate but ineffectual resistance to the aggressions of the new religion. But their most powerful champions were silenced or converted. The efforts of the emperor Julian to restore the mythology of Homer to its ancient place, in the faith and reverence of mankind, were as futile as his endeavour to rebuild Jerusalem. From the schools of Pagan idolatry, issued the doctors and champions of the Christian church. Among the Greeks, Origen, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzum, and Chrysostom; among the Latins, Cyprian, Tertullian, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine and Lactantius, showed that the sceptre of intellectual empire had passed into the hands of a conqueror; and that, thenceforward, men of another faith and a different spirit were to rule human opinion. The confusion of ancient idols, the downfall of heathen altars, and the long silence of Pagan oracles, so vividly described by the most sublime and learned of our Christian poets, were only types and tokens of the lost empire of Paganism over the emancipated spirit.

The oracles are dumb,
No voice or hideous hum
Runs through the arched roof, in words deceiving;
Apollo from his shrine,
Can no more divine,
With hollow shriek, the steep of Delphos leaving.
No nightly trance, or breathed spell
Inspires the pale-eyed priest from the prophetic cell.

Peor and Baalim
Forsake their temples dim,
With that twice battered god of Palestine;
And mooned Ashtaroth,
Heaven's queen and mother both,
Now sits not girt with tapers' holy shrine,
The Lybic Hammon shrinks his horn,
In vain the Tyrian maids their wounded Thammuz mourn.

Milton's Ode on the Nativity.

Of the bearing and energetic influence of Christianity on national character, Britain affords the most striking illustration. Her literature is a perfect barometer, by which we may note the rise and depression of England in every element and in every quality of national greatness. In the age of Elizabeth—before which time the faith of the nation was scarcely steady and mature enough to bring forth its proper fruit—in the age of Elizabeth, we find a cast of grandeur in the nation's thinking unknown before, and a constellation of poets, statesmen, lawyers, navigators, warriors, and heroes, who have given undying lustre to the reign of the Virgin Queen—Raleigh, Drake, Coke, Bacon, Sydney, Hooker, Spenser, rare Ben Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, Shakspeare. In the reign of the profane and trembling pedant who succeeded her, we find most of these lights, together with others of scarcely less magnitude and lustre.

In the time of Cromwell, when the English nation was more profoundly penetrated by the religious spirit, than at any period before or since, the religious literature of England—leaving out the works of his Latin secretary, in which are celebrated "the deeds and triumphs of just and pious nations, doing valiantly through faith against the enemies of Christ"—the religious literature of England was more prolific in great and imperishable works, than in any previous or succeeding age.

We can have little sympathy, we confess, with a disposition which we have observed of late among nominal Protestants, not of our denomination only, to disparage the great divines of the Puritan school. They are had in derision by men "whose fathers" these despised Puritans "would have disdained to have set with the dogs of their flock." These are the men who can sneer at the theology of Howe and Owen, as meager and contracted, one-sided and uncatholic,—as a partial exhibition of the gospel of the grace of God! The egregious incongruity of the thing, the extravagant absurdity of the assumption, would be simply amusing, if all sense of mirth were not extinguished by the stronger sentiment of moral condemnation. We would judge nothing rashly and before the time; but to us it is by no means clear that the exemption of England and America from the fate of unhappy France—from perpetual change—from obstinate and unscrupulous factions contending together, not for the good, but for the destruction of their common country—from despotism succeeded by anarchy, and anarchy exchanged for despotism—and last of all, and worst of all, a country which, having forsaken God, he in righteous judgment seems to have forsaken—may not be ascribed to the prayers and pious labours of these, his faithful servants. When we hear the champions of divine truth, and of liberty civil and religious, vilified by the avowed subjects of a foreign despot—the acknowledged members of an apostate church—all is natural, consistent, intelligible. But when we see them jeered at and pointed at with the finger of scorn, by men who profess to receive the recorded and inspired Scriptures as the supreme directory of faith and practice, and to venerate the free institutions of our country as the wisest and best, we own it passes our comprehension. It is our deliberate convic tion, that to no class of uninspired men are the world and the church more indebted, than to those despised but devoted Christians; and that toward none has the debt been so reluctantly and inadequately acknowledged. It is our deliberate conviction, that they did more for knowledge, freedom, and piety—more to convert sinners from the error of their ways, and save souls from death—more to multiply jewels which shall shine for ever, in the glorious crown of our exalted Redeemer,

than any other body of uninspired men. May we through abounding grace be permitted in heaven to unite with Bunyan, with Owen, and with Baxter, in the beatific vision of the person and glory of Christ, and in the secure and blessed enjoyment of the saints' everlasting rest!

The degeneracy of the national manners and of the national spirit in the time of Charles II. is faithfully reflected in the mirror of the national literature. Milton, indeed, and others like-minded, survived to rebuke and lament the worthlessness of the age. But in genius and spirit, they were alien to the "evil days" on which they had fallen. In temper and of right they belonged to the brave old days of the Commonwealth, when the name of England was revered abroad, and at home "joy and gladness were found, thanksgiving and the voice of melody." They had nothing in common with the infamous parasites and panders of that polluted court and its heartless king—with the ribaldry of Butler—with the obscenity of Dryden, "who profaned the God-given strength, and marred the lofty line"—with the Settles and Shadwells, the Congreves, Wycherlys, Vanbrughs and Farquhars of the time.

From the period of John Knox to that of Thomas Chalmers, the literature of Scotland has been pre-eminently religious. In very many instances her purely literary offices have been filled by clergymen and by the sons of clergymen. Some of the most distinguished in several of the most exalted departments of letters, as history and intellectual philosophy, have been themselves ministers of the gospel. So prevalent indeed has been the religious spirit, and so strong the religious sensibilities of the Scottish people, that the most popular poems addressed to the taste of the nation—as the Cotter's Saturday Night—were suffused with the holy light of religious sentiment, and redolent of the sweet savour of piety. Seeing that such is the character of her literature, it is needless to add that for more than two hundred years the Scottish people have been the most intelligent and religious in Europe.

As works recede from the domain of objective science, and becoming most purely literary, exhibit most fully the interior and profound operation of Christianity on the heart of man,

do we discover the pervading and controlling influence of the Christian element on letters. The fountain of the heart wells up in poesy; and as the limpid water shines with more than the diamond's brightness when its drops are irradiated by the sunbeam—so do the finer feelings of the soul when beautified by the light of the poet's imagination.

All poetry may be generally divided into two kinds, which are well enough characterized by the philosophical terms objective and subjective. In portraying the pomp of war—the glittering array of embattled hosts—the impetuous onset of opposing squadrons—the inspiring influence of martial music—the ancients generally, and Homer in particular, must be pronounced unrivalled. Nor are they destitute of scenes which moved the most powerful and tender sympathies of our nature. Still it must be admitted that in their delineations of the more gentle and delicate—the more deep and sacred feelings of the soul—feelings which we hardly acknowledge to ourselves—which when we find faithfully portrayed in poetry we look upon almost as a revelation—of this poetry Shakspeare and Wordsworth afford specimens, the equals of which we might search for in vain among the most successful and splendid of Apollo's elder sons. The massive glories, the frigid magnificence of the old Pagan poets may be fitly shadowed forth in Catharine the Second's palace cut out of ice. The deep yet tender traits of our Christian bards, their serene wisdom, their genial warmth, and their heavenly radiance, may be feebly imaged in the Jewish Temple—scarcely inferior to the former, perhaps, in outward visible splendour—but within adorned on every side with holy emblems, perfumed with pure incense, and sacred fire perpetually blazing on its altars! If to the distinction which we have now endeavoured to trace, there be some seeming exceptions—if in lyric poetry, Alcæus and Pindar occasionally ascend "a higher heaven of invention," and rise to a pitch of poetic enthusiasm, which in the same species of poetry Milton and Wordsworth never attained—it must be granted at least, that these Christian poets have a more sustained dignity of thought, are informed with a better spirit, and animated with a more sublime philosophy. If their inspiration be not so spontaneous and

dazzling, it is more genial and agreeable; if their melody be not so wild and varied, it is more artful and impressive. Human language, it should seem, is scarcely capable of expressing harmonies more subtile and delicious than are to be found in the writings of Milton and Shakspeare, Wordsworth and Coleridge.

The ancient poets are unsurpassed in the description of natural scenes, whether of tragic magnificence or graceful repose. But enlightened by the knowledge of Divine revelation, it is not surprising that the moderns should excel them in that poetry which reveals the hidden secrets of the soul, the unprofaned mysteries within, the joys and the sorrows "with which a stranger intermeddleth not." In an early period of society, men rarely indulge in metaphysical or moral speculations on the profound problems connected with their own origin, nature, and destiny. But the splendid phenomena with which the visible universe abounds, excite within them an infant and not unpoetic wonder. This imparts an animation and truth to their descriptive poetry, in which the productions of a more philosophic age are often found wanting. Their successors are too content to paint from a picture, to reconstruct with minute and elaborate elegance, those gigantic edifices which the more energetic genius of their fathers had originally designed and erected.

Their gorgeous mythology was formed upon the perversion of a genuine religious sentiment. The πρωτον ψευδος, the initial and essential error of the whole system, as the apostle teaches, consisted in the substitution of Nature for God, in the transfer to the creature of those feelings of religious veneration and trust, which should have centered and terminated in the Creator. It can hardly be necessary to point out the correspondence in principle between the ancient Pagan religion, and the modern Pantheistic philosophy. The one is only an awkward and unlucky exaggeration of the other, "the melancholy madness of poetry without its inspiration." The one in its most improved and accepted form, was a Greek fable, instinct with the poetic beauty which attached to all the imaginative creations of that wonderful people. The other, in its most

approved and accepted form, a German monster, grotesque, and huge, and horrible, and blind;

> Monstrum, horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum.

The Greek mythology was little more than an apotheosis of the objects and the powers of nature in their friendly and hostile aspects toward man. If their Dryads, their Naiads, and their Nereids were the creatures of fancy, there was a living reality in the refreshing coolness of the grotto, in the shade, and greenness of the forest—in the sleeping beauty of the quiet lake, and in the awful convulsions of the agitated ocean.

If the ancient poets were fortunate in living at a period when their sensations must be varied and acute—when the mountain awed them by its vastness, the unpierced solitude filled them with a congenial horror, and the sunny landscape inspired a sunnier joy—it must be confessed that the multitude and acuteness of their sensations rendered it more difficult to discriminate and portray them.

It has been sometimes imagined that the manifest advantages of our later and Christian poets are more than balanced by a certain alleged simplicity of ancient manners, which gave their poets an opportunity of seeing the heart without disguise. We may well doubt, however, whether any such simplicity ever could have existed. But granting that it might, the poet does not derive his knowledge of human nature from other men, nor from books. He probes his own heart. He proves its strength and its weakness, and is satisfied that when he knows himself, he knows mankind—"for as in water face answereth to face, so the heart of man to man." It was not from books, nor was it mainly from observation, that Shakspeare drew his marvellous knowledge of man. Such knowledge could be gathered only from self-study. Cicero's noble words with reference to the *lex nata, non scripta*, may be applied to the whole science of the soul: *Quam non didicimus, accepimus, legimus, verùm ex naturâ ipsâ arripuimus, hausimus, expressimus; ad quam non docti, sed facti; non instituti, sed imbuti sumus.*

The soul of man, as Wordsworth has told us, is the "haunt and main region" of the poet's study and the poet's song.

But the soul of man has depths which had never been sounded, sensibilities which had never been awakened, mysteries which had never been brought to light, and paths which the eye of man had not pondered, until those depths were explored, those sensibilities stirred, those mysteries revealed, and those paths pointed out, by a supernatural revelation from God.

The highest Christian poetry, embodying the highest Christian philosophy and sensibility, is not an empty indulgence, but an essential good; not a fleeting pastime, but a perpetual delight—yea "a perpetual feast of nectared sweets, where no crude surfeit reigns." It was given not to amuse the idle, but to instruct the wise, to fortify the weak, and to assure the strong. It can impress upon vice the seal of lasting infamy. It can confer upon virtue the grace of exalted sentiment, and the meed of high renown. God, who formed the heart of man, and in whose hand it is, has chosen this—the noblest form of human composition—as the medium of many of his highest communications to mankind. Revelations which we rejoice or tremble to think of—"thoughts from the visions of the night, when deep sleep falleth on men"—come to us clothed in the consecrated garb of poetry. We look, and lo! a solemn procession of the prophets of Jehovah, and martyred saints who bore record "of the word of God and of the testimony of Jesus Christ," passes slowly before us. We listen, and from that sacred band proceed notes of superhuman sublimity and sweetness, "a sevenfold chorus of hallelujahs and harping symphonies." These are the strains that did once in Zion glide, sung by holy men of God on earth, and destined to be repeated in heaven with loftier voice, and on harps of purer gold. "And I looked, and lo! a Lamb stood on the mount Sion, and with him an hundred and forty and four thousand, having his Father's name written in their foreheads. And I heard a voice from heaven, as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of a great thunder: and I heard the voice of harpers harping with their harps."—Rev. xiv. 1, 2.

ART. IV.—*The Prophet Obadiah, Expounded by Charles Paul Caspari.* Leipzig, 1842, pp. 145.

THE name of Caspari, at present Licentiat and Lector of Theology in the University of Christiania, has been more than once mentioned, and his labours referred to in our pages: but we are desirous of introducing him more fully to the acquaintance of our readers. The treatise, whose title we have placed at the head of this article, is not the most recent of his publications—in fact, it is one of the earliest; but it is the one which best answers our purpose, being at once brief and complete in itself. Though Obadiah is the shortest book in the Old Testament, it yet presents questions enough in the way of criticism and exposition, to furnish a fair field for the abilities of him that undertakes to solve them, while it cannot fail to bring out, as clearly as a book of larger compass, the method which he pursues, and the system which he adopts. The volume before us was announced as the first of a series of commentaries on the prophets, to be prepared by himself, in concert with his fellow student and intimate friend, Delitzsch, whose exposition of Habakkuk appeared the next year. But as we know of no commentary since from the pen of Caspari, and as that most recently issued by Delitzsch is not upon one of the prophets, and as meanwhile they have both left Leipsic, Caspari to go to Christiania, and Delitzsch to become Professor of Theology in the University of Rostock, it is probable that their original project may have been abandoned, at least for a time.

Another series of publications, which they commenced to issue together, appeared under the name of "Biblico-theological, and Apologetico-critical Studies." The first of these was the "Biblico-prophetical Theology" of Delitzsch, containing an account of Christian Crusius and his labours in that field, together with a discussion of the principles advanced in the recent works of Hofmann and Baumgarten. The second contained Contributions to the Introduction to Isaiah by Caspari, in which he examines various questions relating to the first six chapters of that prophecy, as preliminary to the commentary which he is preparing. He has published besides,

another treatise of kindred character on the Syro-Ephraimitic War under Jotham and Ahaz, and an Arabic Grammar, designed for students of the language, who want something less copious than the grammars of De Sacy and Ewald, yet not so meager as the generality of the manuals previously in use.

Of Obadiah, as of some others of the minor prophets, nothing is recorded but the name, and that only in the title to his prophecy. The traditionary notices which variously identify him with the governor of Ahab's house, 1 Kings xviii. 3; with the captain of fifty spared by Elijah, 2 Kings i. 13; or with the husband of the woman mentioned, 2 Kings iv. 1; or which declare him to have been a proselyte from Edom, are entirely unreliable, and owe their origin to an endeavour to elicit by conjectural combination a knowledge of the prophet which authentic accounts did not furnish. The very period in which he lived, is matter of dispute. As might have been anticipated, this furnished a fine opportunity for German criticism to display itself, which is never more confident in its conclusions, than when it has least evidence on which to base them. Unfortunately, however, its varying results are calculated to inspire any thing but confidence in lookers on. Obadiah has been pronounced with equal positiveness to be the very earliest and the very latest of the prophets, whose writings form part of the canon, while almost every assignable intermediate position has been allotted to him, by one or other of those who have undertaken to speak oracularly upon the subject. Caspari has been content to take the less ambitious, but not less safe method of acquiescing in a date already furnished, rather than inventing a new one. The only external evidence which bears upon the point, is the position which this prophecy occupies in the collection of the minor prophets, according to which Obadiah succeeds Amos and precedes Jonah and Micah. The correctness of this, our author strenuously defends; and if he has not rigidly proved it, he has certainly shown that no sufficient reason exists in the present case for departing from it. It is on all hands admitted, as is indeed evident on a bare inspection, that in the arrangement of the minor prophets some respect was had, at least in the general, to the chronological order; the only question that

can possibly arise, is whether this was carried out strictly in detail. Those of the earliest period come first; those shortly before the exile, next; those succeeding the exile, last. All of them that have their dates indicated in the title appear in their proper order. The analogy of the arrangement of the greater prophets, and the former prophets of the Hebrew canon, also favours the conclusion that the succession is a chronological one. So does the traditional testimony preserved by Jerome.* And as for the internal proofs which have been alleged as at variance with it, Caspari maintains (and this is also the view taken of the same subject by Hengstenberg, Hövernick and other eminent scholars) that in no case is there a necessity of supposing the chronological order to have been departed from; that the presumption in favour of its having been adhered to throughout, is heightened by the impossibility of assigning any reasons of a topical kind, which could have led to its abandonment in the cases adduced; and that the assumption of the collector himself being in error, and especially of our competency to correct it if he were, is wholly inadmissible.

Among the internal grounds relied upon for the determination of the period to which Obadiah is to be assigned, the first concerns the relation which this prophecy bears to a parallel one in Jeremiah, chap. xlix. The coincidence in thought, and even language, (comp. Obad. *vs.* 1—4, with Jer. xlix. 14—16; Obad. *vs.* 5, 6, with Jer. xlix. 9, 10; Obad. *v.* 8, with Jer. xlix. 7;) is too great to have been a casual resemblance in the utterance of thoughts, independently conceived by different minds. There are in this, as in all similar cases of Scripture criticism, but three supposable ways of accounting for the fact; and here, as in every other instance, all three have had their advocates. Either Jeremiah borrowed from Obadiah, or Obadiah from Jeremiah, or both alike from some preceding prophet. It would no doubt be thought by most persons out of Germany that the settlement of such a question as this, in the absence of all external proof, even though the passage disputed were far longer than it is, must be involved in great difficulty and

* In quibus (prophetarum scriptis) tempus non profertur in titulo, sub illis eos regibus prophetâsse, sub quibus et hi, qui ante eos habent titulos, prophetârunt. *Prol. in XII. Prophet. Min.*

uncertainty. Our brethren across the waters, however, have great skill in such matters. If two writers have a single sentence or even part of a sentence in common, we have scarcely seen the German commentator who would not undertake to say with positiveness, with which of them it was original, or whether it was so with either. The art has been practised so long and so generally, that it has come to be reduced to absolute rule. It seems to pass as an unquestioned principle with the dealers in this species of criticism, that the more brief, unusual, and difficult, and that which is better connected with what precedes and follows, must be the original from which the other is derived. While we might perhaps admit that there was truth or plausibility in this, considered in the general, we can hardly follow the surprising application which we find made of it to the minutest details. When the ground of argument is that Obadiah uses the first person plural in a certain case where Jeremiah has the first person singular, or that the latter inserts the word 'for' where the former does not, or says 'despised among men' where the former says 'greatly despised,' we must confess that our lack of discernment is such that we have to wait until the conclusion is drawn before we can suspect what it is going to be; and we cannot even then tell why it might not just as well have been the reverse. We doubt whether such arguments would be considered as going a great way toward settling the priority in the case of compositions that date from modern times. Decidedly the most preposterous thing, however, which has occurred in the endless argument on this subject, is Hitzig's attempt to show that Obadiah, in copying and endeavouring to simplify Jeremiah, (whom he decides by a single stroke of his pen to have been the earlier of the two,) *mistook his meaning*, being less skilled in the Hebrew, as we are left to infer, than his modern critic!!

Our author has gone very elaborately into this investigation, and has shown that there is no ground here for departing from the presumption as to Obadiah's age furnished by the criterion already mentioned; but that on the other hand if there were any stringency in these arguments as commonly adduced, they would establish Obadiah's priority, not the reverse. At the same time, he adduces a number of collateral arguments, which

certainly have the effect, taken together, of making the probabilities incline largely to the side of Obadiah being the original, and Jeremiah the copy.

The idea of both being derived from a common original may be at once dismissed as having nothing to support it. No one has ever heard of this supposed original; and the arguments adduced for it are of that completely subjective kind, which can be asserted or denied by different persons with equal ease. Thus Ewald asserts that the first ten verses of Obadiah are so different from the remainder of the prophecy in language and style, that they must have belonged to a different author and another age. Caspari replies, and most readers of the prophet could probably say the same, that he can see no difference whatever in the language of the two sections.

Regarding the question, then, as one lying simply between Obadiah and Jeremiah, Caspari urges the following considerations in favour of the orignality of the former. 1. The prophecies of Jeremiah directed against foreign powers are almost without exception based on those of previous prophets; which renders it easy to suppose the like to have been the case in the present instance. 2. In those parts of Jeremiah's prediction against Edom, which are not common to him with Obadiah, are many expressions, which occur more or less frequently in the course of his book, and are characteristic of his style; but none such occur in Obadiah. 3. The verses in question form in Obadiah one connected passage, verses 1—8; in Jeremiah they are more dispersed. 4. They are more closely related to the context in Obadiah. 5. In his prophecy too, they are "in part more brief and rapid, in part more difficult and abrupt, in part bolder and more lively, in part more regular and rounded." If this argumentation is successful, it not only leaves the date previously arrived at undisturbed, but adds a confirmation in so far as it determines it not to have been later than the fourth year of Jehoiakim, at which time this prediction of Jeremiah seems to have been uttered.

Another point affecting the date of the prophecy, is found in verses 11–16. In those verses are described sore calamities brought upon Jerusalem by foreign powers, in which Edom insultingly exulted, and which they even aggravated by acts of

positive hostility. The question at once arises, what historical fact is here intended? and was it past or future at the time of the prophet? Three different opinions are here possible, and have been actually maintained:—1. That the event referred to was the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, and that it is described as past. 2. That it was the capture by Nebuchadnezzar, but the description is prophetic; the event lay yet in the future. 3. That it describes one of the previous captures of Jerusalem, or calamities that befel its inhabitants before the final overthrow from incursions of hostile invaders, *e. g.* that recorded 2 Chron. xxi. 16, 17, or that 2 Chron. xxv. 23, 24, or that 2 Chron. xxviii. 17, 18. Of these suppositions only the first is inconsistent with the conclusion, to which we have already come, as to the period when Obadiah lived. Caspari adopts the second view stated above, and argues from the strength of the expressions employed, that nothing less than the utter overthrow of the city, as it took place under the Chaldeans, can be intended. That this was still future to the prophet, and not past, he considers as established, 1. by the exhortations, verses 12–14, which seem to be most naturally explained on the supposition of the actions being not yet performed;* and 2. by the general terms in which the prophecy is couched and the absence of all that is specific and definite; "strangers" and "foreigners" destroy Jerusalem, the "nations" are summoned for the punishment of Edom. The Chaldeans are not once named, as it seems probable that they would have been, had this been written after their commission of the atrocities referred to. The use of the prophetic preterite in the case of events really future, but conceived of and represented by the prophet as past, is frequent and well known. There is no more difficulty in assuming this to be the case in verses 11 and 16, than in verses 3, 6, 7, where all admit it. Those, whose principles will not suffer them to believe in the reality of any supernatural prediction, cannot of course embrace this view. But it is hard to see why even thus they need find any more difficulty here than they do with those pas-

* In order to appreciate this argument the Hebrew must be consulted, which reads, Look not—rejoice not—speak not proudly, &c.; not as in our version, Thou shouldst not have looked, &c.

sages in Hosea, where Judah's overthrow and exile are not only predicted, but presupposed, or with Micah iii. 12, where Jerusalem's utter desolation is announced as fully as it is here, or in fine with hundreds of passages found in every part of the prophets.

To these arguments touching the age of Obadiah may be added one drawn from verse 20, whence it appears that the captives of Judah in the time of the prophet were not at Babylon, but among the Canaanites and in the distant west, which agrees with the state of things before the exile, but not with that after it. Also the fact is observable that Obadiah contains references to the prophecies of Joel and Amos,* but to those of no later prophet.

This prediction is readily divisible into three parts. After a title stating in the most concise manner the character of the composition and its author, it first announces Edom's destruction by the nations summoned of Jehovah for this purpose, verses 1–9; then sets forth the cause of this destruction, Edom's unbrotherly conduct in the day of Jerusalem's distress, verses 10–16; and finally places the future restoration and enlargement of Judah in contrast with the utter extinction to which Edom was doomed, verses 17–21.

The opening words "Thus saith the Lord GOD concerning Edom," are not intended to introduce what shall immediately follow, as the language of direct address from God to Edom; although the formula, "Thus saith the LORD," as often as it occurs elsewhere, is always so employed; but they characterize the whole of what follows as a divine communication, whoever may formally be the speaker, whether God, the prophet, or any one else. There is no necessity, therefore, of assuming that this clause is to be immediately connected with *v.* 2, where God is the speaker, and that the words intervening are to be regarded as parenthetic; nor even of supposing that there is a negligence in the construction; still less of adopting the violent procedure of those who, preferring to cut a knot rather than patiently untie it, are ready to imagine the words to be

* Compare Obad. v. 11, with Joel iii. 3; Obad. v. 15 with Joel iii. 4, 7, 14; Obad. v. 17 with Joel ii. 32, iii. 17; Obad. v. 19 with Amos ix. 12.

spurious or a gloss, which in addition to the gratuitousness of the assumption, is here peculiarly unfortunate, for if this clause did not belong to the prophecy in its original form, there would be nothing to show against whom war was to be prepared, *v.* 1, nor who is addressed, *vs.* 2—5. There would be nothing to indicate the object of the prophecy until it was learned from *v.* 6.

This message, which the prophet received, came to him not as an isolated individual, but as a member and organ of Israel, for the sake of the whole. Accordingly, he does not say, I have heard, but "We," *i. e.* Israel, in the prophet as their representative, or through him as their oracle, "have heard a rumour," not an uncertain one, resting on the authority of man, but "from the Lord." Or the prophet may have intended to associate with himself those who had previously received communications of similar import, "We," *i. e.* not I alone, but other prophets also, "have heard," &c. Either of these is preferable to regarding the plural as unmeaning, a mere enallage for the singular. It is evidently not correct to refer it, as some do, to the heathen, so that this would be coincident in meaning with the following clause, nor can it be designed to put Israel in opposition to the heathen mentioned immediately after as equally summoned with them to the war against Edom.

The rumour or news heard from the Lord, is of the sending of an ambassador among the nations, not that one is to be, but he has been already sent. The ambassador is sent not from Israel, nor from one nation to another, but from Jehovah. This figure drawn from the custom of nations soliciting the aid of others on engaging in a war, is designed simply to express the idea, that the Lord would, whether by some direct impulse, or by the orderings of his providence, certainly bring it about, that the nations should rise to execute his will. It is the same thought which is elsewhere conveyed under the image of calling distant nations by a hiss or whistle, or setting up a signal for them to congregate.

Then follow the words of the ambassador summoning the nations in the name of God to make common cause with him against Edom. The apparent strangeness of the expression by which the Lord stirs up the nations to act in concert with

himself, "let us rise up against her in battle," may be in a measure relieved by a comparison of others in which the Lord appears advancing at the head of the assembled instruments of his vengeance; so that it does not appear necessary to depart from this the most natural and obvious construction of the clause, by putting these words into the mouth of the nations as descriptive of the ready obedience they yield to the message received; or, which would be still farther from the design of the prophet, ascribing them to individual Israelites, exhorting each other to engage in a war to which the nations had already been divinely invited.

The ground of sending the ambassador and collecting the nations, is God's determination to break the power of Edom, which from the certainty of its accomplishment is spoken of as though it were already effected. "I have made thee small among the heathen." I have already done so in purpose, and shall certainly and speedily do so in the actual event. "Thou art" in consequence "greatly despised." It was only a deceit practised upon him by his proud heart, when he was led to conclude himself to be so secure in his high habitations and his clefts of the rocks, (admirably descriptive of Petra, of whose strength and almost inaccessible situation travellers give such surprising accounts,) that he could not be brought down to the ground. They had left out of the account one who was able and who was resolved to dislodge them, even though their habitations were loftier than they were, or loftier than any man could place them. Were they even on those lofty pinnacles where only the eagle can build her nest, or were they among the very stars, "thence will I bring thee down, saith the Lord."

It is an error with some interpreters to regard *v.* 2, as a historical statement designed by its contrast with what follows to exhibit the offensiveness of Edom's pride in a more glaring light; as though the meaning were, God has made them a small, despised people, but the pride of their heart has led them to suppose themselves invincible. A people against whom the nations are thus summoned, and who possess such almost impregnable seats in their mountain fastnesses, cannot be regarded as very contemptible.

The declaration just made, *v.* 4, in conformity with a purpose before announced, *v.* 2, to be executed by the gathered heathen, *v.* 1, appears now to the prophet as already accomplished. And he gives utterance to his feelings of amazement at a desolation so complete, and to which the ordinary causes and images of desolation were by no means adequate. Thieves and nocturnal marauders are satisfied without stripping their victims of every thing. Even grape-gatherers leave some gleanings. But the pillage of Esau was complete; not even his most secret treasures were spared.

From this view of the wholesale plunder of Edom, which is made thus emphatically prominent, because they were a rich people, and this was therefore a considerable item in their destruction—Petra being an important point on the route of the Syro-Arabian trade, and a depot of Arabian products—the prophet reverts to what had preceded it, and how it came about. "All the men of thy confederacy"—*i. e.* the nations without exception which were in league with thee, and which therefore might reasonably have been expected to furnish thee aid—"have brought thee to the border." This is not to be taken exactly in the sense that some have understood it, as drawn from the custom of honouring the ambassadors of friendly nations with an escort to conduct them to the frontier, so that the meaning would be, they lavish great honour upon thee, and make fine promises but do nothing; for in that case the most essential thought of all, that these promises were not fulfilled, is not stated. Nor does it mean, they brought to their border the fugitives escaped from Edom's overthrow, refusing them shelter; nor, they accompany thee to the borders of thy territory uniting their forces with thine as though they would assist thee in the battle against the foe, but intending then to desert thee and return; nor, they drive thee to the border of thy territory, *i. e.* expel thee from it. The best understanding of it is, they conduct thee in the person of thy representatives, the ambassadors sent to solicit their aid, to the border, *i. e.* refuse them the aid which they ask, and send them out of the country.

"The men of thy peace," *i. e.* the nations at peace with thee, have also acted in a manner the opposite of what might have

been expected, they have deceived thee; and that not merely by withholding assistance; they have committed positive unlooked-for acts of hostility, and have prevailed against thee.

The next clause is best translated by the assumption of an ellipsis which is, it is true, an unusual one. But this is preferable to the violation of the accents with some interpreters, and to the forced constructions adopted by others. "The men of thy bread lay a snare under thee," *i. e.* those whom thou hast befriended, or who have derived their subsistence from thee, have requited thy kindness with perfidy and betrayal.

Thus forsaken and betrayed by all their allies and former friends, they should fall into utter perplexity and distraction of counsels. That "there is none understanding in him" is here stated, not as the cause of misfortunes just detailed, nor as a judgment based upon them (equivalent to saying, if they were as wise as they profess to be, they would not suffer themselves to be so imposed upon), but as in part at least their result. And to render their condition perfectly hopeless, their last dependence should be stricken from them by a direct divine infliction. The sagacity for which their wise men were famed, and the bravery of the warriors of Teman (a part of Idumea, so named from the grandson of Esau, or as being the southern district of the land, here used interchangeably with Esau and Edom as their poetic equivalent) God would himself destroy, in order that the entire people left thus defenceless might be "cut off by slaughter." The common rendering of these last words is preferable to the translation "without slaughter," *i. e.* they shall from mere faint-heartedness be vanquished without a battle; or "because of slaughter," viz. thy slaughter of Israel, whether the words be connected in this sense with the close of *v.* 9, or in imitation of the Vulgate, Septuagint and Peshito, but in opposition to the accents and the Masoretic division of the verses, with the beginning of *v.* 10, (For the slaughter and for the violence, &c.)

The second portion of the prophecy explains the reason of this terrible visitation. "For thy violence," in itself an atrocity, but aggravated by being committed against a brother, and that too Esau's twin-brother Jacob, "shame shall cover thee, and thou shalt be cut off for ever," as already predicted.

Edom's enmity against Israel was not of recent origin, nor displayed merely in occasional acts of hostility. It began in the very earliest period of their history, and had its root in the jealousy felt on account of Israel's superior advantages. The most marked display of it was naturally in the time of Jerusalem's deepest humiliation. When it had fallen a prey to foreign invaders, and was suffering their barbarities, Edom insolently triumphed over its downfall, and lent their aid to complete its ruin. Hence, passing by less marked instances, the prophet portrays this in its aggravations, and denounces upon them in consequence the judgment of God.

The event described, *v.* 11, and Edom's conduct on that occasion, identifying himself with the foreign invaders, was yet future according to the view adopted by Caspari, but from the certainty with which it is foreseen, is spoken of as past. The exhortations that follow, *vs.* 12—14, he considers to have reference to the same event, now conceived of as future or as in progress, the identity being established by the similarity of the terms employed. Those who regard *v.* 11 as historically past, either refer these exhortations to a course of subsequent hostility, or suppose the prophet to conceive of the event which he had just mentioned as having taken place, with the vividness of an event passing before his eyes.

This dissuasion from the injurious treatment of Israel is enforced by an appeal to the approaching day of the Lord upon all the heathen. This day of the Lord is variously represented by the prophets as one of judgment, of punishment, and of battle. It is designed for the illustration of the attributes of the Most High, especially his righteousness in the destruction of his people's enemies and of his own. Although in prophetic representation "a day," it proves in actual fact to be not a single point of time, in which judgment shall be simultaneously executed upon all nations, but a continuous period, in the course of which all shall in succession receive the punishment that they merit. This day is "near," not from the historical position of Obadiah, but from the ideal prophetic one which he has taken in the future. When each nation has completed its deeds of iniquity, the time of retribution is not far distant. That which here appears as the matter to be avenged on that

day, is the hostilities which have been committed against the people of God. Viewed under one aspect, the destruction of Jerusalem and all that Israel suffered from other nations was the consequence of their own sins. Viewed under another aspect, it was a consequence of the hostile disposition cherished by the world toward them as the people of God, and in them toward God himself. This disposition, it is true, he uses as an instrument for the correction of his people's sins, but it finds in that fact no justification. It is under this latter aspect that Obadiah in this prophecy regards the sufferings of Jerusalem. Their own sins are not once referred to as concerned in the treatment they experience, but only the hostility of other nations, and particularly of Edom, the most unrelenting and inexcusable of all, and who appears here not in his individual character merely, but as the representative generally of all the enemies of God's people.

This coming day of retribution upon all nations affords a sure guaranty of Edom's doom; for if no deed of criminality against Israel from any quarter shall pass unavenged, theirs shall not. As they had done, it should be done to them. For as ye (Edom) have drunk upon my holy mountain, indulging in your profane revels over the scene of my people's overthrow, so shall all the heathen, and you of course among them, drink continually, but in another sense, drink the cup of divine wrath, and that in large, copious draughts, because forced so to do, and to their complete undoing: they shall be as though they had not been. That they shall drink "continually," does not imply that the same nations are to be for ever drinking, for the draughts are productive of speedy extinction. But one or another of the nations shall be always experiencing divine judgments.

The principal constructions in addition to that given above, which have been proposed for this passage, are the following. 1. As ye (Edomites) have drunk exulting over the ruin of Jerusalem, so shall all nations drink exulting over yours. 2. As ye (Edomites) have caroused upon my holy mountain, so shall all other nations inflict similar injuries upon Jerusalem, carouse there and perish. 3. As ye (Edomites) have drunk the cup of divine wrath for your treatment of God's people,

(their future punishment from its certainty spoken of as already experienced,) so shall all nations. 4. As ye (Jews) have in the destruction of Jerusalem drunk of the divine wrath, so shall all nations drink of the same, but more largely and for a longer term.

The last division of the prophecy opens with a contrast to the doom denounced upon Edom, and upon all nations. Mount Zion shall have a fate directly opposite to the fate of those who have desecrated and wasted it. The contrast here stated is not simply that in the time of the utter extinction of the nations, Israel, instead of being totally destroyed as they are, shall have still some survivors. The day of retribution which had been announced, was for the nations, not for Israel. The latter is already judged in the (ideal) present; and only the judgment on the nations for what they have done to Israel, lies yet in the future. The time in which the nations are visited for their sins, will be the time of Israel's security and triumph. The escaped from all past and present tribulations will then be found on Mount Zion, which is thenceforth to be a sanctuary and inviolable. The house of Jacob shall retake their former seats. Israel, no longer divided into two opposing kingdoms, but acting in concert, shall find Esau powerless to resist them. Their former coasts will prove too strait for them, such shall be the increase of their numbers. They shall spread southward over the territory of Esau, westward over that of the Philistines, northward into the possessions of Ephraim, to whom a district still farther north must consequently be assigned, and eastward beyond Jordan.

From the body of the nation, who after the calamities that awaited them, verse 11, should return to repeople and enlarge their ancient seats, the eye of the prophet turns to those in captivity in his own times, and he predicts for them also a return and a similar enlargement. This captive host of the children of Israel who are scattered up and down among the Canaanites as far as to Zarephath, and those in Sepharad shall occupy the cities of the south, where room will be made for them by the previous occupation of Edom by the inhabitants of these cities. Sepharad is not to be taken in its appellative sense as meaning dispersion, but the name of some definite

locality situated most probably in the distant west, (compare Joel iii. 6.) The Chaldee and Peshito render it Spain; and in modern Hebrew this is the name of that country.

Another construction of this passage is that this captive host of the children of Israel, *i. e.* those of the kingdom of the ten tribes carried captive to Assyria, shall on their return possess the land which belonged to the Canaanites as far as Zarephath.

And there shall go up, return out of exile, saviours (comp. Judges iii. 9,) for the defence of Israel, and the subjugation of their foes, and particularly of Edom. "And the kingdom shall be the LORD'S." By the protection and deliverance which he shall afford to his people, and by his destruction of their foes, he shall demonstrate to the world that he does indeed reign.

ART. V.—*The Jews at K'ae-fung-foo; being a Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jewish Synagogue at K'ae-fung-foo, on behalf of the London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews;* with an introduction by the Right Rev. George Smith, D. D., Lord Bishop of Victoria. Shanghae: Printed at the London Missionary Society's Press, 1851, pp. 82.

Fac-similes of the Hebrew Manuscripts, obtained at the Jewish Synagogue in K'ae-fung-foo. Shanghae: Printed at the London Missionary Society's Press, 1851.

THE interest naturally felt by the Christian public in the subject of these publications, leads us to suppose that we shall do our readers an acceptable service, if we extract from the pamphlet before us the substance of the information which it contains.

For the little previous knowledge which we possess respecting the Jews in China, we are almost exclusively indebted to the researches of the Roman Catholic missionaries in a former age. It was at the commencement of the seventeenth century, that the Jesuit missionary Ricci and his learned associates at

Peking, were suddenly made acquainted with the existence of a Jewish colony at K'hae-fung-foo, the capital of Honan province. A Jewish scholar and expectant of civil promotion, a native of that city temporarily resident at Peking, introduced himself to the missionaries, and announced himself of the same religion as the foreigners. Being led by Ricci to view the interior of the chapel, and the paintings above the altar and around the sides of the building, he proceeded to bow before the various pictures, professing, however, to perform this unusual act only in imitation of his guide and conductor, and as a homage to the great ancestors of his race. It was only by means of a subsequent explanation that the misunderstanding was removed, and the fact of the mutual distinctness of the two religions became clear to the mind of each.

The interesting information obtained from this Jewish visitor, led Ricci three years afterwards to despatch a Chinese Christian to K'hae-fung-foo, to test the accuracy of his statements. Copies of portions of the Pentateuch in Hebrew were brought back by the messenger. Other Israelites arrived in Peking, and interesting communications took place.

The poor Israelites, even then few in number, reduced in circumstances, and exposed to many trials, appeared ready to renounce their ancestral religion, and to transfer the control of their synagogue to the Jesuits. Others of the Roman Catholic missionaries subsequently visited the locality, and sketched the general plan and appearance of the synagogue.

Although at the commencement of the 18th century a fuller account of the Jews at K'hae-fung-foo was received from father Gozani, then resident on the spot, yet down to the present time, but little additional light has been thrown on the subject of "the sect who pluck the sinew." The late Dr. Morrison makes indeed a brief allusion to the rumour respecting them in his journal more than thirty years ago; and a Hebrew letter was actually written and despatched in the year 1815 by some Jews in London, to the Jewish community at K'hae-fung-foo. Whether it was ever received by them, there is no means of certainly knowing. Since the British treaty of Nanking in 1842, many Christians in Europe have directed their attention toward the Jews in China; and anticipations in some instances

may have been cherished respecting their present condition and future destinies, such as the incidents of this narrative will fail to gratify or confirm.

On the establishment of the bishopric of Victoria, Hong Kong was thought to furnish a favourable opportunity for the prosecution of inquiries relative to this subject; and bishop Smith was requested by the London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews, to take the general direction of the measures to be employed. Accordingly upon his arrival in China, he entered into correspondence with various foreign residents, both missionaries and civilians, settled in the five consular cities. A number of questions had been prepared and printed in England, and these were sent round to the different consular ports, in order to direct attention to certain specific points of inquiry. No intelligence whatever could be procured respecting even the existence of any native Jews in China at the present time. So far as is known, not a single native Jew had ever been met with by any Protestant missionaries, or other foreigners now resident in China. The Rev. Dr. Medhurst was the first to give a practical turn to these inquiries. He revolved in his mind a plan for despatching some trustworthy native messengers into those parts of the interior, where Jews were formerly known to be. This plan he laid before Bishop Smith in October 1850. The services of two Chinese Christians in the employment of the London Missionary Society, who appeared suitable and trustworthy agents, were made available for the mission. One of them, K'hew Thëen-sang, whose journal, written by himself in English, is placed first in the pamphlet, was educated by Dr. Medhurst in his mission school at Batavia, and is now engaged as a printer in the mission at Shanghae. The other, Tsëang Yung-che, a somewhat older man, and a literary graduate of the fourth or lowest degree, had been for some time a teacher of Chinese to one of the missionaries at Shanghae. His journal was composed in Chinese, and afterwards translated into English. A Jewish merchant from Bagdad also contributed his aid by writing a letter in Hebrew, for the purpose of introducing the two Chinese messengers and inviting the Jews to visit Shanghae.

They set out upon their journey from Shanghae, November

15, 1850, and pursuing a route, the particulars and incidents of which are detailed in their journals, they arrived at K'ae-fung-foo, December 9, having travelled a distance of about seven hundred miles in a northwest direction. They entered the east gate of the city; and pursuing their course along the Great East-gate Street, in accordance with the information which they had acquired on the journey, they soon turned to the northward, and at no great distance arrived at the site of the Jewish synagogue, facing to the eastward. Here, in the midst of a surrounding population, two-thirds of whom were Mohammedans, and close adjoining to a heathen temple dedicated to the god of fire, a few Jewish families sunk in the lowest poverty and destitution, their religion scarcely more than a name, and yet sufficient to separate them from the multitude around, exposed to trial, reproach, and the pain of long-deferred hope, remained the unconscious depositaries of the oracles of God, and survived as the solitary witnesses of departed glory. Not a single individual could read the Hebrew books; they had been without a Rabbi for fifty years. The expectation of a Messiah seems to have been entirely lost. The rite of circumcision, which appears to have been observed at the period of their discovery by the Jesuits two centuries ago, had been totally discontinued. The worshippers within the synagogue faced towards the west; but whether in the direction of Jerusalem or towards the suspended tablets of the emperors, no clear information was obtained. The synagogue itself was tottering in ruins; some of the ground had been alienated to pagan rites, and a portion of the fallen materials sold to the neighbouring heathen. Sometime previously they had petitioned the Chinese emperor to have pity on their poverty, and to rebuild their temple. No reply had been received from Peking, but to this feeble hope they still clung. Out of seventy family names or clans, only seven now remained, numbering about two hundred individuals in all, dispersed over the neighbourhood. A few of them were shop-keepers in the city; others were agriculturists at some little distance from the suburbs; while a few families also lived in the temple precincts, almost destitute of raiment and shelter. According to present appearances, in the judgment of the native messengers, after a

few years all traces of Judaism will probably have disappeared, and this Jewish remnant have been amalgamated with, and absorbed into surrounding Mohammedanism.

From the Journal of K'hew Thëen-sang, we extract the following passage:

"Dec. 10, Tuesday.—To-day about eight o'clock in the morning we went to the temple of the Jews to do our appointed duty. At the first entrance before the door there were two stone lions with pedestals, and some characters to point out the name of the temple. The space within the gate was inhabited by the professors of Judaism, who lived in a sort of pavilion with a mat and straw roof. On each side of this there was a small gate, at one of which the people went in and out at leisure or during the time of service, the other one being choked up with mud. Over the second entrance were written the words "Venerate Heaven." This enclosure was also inhabited by the Jewish people. On the right side of it there was a stone tablet engraved with ancient and modern Chinese letters; after which was placed the pae-fang, or ornamental gateway, with a round white marble table in front of it. In front of the pae-fang was written "Happiness;" and below it, "The Mind holding Communion with Heaven." On each side of the pae-fang were various apartments, some of which were broken down; on the back of the pae-fang were written the characters, "Reverently accord with the expansive Heavens." Below these on the ground, stone flower pots and tripods were placed; after passing which, we came to the third court, where we saw a marble railing with steps on each side, having entered which the temple itself appeared, with two stone lions in front. Finding that the front door of the temple was shut, we tried to open it, but could not, when several of the professors came up and entered into conversation with us, questioning us about our object. So we told them that we had come from a distance to bring a letter. They then let us see two letters, one from a rabbi, (perhaps the one forwarded to them in 1815 by Dr. Morrison,) and the other from Mr. Layton, Consul at Amoy, requesting them to send some Hebrew tracts; it was written half in Chinese and half in Hebrew. They told us also that they had been nearly starved since their temple had been

neglected; and that their congregation consisted now of only seven clans. Most of the men were acquainted with letters. After conversing some time with them, one of the men opened the door for us; so we took advantage of the opportunity to go in and examine the sacred place. The men told us that several strangers had before tried to enter, but they would not allow them to do so, because many of them were merely pretended professors of their religion; but finding that we had been sent by some of their own people, and had a letter in their own character, they allowed us to see the place. The following notes will give some idea of the interior. Directly behind the front door stands a bench, about six feet from which there is a long stand for candles, similar to those usually placed before the idols in Chinese temples. Immediately in connection with this there is a table, in the centre of which is placed an earthen ware incense vessel, having a wooden candlestick at each end. In the centre of the edifice stands something resembling a pulpit; behind which there is another table having two candlesticks and an earthenware incense vessel; and after that is the Wan-suy-pae, or Emperor's tablet, placed on a large table in a shrine, inscribed with the customary formula, "May the Man-chow (or reigning dynasty) retain the imperial sway through myriads and myriads, and ten thousand myriads of years." Above the Wan-suy-pae is a Hebrew inscription, "Hear, O Israel, Jehovah our God is one Jehovah; blessed be the name of his glorious kingdom for ever and ever." Next to this is the imperial tablet for the Ming dynasty. Then comes a cell in which are deposited the twelve tubes containing the divine law. To the right and left of the principal cell are two others, all bearing Hebrew inscriptions.

"While engaged in copying these, before I had quite finished, a man of the name of K'heaou, who had attained a literary degree, came and drove me unceremoniously out of the temple, telling me to be careful of what I was doing. I civilly inquired his surname, in order to pacify him; but he would not listen to me, and ordered me immediately out of the temple, telling the men to shut the door, and let no man come in any more. After the men had shut the door he told them, that the two men which had come thither were not of the same religion as

they were, and added, raising his voice, they are sent from the English missionaries to examine our establishment, and you must not let them come here any more. After the man had gone, one of the professors came to our inn and told us all about what K'heaou had said. Finding ourselves thus shut out from the temple, we requested him to procure for us a copy of all the inscriptions, and also such of the Hebrew books as might be attainable, desiring at the same time to enter into some negotiation for the purchase of the rolls of the law. He said, I cannot get the rolls, but can give you some of the small books, at the same time giving us one which he had with him. In the evening when he came to visit us, we asked him, What do you call your religion? He said, Formerly we had the name of T'hëen-chuh-keaou, Indian religion; but now the priests have changed it into the "religion of those who pluck the sinew," because every thing that we eat, whether mutton, beef, or fowl, must have the sinews taken out. Some persons are likely to mistake the sound T'hëen-chuh-keaou for T'ëen-choo-keaou; so when we heard the sounds, we asked him to write down the three characters; then we understood that he meant the religion of India, and not the religion of the Lord of heaven (or the Roman Catholic religion). We asked him, Are there any who can read Hebrew? He said, Not one now among the residents is able to read it, although formerly there were some. He said also that our letter very much resembled those which they had received before, and had the same kind of envelope; but their letters had seals, and ours none. The temple, with the Wan-suy-pae, and all the sacred furniture face the east, so that the worshippers during service have to turn their faces towards the west, which is also in the direction of Jerusalem. The priest, when going to perform service, wears a blue head dress and blue shoes; but the congregation are not allowed to go in with their shoes, nor the women with their head napkins. Before entering the holy place they all have to wash their bodies, both men and women; on the two sides of the temple, there are baths and wells in which they wash; and after making themselves clean they enter the holy place.

"The Jews are not allowed to intermarry with heathens and Mohammedans, neither are they allowed to marry two wives;

they are forbidden to eat pork, as also to mix with the Mohammedans, but they are required to be strict in the observance of their religion, and to keep the Sabbath holy. Some of the materials of the houses round the synagogue, such as bricks, tiles, wood, &c., have been sold by the professors to supply the wants of their families. We heard that the Emperor had refused to rebuild the temple, until all was rotten and come to nought; so that the temple must remain in its present state until the Emperor issues a command to repair or rebuild it. For this the professors were waiting with earnest expectation that the time of rebuilding might not be delayed, else they would be starved. They told us that some of them daily lifted up their hearts and prayed to heaven, because since the temple was neglected many had gone astray. We heard also, that whenever any one was known to belong to the Jewish religion, they were soon despised and became poor. None of the Chinese would make friends with them, and they were treated as outcasts by the common people. Many of those who professed the same religion, did so in secret, and not openly, lest they should be despised also.

"Dec. 13, Friday.—Yesternight we had great fear and trouble on account of the Jews who came to our inn to visit us. In the inn we had many of the Canton men who sold opium, and some Sze-chuen men belonging to one of the magistrates' offices, who overheard that we were talking with the Jews about our and their religion. As soon as the Jews had gone we went to bed, and about eleven at night we heard them talking loudly about our business. There were in one room three people, one of whom said, I will accuse them to the district magistrate, saying that these two men are come from Shanghae, and are friends of the foreigners, and that they talked last night with the Jewish people. Their religion is not the same as ours, but they come hither as spies and breakers of the law. We will certainly bring them to the magistrate, and get them beaten and put in jail; by doing which they will be obliged to give out some money."

In consequence of the apprehensions thus awakened, K'hew T'hëen-sang, and Tseang Yung-che left the city the next day.

The latter gives the following account, which he gathered from the Jews, of their religion.

"This religion was formerly called the Indian religion. Afterwards, on account of some disturbances that took place among its professors, the designation was changed into that of the religion which enjoins the plucking out of the sinew. The Sabbath days observed by this sect occur on the days previous to the Christian Sabbath. The time of the introduction of the Jewish religion into China is stated by themselves to be about eighteen hundred and fifty years ago. This religion was first established in K'hae-fung-foo, and the synagogue built A. D. 1164. At first the professors of Judaism amounted to seventy families, but when K'hae-fung-foo was invested in the beginning of the present dynasty, the professors fled in various directions; afterwards seven clans again entered the city. In their religion the Jews have three kinds of office-bearers; the Rabbi, the Sinew-extractor, and the Propagator of Doctrines. Whenever the day arrives for honouring the sacred writings, the disciples must all bathe in the place appointed for that purpose, after which they may enter the synagogue. The Rabbi then takes his seat on an elevated position, with a large red satin umbrella held over him. This umbrella is still preserved in the synagogue. When they bow down to worship they face the west, and in calling upon God in the Chinese language, they use the word Heaven. On the 8th Chinese moon, and the 24th day, they hold a great festival (corresponding to September or October,) which is perhaps the feast of tabernacles, called by them the festival for perambulating round the sacred writings, because they then walk in solemn procession round the hall of the temple. The reason of the present neglect of the Jewish religion is because for these fifty years there has been no one to instruct the professors in the knowledge of the fifty-three sections of the divine classic, and in the twenty-seven letters of the Jewish alphabet."*

* They make out twenty-seven letters by counting the five finals as separate letters. The customary division of the Pentateuch in our Hebrew Bibles is into fifty-four sections. But the Jews in Persia likewise number fifty-three, the Masoretic fifty-second and fifty-third sections being combined in one.

In addition to several inscriptions in Hebrew and several in Chinese, copies were obtained of two large tablets in the Chinese language, bearing dates respectively, which correspond to A. D. 1511 and 1488. We make a brief extract from the former of these.

"From the beginning of the world our first father Adam handed the doctrine down to Abraham; Abraham handed it down to Isaac; Isaac handed it down to Jacob; Jacob to the twelve patriarchs; and the twelve patriarchs to Moses; Moses to Aaron; Aaron to Joshua; and Joshua to Ezra, by whom the doctrines of the holy religion were first sent abroad, and the letters of the Jewish nation first made plain. All those who profess this religion, aim at the practice of goodness and avoid the commission of vice, morning and evening performing their devotions, and with a sincere mind cultivating personal virtues. They practice fasting and abstinence on the prescribed days, and bring eating and drinking under proper regulations. They make the sacred writings their study and their rule, obeying and believing them in every particular. Then may they expect that the blessing of Heaven will abundantly descend, and the favour of Providence be unfailingly conferred; every individual obtaining the credit of virtuous conduct, and every family experiencing the happiness of divine protection. In this way perhaps our professors will not fail of carrying out the religion handed down by their ancestors, nor will they neglect the ceremonies they are bound to observe."

The Hebrew inscriptions contain many words which appear to be Persian; this is the case likewise with the books that were obtained. Of these latter Bishop Smith says:

"They brought back eight MSS. of apparently considerable antiquity, containing portions of the Old Testament Scriptures. These eight MSS. are written on thick paper, bound in silk, and bear internal marks of foreign, probably Persian origin. The writing appears to have been executed by means of a style, and to be in an antique Hebrew form, with vowel points. The cursory examination which we have been already enabled to bestow on them, leads to the belief that they will be found by western biblical scholars to be remarkable for their generally exact agreement with the received text of the Hebrew Old Tes-

tament. Though in themselves interesting and valuable, they are probably much inferior in interest and value to the twelve rolls of vellum containing the law, each thirty feet in length by two or three in breadth, which our messengers examined in the holiest of holies. Measures are already in progress for procuring these latter MSS., and for bringing down to Shanghae any Israelites who might be induced to visit that city. The portions of the Old Testament Scriptures already received are the following:—Exod. i.—vi., Exod. xxxviii.—xl., Lev. xix. and xx., Numb. xiii.—xv., Deut. xi.—xvi., and Deut. xxxii.; various portions of the Pentateuch, Psalms, and Hagiographa, which appear to be parts of an ancient Hebrew liturgy, are contained in two of the MSS. already received."

A friendly feeling was generally evinced towards our visitors, which is in no small measure attributable to the Hebrew letter of introduction from Shanghae, of which although the Jews understood not the purport, they readily perceived its identity with their own sacred writings. Without such an introduction, they would probably have been received with suspicion, and mistrusted as spies. Our visitors learnt that during the year 1849 the whole of the little Jewish community at K'ae-fung-foo were thrown into great alarm, and exposed to danger of persecution on account of suspected connection with foreigners, by a letter written in Chinese and despatched some time before by the late Temple Layton, Esq., H. B. M. Consul at Amoy, for the purpose of procuring some Hebrew MSS.

Art. VI.—*Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity.* Delivered at the University of Virginia during the Session of 1850—1. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1852.

Such a book, proceeding from such a source, and under such auspices, is not only a profoundly interesting phenomenon in itself, but eminently suggestive of the ultimate issue of the great and protracted controversy, to which it is so formal and massive a contribution. It is well known that the University

of Virginia owes its origin, as well as its original plan, chiefly to Mr. Jefferson.

The introductory Preface by the Rev. W. H. Ruffner, Chaplain of the University, under whose sagacious administration this course of Lectures was executed, and which recites the history and conditions of the introduction of Christianity into the institution, under the management of Mr. Jefferson himself, is not the least curious or instructive portion of the volume. It is an amiable attempt to shelter Mr. Jefferson, as far as possible, from any avowal of open hostility in the case, and to mask under the guise of prudence against the conflicts and jealousies which make up so large an element of the Christian spirit, under his conception of it, the apparent indisposition to install any definite form of Christianity. The correspondence and the documents drawn up by Mr. Jefferson are exceedingly curious; the problem which he undertook to solve being substantially this:—to find the least amount, and most diluted form, of Christianity, compatible with the religious prejudices and unsuspecting confidence and support of the public. The *animus* which pervades the whole *projet* of the University, as it came from the pen of its author, was manifestly the same which led him to move a resolution in the Continental Congress, recommending a day of national fasting, humiliation and prayer.

It is therefore with peculiar pleasure that we take the opportunity furnished by the volume before us, to apprize any of our readers, who may not have followed up the history of the University, that notwithstanding the baleful influences of its infancy, it now occupies a commanding place among the literary institutions of our country, not only for the comprehensiveness of its educational provisions, and the ability and learning of its Professors, but also for the liberal and untrammelled provisions furnished by its Faculty for the religious instruction and welfare of its members.

We cannot allow the opportunity to pass without saying that the conception of a course of Lectures on the Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion, by distinguished gentlemen selected for the purpose, reflects great credit upon its projector, as well as upon those who have contributed to its execution. Our experience, first as a student, and then as a teacher,

has entirely convinced us, that there is vastly more suppressed infidelity (chiefly in the form of the scepticism of ignorance, or perhaps we ought to say of the scepticism of nascent science) among young men, than is apparent. An impression lurks in thousands of young bosoms, that there is a conflict between science and religion, a want of harmony between nature and the Bible: and that the former rests upon a vastly more tangible and secure basis than the latter: and we regard it as eminently desirable to lay before the minds of so large a class of young men rising into influence, a fresh and independent vindication of Christian evidences, with all the adjuvants of oral delivery, by men whose reputation for scholarship and eloquence would insure a respectful hearing. It may perhaps be questioned, whether the schedule of the Lectures is in all respects as effective as it might have been. If we should venture to criticise it at all, it would be because it is behind, rather than in advance of, the wants of the age. It contemplates the controversy too much, perhaps, as standing where it stood, when Hume and Priestley left the field of debate. In regard to the general merits of the volume before us, as a contribution to Christian Apologetics, it is wholly unnecessary for us to enlarge. The Christian public have already pronounced their judgment both upon its timeliness and ability, by a demand quite unusual for a work of its size. As public journalists we may therefore be permitted to express our thanks on behalf of the Church, to the projector, and each of the several authors of the volume, for the important service they have rendered to the cause of Christian truth. We commend it heartily to the confidence and kindness of the Church, and shall rejoice to hear of its wide and general circulation.

Among so many lecturers, there will, of course, naturally be a very great diversity of ability and qualification. Where there is so much to commend in all, we hope it will not be regarded as invidious, if we say, that the Lecture on the Internal Evidences of Christianity, by Dr. Breckinridge, would be regarded as a thorough and masterly argument, in any comparison. That of Mr. Robinson of Kentucky, on the Difficulties of Infidelity, displays great massiveness and power of intellect, as well as highly creditable skill and discrimination in its con-

duct. Dr. Rice, as usual, is keen, quick, and ever on the alert. We never read a controversial article from his pen, without having suggested to our mind the idea of a well trained and most expert dialectic fencing-master: and woe be to the adversary who makes a false pass, or leaves a single spot unguarded.

The Lectures which grapple with the objections to Christianity grounded on the hypotheses of modern science, are not in all respects what we could desire. The authors display great readiness and considerable book-knowledge of their subjects, combined with a high order of rhetorical ability. They hardly strike us, however, as indicating that complete appreciation of the real facts and difficulties of the case, as they lie before the mind of even candid scientific scholars, which we regard as essential to any complete or sufficient refutation. We greatly fear, therefore, that the full force of the Christian argument will not be felt by men of science, inclined to scepticism.

The argument against Morell does not fully satisfy our expectations. The author does not seem to us to apprehend, either in its ground-work or its essential nature, the real force of the hypothesis which he refutes. The introductory portion of the Lecture gives promise of a thorough sifting of the subject; but suddenly the speaker breaks away from the analysis of its ingenious and most imposing psychology, and then proceeds, with his well known rhetorical ability, to refute again the old objections to the commonly received theory of inspiration. In this view of it, the author has done his work well; but we are sincerely sorry he did not proceed to grapple with the real hypothesis which Mr. Morell has succeeded in transplanting to the cold ungenial clime of English philosophical theology. We have evidence in abundance, as conclusive as it is sad, that this philosophy of religion, is at this very moment making havoc with the faith and the peace of not a few young men, more, we think, among our Episcopal, Congregational, and New-School brethren, than among ourselves, of that original and thoughtful class, whom it is most important to protect.

In venturing to speak thus freely as to the high order of qualification which we think desirable in the discussion of such subjects, we are far from intending to disparage the authors. They are among the most prominent and influential ministers

of their age in our Church. But no man, whatever his abilities or polemic skill, is prepared to discuss such subjects as they should be discussed, without a training which our ministers do not often receive. If these dangerous systems of scientific infidelity are not refuted, it is our fault, as much as theirs who attempt it and fail. It is preposterous, of course, to think of furnishing a complete and final refutation of a system of infidelity, which has been three quarters of a century in rearing its ground-work and its defences, without a thorough training for the task; and scarcely less preposterous to think of preparing to discuss it adequately, by reading on the subject for a few weeks.

The most remarkable Lecture, on some accounts, in the volume, is that on "The nature of Christianity, as shown to be a perfect and final system of Faith and Practice, and not a form in transitu to a higher and more complete development of the religious idea." We do not doubt that the writer saw a really grand thought looming through the haze with which the deistical idealism of modern metaphysics has invested the philosophy of religion; but we have always doubted whether the "*dummheit*" charged by the admirers of this philosophy upon the English intellect, was not a real disqualification for following the game they have started, into the cloud-land of its native home. We mean no disrespect to the able lecturer, for we are free to concede, that none but a man of genius and learning could have written the Lecture; but we must confess, that its perusal constantly minded us of the famous *bon mot* of Napoleon to Las Casas, while making their way back from the rigours and barrenness of a Russian winter, "There is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous." We do not affirm that the respected Lecturer ever actually takes that critical step; but to our optics, which are doubtless none of the best, the topography of the Lecture seems to lie somewhere near the debatable ground, about which the reader is sometimes compelled to doubt whether it belongs to the actual or the ideal; whether it is *terra firma*, or fog. As Dr. Chalmers once said of the brilliant conversations of Coleridge, on a similar class of topics, "we caught occasional glimpses of what he would be at: but mainly he was very far out of all sight and all sympathy."

It might seem, at first sight, that the incessant and violent hostility which Christianity has encountered, in every period of its history, is presumptive evidence against its truth. But a moment's reflection will enable us to see, in the light of any tolerable conception of its true nature and office, that this antagonism is a simple and necessary result of its truth. Whether Christianity be regarded, in the convenient phraseology of the day, as the source and essence of a new subjective life, a dynamic spiritual power in the soul; or, in its objective character, as a normal rule of faith and practice, it is plain, that it must be absolute and exclusive in its nature, and all-pervading and controlling in its effects. If it makes men new creatures within, and subjects them to new authority and new principles of action without, there can, of course, be nothing in human life, and nothing in society, which it will not reach and remodel. Though primarily designed to affect the personal relations of the individual soul to God, yet the new nature which it introduces for this purpose, and the new principles which it enjoins, cannot fail to imbue and modify the whole character of the individual in his social, and indirectly, at least, in his political, as well as his personal relations. Our Lord himself did not hesitate to avow this result, and again and again startled his hearers with the declaration, that he had come, not to send peace on the earth, but a sword. The Christian Church is, therefore, by the very conditions of its existence, *militant* in its history: and the religion to which it owes its peculiar life, and consequently its external forms and relations, must count upon meeting perpetual hostility, until the whole forms of the intellectual culture, the social civilization, and the very political institutions of the world, are assimilated to its spirit, and organized anew in accordance with its inward and peculiar life.

It is clear, moreover, that the character and grounds of the controversies in which Christianity finds itself engaged, and the nature of the opposition it encounters, will be determined by the characteristics of the philosophy, the civilization and the political institutions with which it comes in collision, as it advances to achieve the ultimate and complete regeneration of the race. It is not a single conflict that can be settled once

for all, but a series of conflicts, pitched upon new and ever shifting grounds, determined by the accidental position and defences of error or wrong, in which it found its adversaries entrenched. The great controversies of the world can no more be stationary than its intellect.

It is, therefore, a highly curious and instructive task, to trace the history of this great controversy, throughout its long line of changes—to mark the varying spirit of the combatants, to draw out an intellectual topography of its endless battles, as the culture of the world has perpetually shifted its ground, and to see how its adversaries, beaten from post after post, and entrenchment after entrenchment, with uncompromising and unwearied hostility, have hung upon the rear of its triumphant march, and dogged every step of its onward progress, towards the redemption and enfranchisement of the race.

In the cursory review which we propose to give, we shall aim to comprise in the very statement itself, the reasons of this incessant change of ground; and to affiliate, as far as possible, the several forms of error and hostility, encountered by the truth.

Though our Lord proclaimed from the beginning that his kingdom was not of this world, yet he did not deny the truth of the blind but unerring instinct, which led the public authorities of every sort, to treat him and his doctrines as formidable enemies to the abuses of the existing governments of the world; as well as the abuses of doctrine and practice sanctioned by the rulers of his own people. In the emphatic declaration to the Jews, "if the truth shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed," he announces the unavoidable antagonism between Christianity as a dynamic power, or living principle in the soul, and the endless forms of despotism, consolidated into the governments of the earth. Christianity was thus, at the very outset, precipitated upon a conflict with despotism, which cannot terminate, except in the ultimate and complete overthrow of the latter; for it is a contradiction in terms to suppose, that those who are made the conscious freemen of the Lord, should remain for ever the slaves of a human tyrant. However patient of wrong, and obedient to the powers that be, there is yet an upward tendency in regenerated human nature, which, like the lower strata of air, rarified by the warmth of the sun,

no amount or concentration of pressure can prevent from ascending.

The first form of outward hostility which the gospel encountered was determined, therefore, by the antagonism of its spirit and its tendency, with reference to the evils and abuses of the existing governments of the world. The persecutions which it endured, in consequence, drew out the apologies of its professors, addressed for the most part to the Roman Emperor, in the early ages of its history. These were chiefly explanatory and defensive, and were designed to rescue from calumny and misrepresentation the true nature of its rites, and doctrines, and spirit. But while the apologies of the early Christians were denying and refuting these absurd and malignant slanders, the spirit of the gospel had already entered into conflict with the Judaism on the one hand, and the paganism on the other, which supported the despotic governments, under which it went forth to battle. It was the living might with which it shook these pillars of absolute authority, that awoke the bitter and fanatical hatred of their respective adherents. The question of its evidence was, therefore, raised on two sides at once. It was compelled to exhibit and vindicate its title to credibility against the prescriptive and acknowledged institutes of Judaism and the countless forms of pagan worship and belief. And as the dominant paganism of Rome was instinct with the life and power of the old philosophies and the arts of Greece, it is evident that the Christian controversy would necessarily involve a reaction upon the whole ground work of that philosophy. Christianity, as a rule of life, contains new and divine provisions for determining the leading questions of social and public life. The power of the gospel, therefore, cannot be introduced into the bosom of a man or a community, without furnishing new solutions of the practical ethics of society, and new modes of meeting and discharging the great duties which spring out of the common nature and relations of humanity. Now the solution of these problems is the precise province of ethical philosophy; and to furnish such a solution on rational grounds without the suggestion of a divine revelation, or to set the solution furnished by such a revelation in philosophic relation with the true elements of humanity, involves an analysis and study of

the constituents of human nature, both in its psychological and social aspects, as well as a knowledge of the origin and evidence of necessary truths: and all this is the business of mental philosophy. It is plain, then, that in any complete achievement of the ulterior purposes of Christianity, it must come into contact with the received teachings of philosophy: and so far as it finds them defective or erroneous, it must seek to supply or correct them, by taking on, so far forth, the normal or logical forms into which the wants of man have shaped his philosophy. It is not in a condition to question their truth, and still less to convict them of error, until it has cast its implicit teachings into formularies that will admit of a definite comparison with those of philosophy. And if the terms of such scientific statement are not to be found in the multiform, but chiefly concrete, biographic or historic teachings of the Scriptures—or if the formulas of human science are found sufficiently accurate for practical purposes, Christianity may avail itself of those formulas, only breathing into them the power of a divine life, and clothing them with the authority of a divine sanction. In some form or other, Christianity must come into collision with the intellectual culture, and the social and political institutions, which make up the peculiar civilization of each nation and age. The result may be, that it may supplant them entirely, and set up new ones in their place, organized upon its own principles, and instinct with its own life: or it may be blended with the forms and institutions of an existing philosophy, or civilization, imparting to them a shape, and colouring, and life, distinctively Christian; or finally, it may imbibe from them philosophical principles, or be perverted to practical purposes, which shall mar and pervert its own. The history of Christianity exemplifies each of these contingencies; and the result, in either case, is a controversy, taking its form and violence from the peculiar reaction which gave it birth.

Thus, when Christianity grappled with the various errors and abuses of the world, or shook the hoary pillars of the pagan religion on which its governments reposed, it drew on the hostility, and finally the malignant persecutions of the dominant powers. When it came into collision with the various forms of pagan philosophy and ethics, it absorbed largely of their human

elements, and adopted their formulas, to a degree that corrupted for a time its own inspired teaching: and when, finally, it consented, under the blandishments of wealth and power, to throw its sanctions over the abuses of despotic government, its spirit, and in the end, its whole organic life, became infected, and were perverted to the support of a despotism, more fearful than the world had ever seen.

And, on the other hand, the reaction of Christianity upon the endless systems of Greek and oriental philosophy, generated a series of controversies, which may be classed upon the various ground-forms of those philosophies, which moulded them into shape. These may be included under three heads, according to the solution they gave of the leading questions of ontology and morals; viz., first, the nature and grounds of the certainty of human knowledge: second, of the origin and the nature of evil: and thirdly, of the character and the influence of the spiritual powers of the universe. From the first source we have the controversies which sprang from the various systems of the oriental Gnosticism, and one of the forms of Pantheism, mingled with the war of centuries between the principles of Plato and Aristotle in the schools of the Church. From the second source we derive the various forms of the Manichean heresies, asserting the eternal existence of evil on the one hand, and the pantheistic fatalism which grew out of the oriental quietism on the other. And from the last there sprang the infinitely varied and endless conflicts between the Christian teachings, touching divine and superhuman agencies on the one side, and the various mythologies of the pagan world on the other. The apologies directed against Celsus and Porphyry exemplify the latter class. Among the patristic writers who have contributed most largely to this phase of Christian Apologetics, with reference to the popular, and still more the pilosophical aspects of the pagan mythologies, we need scarcely name Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, and Augustine. We do not, of course, include in our enumeration the controversies which grew out of the reaction of Christianity upon the countless philosophical systems of the pagan philosophy, touching the person and nature of Christ, as these belong to the internal, doctrinal, rather than the apologetical history of the Church.

To eliminate the errors, and correct the abuses resulting from this antagonism between Christianity and philosophy, was the work of long ages of darkness and conflict, from the very age of the apostles, to the period when the Reformation took the finished product from the schools, breathed into it the renovated life of faith, prayer, and martyrdom, and entered upon the final dispensation of the Church, in the universal diffusion of Christianity, thus cast into the living moulds of human thought, and set into vital relation with the wants and exigencies of human society, among all the nations of the earth.

The modern forms of the great Christian controversy, like those which preceded it, were determined by the external circumstances from which they sprang. The intellect of the world, struck free from its shackles, and quickened and intensified by the Reformation, was thrown, with intense ardour, upon the observation and study of nature, with the additional aid of the New Organon of the Inductive Method. The separate departments of physical research and discovery, one after another, turned, as if by some strange and unnatural instinct, like the fabled offspring of the pelican, to assault and prey upon the breast that had warmed them into life. Astronomy first, by revealing in the light of the telescope the true theory of the universe, and subsequently by the curious antiquarian discoveries of the zodiacs of Egypt, and the astronomical tables of the Hindoos, assaulted successively the credibility, the authority, and the chronology of the inspired narrative. Then came geology, with its allied and tributary sciences of zoology and physiology:—and now, last of all, comes ethnology, planting itself on the results of its predecessors, and disputing, first the unity of the human species, and when that was on the point of settlement in accordance with the Scriptures, suddenly springing a new question touching the common origin of the one species of the race.

The history of Apologetics, since the Reformation, may be divided into three distinct periods or ages, each taking its peculiar character, from the type of philosophy which happened to prevail at the time. First we have the age of English Deism, clearly affiliating with the general prevalence of the philosophy of Locke; by pushing the sensational element to excess, thus

infecting every department both of intellectual and moral philosophy, and culminating in the blank philosophical scepticism of Berkeley, and the universal and religious scepticism of Hume. The second was the age of atheism, which reached its zenith among the philosophers of France and the court of Frederick, having such men as Voltaire, Condorcet, and D'Alembert for its chief apostles, and the great French Encyclopedia for its chief permanent organ. This form of infidelity may be readily affiliated with the pure sensationalism which sprang from the general prevalence of the English empirical psychology, as it was understood by the continental *savans*, accepting and carrying out the positive side of that philosophy to absolute materialism.

The result of these two movements—terminating in absolute scepticism on the one side, and absolute materialism on the other—was to wake up the more profound and earnest-thoughted German philosophers, and thus give birth to the *third* and last form of metaphysical infidelity; and which sprang from the extreme and one-sided development of idealism in philosophy, with its two divergent tendencies, towards pantheism on the one side, and rationalism on the other.

Passing by the older forms of English infidelity and French atheism, as likely to be familiar to our readers, besides being defunct and powerless, we propose to expend our remaining space upon those more modern forms of error, which, notwithstanding their deadly wound, still retain sufficient vitality to perpetrate great injury among us.

We shall endeavour, therefore, in the first place to indicate, in the briefest possible way, the character of the several schools of German Idealism, and so to affiliate their teaching, as to show the genesis of the modern, and most popular and dangerous process ever devised, for undermining the inspiration of the Scriptures.

Kant was the first to give a distinctly German character to the philosophy of the Continent. The germs of idealism had indeed been already planted in that fertile soil by Leibnitz; but his speculations wore so little of an indigenous character, that they were not even communicated through the medium of the German language. It was chiefly to the beautiful classifications of Wolf, and to his compact and consistent logic, that

the philosophy of Leibnitz owed its temporary, but complete, ascendency in Germany. The extreme latitudinarianism of the system which he built up out of the materials of Leibnitz, as applied especially to the truths of natural theology, was so obnoxious to the orthodoxy which still prevailed at the Court of Frederick William I., that Wolf was banished from Prussia. Such, however, was the rapid spread of his views among the philosophers of Germany, that one of the first acts of Frederick II., was to recall him from his banishment to the chair of philosophy at Halle. His system was soon introduced into every Protestant university in the country; and held its ascendency almost undisputed for the space of half a century.

The middle of the eighteenth century was the most remarkable epoch in the history of modern philosophy. In the four years from 1748 to 1752 there were published Hume's Essays on the Human Understanding, the Natural History of Buffon, the first parts of the great French Encyclopedia, Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws, the earlier writings of Rousseau, the principal works of Condillac, while Voltaire was at the acme of his glory at the court of Frederick, and Lessing and Kant, both educated in the philosophy of Wolf, were just preparing to embark upon the troubled sea of metaphysics in search of unknown lands.*

Impelled by the causes we have mentioned, Kant undertook a thorough revision of the fundamental principles of psychology, for the purpose of finding a ground of certainty on which he might rest those purely necessary truths, which Hume, following out Locke's doctrines, had struck out of the catalogue of our knowledge, because his keen and subtle analysis did not enable him to find them among the contents of experience. Kant, therefore, sought for them in the laws of our intellectual being. The business of sense, in his analysis of our psychology, is merely to give us the *matter* of our thoughts, in the "now" and the "here" of the objects of perception: all the

* Our readers may consult with great satisfaction, the "*Histoire de la Philosophie Allemande, depuis Kant jusqu'à Hegel*, par J. Willm, Inspecteur de l'Académie de Strasbourg." Paris, 1846. This is the work which took the prize offered by the French Academy.

rest comes from the depths of our own rational nature. It is the office of the understanding to give form, distinctness, and relation, to the vague shapeless matter furnished in sensation. This it does by applying to them, as they are presented, the twelve categories of existence, comprehending all the possible forms and relations of things; these categories being furnished for the purpose, by the Reason. The result is, that the formless sensation then becomes a *notion* ("begriffe"). These notions are then taken up by the Pure Reason, which seeks to reduce them to the simplest form, carrying them towards an absolute and all-comprehending unity. This is the process of generalization, which is conducted in accordance with the forms and laws of logic. The "notion," thus subjected to the action of the reason, becomes an idea, (*idee*). The notions, or judgments of the understanding, depending as they do for their matter upon sensation, are all experimental, and constitute the true and only basis of science. *Ideas*, being purely the product of the reason, are necessarily supersensuous; and can neither be proved nor disproved scientifically. These supersensuous ideas, such as God, the soul, immortality, freedom, power, &c., being thus removed beyond the range of the longest artillery of scientific scepticism, are proved to be real in their turn by an entirely different process; viz., because in point of fact they do practically control the conduct of men, with a conceded magisterial authority. To do this they must be endowed with a real existence: and this is the function of the Practical Reason—which Kant, therefore, admits to an actual and equal, or even more certain because more authoritative place, in the human constitution. This authority of the moral nature, or Practical Reason, obviously implies such correlative truths as, 1, the freedom of the will, in order to accountability; 2, the existence of God as the author or source of its authority; for otherwise its authority would be an unreal shadow without any answering substance; 3, the immortality of the soul, because we can conceive of no other adequate or rational end of human actions, &c.

For obvious reasons Kant also tears up the utilitarian or selfish foundation of virtue, and grounds all moral distinctions on the authoritative voice of the great Lawgiver, re-echoed in

the "imperative categorical" authority, with which his philosophy robed the Practical Reason.*

There is still another sphere of mental activity, in the psychological chart of Kant, lying between the intellectual and the practical, occupied by what he terms the Judging Faculty, ("*Urtheilskraft,*") answering in his critical analysis of its function, approximately to the Taste. It is the source of our ideas of beauty, fitness, design, &c., and brings into view, in its operation, the idea of a *final cause.* This function, which is the foundation of all art, also works into, and confirms by logical deduction from the clear perception of design, the categorical belief of the Practical Reason, in regard to God and immortality.

From even this brief and bald exposition of the metaphysical system of Kant, it is not difficult to trace the steps by which it was carried out into complete subjective idealism, in the hands of Fichte.

As all science was founded, according to Kant, on the formal element contributed by the subjective laws of the mind to the matter furnished in sensation, it was a very obvious step, to deny the possibility of any scientific transition to a real outward world at all. There were two possible alternatives left: the one was philosophic scepticism, in the denial of an external universe, as reduced to systematic form by Schulze; and the other, to admit the reality of the external world, but make it a creation of the subjective mind. For while Kant assumed the reality of our sensations, and of their material cause, and admitted, on the grounds we have stated, the absoluteness of our knowledge, yet that knowledge was cognizable by the understanding, only in forms derived purely from the reason;

* We have no doubt that the incidental service rendered by the German philosophy, in sweeping away the whole ground work of the miserable sensational or utilitarian morality of the Paley school of moral philosophers, in both its great branches, viz: the advocates respectively of the disinterested and the selfish schemes, (which are only the opposite poles of the same hypothesis, both alike making virtue to consist in the love of being, and the promotion of the greatest happiness,) and both of which have flowered and borne fruit copiously in the prolific nursery of New England theology, is one of the chief reasons for the extraordinary and ready acceptance it has met, among some of the ablest thinkers both in England and America.

and was, therefore, absolute only to man, and necessarily so to man, only so long as he retains his present constitution. Fichte began by denying Kant's assumption of the reality of our sense-perceptions; or rather by refusing to admit it into the category of scientific, *i. e.* demonstrative truth. All that we certainly know, he contended, is that of which we are conscious, and this of course is purely subjective. In reply to the allegation, that we are compelled by the laws of our mental constitution to believe in the objective reality answering to our subjective notions, he answers, that the laws which so compel us, are subjective too. The starting point of science, therefore, that which we know to be certainly true, is our sensations and subjective mental processes. We find ourselves thus completely and hopelessly shut up within the circle of our consciousness, so far at least as demonstrative science and certainty are concerned. Fichte, however, does not deny absolutely the reality of objective nature: but only the possibility of knowing it scientifically. He admits that we do and must accept and act upon its reality; but contends that this is a function of faith as contradistinguished from knowledge. He even goes on to argue for the necessity of this fundamental belief in order to our personal development, and productive self-culture. The ultimate and profoundest law of our nature, is this tendency to self-evolution, and this tendency would be for ever unfruitful, if the mind did not create for itself an objective world, like that in which we dwell, and fill it with relations and ends. Without this we should for ever remain without duties, and without a destiny. Our life, therefore, and the universe which sustains and nourishes it, all flow from the simple ultimate law of a pure and necessary subjective activity. All is thought. In the universe of Fichte, matter is created by ourselves for our own purposes: and the only God that is needed, is our own idea of moral order, personified by ourselves. Both are simple necessities of our own subjective laws; both created by ourselves. Having thus annihilated scientifically every thing in the universe except the subjective self, the opponents of Fichte, the chief of whom was Jacobi, were not long in precipitating his whole system into the bottomless abysm of *nihilism*. For if the objective world has no real existence,

why should the subjective fare any better? We *know* nothing by consciousness of our subjective being, but its phenomena; and these phenomena are not its essence. We are therefore, totally destitute of evidence that it has any real existence. Hence the universe, already reduced to sensation, thought and knowledge; not only has nothing for the object of these functions, but there is nothing to feel, think, or know. Pressed by the merciless logic of his adversaries into this "*reductio ad absurdum*," Fichte attempted to supplement his system, by adding a realistic side to his philosophy. The attempt was always regarded by his disciples as an inconsistency and a failure.

It remained, therefore, for Schelling, the next in the catalogue of the great German metaphysicians, to supply the objective element of the ideal philosophy. This he did by assuming as the true starting point of his constructive process, the reality of absolute existence, of which, (as we must use the barbarous technical lingo of these schools,) the "me" and the "not me" were but difficult and complementary phases. He thus bridged over the impassable gulf of his predecessors, between the subjective and the objective, by identifying the two. The result, of course, was Pantheism again; differing from Spinoza chiefly in this—that he made the absolute existence spirit, while Spinoza made it substance. But this is obviously more of a distinction than a difference. It comes to the same thing in the end, whether we begin by spiritualizing matter, or materializing spirit. The great feature of Schelling's philosophy was the identifying of subject and object. And the grand organ which he employed, and which was destined to play so important a part in subsequent philosophy, was the faculty of Intellectual Intuition ("intellectuelle anschauung"), by which we gaze directly on the absolute essence of truth in all its relations, without the need of mediating it through individual objects, or special relations. We had drawn out a brief sketch of Schelling's system; but the space at our command forbids its insertion. We regret this the more, because it was the form into which he cast the ideal philosophy, that has chiefly infected the literature, the philosophy, and the theology of England and America; first through the brilliant and fascinating conversa-

tions, lectures, and writings of Coleridge; and subsequently through a new growth from the same seed nurtured into extraordinary luxuriance in the hot beds of Schleiermacher's Theology; from whence they have been transplanted, in prime vigour, by Mr. Morell and some three or four influential writers, chiefly theologians, in our own country.

We must be content to refer our readers for a fuller view of Schelling's system to his own works—particularly his *Natur Philosophie*, and his *System des transcendentalen Idealismus;* or, for a briefer view of its principles, to any one of some half dozen critical histories of German Philosophy. Morell and Cousin may suffice for the necessary purposes of the purely English student. The forming principles of Schelling's Philosophy are, as we have stated, first the identity of subject and object; and secondly, the doctrine of Intuition, as expounded in his system. The *anschauung* of Schelling, was essentially a poetic conception, in which he sees the infinite essence passing into the unconscious development of matter, through the successive forms of light, dynamic force, (electricity, magnetism, &c.) and organism or life; becoming self-conscious in *mind*, and ascending through knowledge and activity, or in other words its mental and moral life, into a state of culture, in which it finally reproduces ideal conceptions of perfect beauty and excellence as in the highest forms of art, and so arrives at perfection, in the sphere of the divine. The great problem of philosophy thus reaches its solution in a form of poetic pantheism. With Schelling, creation was a work of art; differing not at all in kind, but only in degree, from a picture or a statue. In fact, the philosophy of Schelling is a poem, rather than a science. It is a vast, gorgeous *anschauung* of a brilliant fancy; with scarce the least vestige of rigid science, except in form, terminology and compact structure.

Accordingly it has uniformly met its keenest reception and greatest popularity among poetic minds. We owe our older knowledge of it almost wholly to Coleridge, who was as much of a poet, as he was little of a philosopher. If any fact is settled in literature, it is that Coleridge originated nothing, added nothing; but by his quick, comprehensive poetic mind, and brilliant discourse, interpreted the mystic utterances of

the great German oracle, into captivating English prose. He began where Schelling began, and stopped where Schelling failed nim. He broke off in the middle of a sentence, not, as he would have his readers think, because the world was not prepared for his metaphysical speculations; but, as it seems to us clearly, because he had not the constructive intellect necessary to carry him on without a guide. In the fragmentary metaphysics of the *Biographia Literaria*, and in the little volume entitled *Hints towards the Formation of a more comprehensive Theory of Life*, pages upon pages are little else than a free translation of his original; and we take it upon us to say, that there is not a single leading idea in either, that is original with himself.

Schelling, like Fichte and Kant, later in life, saw the incompleteness and dangerous tendencies of his speculations, towards denying human personality, freedom and moral responsibility, and set himself to construct a practical philosophy, that would restore what he had torn to pieces and scattered to the winds. His speculations in later years seem to have blended more and more into mysticism. He delivered a course of Lectures in Berlin in 1842, after a silence of thirty years, on the Philosophy of Revelation, in opposition to the anti-religious tendencies of the Hegelian Logic, in which, judging from the Analysis of Willm and other recent historians, (for we have not seen any part of them,) he seems to blend the mythic hypothesis with his theosophic mysticism, the whole tinged with a decided strike of theological rationalism.

Hegel, the only remaining great name in the pure philosophy of Germany, began by rejecting Schelling's Intuitional Faculty as unphilosophical, and leading to unavoidable abuse, as well as destructive of all real certainty in science. His system is purely rationalistic, and well characterized by all the critics, as absolute idealism. He admits nothing but thought: the laws of which constitute the only materials of philosophy. Thought, with Hegel, is an absolute and real entity: and the development of thought is the development of the universe.

One leading characteristic of the Hegelian Logic is its identifying of opposites. Every thing has its two poles, the blending of which is necessary to complete its existence: because the conception of any thing implies also that of its opposite:

thus being and nothing give us existence, (*seyn und nichts= daseyn.*)

The other fundamental principle of Hegel is, that thought and being are one. Nature is thought becoming objective to itself, and so externalizing itself. Nature he divides into three departments: 1, mechanics; 2, physics; 3, organism. Organism then generates mind: which again has three spheres, (1) Subjective, including anthropology, psychology and will: (2) Objective, including jurisprudence, morals and politics: (3) Absolute mind, aesthetics, religion and philosophy. This last sphere, moreover, includes three eras: (*a*) art, or the poetico-mythologic era: (*b*) religion, in which God is conceived as a person to be worshipped and obeyed: (*c*) philosophy, or absolute truth in the highest form. This last achievement being due to Hegel himself, he of course stands on the apex of the great pyramid of human glory in the universe.

Theologically considered, the thinking process is God, and the Trinity is its three-fold form. Pure thought, self-existence, the Father; when self-conscious and objective to itself, the Son; and the union of the two in the Church, the Holy Spirit.

The destructive tendencies of their philosophy, when applied to the fundamental questions of theology, produced a reaction in the case of every one of the great philosophers of Germany, (unless we except Hegel,) which led Kant and Fichte to engraft a foreign and heterogeneous element upon their system; and under stress of which, Schelling took refuge in those fundamental principles of mysticism, which Schleiermacher, the great theologian of modern Germany, has carried out and applied to the solution of the leading questions of theology: while Hegel, ever a rationalist, both in head and heart, suggested that train of application which Strauss has carried out to the complete subversion of the whole Scriptures; or rather their conversion into a string of myths, which though totally destitute of a historical foundation, yet furnish a true symbolical account of the great truths of religion.

The intermediate links between the one sided idealism of the national philosophy, and the philosophy which Schleiermacher applied to revelation and theology, were supplied chiefly by

Jacobi. The distinctive peculiarity of his system lay in assigning a philosophical place to *Faith*, as a fundamental organ in science. Its office was two-fold, viz., to take cognizance of and affirm the reality, first, of our sense-perceptions, and so the objective truth of the outward world; and 2, of the essential or absolute truths of the pure reason,—God, the soul, immortality, &c., with all their derived ideas of virtue, obligation, religion, &c. Faith is therefore a distinct spiritual faculty, by which we gaze upon essential truth. As the certainty of an outward world arises from faith immediately apprehending the truth of our sense-perceptions, so the certainty of absolute truth arises from faith in the intuitions of our reason. Faith, therefore, is the inlet of all knowledge: and without its revelations, all science is but empty and unmeaning forms. The truths which are derived from faith, pass into the understanding, are reduced to scientific form, and so applied to the relations of life. Jacobi, therefore, adds to the psychology of Kant a fundamental organ, or sense, which takes immediate cognizance of the essence and reality of truths, assumed by Kant as real without any clear ground; and which Fichte and Hegel had rejected from the sphere of science altogether, as pure unproved assumptions.

But while furnishing a ground of resistance against the extreme idealism of the national philosophy, it is obvious that Jacobi threw open an effectual door for that mysticism, which Schleiermacher was to carry out to the denial of all objective sources of truth whether by revelation or otherwise. To do this, it was only necessary to make the intuitional consciousness not only the channel, but the source of all moral truth; to endow this organ with the power of originating, as well as perceiving, with sensibilities, feelings or emotions, which are themselves the independent fountains of all moral truth. The fundamental assumption of this hypothesis is, that religion does not depend upon external truth or relations; but is a life in the soul itself—a well-spring of truth gushing forth from the depths of the emotional human consciousness. It is purely from within, and incapable of being sustained and nourished by objective truths, which have their origin in God, and are

conveyed to the moral nature of the soul by the vehicle of language, or imagery, or symbols, or whatever means he may see fit to employ, through the medium of the understanding.

Mr. Morell does not hesitate to avow broadly his indebtedness to Schleiermacher, for every characteristic feature of his Philosophy of Religion. He apprehends fully and adopts implicitly, in the main, the psychology of Schleiermacher, expounding it with beautiful and taking clearness; and then builds upon it a philosophy of revelation and religious experience, not differing in any essential particular, from the mysticorationalism of his theological guide.

The system of Quakerism as applied to the theory of Inspiration, if we may call it a system,—"rudis, indigestaque moles," certainly, when compared with the polished theological architecture of the accomplished German mystic—rests upon substantially the same foundations.

"The germinal principle of the system of Schleiermacher and Morell, as applied to revelation, is the fundamental and ultimate identity of the human and divine." The personality of Christ is a perfect ideal human nature, flowing down pure from the divine fountain; and so becoming a new and divine life-principle to the race, in contradistinction from, and subversion of, the earthly life derived from Adam. Religion is not the empirical conformity of the heart and life to the principles and precepts of the gospel; it is not pardon and new obedience due to the objective righteousness of Christ, but participation in the divine life of Christ, which flows down into humanity through the channels of the Church. The highest Christianity conceivable, is perfect likeness to Christ, in point of religious consciousness. Thus there is opened in the emotional consciousness of the individual soul, a living fountain, from whence the streams of absolute religious truth are continually flowing. Revelation is a purely subjective process, though it may be supernaturally conducted; and the truth revealed has its source, not in God but in the religious life of the individual, reacting upon the surrounding world.

The spirituality and loftiness of the revelation, therefore, depends upon the purity, the depth and the enlargement of

mind of the individual; and that again upon that of the age. Hence Mr. Morell contends explicitly that "inspiration is only a higher potency of what every man possesses to some degree." Of course, therefore, every body is inspired: and this is the same thing, in effect, as to hold that nobody is inspired: for in the common and true sense of the word, these two things differ not in degree only, but in kind. The authority of inspiration in the case of the apostles, *e. g.* is nothing more to us, than the respect which men of ordinary power and purity of intuition, should, and commonly do, feel for those of extraordinary power and purity. There is no such thing as an objective, normal, divine authority in either case. Hence Mr. Morell disparages the revelation of the Old Testament, as compared with the New, because of its low and imperfect morality, which is easily accounted for, on the ground of the low and undeveloped religious consciousness of the world at that period. In the same way he accounts for the scientific errors, imperfections, and contradictions of the sacred record.

The only divine influence which is possible or could tend to give weight and authority to revelation, or constitute it in a low and remote sense the word of God at all, is that supernatural array of circumstances which tended, first, to elevate and purify, and so impart clearness and comprehensiveness to the intuitions and emotions of prophets and apostles; and then, secondly, to bring before them in greater purity and power, as *e. g.* in the life of Christ, or the history of men or nations like the Jews, the sources or embodiments of divine truth, in concrete or historic forms. Thus God reveals his truth in the life of Christ, but no otherwise, *in kind*, than he does in all history; and the province of the inspired teacher is, by his pure, clear, and lofty intuitions, to draw forth from all such sources, the divine truths which they contain, and set them into relation with the common religious experience of humanity, through a prior reaction with his own inspired, *i. e.* spiritual, emotional consciousness. Revelation is, therefore, a perfect philosophy of human experience with reference to God. It is purely human, as much as a philosophy of history is human, though it may draw lessons of divine truth from the facts of God's dealings with the race. The only difference in its favour is, that

its authors are more spiritual, and therefore more clear sighted than other men.

We have so often, in this journal, had occasion to describe the nature and genesis of Schleiermacher's system, that we shall not attempt any farther analysis of its ground work, as our limits would forbid us to enter upon the argument, in the present connection.

It may be questioned whether the universal, and almost unquestioned prevalence of the inductive philosophy of Bacon, combined with the allied psychology of Locke, as carried out at least among Englishmen, by the rigour with which it confines itself to phenomena and laws, to the exclusion of the absolute and necessary ideas of power and final causes, has not tended to foster and exaggerate the extreme objectivity and empiricism, which has degenerated so often, in modern physics, into materialism in philosophy, and atheism in religion. The physical philosopher finds himself constantly skirting along the domain of metaphysics; and however anxious he may be to keep clear of that land of shadows and spectres, he will soon find that there are hosts of foes, for ever skulking from the clear sunlight of his induction and experience, which hang on his flanks, and impede his progress. Certain it is, that there is a steady, and we greatly fear in some influential quarters, at least a growing tendency among men of science, to ignore all absolute and necessary truths, to rule out of the cognizance of science the whole doctrine of power, and of final causes, to deify the totality of second causes, under the designation of laws of nature, and then elevate to the vacated throne of the universe, this new impersonal apotheosis of their own creation.

We cannot better express what we mean than by quoting the language of one of the most earnest, eloquent, truth-seeking, but alas not always (in our way of thinking,) truth-finding minds of our age:

"The studies of Physical Science within a few years, have been gigantic and incessant, and thus far their results are as a whole, unfavourable to implicit faith. The telescope with its majestic and ever-lengthening sweep, seems, if I may so express it, to *crowd back* farther and still farther from the orb we inhabit. God no longer walks in the garden, conversing face to face with men; he thunders no more from Sinai, nor holds his court on the summit of Olympus; and to the search-

ing inquiries directed to all accessible, cognizable portions of the universe for the dwelling-place of its Creator and Lord, the chilling answer comes back, 'Not here! Not here!' Meantime the number and power of the intermediary agencies between inert matter and quickening spirit, seem perpetually to increase; electricity and magnetism steadily approach the rank of demi-gods; and when at length some dogmatic Compté, some specious observer and analyzer of the 'Vestiges of Creation,' proclaims to us, as if from the utmost pinnacle of scientific achievement, the conclusion that planets, suns, systems, plants, beings, men, are but inevitable results of a law which yet had no author; and that intelligence has been slowly, blunderingly evolved from ignorance, soul from body, thought from dust, as planets, with all their diverse properties and uses, from one homogeneous, universally diffused vapour, or 'fire-mist,' our hearts sink within us as we falter out the expostulation,

'O star-eyed science! hast thou wandered there,
To waft us back the message of despair?'

"These materialist dogmas do not overcome but they try our faith. They do not vanquish our convictions, but they try our reason. Death has so steadily gone forward from a period anterior to history, cutting down all who lived, and removing them beyond all human cognition, the course of nature has been so unvaried and inflexible, the fall and disappearance of generations of men so much like that of the annually renewed foliage of the forest, that even faith hangs trembling over the brink of the grave, and tearfully, dubiously asks, 'if a man die, shall he live again?' Most of us *believe* he will, and yet would give very much to *know* it."

In this view of the subject we may economize our narrow space, by treating the sceptical or anti-religious tendencies of modern physical science under this single aspect; as they have all, by a generalization which startles us by its very magnitude, combined for a final and decisive assault upon the power, providence, and personality of God. The reader may see this generalization carried out to its fullest extent, in blank, universal, materialistic atheism, with amazing power of intellect and of logic, in the vast, comprehensive, all-embracing classifications of Compté's "Philosophie Positive." This is the ultimatum of sceptical philosophy.

This comprehensive generalization admits of easy reduction within the sphere of physical science, to three subordinate hypotheses, as successively applied to the solution of the problem of the universe, in the three great departments of Cosmogony, Zoögony, and Zoönomy. The first includes the Nebular Hypothesis, first cast into complete form by La Place: the second regards life purely as a result of physical organization, and then traces the latter, in its ultimate analysis, to purely physical causes; viz., to a stream of electricity acting upon a globule of albumen, and imparting to it, dynamically, the power of absorption, growth, and propagation; and so ori-

ginating organic structure, endowed with organic life: while the third, commonly known as the development hypothesis, taking this ultimate organic structure for its starting point, makes its varied organic forms the result of a vegetative instinct, or unconscious want, prompting a *conatus* in certain directions, just as the tendrils of a plant in a window all grow towards the light; and this again resulting in new wants; as the development goes on, gives rise to new struggles of the dynamic or vital force, until the whole complex organism is perfectly developed.

We entreat our readers' patience while we describe these hypotheses of science; for however they may strike across their common sense, as solutions of the profound mysteries of living nature, we assure them, first, that they are held by men of great vigour and penetration of intellect, great compass of knowledge, and, so far as appears, of the utmost scientific fairness and candour: and secondly, that they are calm and careful records of what microscopic and chemical analysis seems to reveal, as the true history of the ultimate phenomena and laws of the physical and the organic world. And then, if they will further remember, that phenomena and laws are all that the inductive processes of physical science are held to apply to, it may mitigate their wonder, that so many, especially of our enthusiastic young scholars of science, should stop short with a physical solution of physical facts; and discarding the whole doctrines of efficient and final causes from the domain of science, to that of religious (*i. e.* in their view of unsupported or superstitious) faith, should easily dispense with a personal, intelligent and beneficent First Cause.

In admitting the truth of the ultimate facts of physiology on which the Development Hypothesis rests its argument, we are far from conceding that the zoological deductions from them are valid, in whole or in part. The moment the hypothesis leaves the ultimate phenomenon of organic life, mysteriously originating in a nucleated albuminous cell, endowed by its vital forces with the power of assimilation and reproduction, to construct on that fact a solution of the vast and complex problem of the organic world, it becomes a tissue of assumptions and unproved generalizations; many of which, that are

vital to its truth as a hypothesis, are contradicted by the observations and inductions of what is even now settled physiological science.

This hypothesis for explaining the origin of organic life, wholly refuses to bear the tests supplied by the rapid progress of discovery, or accommodate what are now perfectly established and familiar facts. The examples which were at first supposed to prove its truth, have one after another fallen away under the more penetrating research of recent experiment. The monads of vegetable infusions prove to be separate animalcules under the microscope of Ehrenberg; furnish no less than twenty-five or thirty distinct and classified species, some of which do not exceed the 12,000 part of an inch. The studied and prodigious provision for organic propagation convicts the hypothesis of uselessness and error. Geology lifts up a clear and decided testimony against it. The famous *acarus* experiments are explained and exploded. The improvement of instruments is every day withdrawing the supposed examples of the spontaneous generation; and the only ground on which the assumption now rests, is the obscure and doubtful case of certain *entozoa*, which promise to follow in the same train with the *acari* of Mr. Crosse. The hypothesis once so pretending and formidable, is now delivered over by all the really great naturalists of the age, into the hands of the neophytes in science, who are easily captivated by the novelty of the hypothesis, and whose smattering acquaintance with the facts of science is too superficial to enable them to see its fallacy.

The second alleged generalization of the development hypothesis, is that which undertakes to deduce the varied organism of the economy, in a given individual, from the simple law of organic growth, subject only to the modification of external agencies and of internal wants. This is analogous to the doctrine first announced by Göthe, and now very generally accepted in botany, under the name of the morphology of plants. For its application to the organic development of the animal economy, we are indebted to the ingenious and brilliant, but fanciful mind of Professor Oken, a transcendental pantheist, of the school of Schelling. According to this hypothesis, the various organs of the animal body, are merely the products of

a common law of vital development, inherent in organized matter, subject merely to the modifying physical agencies of position and vital instinct. Thus, *e. g.* the curious and complex bones of the cranium are only peculiar devolopments of vertebræ determined by their position and uses, and modified by the cerebral expansion and development of the spinal marrow: precisely as the petals of a flower are resolved by the botanist into mere modifications, occurring in the development of a common leaf-bud of the plant. The advantage of this hypothesis, which is not very apparent at first sight, is that it dispenses with the old fashioned notion both of an intelligible final cause, and an intelligent first cause in the amazingly complex and perfect structure, as in the example just cited, of the cranium and brain, and accounts for their production with no other agency than the vital force, which developes a fungus or an eye according to circumstances. This, to say the least, is in admirable keeping with the highest generalization of the same author, in his Physico-philosophy, "God is a rotating globe; the world is God rotating."

This segment of the Development Hypothesis has a claim upon our respectful consideration, not because of its place in a work which its author believed himself inspired to produce, but because its approximations to other analogies in organic nature which science has accepted as true, were so striking, and the solution it offered of certain physiological phenomena, so beautiful, that it was at first received by naturalists of the highest eminence; and even yet numbers among its adherents, we believe, Professor Owen, of the London College of Surgeons, than whom there is no higher authority in questions of comparative anatomy and physiology.*

As there is no great interest at stake on the issue of this particular doctrine, we shall not argue the question, farther than to say, that Professor Agassiz, though at first strongly disposed to accept the hypothesis of Oken, has since decisively rejected

* The reader may see an ingenious and beautiful application of this hypothesis, in Professor Owen's work on the Nature of Limbs: also an elaborate and very able report to the British Association on "The Archetype and Homologies of the Vertebrate Skeleton," by the same distinguished comparative anatomist, for the year 1846.

it on purely scientific grounds; and Mr. Miller deals it a most stunning blow, with his ponderous stone-hammer, in the "Footprints of the Creator." Indeed, we may say with great confidence that the weight of scientific authority, with the exception of Professor Owen, is almost unanimous against the doctrine: so that no formidable argument, at least in the present state of the evidence, can be raised upon it against the fundamental truths of Natural Religion.*

The third and only remaining phase of the Development Hypothesis, is that first suggested, we believe, by Geoffrey St. Hilaire, but chiefly elaborated into form by the learned French naturalist, Lamarck. It rests on the assumption, first, that all the functions of life, from the lowest to the highest alike, are purely the result of physical organization: and secondly, that there is inherent and fundamental to that organization a law of progressive development, by which the vital organism, in obedience to instinctive wants, is constantly struggling up into higher types, by the mere process of perpetual, progressive self-evolution. The higher species of animals no more need a Creator, than the foliage of a tree, or the perfect organic forms which incubation developes from an egg. All are alike, and in the same sense, the development of purely physical agencies, acting under purely physical laws, inherent in themselves. And in like manner, at the lower end of the animal scale, the vegetable organic life, by the development of self-consciousness, passed into the class of animal existence.

Without wasting time upon this hypothesis, once so imposing in the eyes of naturalists, and so formidable to weak hearted Christian believers, it is sufficient to say that its plausible facts and deductions are daily vanishing under the increasing light of modern scientific research. Analysis, armed with the power of the microscope, has proceeded to unfold the constituent organic elements of living forms, until it has detected, in the very germs of the organism, at the very fountain of organic life, differences just as decisive, both in kind and degree, as those

* We may refer our readers who desire to see an able and thorough examination of this whole theory, to the late work of President Hitchcock—"*The Religion of Geology and its connected Sciences.*"

which distinguish the maturest and completest forms of the organic world. While it has traced back the growth of each genus and species of the animal kingdom, to its primordial germinal cell in the embryo from which it sprang, it finds a generic and specific character impressed upon that ultimate, primordial, living cell, containing, potentially, all that is to be, or that ever can be developed from it; and which forbids its transition into any higher form of animate existence, just as peremptorily as the mature and perfect organism itself is forbidden to take on the form of some higher type of being. When analytic research has carried us down to the germinal cell from which an oyster is to be developed, it finds its character so settled, both in organic constituents, and organic laws, that it can no more develope a man, by any conceivable process of nature, or in any conceivable period of time, or by any succession of generations, than an oyster in its mature form can open its shell, and rise up in the proportions and symmetry of a man. We make a definite and intelligible statement to every tyro in natural history, when we say, that the cell-life out of which the tissues first, and then the organs, and finally the specific forms, of the animal kingdom are built up, are just as specific and determinate, and just as incapable of transmutation or progressive organic development, as the fully formed species themselves. The globules of the blood, *e. g.*—the mysterious symbol of life—which different species of animals elaborate out of the same food, notwithstanding their apparent identity of character, are yet as really different, and as incapable of interchange or transition, as would be the full formed members or organs of the body. The blood-globules of a reptile, or a fish, or a bird, differ as really, and are just as incompatible with those which form and nourish the organism of a man, as would be the head of a fish, or an alligator, on the shoulders of Lamarck. When the Scriptures refer the family relationships of the animal kingdom to the blood, they are laid upon foundations that are deeper and firmer than a rhetorical analogy, or a figure of speech. They are like the everlasting granite which underlies the formations of geology; which human science may possibly dig down and reveal, but can never take up or shift.

In like manner there is an impassable gulf, which no natu-

ral law of development can bridge over, between the vegetable and animal kingdoms. There is in the constitution of their respective germs, in every stage of their development, and in the whole results of their vital action, an absolute opposition, as great as that which exists between the poles of a magnet. The organism of the one can by no possibility be developed from or pass into that of the other; except by a total change of properties, laws, and functions, equivalent to a miracle, or an act of creation. Nor could the different classes and families, even of the vegetable world, be developed from any common type of vegetable life. The formation and form of their *utricles* and *citoblasts*, or germinal organs—answering to the cells and blood discs of animal life—the law of their germination—the selection of their constituent elements, in each of the great divisions, of the monocotyledon, the dicotyledon, and the acotyledon, utterly forbid the hypothesis of development in any of its applications.

If, therefore, the laws of nature possess the uniformity claimed for them with one voice by philosophers, and without which there could be no such thing as science, it follows of necessity, that as Cuvier could, by his faith in their absolute uniformity, restore the full form of an extinct and unknown fossil animal, from a single tooth or splinter of its bone, so, on the very same principles, could Ehrenberg, by a glance of his microscope, directed to the germinating cell of a living organism, make out its complete form, and determine its future position, as regards at least the great classes of the organic world. The logic of both processes is the same, and grounds itself in both cases on our rational conviction of the absolute specific uniformity of the laws of nature, on which alone the advocates of the law-hypothesis of creation can proceed a single step in their argument. Thus it is that we are enabled by a maturer science, to demolish by their own artillery the fortresses which infidelity has founded upon premature and erroneous inductions, for the purpose of battering down the sacred defences which Christianity has reared for the human race, against the day of adversity.

But we cannot go into this argument more largely in this connection, nor happily is it any longer necessary. There is

not a living naturalist known to us, of any authority in science, who would risk his reputation on its support. The very facts which gave such an air of plausibility to the Development Theory, though long regarded as settled conclusions of geological science, seem likely once more to be drawn into question, at least so far as they have any bearing on the theory before us. We have heard Professor Agassiz, ourselves, ascribe its advocacy to ignorance and misconception of the real laws of comparative physiology. Mr. Lyell, perhaps the highest purely geological authority now living, in the last edition of his "Principles of Geology," and still more pointedly in the last annual address to the Geological Society, which has long honoured his eminent scientific attainments by the gift of its Presidency, labours to prove that there is no sufficient geological evidence of any progressive development of organic forms, from the earliest epochs of organic life; and to explain the absence of fossil remains of the higher types, in the lower strata of the geological scale, by the agency of causes which are entirely compatible with their existence in full proportion among the very earliest products of the creative power. And while Professor Agassiz was thus turning to scorn the scientific logic of the Development Hypothesis, and Mr. Lyell was assailing the foundation facts on which it built its argument, Mr. Hugh Miller was propounding the *counter* hypothesis of *degradation*, as the true law of organic change, pervading the animal kingdom as a dark and terrible symbol of the moral history of that race which the previous stages of creation were designed to prefigure and to inaugurate.

In the view of this sketch of the Apologetics of physical science, the most nervous among us may well acquire sufficient steadiness of nerve to stand by, and if need be, hold the torch of science, or even lend a hand in prosecuting to their completion, researches which the varied experience of the past must satisfy the candid observer will only render a more signal testimony, and put more abundant honour on the inspiration of the word of God. The whole ground once bristling with hostile bayonets, is now deserted, and the enemies of the gospel have drawn up their forces for the next conflict, and quartered

themselves upon a still more remote outpost of the disputed ground.

It is curious to observe, that while science, in the flush of its prime, sought to dispense entirely with divine agency, in the creation of organic as well as inorganic nature, it has now swung off to the opposite extreme, and objects to the sacred narrative on the ground that its record of creation is inadequate and defective. Instead of claiming to develope the human race by natural law, from the inferior types of the animal kingdom, it passes to the assumption that *one* primeval origin is insufficient to account for the diversified races of men; and that there must have been distinct and separate origins for each of the several varieties of the species. It is to us a matter of sincere and deep regret, that this hypothesis is due to a name so universally respected and commanding in the world of science as that of Professor Agassiz. We are entirely confident of these two things,—1. That it owes its temporary ascendency mainly to his great authority as a naturalist; and 2, that it is doomed to a speedy overthrow; because no authority can stand long against the pressure of accumulating evidence.

The difficulties which press upon this recent hypothesis of diversity of origin for the single human species, grounded on the anthropological diversities of the races, are multiplying every day. The facts which research is daily adding to our knowledge, are already refusing to conform to the hypothesis; while, on the other hand, the more the philological, anthropological, and ethnographical details of the argument are studied, the more they point towards a common origin for the whole human race. In favour of this declaration we may cite the testimony of such men as Humboldt, Bopp, Bunsen, Prichard, and Latham; all devoted to different departments of the subject. Walls of separation between the races, lately deemed impassable, are already levelled to the ground; and others still standing are only waiting similar researches, in all human probability, to follow in their train.

We do not hesitate to say that the difficulties of the hypothesis are already insuperable; while the current of research and discovery is setting steadily and strongly against it. A very brief

summary of the chief points involved in the argument, in its present form, is all that our limits will permit.

We remark, first, that the hypothesis has never been cast into definite form, so as to admit of decisive criticism. As propounded by Professor Agassiz, it rests upon the analogy of the animal and vegetable kingdoms: and if this analogy is valid at all, we should infer that the zones in which separate human races have originated, not—(for such is his hypothesis)—in single pairs, but, like plants and animals, in numbers bearing nearly the same relative ratio as at present, should coincide with the zones or centres of separate botanical and animal creations. If so, we should have at least ten different races, besides the Adamic, totally distinct in their origin and history. Now we defy the most ingenious naturalist living to make out a schedule of ten distinct races, which we cannot identify, in some part of them at least, even in the present state of the evidence, by affinities either philological, anatomical, archæological, or historical, such as no ethnologist will hesitate to accept as conclusive. Indeed the leading advocates of the hypothesis may be easily set to repeating the famous Kilkenny game of destroying one another. The late Dr. Morton, perhaps next to Agassiz, the ablest supporter of this hypothesis in our country, makes his strongest stand on the separate origin of the American variety. Pickering, on the other hand, is clear that the American is partly Asiatic and partly Oceanic in its origin: and Colonel Hamilton Smith, who, we believe, first led Dr. Morton astray, in his work,* the last published in this country on this controversy, with a very pretending, but unphilosophical and feeble preface by Dr. Kneeland, also rejects Dr. Morton's strongest case—the American variety—and limits the species, if we understand him aright, to three, having, therefore, but three centres of origin, viz., the Caucasian, the Mongolian, and the African. Of course it is the easiest thing in the world, in the present state of the evidence, to show, on universally recognized ethnological grounds, that these terms separate races as certainly one in their origin, as the English of our day are

* The Natural History of the Human Species, by Lieut. Col. Charles Hamilton Smith, K. H.

lineally one with the Germani of Tacitus, or the Gauls of Cæsar one with the Keltoi of Herodotus. The great difficulty with these naturalists is, that they appear to have no knowledge, whatever, of the very elements of ethnological science. This is provokingly the case with Colonel Smith, and, we are sorry to add, it is palpably so with Professor Agassiz. They leave out of sight the corrective testimonies that are offered from other sources, as, *e. g.*, the affinities of language; and give a free rein to the fancy, in interpreting the anatomical and physiological diversities. In the vaunted work of Hamilton Smith, on the Natural History of the Animal Kingdom, of the new species described by the author *every one* proves to be merely a variety. As a pure naturalist he regards slight osteological peculiarities as evidence of diversity of species; and thereupon constitutes such a case as the tail-less fowl, a separate species, because it wants the caudal vertebræ.

Now it so happens that neither the Caucasian, Mongolian, nor African varieties are distinct natural groups. They are merely geographical, and not ethnological classifications. They represent anthropological agencies, and not affiliation, which is the proper question in ethnology.

It is very much as if a naturalist should found his zoological classifications on the colour of the feathers, or the texture of the hair, or external varieties of form, irrespective of physical agencies likely to produce them. Like Colonel Smith, he would be apt to find that what he regarded as different species, were, in fact, the same species, and even perhaps the same individuals, in the dress of a different season or a different climate. As an ethnological hypothesis, it is unphilosophical and insufficient. We do not, in fact, know a single authority of a high order in ethnology, where it properly belongs, who has given in his adherence to it; while the really great names in that science, such as Prichard, Bunsen, Rask, Humboldt, &c., decisively reject and repudiate it. It is impossible that it should ever prevail. Indeed the very analogy with the vegetable and lower animal kingdoms, which originally suggested it, now falls away from its support. The separate vegetable and animal provinces or zones are all distinctly marked, and strictly coincide in the two kingdoms.

In the second place we have to say, that the hypothesis which ascribes the varieties of men to diversity of origin, fails to obviate the difficulties it was devised to relieve, or labours under others equally great. There is nothing really gained by it even in an anthropological point of view. We say this deliberately and advisedly, after a patient examination of the hypothesis in all the forms yet proposed, whether separately or combined. By taking the extreme abnormal departures from the standard type of the human race, a plausible argument is made out for a diversity of origins. But what we have now to affirm is, that whether three or eleven distinct centres of origin be assumed, we shall find among the races undeniably proceeding from a common source, diversities just as unaccountable, as on the hypothesis of a common origin for the whole.

Among the eastern branch of the Indo-European (Arian, Prichard,) nations, we have every hue of colour, from the "very fair, often with blue eyes, and with hair and beards curled, and of an auburn or red colour," as among the Kafirs of Kohistan and the Himalayas, down to the very dark and even jet black natives of the south of India, especially in the low agricultural castes, such as we have seen them ourselves. That they are all pure Indians has been proved beyond dispute by Ritter and Bopp.*

So the Arabs of Shegya, on the Nile above Dongola, of undisputably pure blood, are described by Mr. Waddington as "black—a clear, glossy, jet black." And Bruce describes the inhabitants of the high craggy mountains on the coast of Yemen, as having "red hair and blue eyes." And then as supplying the intermediate transition stage towards the negro type, and involving all the particulars of colour, hair, features, and skull, we have the Gallas of Abyssinia, described by Dr. Rüppel, with "dark complexion, round faces, obtuse and thick features, thick lips, hair thick, strongly frizzled and almost woolly, (*beinahe wolliges.*) In like manner we find among the Austra-

* See "Travels in the Himalaya," by James Bailey Fraser. Researches of Lord Mountstuart Elphinstone and Sir Alexander Burnes. Prichard's Nat. Hist. of Man.

lian family of nations, the extreme abnormal Negro type repeated, in distinct localities, which their isolation and language utterly forbid us to assign to the Negro zone.

The Negro is, in fact, itself an exaggerated and extreme representation of the African type, evidently due to the collective force of physical conditions perpetuated and exaggerated by the natural laws of reproduction; and varying extremely in different parts of the continent, and different portions of the same family. Any argument that will demand a separate origin for the African variety, will require a separate origin for the Negro and Hottentot sub-varieties.

In an exceedingly elaborate table on the ethnographical distribution of round and elongated crania, combined with the perpendicular or the prognathous profile, by Professor Retzius, in the proceedings of the British Association, for 1846, we find a complete network of these cranial and physiognomical variations, applied to each of the great divisions of the globe, which laughs to scorn any idea of classifying, permanently, the families of the human race, on any principles of the sort. Each of the forms, in all their possible combinations and transition stages, is found in every separate family of affiliated nations on the globe.

But it is impossible for us to present a tithe of the evidence before us, to the truth of the proposition, that whether we make few or many centres of origin, the difficulties of the subject are not met: and an ethnographic classification, founded on the hypothesis of a diversity of origins, would be an inconceivable absurdity. It groups together, as in the African, the Hyperborean, and still more in the Australian zoölogical province, the most diverse and incongruous elements of classification: and it separates others into distinct zones, which are clearly one in origin and history.

Our third, and we think decisive, point against the hypothesis is, that it ignores all settled ethnographical distributions, and runs a quixotic tilt against the profound researches, and rigorous scientific deductions of comparative philology. Professor Agassiz despatches the whole results of the untiring and amazing labours of nearly half the highest German intellect, for half a century, to say nothing of the countless scholars devoted to

the same pursuits in other countries, by the *naïve* remark, that men of different origins may talk alike, just as swallows hatched in different nests, twitter alike. It might be a curious problem, on this hypothesis, to explain how a Chinese swallow should twitter so very differently from an American. In truth the hypothesis was one of those rapid leaps of the generalizing faculties, in view of a single set of facts, in a man cultivated in that one direction, to a degree that makes his mental conformation all but abnormal. The moment new facts come to be applied, the theory breaks down.

We can only furnish a specimen or two of this description, in the present connection: and we shall give its advocates the advantage of selecting the extremest case of departure from the ideal human type: let us take the Hottentots of South Africa. They certainly belong to a distinct species, or a diverse origin, if there be such a thing, yet even this refractory case at last yields facts that are incompatible with the hypothesis.

It will hardly be contended that the Hottentots were a separate creation by themselves. This, we submit, would hardly fulfil the requirement of Horace—

> "Nec Deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus
> Inciderit."

To what family, then, do they belong, and how far can we trace them towards a common origin with humanity? The first generalization will clearly include the next member of the African family—the Caffre—and yet he is as unlike the Hottentot on the one side, as he is unlike the chain of tribes reaching up both coasts to the equator. But still the identity rests on no vague analogy. We have positive proof. The languages are absolutely identical, in all the essential elements of one language. Even the inarticulate click of the tongue, so characteristic of the Bushman, is heard in some of the lower Caffre races. The transition from the one to the other is all but historical.

We are thus carried into the very midst of the great family of Congo dialects; and these again shade off, by almost insensible gradations, into idioms extending up the West coast to the Gambia and the Senegal—the proper home of the true typical Negro. There is no proposition more determinately settled than

the essential ethnological unity of the greatly diversified families of Southern, Western, and Central Africa.

In this stage of the research, the philological labours of our able countryman, the Rev. J. Leighton Wilson, are deserving of highly honourable mention, as resolving the problem in one portion of the generalization just stated.

The next step in setting this great African family of languages into connection with a common origin for the human race, brings us to the languages of Eastern Africa—Abyssinia, Nubia and the Valley of the Nile, especially the Gheez, the Galla, the Coptic and the Berber. It is now a settled point among ethnologists of every class, (unless we except the pure naturalists who class and affiliate families on purely anthropological grounds,) that these families of languages are all descended from an Asiatic stock. Bunsen, in a masterly and extended report presented to the British Association at Oxford, in anticipation of the remaining volumes of his great work on Egypt, argues this question out, and settles it, we think, beyond farther dispute. The only question that can be raised is, whether this class of African languages can be affiliated certainly with those of Western, Southern, and Central Africa. To this point Latham has directed special attention. "Unequivocal," says he, "as may be the Semitic elements of the Berber, Coptic and Galla, their affinities with the tongues of Western and Southern Africa are more so. I weigh my words when I say not *equally* but *more*. Changing the expression, for every foot of ground in advance which can be made towards the Semitic tongues in one direction, the African ethnologist can go a yard towards the Negro ones in the other."

The Gallas are, in fact, as nearly as possible, in every respect, midway between these two extremes; passing on the one side through the Abyssinian, the Nubian, the Berber and the Copt, into the recognized Caucasian, in the mummies and paintings of ancient Egypt, and on the other running into the Negro type, as pure as it can be found in Senegal itself, in the Negroes of Sennaar, on the very borders of Abyssinia. These physical characteristics may be cited in confirmation of the linguistic affiliation of Latham and Bunsen.

The generalizations and classifications of Dr. Latham, touching this point, are in perfect agreement with the prior and independent researches of Dr. Prichard, which comprehend also the anthropological aspects of the subject; and have since been adopted and confirmed by an elaborate paper in the Philological Transactions by Dr. Beke of Abyssinia, and by Tutscheck, Gablentz, and Krapf, of the Galla country, than whom there are no higher living authorities, in regard to questions pertaining to that family of languages. One of these Galla dialects runs four or five degrees south of the equator, and actually loses itself by merging into the Somali of Barawa.

The clear indications furnished by the great family of African languages and dialects, numbering in all more than a hundred, and so long regarded as wholly isolated from those which fall within the range of sacred and profane history, are now, therefore, universally received by ethnologists, as establishing a relation between this remote province of human civilization,—in its general characteristics, perhaps the most remote of all the great divisions of the human race—and the common centre of origin to which the Scriptures refer the beginnings of all human history.

It would doubtless be premature to affirm that comparative philology is yet prepared to render a definitive and final verdict upon the ultimate question of ethnology—the unity and common origin of the human race: but we hold ourselves fully authorized to say, that there are no dividing lines which any extant hypothesis of diversity of origins has laid down, which it has not already obliterated; and no arguments for such diversity yet produced, which it is not prepared to overthrow and scatter to the winds.

The great family of African languages has thus been traced, by the united researches chiefly of the Tutschecks, Gablentz, Krapf, Wilson, Beke, Bunsen, Prichard and Latham, (the fruits of whose labours are piled up before us while we write,) to a vital connection with the Asiatic stem either through the Semitic relations with the old Abyssinian tongues, or, as Bunsen maintains is more probable, through a colony of Hamites by whom Egypt was originally colonized; and whose language preserved, and now yields up to philological research, indubit-

able proofs of a common primitive relation existing between the Semitic and Japhetic, or Indo-European branches of the human family.

The great American family, regarded by the naturalists as furnishing the next clearest case of perfect isolation, in its origin and history, under the combined labours of Gallatin, Du Ponceau, Pickering, Alexander Humboldt, and Hale, has been brought into such relationship as to authorize general ethnologists like Prichard, Bunsen, and Latham, to lay it down as settled, 1. that all the countless and highly diversified languages of the western continent constitute but one great family, divided into a few subordinate groups, with some minor offshoots not yet placed:—a fact which is wholly inexplicable on any other hypothesis than that of ethnological affiliation; and 2. that this family displays so many and striking marks of analogy, in point of grammatical structure, and even amidst the general and wide discrepancies of its vocabulary, so many cases of obvious analogy in its roots, and its lexicographical forms, that Bunsen does not hesitate to pronounce it a scion of the great Turanian stock of Central Asia; and Latham, in his latest and maturest contribution to ethnology,* undertakes to trace the aboriginal American race, by the aid of philology, from Terra del Fuego to the North Eastern parts of Asia. We need scarcely add that the cranial conformation perfectly agrees with this philological result.

Still another and wholly independent line of investigation has led to a farther result in a different quarter, pointing to the same general conclusion. William Von Humboldt, in the elaborate and learned introduction to his great work on the Kawi tongues of the South East of Asia, has established, to the unanimous acceptance of the ethnologists of Europe, a clear connection between the widely diffused languages of Polynesia and the Kawi or Malay family, and thus brought them into relation with the Turanian or eastern branch of the great Asiatic stock. Thus again we have affiliated with the central province of Asia, a class of languages spoken by people who must constitute a separate division of the human race, if such

* Man and his Migrations; by R. G. Latham. New York, Charles B. Norton, 71 Chambers street.

a thing exists at all, inhabiting isolated and widely separated islands of the Pacific, reaching from Madagascar, on the very coast of Africa, to within 40° of the west coast of South America, girdling the globe to the extent of three-fifths, if not three-fourths of its entire equatorial circumference. If this result is accepted, and we see not how any man who reads the argument can fail to see its conclusiveness, (nor do we know any competent or respectable ethnologist who denies it,) both the necessity and the fact of diverse origins for the scattered families of the human race, seem to be reduced to an assumption as gratuitous and unnecessary, as it is destitute of sufficient proof.* If three-fifths of the circumference of the globe, separated by trackless oceans, can be peopled from one centre, by tribes differing, as the inhabitants of Polynesia and New Holland do, in all the points of diversity which divide the most dissimilar families of the race, it is surely unphilosophical to assume, without proof, distinct original creations for the continental populations of the remaining two-fifths.

As the remotest and most isolated human races have been brought into relation with the primitive stock of mankind, by the evidence furnished by a thorough study of their languages, we need not dwell on the more probable, if not palpable, inference, that the inhabitants of Central Asia, to whom these wide and diversified human migrations have been traced back, were really one in their origin. The hypothesis of Professor Agassiz does not require us to make different centres for families so nearly allied. It has long been known that all the leading nations of Central and Western Asia, and the whole of Europe, belonged to one great family. Prichard, in his masterly analysis of the Keltic tongues, made the last important addition to this family, by substituting the wider Indo-European, for the

* To preclude any possible charge of a *suppressio veri*, in the statement of this part of the argument, perhaps we ought to say, that there are two languages prevailing in Polynesia, while the text refers only to the Malayo-Polynesian. The Papuan languages have not yet been studied sufficiently to fix their relations with entire certainty. The prevailing impression, at the present moment is, that they are an independent stem from the same stock with the Polynesian proper,—older probably, less developed, and more degenerate. But there is certainly no likelihood that they will ever suggest the idea of a separate origin for the few Negroes who use them.

less comprehensive limits of the Indo-Germanic family. Professor Rask of Copenhagen, the great Scandinavian ethnologist and philologist, was, we believe, the first to suggest a hypothesis, (now familiarly known to ethnologists as the Finnic Hypothesis,) by which certain fragmentary and insignificant remnants of people scattered over Europe, and Asia also, (the most familiar of whom are the Basques of Biscay, and the Finns of the extreme north,) were brought into relation with the same teeming centre of population, in the heart of Asia. These are alleged to be the remains of a migration anterior even to the Keltic, and underlying, so to speak, and cropping out at the edges of the present European civilization, which is due to a succession of inundations from the same prolific source, the ethnological analogues of whom are still to be found in similar isolated spots in India itself—as exemplified by the mountain tribes of the Dekhan, who are destitute of caste, and differ in language, religion, government and social life, from the dominant races of Hindustan. Curiously enough, it is now alleged, that late excavations, penetrating beneath the oldest Gothic burying grounds, have brought to light skulls manifestly differing from those of the Keltic, or any of the later migrations, and yet bearing a clear and close resemblance to the scattered wandering tribes whom this hypothesis regards as the remnants of races which once covered this whole area, from Iceland to the mouth of the Ganges, and which, in their turn, as the organic affinities of the language clearly show, are only an older branch of the same great family—the Japhetic.*

The connection between the Indo-European or Iranian languages and nations, and the Turanian, or Eastern Asiatic, has been partially, but never quite fully investigated and determined.

* Among the works of high authority, on this department of the philological argument, we may mention Bopp, Burnouf, Lassen, Pott, Benfey, W. Humboldt, Lepsius and Höfer. The languages of Keltic origin have been investigated, independently, by Prichard, Bopp, Meyer, Rosen, the brother of Professor Rosen, of London University, and author of the Grammar of the important Ossetic languages of the Caucasus. And on the Meroïtic and Nubian, as collateral with the Egyptian, Lepsius is the great authority; while the Berber and connecting languages of the African family, in their Asiatic relationships, have been made accessible by Professor Newman of London. Many, very many of the evidences and authorities now lying before us, we are compelled to pass without a reference.

The great belt which runs across Asia, including Tartary, Mongolia, and Mantchouria, has been sufficiently explored to establish the fundamental identity of its languages.* The recent researches on the Ossetic family, spoken in the region of the Caucasus, have disclosed, unexpectedly, some most striking affinities with the most eastern side of the Turanian stock, which has led Dr. Latham from the careful comparison of their vocabularies, and Mr. Norris, the accomplished President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, (strangely and unaccountably, we confess, to us,) to concur in the classification on the ground of their grammatical affinities.

For our own part, we are entirely satisfied that the true connecting link of the monosyllabic and inorganic languages, of which the Chinese may be taken as the type, will be found in the polysyllabic tongues of Siam, Burmah† and Thibet; the Bhotyah of Thibet furnishing the closest analogue of all.

But these are minor considerations in the great philological conclusion, touching the unity of origin of the human race; and however they may be decided, or whether they are ever decided at all, it is clear enough already, that the whole weight of authority, and (what is still more decisive,) the whole drift of research and discovery are in favour of the plain teaching of the sacred record, and are so held at this hour by the greatest names in philologico-ethnological science, with a unanimity which should be held conclusive on the point. While the immense multitude of new facts disclosed every year, especially in philological ethnology, utterly refuse to conform to any classification of races, that is conceivable upon the new hypothesis of diversity of origins, they all fall in with, and tend to establish more and more clearly, the scriptural account of a single origin from a single pair. It may, we think, be fairly claimed, that this strong and steady tendency in one direction, this constant and ready absorption of new facts as fast as they are discovered, actually, in effect, fulfils that decisive sign of

* See, on this point, the great work of Abel Remusat, *Sur les Langues Tartares.*

† Since writing the text, we see that Humboldt, in his "Kawi Sprache," argues strongly for the radical agreement of the Burmese and the Chinese.

all true inductions in science, viz., the power to predict future phenomena. The very last paper ever contributed to the science, by Dr. Prichard, distinguished by his achievements in comparative philology, as well as by his unrivaled scholarship in the anatomy, physiology and anthropology of the science, concludes with a remark made in the modesty so characteristic of a truly great mind—"I may venture to say, that with the increase of knowledge in every direction, we find continually less and less reason for believing that the diversified races of men are separated from each other by insurmountable barriers: and it is with much gratification that I find this to be the ultimate conviction of the great author of Kosmos." Testimony equally decisive might be added to any extent from the able and laboured argument of Bunsen, than whom there is no higher authority living upon all questions of general ethnology; and more especially upon such as hinge upon comprehensive and minute research, coupled with the most careful and scrupulous induction. After the fullest sifting of his materials, he enunciates as his conclusion, "the original unity of mankind, and a common origin of all languages of the globe."

ART. VII.—*Five Years in an English University*, by Charles Astor Bristed, late Foundation Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge. 2 vols. G. P. Putnam, New York, 1852.

WHEN we first heard that these volumes of Mr. Bristed were in the press, we confidently expected that they would supply a want which many in this country have felt, of a work giving a clear and intelligible account of English University life. We took up Mr. Bristed's book, certain that we should find in it ample details respecting the English collegiate system, and the methods of education pursued in one of the most distinguished seats of learning in Britain. From the few productions of Mr.

Bristed that had fallen in our way, we had no doubt that his volumes would be on the whole quite readable—certainly amusing, if not very instructive. Nor have we been in this respect disappointed. He has an ample *copia fandi*, he is not wanting in satirical power, his style is fluent and lively, he tells a story very well, and now and then he has a telling stroke of humour. But we regret to say that we have not found in the work those other and higher qualities for which we had looked. The author indeed apologizes to Cambridge men into whose hands the book may come, for the minuteness of his details, and commends to their attention an apologue, in which an Arab traveller in England is represented as writing home to his friends, "the frivolity of these English is intense. Yesterday I saw a large concourse of people staring at an ordinary camel, which one of our boys would not have turned his head to look at." We cannot however help thinking that the apology is needless, and that the work, for American readers at least, would have gained greatly both in interest and value, if the author had kept the story of the Arab traveller more constantly in mind.

Mr. Bristed says that his original intention was merely to present a series of sketches of Cambridge life. "Two different Magazines," he adds, "at different times began to publish them, *but were very soon afraid to go on*, because I did not pretend to conceal our inferiority to the English in certain branches of liberal education." He then resolved to abstain from writing as well as publishing, until as many years had been spent at home as he spent in England. Whether this resolution arose from a sudden remembrance of the well known Horatian advice, "*nonumque prematur in annum*," or from a sudden conviction that it would be proper to wait and make himself better acquainted with the state of education in this country, than he could be supposed to be after so long an absence, he does not tell us. All we know is the fact that he determined to wait—and that his opinions on the subjects of which he treats have undergone no change; at the same time we strongly suspect that his knowledge of these topics has received no material addition; so that for all his readers have

gained by the delay, his work might as well have been written at the beginning as at the end of the quinquennium. During these five years he certainly should have learned the particular points in English University life, which are most interesting to Americans who have not enjoyed the same advantages with himself, and in regard to which they would look to him for information. Yet, as we have already hinted, the work is for the most part written as if intended for circulation in Cambridge rather than New York. Occasional explanations indeed occur, but they are not always as lucid as they might be, and are never well arranged. Indeed Mr. Bristed himself confesses that there is an entire absence of the "*lucidus ordo*," which one of his favourite authors says will never be wanting in the writings of those who have wisely chosen and thoroughly studied their subject: and he endeavours to disarm criticism by the statement that he never had any taste for mathematics. But admitting the plea to be a good one, Mr. Bristed should have considered that the whole tone of his book is such as to invite his American readers to look upon himself as a sort of exponent of the system of education which he so loudly praises, and to measure its value by what it has done for him. In the strictly narrative parts these volumes are very readable, but when Mr. Bristed undertakes to discuss the topics involved in the comparison of the English and American methods of education, while he still amuses us, he makes it very obvious that he has never studied mathematics, and that he has but partially gained the great end of classical training. He cannot reason. Before we are aware, he is away from the subject in hand, arguing (in his own way) with Mr. Horace Greely the question whether a man can be considered educated who knows not how to plant potatoes, or else showing up the follies of the Cambridge Camden Society, or those of Puseyism in general.

Many of our readers will perhaps be disposed to ask, Who is Mr. Bristed? In reply to the inquiry we may state that he is a grandson of the late well known millionaire Mr. John Jacob Astor. He was educated, as he himself informs us, with a view to entering Columbia College, New York, but for some reason was sent to Yale, where he resided four years. After graduat-

ing at New Haven he went to England, and entered Trinity College, Cambridge, at first with the intention of remaining there only a twelve month, and then of proceeding to some German university, but ultimately the latter part of his plan was abandoned, and his residence at Cambridge extended over five years. While a member of the University he seems to have been on the whole a close student, especially of classical learning; he gained in the course of his second year a Foundation scholarship in the college of which he was a member, and took two or three minor prizes for essays and declamations during the period of his residence. Mr. Bristed's University career came to a close about the time of the memorable contest between Mr. Clay and Mr. Polk for the Presidential chair. He was not only a warm admirer of Mr. Clay, but had somehow persuaded himself that the perpetuity of our institutions depended upon his election. So great was his dismay, therefore, when the news reached him of Mr. Clay's defeat, and so strong his fears that every thing would go wrong, in consequence of the democratic triumph in the election of Mr. Polk, that he seriously entertained the question of becoming a loyal subject of her Majesty, and was only diverted from it by the good sense of his English friends, who, strange to say, took a much more rational view of the perils and prospects of our country.

This latter circumstance may possibly serve to account for the temper of mind with which Mr. Bristed came back to his home, and which gives tone to many parts of his volumes. He intimates with sufficient distinctness that in his judgment society is pervaded by a spirit of rampant democracy, and that Americans generally are so inflated with the notion of their own superiority to all others, as to feel that no other nation can teach them any thing that is worth learning, and at the same time so intensely jealous of all who rise above the common level, especially in respect of riches or learning, as to render it virtually impossible for men of large wealth or of exquisite mental culture to enter into public life. This is one of the grounds on which the author expressly puts the publication of his work. "As I am to say a great deal that is unusual, unpopular, and pretty sure to give offence, it may be as well to

anticipate a summary way of disposing of all my remarks. It is a stock argument against any man possessing an independent property, and having ever travelled or resided abroad, when he makes any assertion not flattering to the popular vanity—*This man cannot give any valuable information to American citizens because from his position and associations, he does not know what the duties of an American citizen are.* In short, a man who has nothing to expect or fear from the public, who never intends to depend on their suffrages for any thing—such a man is almost the only one who can afford to speak the truth boldly."* Such a man, happily, is Mr. Bristed, rich enough to be perfectly independent of the public, and thus in a position to say what he thinks, careless of all personal results.

We should require much more space than we have at command if we noticed all the observations on the state of society in general, and of our colleges in particular, with which Mr. Bristed, with such heroic disinterestedness shall we say, favours the public. Some of his remarks are undoubtedly just, in regard to certain foibles, which, if not peculiar to Americans, are at least much more prominent features of their character than we could wish; nor are we disposed to call in question all the hard sayings of our author respecting our collegiate system. But we cannot resist the conclusion that most of those into whose hands these volumes of Mr. Bristed are likely to come, will be much more inclined to smile at the reasons which he assigns for assuming the unpleasant office of censor, than to take offence at the severity of his criticisms. It may be owing to our limited sphere of observation, or the narrow range of our reading, that we have never met with what Mr. Bristed calls "the stock argument" against the animadversions of gentlemen of fortune who have travelled or resided abroad, until we found it in the work before us. As Mr. Bristed is a man of fortune, and has been a resident abroad, and has had, no doubt, frequent occasion, in various circles to express the same views of men and things which are embodied in these volumes, his authority as to the kind of replies they are accustomed to call forth, should perhaps have a good deal of weight. The chief

* Vol. II. p. 79. The italics are Mr. Bristed's.

thing that induces hesitation, is the closely connected statement, that men of large wealth, refined culture, and independent character are regarded by the masses with such intense jealousy, as to render it next to impossible for them to enter public life; and that thus as they are in a measure excluded from all share in the offices and dignities of the State, the only thing that remains for them to do, is to administer to the public, as Mr. Bristed has done, those wholesome but offensive lessons, which statesmen cannot teach with safety to themselves. We must own that this is somewhat stumbling to us; for with all the democratic tendencies of American society, we can still point to some men in high stations who are neither poor nor unlettered, some who are not rich, yet not afraid to utter unpalatable truths; and therefore if Mr. Bristed should never become one of the ornaments of the senate, or the occupant of the chair of state, we must ascribe it to some other cause than his wealth or his learning. We should be the last to decry those classical studies in which Mr. Bristed affects to have made uncommon attainments, and to find extreme delight; we put a very high estimate upon them as an instrument of intellectual training, to say nothing of their tendency to refine the taste; but Mr. Bristed has gained little from his residence abroad if he has not discovered that a man may be intimately acquainted with the nicest points of criticism, may be able to compose faultless Greek Iambics, and yet be sadly ignorant in other branches of knowledge, and incompetent for the practical business of life.

The opinions of Mr. Bristed as to the comparative merits of the English and American collegiate systems are not indistinctly brought out in the historical portion of his work, but in the second volume he discusses *ex professo* their relative merits. For Cambridge his admiration is intense, the constitutions of the University, its relations to the Established Church and to Dissenters, its methods of instruction—every thing in short, is warmly lauded, except the *morals* of the place, which are admitted to be most deplorably bad. With this exception, things as they are, are just as they ought to be. Of the collegiate system of our own country, Mr. Bristed's estimate is of course correspondingly low. His own favourite branch of

literature is the classical, and he does not disguise the fact, that in his judgment, classical scholarship of the highest order, such as Cambridge produces, is hardly to be looked for in any other quarter, and certainly cannot be found in our country unless among the fortunate few who, like Mr. Bristed have had the privilege of residing on the banks of the Cam. He seizes every occasion that offers in the course of his book, and sometimes goes a good deal out of his way to have a stroke at the ridiculous pretensions to scholarship of "Yankee Professors," to use a phrase which he several times employs, who, he says "would stare" with astonishment if they could witness the performances of Cambridge under-graduates. It would be strange indeed if Cambridge, with her overflowing abundance of all the appliances of learning, did not produce scholars of the first order. No one will deny that there are many such within her venerable halls; but we feel very confident that those whom she herself regards as among her brightest ornaments would be among the first to own, that even in New England scholars can be found not unworthy of their fellowship, and that neither the achievements of Mr. Bristed during his five years sojourn abroad, nor any evidences of superior scholarship which he has given the public during his five years' residence at home, entitle him to sneer at the attainments of "Yankee Professors."

In comparing the two systems, our author takes Yale (where he was educated,) as it was some fifteen years ago, as the standard and representative of American colleges. During the period just named, all our older and many of our more recent colleges have certainly made some improvement, but to what extent there has been a change for the better, it does not appear from the work before us that Mr. Bristed knows, or even has been at any special pains to inquire. Indeed the only institutions with which he claims to have any personal acquaintance, are Columbia for which he prepared, and Yale at which he studied, yet he speaks about the amount of classical and mathematical attainment demanded for entrance and for degrees in all the Colleges of the United States, with as much positiveness, as if he had visited each of them. Then again he entirely overlooks the immense difference between the structure of our American colleges, and that of an English University.

If all the colleges of New England, instead of being scattered over a vast extent of territory, each perfectly independent of the other, each exercising the highest academic powers, were gathered into a single town, and while still forming distinct societies, each with its own endowments for the support of tutors and students, and governed by its own laws, but collectively constituting the University, there would then be some fairness in the kind of comparison which Mr. Bristed institutes. That our American colleges labour under great defects, no intelligent person will deny; at the same time, nothing can be more unfair and unjust than to decry them as worthless because they do not yield the same fruit as an English university. Viewing them from Mr. Bristed's stand-point, the inquiry as to the relative value of the American and English colleges, if properly conducted, would involve the question, are the latter as much superior to the former in their actual educational facilities as they are in wealth and other external advantages? Is Trinity College, with its princely income, its numerous fellowships and scholarships, doing proportionately as much in the work of training youth to cultivate literature, to enlarge the domain of science, to enter public or professional life, as Yale or Princeton in their comparative poverty, with their limited resources? We fancy that all who are competent to form a judgment upon the subject, and are sufficiently free from prejudice, will give to these questions one and the same answer.

The great defect, according to Mr. Bristed, of the method of education prevalent in our American Colleges, is the want of thoroughness, while the presence of this quality in the English system gives it its peculiar character and value. We are free to confess that there is too much ground for this charge against our educational institutions generally. Our students are too often hurried through the elementary studies preparatory to a collegiate course, and the momentum thus acquired in the grammar-school or the academy is rarely lost after they have entered college. Considering the imperfect preparation of many students at their entrance into college, the immaturity of others whose previous training may have been thorough enough, and especially the brief period during which they reside in college, the question deserves at least to be pondered, whether the

curriculum of study is not too extended, in the sense of embracing too many distinct branches of science. Be this as it may, there can be no doubt that too many of our youth leave college with a mere smattering of knowledge in several of the departments of science strictly so called, which they profess to have studied. This tendency to hasten the process of education arises in part from the peculiar circumstances of our country, in which the avenues to public and professional life are so numerous and accessible; then again, the many utilitarian theorists in the midst of us, who claim to have discovered, if not a "royal road to mathematics," at least a smoother path to knowledge than the one hitherto travelled, are all helping to confirm this fondness for expedition in the work of education. With this class of speculates to mental training, the development of the intellectual powers, the teaching a youth how to investigate truth, should not be made the primary aim of the school and the college; on the contrary the great problem of education is, how can the greatest quantity of facts be gathered in the shortest time? The youth who quits college, a kind of moving encyclopedia of practical science and art, can alone be regarded as, in the proper sense, liberally educated.

According to Mr. Bristed the distinctive and crowning excellence of the Cambridge method of education is its thoroughness. The range embraced in the course there, is limited indeed, but what the Cantab learns, he learns well. In proof of this he relates a case that occurred just before he entered the University. "A high Wrangler, then a Trinity Bachelor, went to see a relative who was largely engaged in the manufacture of plate glass; he learned that the chief difficulty and expense lay in the polishing. Forthwith our Trinity man sets himself to work to calculate the formula of a law according to which two plates of glass rubbing together will polish each other. The result was an improvement which realized a handsome fortune for the manufacturer." No one doubts that Cambridge possesses very accomplished mathematicians, but we suppose that Mr. Bristed himself will not claim that all or even many of the bachelors of Trinity of any one year are so thoroughly conversant with the higher mathematics, as to be able to solve problems like the one above mentioned. Still we know enough

of Cambridge, independently of the information given in these volumes, to be aware that her "reading men" are very hard and very laborious students, and we heartily wish that the mass of our American collegians were imbued with their zeal.

But the question arises, to what cause is this thoroughness to be ascribed? Mr. Bristed represents it to be the natural result of the Cambridge system, which is based upon the theory that the primary object of a liberal education is not so much to impart information as to train and discipline the mind. For ourselves, while we cordially agree with Mr. Bristed in the opinion that the theory of education just mentioned is the true one, we are not prepared to admit that it is not recognized by our own colleges, nor do we believe that its influence in Cambridge is so potential as he imagines. There is another cause, amply sufficient, irrespective of any theory, to account for the intense zeal with which her "reading men" devote themselves to study, and for the high attainments of her wranglers and optimes, namely, the magnificent prizes which she holds forth to excite the emulation of her sons. "What is your *system* of instruction?" said an American gentleman a few years ago to Mr. Carus, Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge. "We have no *system* in the proper sense of the word," he replied; "the University exercises no supervision over the instruction of the students, and even the particular colleges of which they are more immediately members, leave them very much to themselves; there is indeed a certain amount of attainment necessary to get a degree, but the rich prizes proposed in the shape of scholarships, fellowships, &c., awaken the most earnest competition, and do more for us than could be effected by any mere system." Even a partial enumeration of these prizes will, we think, convince our readers that if it cannot be said of the little world of Cambridge as of the wider one of ordinary life, "money answereth all things," it at least exercises a very powerful influence in the production of its scholarship. But before we enter into details on this point, we deem it in place to give a brief account of the University and of its methods of instruction.

The University of Cambridge contains seventeen colleges and halls; Oxford has twenty-four, but the number of students

"on the books" at the former, has for some years past exceeded that at the latter. In 1844 Cambridge had 5974, Oxford, 5657. The relation in which the University and the Colleges stand to each other, is somewhat analogous to that between our general and state governments. Each college is an incorporated society consisting of its President, or master, Fellows, and Scholars; having its own buildings, chapel, library, and other property, entirely under its own control. The University, again, constitutes a distinct corporation, which besides various official personages and professors, includes all graduates of a certain standing, whether resident in Cambridge or not. The last named are in virtue of their degrees, life-members of the Senate, or as the name indicates, the great collective legislature of the University, which assembles annually, and without whose consent no statute can be enacted, and no honorary degree can be conferred. Cambridge has twenty-five professors; but they have nothing to do with the work of teaching beyond the delivery of lectures which the student is under no obligation to attend. Some of these professorships have large endowments connected with them, *e. g.* Lady Margaret's Divinity has about £2000, Lucasian Mathematics, about £1500, Modern History £400, Lowndean Astronomy £300, Plumian Astronomy £250, yet notwithstanding these ample salaries the incumbents demand two or three guineas per term from all who wish to avail themselves of their instructions.

A young man going up to Cambridge to complete his education, enters some one of these seventeen colleges, and during his under-graduateship, while bound to observe all the academic laws and usages, he is properly speaking a member of the college in which he resides, rather than of the University. At Oxford the applicant for admission is examined, and about the same amount of knowledge is demanded, as we require from those who enter the lower classes in our larger colleges. At Cambridge no examination is necessary before being admitted to residence by any of the colleges, with the exception of Trinity—at least such was the case a few years ago; and even the Trinity examination is by no means one which our students would reckon rigid. The studies of the freshmen, or the students of the first year, are under the immediate supervision

of the mathematical and classical tutors of their respective colleges; two hours a day, one of which is devoted to classics, the other to mathematics, are spent by this class in the lecture-room, the order of exercises there, being essentially the same as in our college recitations, except that there is more lecturing on the part of the tutor than is common with us. Beyond these preliminary exercises and lectures of the first year, the student is left by the college authorities almost entirely at his own disposal. He is bound under penalty to attend morning and evening chapel, but he may spend the day as he pleases in utter idleness or in hard labour; whether he is a "reading man" or a "rowing man," is a point about which the officers of his college give themselves no concern. The goal is before the student, he knows perfectly well the means by which alone it can be reached, and these he uses at his own discretion. He must spend a certain number of terms in residence,* and there are certain subjects on which he must submit to a very rigid examination, before he can hope to gain the higher honours and prizes of the university and of his college. If wanting in literary ambition, or if his previous training has been very defective, and numbers are received at Cambridge who could not enter the Freshmen class at Yale, Columbia or Princeton, the student marks out a course of study for himself. On the other hand if he is bent upon winning academic distinction and the golden rewards of scholarship, instead of looking for help from the authorized instructors whether collegiate or university, he must put himself at a very heavy expense into the hands of a private tutor. Without his aid success would be perfectly hopeless, so that in point of fact the work of training is performed not by those to whom the student has a right to look for it, but by a class of teachers wholly unrecognized by the University. Some attempts have been made of late years to do away with the system of private tutors on the ground that it gives one class of men an undue advantage over others, but they have thus far proved fruitless, and unless the constitution of the University is radically changed, this class of instructors must retain the position they have so long held.

* The Cambridge curriculum extends over three years. The academic year contains about twenty-three weeks, and is divided into three terms.

One of the evils growing out of the system of private tutors, according to the testimony of an alumnus of Cambridge, published in the Westminster Review for 1841, "is the habit of *cramming*."—"From long habit, he adds, the private tutors knows the books which are most likely to *tell*, or the questions which are most likely to be asked at the examinations, and they fill their pupil's head with these without much reference to his real improvement: in mathematics too, their tendency is to teach the pupil the shortest method of getting through the problems without much troubling themselves whether this way is the most elegant or the most fitted to make him a good mathematician. There is moreover a tact which they possess of making an inferior man to excel his superiors who have not enjoyed the benefit of this instruction. The power of 'cramming'—of filling the mind with knowledge hastily acquired for a particular occasion, and to be forgotten when that occasion is past, is a power not to be despised. Still, it is not necessary to 'cram' so outrageously, as at some of the college examinations, where hundreds of minute questions are asked about the management of Greek theatres, the history of Greek plays, and the lives of Greek authors. These are things unimportant to know, which every body can get up, as it is well known what will be asked, and of which no one a week after remembers a single word. We should be puzzled to find any questions more absurd and unreasonable than those in the cram papers in the college examinations. By the way, the most tiresome labour in the whole university course is at these same college examinations. For eight mortal hours, for six successive days, is the undergraduate obliged to *write against time*. At Trinity and at St. John's, we believe, it is still worse. It is true, only the candidates for high classes remain all the time at work; but these have not a minute to spare, for there is more to be done than the quickest can accomplish in the time. It is curious to observe the bustle at first in the hall, with four hundred men writing and joking at once, and which gradually decreases as one gives up after another, till a few scattered faces only are left, anxious, jaded, disappointed (for no one succeeds as he expected) and with their pens moving at the utmost speed of nervous excitement." We have quoted this passage to show

that all who have had experience of the Cambridge system are by no means agreed in their estimate of its excellence.

Let us now take a cursory survey of the numerous and rich prizes which Cambridge holds forth to stimulate the diligence of her sons, and with which she rewards the toils of those who do honour to themselves and to her. Mr. Bristed states that the amount of money annually distributed in the shape of college and university prizes, exclusive of the more valuable emoluments, exceeds £1500. There are prizes to be competed for by the under graduates, and which may be gained at an early period of their college residence; then there are prizes open to Bachelors; and finally there are the Fellowships, which besides securing to their holders a handsome income, open the way to the higher offices of the University.

Trinity College has 66 Fellowships, so richly endowed as to yield upon an average upwards of £300 per annum to their possessors, besides the privileges of elegant apartments in the college, and the most luxurious living almost for nothing. These are perfectly unrestricted; and in each of the three succeeding Septembers after the Senate-house examination, the student may offer himself a candidate. *St. Johns* has 53 Fellowships, of which there are 32 open to all natives of England and Wales, the remainder being appropriated to natives of particular counties or towns. There are at this college 114 Scholarships, of which only 16 are appropriated to particular schools, besides 66 Exhibitions varying from £10 to £100 in value. *Queen's* has 20 Fellowships, most of them slightly restricted, and 26 Scholarships, varying in value from £9 to £25. *Emmanuel* has 13 Fellowships and about 50 Scholarships. *Christ's* has 15 Fellowships and 70 Scholarships, more or less restricted. *Jesus* has 17 Fellowships, very slightly restricted, and 49 Scholarships, two of which are of the value of £70 per annum, one of £60, and eleven others of £45 each. *Caius* (pronounced *Keys*) has 29 Fellowships and 77 Scholarships. *St. Peter's* has 14 Foundation, 8 Bye Fellowships and 48 Scholarships. *Clare Hall* has 21 Fellowships and 46 Scholarships. *Trinity Hall*, 12 Fellowships and 14 Scholarships. *Corpus*, 12 Fellowships and 63 Scholarships and Exhibitions. *King's* is very richly endowed for the support of

a Provost and 70 Fellows and Scholars. It stands on a different position from that of the other colleges, being a mere appanage of Eton, as New College, Oxford, is of Winchester. The statistics of the few remaining colleges it will not be necessary to give. We have made them on the authority of an English work entitled "Seven Years at the University of Cambridge, by a Trinity Man." His estimate of the revenue of the University, independent of the fees paid by undergraduates for tuition, and by those who simply keep their names upon the college boards without residence, is as follows:

University Chest, - - - - -	£16,000
17 Masterships of Colleges, averaging at least £1200 per annum, - - -	20,400
26 Professorships and Lectureships, -	7,200
416 Fellowships, averaging £200 per annum,	83,200
993 Scholarships, &c. - - - - -	22,800
101 Prizes, &c. - - - - - - -	2,327

To which he adds 294 Benefices in the church, each on an average worth £300 per annum, the patronage of which is distributed among the various colleges. This vast wealth consecrated to the cause of learning and science has been accumulating during several centuries, but what is very remarkable, nearly the whole of it consists of private benefactions, and a large part of it came from benefactors who lived in times which some are accustomed to regard as almost semi-barbarous. St. Peter's, the oldest college at Cambridge, was founded in 1257; between that date and 1351, or in less than a century, Clare Hall, Pembroke, Caius, Trinity Hall, and Corpus Christi, were erected; in the next century only one was added to the number, King's in 1441, but the ensuing century and a half, *i. e.* from 1448 to 1598, was very prolific in colleges, giving birth to Queen's, Catherine Hall, Jesus, Christ's, St. John's, Magdalen, Trinity, Emmanuel, and Sidney Sussex, while the last two centuries and a half have produced only one, viz. Downing, founded in 1800. Little as we sympathize with the mediæval tendencies which of late years have manifested themselves in certain quarters, we should greatly rejoice if our merchant princes, and other men of large wealth, would catch the spirit and imitate the example of those large hearted men of former

ages who erected and endowed the magnificent establishments of Cambridge and Oxford.

The collegiate system that obtains in this country embodies elements, some of which were derived from the Universities of England; others seem rather to have been taken from her great collegiate schools, as Eton and Harrow; while others again are wholly of indigenous growth. Of these last perhaps the most prominent is the form of collegiate incorporation, the body in which the collegiate property is vested, and by which all academic degrees are conferred. The erection of a University similar in its constitution to that of Cambridge or Oxford, even if we had ample means, would be, to say the least, of doubtful propriety; some there are unquestionably, who would oppose it as unsuited alike to the circumstances of our country, and to the genius of our institutions. Be this as it may, our system has already become firmly rooted, it has a structure and character, so to speak, of its own; and we believe that any attempt to overthrow it with a view to the introduction of another system would endanger the cause of liberal education. That it admits of improvement, and in certain respects very greatly needs it, will be generally conceded; but this may be accomplished without involving a radical change in the system itself, or the necessity of bringing it into conformity with a foreign model, English or German. Widely as the university systems last named differ, they may each of them, if rightly studied, furnish many useful hints for the perfecting of our own. Some of the suggestions of our author well deserve to be considered by all who are interested in the elevation of our colleges.

Perhaps it would be going too far to say that Cambridge owes every thing to her wealth, but it must certainly be admitted that this is one chief source of her educational power. Whether or not she makes the wisest use of it, we need not now inquire; the main point to which we would direct the attention of our readers, is the fact that a large share of her ample resources is so employed as to attain the two-fold result of ministering stimulus to the diligent and aid to the needy. The student there meets along the whole course of his academic life prizes in the shape of books, medals, and money, and scholar-

ships, many of which yield him a competency during the remainder of his undergraduateship. For all these, as well as for the fellowships at the close of his college career, there is a very sharp, but at the same time a generous competition. The best man wins. But alas! "the destruction of" our colleges "is their poverty." At least this is the case with the great majority of them; if we except Harvard, with one or two state institutions—and we are not sure that they are exceptions—even the best endowed are compelled to depend for their support mainly upon the fees of students. Hence every means must be taken to increase their number, and though these means are perfectly honourable and fair, yet just as the number of students grows, do the difficulties increase of giving them a thorough education. Our collegiate system is so constructed that it may serve the double purpose of *training* and *teaching*, of disciplining the intellect, and imparting information; but it must be perfectly manifest that the first of these ends cannot be effectually attained, unless the classes be small, or else subdivided into sections; and it is just as obvious that without previous and thorough training the student can derive little benefit from the ablest course of lectures on any branch of science. Then again, if a professor devotes himself to the work of training a class of fifty or sixty, and does it properly, he will have little time and strength left for any other part of academic service. In the English colleges, this laborious yet necessary work is chiefly done by the large body of private tutors. And what we especially need in our colleges, is the means of sustaining a body of teachers adequate in numbers as well as ability, for the work they are expected to perform.

Even in our wealthiest colleges the prizes offered with a view to stimulate the exertions and reward the diligence of the student, are few in number and trifling in value. In most of our institutions there is nothing of the kind. The utmost that the superior scholar can hope to win is an honorary speech. But why may we not avail ourselves of the power of money, with a view to raise the standard of scholarship in our seats of learning? Societies strictly religious do not scruple to employ this potent agency in order to enlist in their service our most intellectual men. Many admirable tracts are at this moment in

circulation, which their authors would never so much as have thought of writing, if the principle to which we refer had not been brought to bear upon them. One of the ablest and best known volumes in our language on the subject of "Mammon," was produced by a prize of one hundred guineas, which its author won. Why not use the same instrumentality in our colleges? Though in doing so we would seem to make an appeal simply to the selfish principles of youth, yet the experience of both the English and Scottish universities abundantly shows that the actual effect of such prizes is to excite among the competitors for them a generous ambition. We cannot help thinking that the importance of this kind of stimulant to intellectual exertion has not been sufficiently appreciated by the friends of liberal education among us, nor even by those who are more immediately connected with academic life. Some of our colleges are in possession of funds contributed for the purpose of aiding indigent young men who have the ministry in view. It would be a gross violation of a sacred trust to divert these funds from the object for which they were given; but the question certainly deserves to be looked at, whether other considerations besides those of poverty and hopeful piety should not control their distribution. May not a scheme be devised for administering these funds, which shall have the effect of arousing the intellectual activity and of greatly improving the scholarship of the recipients, without in the least doing injury to their Christian principles, or cooling the fervour of their devotional feelings?

There are some other points, particularly the connection between valuable prizes and rigid examinations as seen in the English colleges, and the life-long relation which subsists between the latter and their graduates, on which we should like to enlarge, but the limits within which we must confine our article warn us to bring our observations to a close. We shall conclude with saying, that while the volumes which have given rise to our remarks have, in certain respects, greatly disappointed us, we should be doing them and their author injustice if we did not state that they present a very graphic picture of English University life. We would only add that the various papers forming the last half of the second volume well deserve to be pondered by our American students.

Art. VIII.—*Parrhesia, or Christian and Ministerial Freedom of Speech.*

The history of the Christian Church, as such, begins with the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost. Until that time the New Testament history is a history of our Saviour's personal ministry on earth. Till then the Apostles were in a state of pupilage, preparing for the great work upon which they were so soon to enter. It was no part of our Lord's purpose to establish an organized society during his personal presence. This he reserved for his Apostles, and for this they were fitted by the great effusion of the Holy Spirit at the time in question. Before this they were ignorant, confused, and liable to continual mistakes as to the nature of Christ's kingdom and the means of its establishment. These crude and false conceptions were now exchanged for clear and just views. Selfish ambition gave way to a noble and disinterested zeal for the honour of God and the salvation of men. Henceforth the Apostles became models of Christian and ministerial fidelity, from which, without a slavish imitation, we may learn important lessons, as to our own rights and obligations, both as preachers and hearers of the gospel.

To facilitate this use of their example, inspiration has recorded some of the most striking and instructive incidents in the early periods of the apostolic ministry. Among these one of the most interesting is that recorded in the fourth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. Peter and John, going up to the temple at the hour of prayer, performed a miracle of healing, in the name of Christ, upon a man who had been crippled from his birth, and then took advantage of the general attention which the miracle excited, to preach Jesus as a Saviour, and as the Messiah of the prophecies. In consequence of this they were arraigned before the Sanhedrim, or national council of the Jews, and forbidden to speak further in the name of Christ, a prohibition which they publicly avowed themselves resolved to disregard. Being thereupon dismissed by the council, they returned to their own company, who, hearing what had taken

place, lifted up their voice to God, with one accord, in a sublime prayer, which is still on record. The petition of this prayer is in these words: "Grant unto thy servants, that with all boldness they may speak thy word, by stretching forth thine hand to heal, and that signs and wonders may be done by the name of thy holy child Jesus." This prayer was heard; for we read that "when they had prayed, the place was shaken where they were assembled together; and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and they spake the word of God with boldness."

The point to which we would direct attention is the stress laid, both by the assembled Christians and by the inspired historian, on the *boldness*, or, as the original word (παῤῥησία) properly means freedom of speech, with which the first disciples wished to speak, and did speak, in the name of Christ. The importance which they attached to this particular quality of faithful preaching could not be more clearly shown, by any thing short of a direct assertion, than it is by the fact, that in such solemn circumstances, this was the burden of their prayer, that they might speak the word of God "with boldness," and that in describing the result, the sacred writer singles out this fact, which in itself might seem a slight one, that they did, under a special divine influence, speak the word of God "with boldness."

That this view of the matter was not an accidental one, confined to that occasion, may be easily established by comparing the subsequent statements of the same kind in the course of the same history, which is the more important as the terms employed by our translators in rendering the same Greek noun and verb are not entirely uniform, and thus the frequency with which they recur is, in some measure, lost to the English reader.

When Paul, soon after his conversion, was made known to the apostles at Jerusalem by Barnabas, the latter told them as a proof that he had undergone a real change, not only that "he had seen the Lord by the way," but also that "he had preached *boldly* at Damascus in the name of Jesus." Acts ix. 27. And the history adds that "he was with them coming in and going out at Jerusalem, and speaking *boldly* in the name of the Lord Jesus." Acts v. 28. It was therefore no personal

peculiarity of Paul, but a sign of his conformity, in spirit and practice, to the example of the twelve. Nor was this conformity restricted to the time of his personal presence in the holy city; for we read of the same thing incidentally afterwards, as when it is said that Paul and Barnabas, at Antioch in Pisidia, "waxed bold," (Acts xiii. 46,) the verb used is the same translated "speaking boldly" and "preached boldly" in the passage before quoted.

It is also certain that this quality of the apostolical preaching was a constant one; for we read of it, not only on particular occasions, but as a habitual practice. Thus it is said expressly of the same two missionaries, that "they abode a long time (in Iconium,) *speaking boldly* in the Lord;" (Acts xiv. 3;) and of Paul alone, that "he went into the synagogue (at Corinth), and *spake boldly* for the space of three months, disputing and persuading the things concerning the kingdom of God." Acts xix. 8. The same thing was practised before kings and governors; for Paul, when speaking before Festus and Agrippa said: "The king knoweth of these things, before whom also I *speak freely*," (Acts xxvi. 26,) using precisely the same word that is elsewhere rendered "speaking boldly." The same spirit and the same practice may be traced to the end of his recorded history, which closes with the statement, that "Paul dwelt two whole years in his own hired house (at Rome), preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, *with all confidence*, no man forbidding him." Acts xxviii. 30, 31. The word here rendered "confidence," is still the same repeatedly translated elsewhere "boldness."

The only other fact which we shall cite from the historical part of the New Testament, is that this characteristic of Paul's preaching was not confined even to Apostles, but appeared in the ministrations of their most eminent contemporaries and co-workers, as we learn from the statement that Apollos, a Jew of Alexandria, an eloquent man and mighty in the Scriptures, even when his own views were imperfect, being fervent in spirit, and having some acquaintance with the way of the Lord, began to *speak boldly* in the synagogue at Ephesus, and after he had been more perfectly instructed, "helped them much which had

believed through grace, for he mightily convinced the Jews, and that publicly, showing by the Scriptures that Jesus was the Christ." Acts xviii. 24—28.

From the apostolical history let us now turn for a moment to the apostolical writings, and see how far the attribute in question is there recognized as necessary or important. Paul, addressing the Philippians, and referring to one of the severest trials of his ministerial life, says: "I know that this shall turn to my salvation through your prayer, and the supply of the Spirit of Jesus Christ, according to my earnest expectation and my hope, that in nothing I shall be ashamed, but that *with all boldness*, as always, so now also, Christ shall be magnified in my body, whether it be by life or by death." Phil. i. 19, 20. He exhorts the Ephesians to pray always for all saints, "and for me, that utterance may be given unto me, that I may open my mouth *boldly*, to make known the mystery of the gospel." Eph. vi. 19. That this desire of his heart was not ungratified, we learn from his own appeal to the Thessalonians: "Yourselves, brethren, know our entrance in unto you that it was not in vain; but even after that we had suffered before, and were shamefully entreated, as ye know at Philippi, *we were bold* in our God to speak unto you the gospel of God with much contention." 1 Thess. i. 1, 2. In all these cases the leading terms employed are identical with those which we have already seen so often used in the apostolical history.

There is another application of these terms, particularly common in the epistle to the Hebrews and in those of John, where they often denote boldness of access to God in the exercise of faith and in reliance on his promise. "We are Christ's household if we hold fast the *confidence* and the rejoicing of the hope firm unto the end." Heb. iii. 6. "Let us therefore come *boldly* unto the throne of grace, &c." Heb. iv. 16. "Having therefore, brethren, *boldness* to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus." Heb. x. 19. "Cast not away therefore your *confidence*, which hath great recompense of reward." Heb. x. 35. "And now little children, abide in him, that when he shall appear, we may have *confidence* and not be ashamed before him at his coming." 1 John ii. 28. "Beloved, if our heart condemn us not, then have we *confidence* toward God." 1 John

iii. 21. "Herein is our love made perfect, that we may have *boldness* in the day of judgment." 1 John iv. 17. "And this is the *confidence* that we have in him, that if we ask any thing according to his will, he heareth us." 1 John v. 14. The word rendered "confidence" and "boldness" in these passages, is still the same that we have met so frequently before; nor is there any real departure from its essential meaning elsewhere, *freedom of speech*, whether towards God in earnest and believing prayer, or towards man in faithful declaration of the truth. It is, however, with the latter that we are concerned at present. We shall therefore set aside, as unconnected with this theme, not only the passages last quoted, but a number of others where the terms are employed in a lower sense, to signify plainness of speech, or freedom from obscurity in ordinary intercourse. Confining our attention then to those texts where the words in question have explicit reference to the communication of religious truth, we may draw two inferences from them all viewed in connection so as to illustrate and interpret one another. The first is, that the Apostles, and particularly Paul, attached, both in theory and practice, great importance to freedom of speech, or boldness in the preaching of the gospel. The other is, that after all allowance for a change of circumstances and relations, this characteristic quality cannot have wholly lost its value, but must still be desirable and still incumbent upon those who preach the gospel now.

This last proposition may seem to concern only the ministry as a distinct order or profession. But for several reasons, it is interesting also to the great mass of those who hear the gospel. In the first place, all these have, or ought to have a kind of inofficial share in the work more especially entrusted to the ministry. All who hear the truth are thereby bound to make it known to others. All such are called, in a wider or a smaller sphere, to preach the gospel, and to do it boldly. But even in reference to the public duties of the ministry properly so called, the body of the people have an interest in this matter, because connected closely with their own peculiar rights and obligations. If the ministry are authorized and bound to preach the word of God with boldness, it is surely a correlative duty of the church to hear it when so preached. And if, on

the other hand, there is a sense in which, or a point beyond which, boldness is unlawful, then it is no less certainly the right of the hearers to condemn such boldness, and withhold their countenance and even tacit approbation from it. It is therefore no official or professional inquiry, but one of general interest and importance, wherein the legitimate boldness of the pulpit, or freedom of speech in the promulgation of the gospel, does or does not consist.

This is one of those cases where the truth can be most fully ascertained by a joint use of the positive and negative methods of investigation, or at least of statement. And in deference to the rights of Christian people, we begin by stating negatively, wherein this apostolic boldness or *parrhesia* does not consist.

And first, it might appear almost insulting to our readers if we should appear to think it necessary to announce, as a distinct and formal proposition, that this apostolical boldness does not consist in any thing external, such as loudness of voice, or violence of gesture, or severity of countenance. All this is perfectly compatible with radical deficiency in boldness or liberty of speech, such as Paul approved and practised. Nay, it may even be adopted as a mask to conceal that very deficiency. Men may assume the look and language of defiance, not only when courageous, but when most afraid. And even when this is not the case, and when they really are bold, their boldness, so far as it resembles that of the Apostles, does not lie in any thing corporeal or external. Experience shows that those are not always the most searching and effective strokes at the conscience or the heart which are given with most violence of manner; and that saving truth is just as frequently conveyed by the still small voice as by the fire or the earthquake. The boldness, then, of which we speak, is not mere boldness of delivery.

Nor is it boldness of expression or of language, the investing of familiar thoughts in new and startling forms of speech. Besides the confusion of mind, and the perversion of the truth arising from this practice, it is utterly devoid of any tendency to vanquish or conciliate the adversaries of the gospel, and without the slightest countenance or warrant in the doctrine or example of the apostolic ministry. In the pregnant dialect of

Scripture, the idea never falls short of the expression, though it often very far transcends it.

But even boldness or audacity of *thought* is not the characteristic boldness of the apostolic preaching. It may be mistaken for it by ambitious minds, infected with a morbid craving for originality. But the two things are none the less distinct and independent of each other. The same man, it is true, may be bold in both ways; but the two ways are not, therefore, to be merged in one. The utmost boldness of original speculation is compatible with utter want of it in the promulgation of revealed truth.

Again, this apostolic boldness must not be confounded with a strong disposition to exaggerate particular features in the system of divine truth, or at least to render them unduly prominent in reference and proportion to the rest. This may be done with an express design to shock the prepossessions of the hearer; but although this may be bold in a popular and worldly sense, it is not the apostolic freedom of speech. The first preachers of the gospel did not show their boldness by insisting on the terrors of the law, to the exclusion of the offers of the gospel; or on future torments, to the exclusion of the joys of heaven; or on those mysterious doctrines which are most repugnant to the natural man, without the qualifying adjuncts which are commonly joined to them in the word of God. Life and death, blessing and cursing, hell and heaven, reprobation and salvation, go together in the Bible, and are seldom to be found there far apart. The man who thinks it better to divorce them, and to hold up the dark side of the picture by itself, may glory in his boldness; but if so, he only boasts that he is bolder than the apostles, and wiser than the Holy Spirit. Such boldness, need we say, is infinitely far removed from the boldness of the apostolic preaching.

Lastly, this apostolic boldness did not show itself in what is now familiarly called personality. There is indeed a sense in which all effective preaching must be personal; that is to say, it must not spend itself in barren generalities or abstract speculations, but be so framed as to bring the truth to bear, with force, upon the individual mind and conscience. This is essential to the effective preaching of the gospel; but this is some-

thing very different from personality. The difference is this, that in the one case the statement of truth, or the description of character, being derived from inspiration, suits the case of every individual to whom it was intended to apply, and commends itself at once to every man's conscience in the sight of God. In the other case, the uninspired preacher sets out from an individual subject and endeavours to describe it in accordance with the teachings of God's word.

To this method there are two objections. In the first place, it provokes a just resentment, which effectually seals the heart, and even steels the conscience, against the truth which is really presented. Nothing more certainly protects men from the power of the truth than a sense of injustice or of any other moral defect in the mode of its administration. And in the case supposed, there is a ground for this resistance, in the actual departure of the preacher from the scriptural method of procedure, and his presumptuous exchange of what is there laid down by an infallible authority, for the precarious dictates of his own uninspired reason or experience. Forgetting that "the foolishness of God is wiser than men," we are too apt to endeavour to improve upon the truth as he has given it, in the hope of making it more searching and effective.

But in the next place, this hope is a vain one. All experience teaches that the consciences of men are most effectually reached, not by descriptions made expressly for them, in the exercise of a mere human wisdom, but by the presentation of more general truths, revealed in Scripture, and applied to the individual subject by the power of the Holy Spirit. It is a fact easily established, that while pulpit personalities most commonly rebound without effect, or any but a bad one, from the objects at which they were specifically aimed, the strongest impressions ever made upon the conscience are produced without a special or immediate reference to the person thus affected. A striking illustration of this statement is afforded by the fact, familiar to the readers of religious biography, that men have frequently supposed themselves to be the objects of a personal attack, when the person charged with making it was not so much as aware of their presence, or perhaps of their existence, or when the imaginary libel was delivered, without any change

whatever, as prepared many months or even years before the date of the supposed assault. This is a general fact of great importance, both to the preachers and the hearers of the gospel, that the strongest effect upon the conscience is produced, not by invidious personalities, but by the clear and faithful exhibition of the truth as suited to whole classes or to men in general. Those who pique themselves upon the kind of "boldness" here condemned, are usually influenced by vanity, and sometimes by an envious malignity, sufficiently obvious to others, even when it seems unsuspected by themselves. A sense of honour, no less than of duty, ought to put the preacher, and especially the free-and-easy preacher, on his guard against this spurious παῤῥησία, which derives a character of spiteful meanness from the very security with which it can be practised; because what might justly be admired as manly in the fair fight of the legal or political arena, may be dastardly when shot forth as a Parthian if not a poisoned arrow from the pulpit, without any risk of chastisement or even refutation. By nothing, perhaps, more than by this, has the ministry been lowered in the eyes of an intelligent and high-minded laity; and in reference to nothing is the pulpit-prater more in need of the caustic but most wholesome charge, "Let no man despise thee." Titus ii. 15. The apostolic boldness or freedom of speech is as far removed from this invidious personality, as from violence of manner, singularity of language, paradoxical audacity of thought, or a morbid disposition to exaggerate, distort, or mutilate the system of divine truth, with a view to mere effect.

The fulness and minuteness of this negative statement will make it less important to enlarge upon the positive side of the same picture. We shall aim not so much at exactness of detail as at a clear presentation of a few leading elements which enter into the scriptural idea of apostolic boldness or freedom of speech.

The first is that of perspicuity or clearness, as opposed to all obscurity, arising either from excessive refinement and abstruseness of thought, or from rhetorical abuse of language. Lively figures are indeed more natural than abstract formulas, and where they serve to deepen or define the intellectual

impression of the truth, contribute mightily to its effect. But where they only tend to darken or to dazzle, they are inconsistent with the apostolic openness and freedom of speech. This is frequently contrasted, in the Gospels, and particularly that of John, with speaking in enigmas or in parables. When our Lord, before setting out upon his last visit to Jerusalem, began to speak of his own sufferings in literal and explicit terms, the inspired historian says, "he spake that saying *openly*," (Mark viii. 32,)—παῤῥησίᾳ—the same word used so often to characterize the preaching of the first Apostles. After he reached the holy city, and was walking in Solomon's porch, "the Jews came round about him and said, 'how long dost thou make us to doubt (or hold us in suspense)? if thou be the Christ, tell us plainly," (John x. 24,)—παῤῥησίᾳ—that is, without enigmatical or figurative forms of speech. Again, when Jesus spoke of Lazarus as sleeping, his disciples thought that he had spoken of taking rest in sleep; wherefore, in order to correct their error, "Jesus said unto them plainly, Lazarus is dead," (John xi. 14,)—*plainly*—παῤῥησίᾳ—that is, simply and explicitly, in so many words. In another place, these two modes of speaking are expressly contrasted. "These things have I spoken unto you in parables; but the time cometh when I shall no more speak to you in parables, but shall tell you *plainly* of the Father" (John xvi. 25;)—still παῤῥησίᾳ. . . . . "I came forth from the Father and am come into the world; again I leave the world and go to the Father. His disciples said unto him, Lo, now thou speakest *plainly*, and speakest no parable (or proverb)." John xvi. 28, 29. Simplicity and clearness, as opposed to enigmatical obscurity, may therefore be presented as the first essential element of apostolic freedom, in reference to which Paul writes to the Corinthians, "Great is my boldness of speech (παῤῥησία) toward you"—2 Cor. vii. 11; and again, still more explicitly, "seeing then that we have such hope, we use great plainness of speech (παῤῥησίᾳ), and not as Moses which put a veil over his face," &c. 2 Cor. iii. 12. In this he well deserves our imitation. The reasons which induced our Lord himself so often to wrap up the truth in partially disclosing it, can furnish no rule or example for his uninspired followers, whose business is to make known, not to hide. This

remarkable difference between our ministry and that of Christ, was strongly set forth by himself when he said to his disciples, "what I tell you in darkness, that speak ye in light; and what ye hear in the ear, that preach ye on the house tops." Matt. x. 27. Where this plainness of speech is wanting, neither novelty of thought, nor eccentricity of language, nor audacity of manner can supply the want of apostolic liberty and boldness.

But this essential quality stands opposed, not only to rhetorical defects, but to a moral obliquity. Plainness of speech implies also freedom from disguise, duplicity, or cowardly suppression of the truth. As on the one hand it is said of Christ's last visit to Jerusalem, "no man spake openly of him, (παῤῥησίᾳ), for fear of the Jews," John vii. 13; so on the other hand, some of the people said, "is not this he, whom they seek to kill? but lo, he speaketh boldly, (παῤῥησίᾳ)," John vii. 25, 26, *i. e.* without fear of those to whom the truth must give offence. In like manner Paul calls the elders of Ephesus to witness his fidelity: "I take you to record this day, that I am pure from the blood of all, for I have not shunned to declare unto you all the counsel of God." Acts xx. 26, 27. What this was, we learn from his words in a previous part of the same discourse—"and how I kept back nothing that was profitable, but have showed you and have taught you, publicly and from house to house, testifying, both to the Jews and also to the Greeks, repentance toward God and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ. Acts xx. 20, 21. The boldness of the apostolic preaching was not more opposed to the distorted exhibition of some truths in undue prominence, than it was to the suppression of these same truths, or of any other, because humbling to the pride of the human understanding or the human heart.

But in addition to this fair and equal or proportionate disclosure of the whole truth as a system, there is still another kind or rather another exercise of candour and impartiality required. This is the faithful exhibition of the truth, not as a matter of mere speculation, but of practical concern and obligation, so that the appeal shall be made not only to the understanding and the sense of truth, but to the conscience and the sense of right. Where this is not done, but the truth is

left in frigid contact with the memory and judgment, or in warm but inert contact with the fancy or the sensibilities, there may be strength and clearness, there may be brilliancy and beauty; but there is not apostolical παῤῥησία, plainness, boldness, or freedom of speech.

Again, it is essential to this character, that men should be constrained to view the truth, as connected not only with their obligations but their destiny—not only with their present standing in the sight of God, but with their everlasting state as suspended on his justice or his mercy. Here the pride of man revolts, and the insidious desire of pleasing men begs hard for some suppression or some softening of the odious truth. And this prayer is seconded by plausible appeals to the extravagant and dangerous excess to which some go in their description of the future state, and in their constant threatenings of hell-fire and damnation. But such errors can in no wise change the truth of God, or the duty of those who are commissioned to proclaim it. We are bound to practise the same wise reserve that is characteristic of the Scriptures in relation to this awful subject. We have no right to indulge a meretricious fancy, or to feed a morbid curiosity with wild imaginations of realities so fearful and unutterable, that the word of God affords only passing and imperfect glimpses of them. But if in avoiding this extreme, we rush into the other of allowing men to think that the effects of sin are limited to this life, and that the awful retributions of eternity have no reality, at least in reference to them, however loud, or paradoxical, or personal our statement of the truth may be, we do not, after all, speak the word of God with boldness.

The errors which we have described may spring from various sources; from defective views of truth in those who undertake to teach it—from their shallow experience in religion—from a false view of the end to be attained by preaching—or an error of judgment as to the best means of attaining it. But the same effects may also spring from outward causes, and of these we shall name one, both on account of its extensive influence, and as a means of bringing this whole subject home to ourselves, and to our readers, as a matter not of mere official and professional, but personal and universal interest.

The cause in question is "respect of persons," or judicial partiality—a disposition to discriminate, in the application of the truth, between those who are perfectly alike in character and standing before God. Having already shut out an invidious personality, as altogether foreign from the boldness of the apostolic preaching, let us now guard against an opposite evil, by declaring that this boldness comprehends, as one of its essential elements, a willingness to speak the clearly revealed truth of God, with all its pungency and strength, before the face, and to the conscience of the wisest, richest, and most powerful, as well as of the proudest, most fastidious, and most sensitive of men, without the least desire to offend them, but without the slightest fear of their displeasure, if offence be unavoidable. The possibility of such an issue, after all, with its causes and effects, may be profitably pondered, in connection with the searching question put by Paul to the Galatians: "Am I therefore become your enemy, because I tell you the truth?" Gal. iv. 16.

The different grammatical constructions, which have been put, or may be put, upon this sentence, are without importance as to its essential meaning, or in reference to the use which we propose to make of it. If we choose to give it an affirmative form ("so that"—or "so then"—"I am become your enemy,") it is only a more pointed expression of the same idea now conveyed by the interrogation. So, too, it matters little whether we retain the word "because," or substitute a more exact translation of the participle—"speaking the truth to you." Even the latter represents the enmity supposed as having been provoked at the time, or in the act of telling them the truth, and therefore, by a natural implication, as the effect of his having done so. The same is true of the different senses which may be attached to the phrase "become your enemy." Whether "enemy" be passively explained as denoting the "object of your hatred," or taken in its proper active sense, but so that the whole phrase shall mean "regarded by you as an enemy"—the general import of the sentence will remain the same. It still implies the possibility of men's becoming enemies in consequence of the telling of the truth. How far this was really the case with those to whom the Apostle is here writing, we shall not stop to

inquire; nor what specific declaration of the truth is here referred to, as the cause of this effect, whether real or supposed. It is sufficient for our purpose to regard Paul as asserting, or at least assuming, that the speaking of the truth may be a cause or an occasion of hostility; a fact which, even in its vaguest and most general form, may claim our serious attention and suggest important subjects of inquiry.

The very statement of this proposition must remind us of our Saviour's solemn and repeated declarations, that he came not to bring peace, but a sword, to kindle flames of discord among men, to be the author of division in communities and families, to set parents against their children, and children against their parents, so that a man's enemies should be those of his own household. These and other like expressions partake largely of a quality, by which our Lord's instructions were distinguished, and which cannot perhaps be better described than by the use of the word *paradox*, as properly denoting that which shocks men's prepossessions, and appears, at first sight, to do violence to essential and acknowledged principles. The paradoxes, by which some now seek to gain distinction, are the affectations of vanity or weakness, the abuses of a method, which is not without its uses in the hands of an infallible instructor, as appears from the example of our Lord himself, who often roused attention and excited to inquiry, by adopting that form of expression least adapted in itself to conciliate the prejudices of his hearers. And that this was done with a deliberate design, is clear from the unquestionable fact, that when his discourses of this kind were cavilled at, instead of explaining away the cause of the dissatisfaction, he enhanced it by the use of terms still stronger. A remarkable example of this usage is afforded by the long discourse recorded in the sixth of John, in which the figurative exhibition of himself as food to the believer is repeated and enforced, after every expression of surprise and incredulity, until it reaches what his hearers reckoned a revolting and incredible extreme, so that even some who had been known as his disciples, pronounced it "a hard saying," and walked no more with him. This is only one marked instance of a practice which may be described as characteristic of our Saviour's method of instruction, and to

which we must be careful to pay due regard, when we attempt to understand or to explain his teachings. This is highly important, for example, in the cases just referred to, where he speaks of his appearance in the world as tending to confusion and discord among men. The attention is at first aroused and fixed by what appears to be a paradoxical description of this discord and confusion, as the legitimate designed effect of his appearance and the preaching of his gospel.

This, however, is so utterly at variance with his own explicit declarations elsewhere, as well as with the character and spirit of his doctrines, that it needs no long continued or profound reflection to convince us, that in all such cases he is speaking of himself and his religion, only as the innocent occasion of the evils mentioned, which are genuine fruits of human weakness and corruption. But this is very far from rendering the fact alleged less interesting and appalling. It is no alleviation of these feelings to be told, that although the gospel is a message of peace, and the Holy Spirit the Author of peace, and Christ himself the Prince of Peace, the proclamation of the truth and the extension of his kingdom has never failed to be accompanied by painful separations among men, as an incidental but invariable consequence, just as the pageantry of earthly triumphs is always overshadowed, to the eyes and hearts of some, by the sacrifice of life which purchased it. This indirect effect of Christ's appearance and the spread of his religion might be less affecting, if confined to those who never feel its power or assume its obligations. If it merely threw the elements of discord which abound in our apostate world into more antagonistic combinations, and excited into fury the revengeful passions which were only awaiting an occasion to display themselves, this could hardly have been thought more strange than the analogous effect produced upon the devils and the lost, by every fresh manifestation of God's power, holiness, and wisdom. If this is to constitute, throughout eternity, a principal ingredient in the cup of torment, it is natural enough that it should enter into the anticipated punishment of those who obstinately reject salvation, and continue true to the inspired description of our fallen race, as "hateful and hating one another." Titus iii. 3. But the case assumes a very different aspect, when we find the

advent of the Saviour and the spread of his religion tending, not merely to exasperate the mutual hostilities of wicked men, but also to excite their enmity against his people. Even this, however, might be borne with patience, as a part of that necessary "persecution" to be suffered by "all that will live godly in Christ Jesus," and of that predicted "tribulation," through which "we must enter into the kingdom of God." But what shall we say to the continued operation of the same cause within that kingdom, to the fearful effect wrought upon the latent corruption, even of believers, not by the hatred of the world or the devil, but by the very truth in which is grounded their hope of salvation. In many cases where this effect becomes apparent, it is no doubt, wholly or in part, a proof of insincerity, impenitence, and unbelief; while in others it may only prove the remaining power of corruption over hearts in which it has already lost its paramount dominion. But between these cases it must often be difficult, if not impossible, for any human eye or judgment to discriminate. Nor is it necessary even to attempt it, for our present purpose. . It will be sufficient to confine our view to those who "profess and call themselves Christians," and to the causes of hostility existing among these, without regard to any foreign opposition, or to any provocatives even of mutual hostility, except such as are connected with the speaking of the truth, either directly or by way of contrast.

For it may not be without its use to glance, in passing, at the enmities created or fomented by the violation or suppression, as well as by the utterance of the truth. In private life, even among those who bear the Christian name, hostility is frequently engendered by the neglect or violation of the truth, either with or without a direct malignant purpose. The grossest form of this offence is that of deliberate invention. Its more familiar forms are those of exaggeration or false colouring, the suppression of what must be known in order to a fair appreciation of the case, or the suggestion of what does not necessarily belong to it. Such practices may seem, indeed, entirely incompatible with all religious feeling or sound principle, and scarcely reconcilable with even the profession of Christianity. But let

it be remembered that one of the most prevalent and operative errors in the church, from its foundation to the present day, is the error of those who imagine that the essence of religion lies in the hatred of evil, as an exercise altogether separate and distinct from the love and practice of good. Or rather such imagine that the one includes the other, and that there can be nothing better in itself, or in its tendencies, than bitter hostility to sin, as shown in its detection, condemnation, and punishment. The indulgence of this feeling, when controlled by human weakness and remaining corruption, can scarcely fail to seek its objects rather in our neighbours than ourselves, until at last we may be brought, by an insensible transition, to regard our own defects as in some sense made good by detecting and exposing the defects of others. Where religion takes this form, and breathes this spirit, it is perfectly conceivable that truth may be violated, more or less directly, without any conscious purpose to do wrong; nay, with the highest estimation of our own zeal for God and holy hatred of whatever does not wear our uniform or talk our dialect. For nothing is more common in such cases than to make resemblance to ourselves the authoritative standard of comparison and rule of judgment, by which others, without mercy, are to stand or fall. This inexorable law may even comprehend in its exactions constitutional peculiarities, or matters of mere accidental origin, endeared to us by habit, but no more a rule of right to others, than their singularities of temperament and of usage are to us. The existence of this inquisitorial and vindictive piety among our Saviour's first disciples, is apparent from the frequency and point of his attacks upon it, all of which may be summed up in that pregnant exhortation, "Judge not, that ye be not judged." Matt. vii. 1. Its continued existence ever since may be read in the history of inquisitors and persecutors, and might be read in that of makebates and busy-bodies, even in the church, and even among those who are true believers. For strong indeed must be the faith of those who, under this false view of their relation both to God and to their fellow-men, can steadfastly resist the perpetual temptation to discolour, to exaggerate, and even to invent, in the exercise of their self-constituted office as inquisitors and judges of their fellow-Christians. But even where this

is successfully avoided, the same evil may result from the gratuitous, untimely, or ungenerous disclosure of the truth. The worst slander morally, because the most subtle and refined in its malignity, is that which insinuates its virus, not through the vehicle of fiction, but of fact.

It may be hard to draw the line between the commission of this sin and the performance of a sacred duty; but this only makes it the more necessary that it should be drawn, and aggravates the guilt of confounding things essentially diverse, in imitation of him who can transform himself into an angel of light. But the subject to which we have invited attention is not the effect of telling the truth *of* men but of telling it *to* them, and that not merely in reference to the trivial concerns of life, or to personal character and conduct, but in reference to the most momentous interests of the church and of eternity. He who is, in this sense, called to speak the truth, may thereby become the enemy of those to whom he speaks it; that is to say, he may be so regarded and treated by them, for that very reason. This applies not only to the preaching of the gospel, to the public and official exposition of the truth, but to every form of its defence or declaration, whether from the chair, the pulpit, or the press, in public debate or in private conversation. Whoever, in any of these ways, becomes a champion of the truth or an instrument of its diffusion, will sooner or later have occasion and a right to say to some of those whom he addresses: "Am I then become your enemy because I tell you the truth?"

This effect may sometimes be ascribed to the neglect and inadvertence of the teacher, to his practical forgetfulness of Christ's command to his apostles, when originally sent forth: "Be ye wise as serpents and harmless as doves." Matt. x. 16. The faith of some men in the truth and efficacy of the gospel is so great as to preclude, in their view, the necessity of all discretion. They cannot see, or do not estimate aright, the danger of misapprehension, even among those who are professed believers of the truth. They cast it forth, without regard to the precautionary measures which may be required to secure its full effect. Their fault is not that they desire or seek to give offence, but that they do not rather seek to avoid

it; that they do not even recognize the duty of avoiding or the danger of exciting it. They simply let the thing alone, and pursue a course which would be wise and right if they were called to deal with sinless beings, or with Christians in the highest state of spiritual discipline and cultivation. No wonder that to such the effects of their instructions or their course on others, even those whom they believe to be sincere, is often the occasion of a painful surprise, under the influence of which they are ready to demand of some who once appeared to be their best friends—"Am I therefore become your enemy because I tell you the truth?"

In other cases, the effect is owing, not to sheer neglect or inadvertence, but to want of skill in doing that which is seen to be expedient, or acknowledged to be binding. The necessity of so presenting truth as to avoid offence is fully recognized; but in attempting to apply the principle, it fails through ignorance of human nature, or a want of tact in the selection and employment of the necessary means of influencing men's convictions and their conduct, or the want of just discernment as to the effect of the means used. There is an honest purpose to speak the truth, and so to speak it as to win men to the love of it; nay, more, there is a faithful and laborious application of the means which seem best suited to promote this end; and yet instead of seeing it successfully accomplished, the expounder and defender of the truth is often mortified by seeing his instructions have precisely the effect which he was most solicitous to shun, and finds himself involuntarily saying to those whom he not only wished but expected to conciliate, "Am I then become your enemy because I tell you the truth?"

In addition to these cases there is still another, where the same result is reached, but in a somewhat different way. There is no want either of a disposition to conciliate, or of intellectual capacity and skill to do it; but the end is defeated by infirmity of temper. He who speaks the truth may really desire that others should not only believe it, but receive it, in the love of it; and yet, because he is himself morose or captious, domineering or irascible, he cannot do the good he would. He cannot speak the truth without imparting to it something of his own dogmatical or acrimonious spirit. In this case there is less room

for surprise or disappointment, since the man must be conscious of his failure even while engaged in the attempt. The same strength of mind, soundness of judgment, and extent of knowledge, that enable him to estimate the value of the end proposed, and would enable him to reach it but for the impediments in question, must disclose to him at every step how far he comes short of his purpose. He feels that he is not accomplishing even what he wishes, much less what he owes to God, to truth, and to his fellow-men. He feels, too, that he cannot plead the want of knowledge or the want of skill, in palliation of his failure; for at times he has these at command, and when obstructed by no moral causes, they perform their office. When they fail to do so, he needs no one to inform him that the failure springs from his infirmities of temper, from an unavoidable admixture of the truth, of what belongs to God with a foreign element, with something pertaining to himself, and partaking of his own corruption. Of all this he may be conscious even while engaged in the attempt, and cannot therefore be so easily surprised by the event as those who fail through inadvertence or through want of skill; for these may anticipate success until the moment that decides it to be hopeless. But though less surprised, he may be equally concerned, and even more so, since the very points in which he is supposed to be superior, imply a clearer apprehension and a higher estimate of that which like the others he has failed to accomplish. It is often, therefore, with a bitter sense of disappointment, rendered the more painful by a consciousness of culpable deficiency, that such are forced at last to say, in thought if not in word, to those whom they have laboured to convince and to instruct: "Am I become your enemy because I tell you the truth?"

But different as these three cases are from one another in the proximate occasion of the failure which is common to them all, they are alike in this, that they all suppose the failure to conciliate or make the truth acceptable to be in opposition to the teacher's wishes and in disappointment of his hopes. In this respect they differ wholly from a fourth case which we now proceed to mention, and in which the same regret arises, not from inadvertence, want of skill, or infirmity of temper, but from a deliberate attempt to produce it under the guidance of

fanatical delusion. That is to say, some men become the enemies of those to whom they speak the truth, because they purposely excite their enmity, or so present the truth that it cannot but excite it. This they do upon the principle that the truth must be odious to the unregenerate, and that it cannot therefore be supposed to have made its way into the mind at all, unless its presence there is proved by the production of this natural effect. They also justify their course by the example of our Lord himself, in that peculiar method of instruction which has been already mentioned, as apparently intended to shock the prejudices of his hearers. The truth and falsehood blended in this reasoning may be brought to light by simply stating, that the course in question would be altogether wise and right, if he who pursues it were the head, and not an humble member of the Church. The case of one who founds a new religion, and of one who is appointed to maintain it, or extend it, must be altogether different. When those who claim to follow Christ's example as to this point, can assert their possession of his power to distinguish between good and evil, they may safely follow his example rather than his positive command, but not till then. In the meantime, all attempts to excite the opposition of the human heart, as a desirable object in itself, or an essential means to some ulterior end, must continue to be branded as fanatical presumption.

Such are some of the ways in which men may, through their own deficiency or fault, become the enemies of those to whom they really and faithfully declare the truth. In reference to all these ways, the course of wisdom and of duty seems to be a plain one. In the first place, we have evidently no right to combine with the truth of God which we proclaim to others, any invention of our own, which tends to make it odious, even to the unregenerate. The same considerations, which evince that all additions to the truth must be corruptions, here apply with tenfold force, because the end we proposed is in itself a bad one. If we may not do evil that *good* may come, how much less that *evil* may! If he is accursed who adds any thing whatever to the word of God, what must await the man who adds to it what only tends to make it odious, and to close the hearts of men against it?

In the next place, we have no right to exaggerate, or magnify, or make unduly prominent those features in the system of divine truth which experience has shown to be peculiarly offensive to the unrenewed heart. The reason is not, because human tastes are to be gratified at all costs and all hazards, but because God knows best how far it is desirable to shock the prepossessions of the minds to be enlightened, and has adjusted the proportions of the system of revealed truth accordingly, and any attempt to improve upon this method, as revealed in Scripture, is of course both impious and absurd. That relative position and degree of prominence which he has himself given to the several doctrines of religion, may be safely assumed to be the best, not only in itself, or in relation to the system of divine truth as a whole, but also as a means to the attainment of the highest practical or moral ends. And he who, on a contrary hypothesis, attempts to reconstruct or rearrange the system, so as to effect more good than the divine plan could produce, will learn hereafter, to his cost, if not to his undoing, that in this, as in all other cases where comparison is possible, "the foolishness of God is wiser than men." 1 Cor. i. 25.

In the third place, we have no right so to regulate the circumstances or the manner of presenting truth as to offend the prejudices, even of the wicked, much less of our brethren, any further than the nature of the truth itself may render unavoidable. This is important, as a distinct caution, because both the others may be scrupulously followed, and the same effect result from the neglect of this. A man may think he has discharged his conscience by avoiding all unauthorized additions to the truth, and all exaggeration or distortion of its parts; but if he so contrive the time, the place, the tone, the spirit of his teachings, as to call forth enmity which would not have been called forth by the exhibition of the very same truth in a different manner or in other circumstances, he has no right to appeal to the purity or orthodoxy of his doctrines, in justification of his method of propounding them, and still less right to say, as an expression of surprise or indignation at the indocility of those whom he has laboured to enlighten: "Am I then become your enemy because I tell you the truth?"

In all the cases which have now been mentioned, it is not the truth that ought to bear the blame of men's refusing to receive it. It cannot even be imputed wholly to the native opposition of the human heart, or the remaining power of corruption in believers; because others, subject to these same disabilities, have received the same truth gladly from the lips of other messengers, and it may have been a part of our vocation to facilitate the introduction of the truth into the minds of those who heard us, by the gentleness and wisdom of its presentation, instead of counteracting our own teachings by the heedlessness, unskilfulness, moroseness, or fanatical wildness of the mode in which they are dispensed. When all these errors have been faithfully avoided to the best of our ability, and the wisdom of our teaching bears a due proportion to the weight and truth of what we teach; if men still turn a deaf ear to our calls, and requite our efforts to instruct them, not with mere indifference or unbelief, but with malignant opposition, we may then, with some consistency and show of reason, take up Paul's pathetic yet severe expostulation: "Am I then become your enemy because I tell you the truth?"

It may indeed seem that when all these precautions are observed, and all these errors shunned, there can be no occasion to adopt the apostolic form of speech. Surely they who *thus* tell the truth cannot incur enmity by telling it. But all experience shows that this is a precipitate conclusion. When all the avoidable occasions of offence have been avoided, there will still be something in the truth itself, or in the feelings of some towards it, which will make them look upon its champions and expounders as their enemies. That this should be the case with those who openly reject the truth might be expected, or at least observed without surprise in many cases. But the wonder is, that this effect is witnessed even among those who bear the name of Christ, and who profess attachment to the very doctrine, into which the offensive truth enters as an element, by virtue of a logical necessity. Even such may regard as enemies to themselves, and to the church or to the race of which they are self-constituted representatives, those who consistently maintain the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, against their own distortions, mutilations, and corrupt additions.

The same fanatical delusion that betrays men into voluntary efforts to excite men's enmity against the truth which they dispense themselves, prepares them to assume, with very little provocation, an inimical relation to the unpalatable truth dispensed by others, whether positively or in opposition to their own false doctrines. In reference to such, and indeed to all who count the tellers of the truth as enemies, not on account of any error or defect in the mode of presentation, but because they hate the truth itself—if not in general, yet in some specific case—we need some further rule for our direction.

Such a rule obviously is, that we have no right to suppress the truth, or to withhold the counsel of God from those who ought to be acquainted with it. As to the time, place, and manner of declaring it, we are not only authorized, but bound, as we have seen, to exercise a sound discretion. But if in spite of all precaution, as to circumstances, manner, tone, and temper, men continue to revolt from what we cannot but regard as truth, and as such consider ourselves bound to utter, this residuary opposition must not be considered as affording any pretext or authority for holding back the truth, because it is unpalatable, either to the irreligious world, or to any party, sect, or faction in the church itself. And lastly, the same principle must be applied to any modification or disguise of truth, intended to conciliate opposition, whether practical or speculative, theological or moral, the undissembled spite of the philosopher, or the sanctimonious malice of the pharisee. Not a jot, not a tittle of divine truth must be sacrificed, in order to avoid the disagreeable necessity of saying, either to philosophers or pharisees: "Am I become your enemy, because I tell you the truth?"

How then is the teller of the truth to deal with this residuary enmity, which no precautions can evade, no gentleness conciliate? The answer is a brief one. *Let him bear it!* In one view of the matter, we might safely say, *defy it!* But this form of expression would be liable to misconstruction, and might be maliciously or ignorantly construed into something inconsistent with the spirit of the gospel. Another reason for preferring the first answer is, that bearing is, in such a case, the best mode of defiance, nay the only one effectual. All

violence recoils upon itself; but he who joins the faithful, wise, and temperate assertion of the truth on moral and religious subjects, not excepting such as are the theme of angry and fanatical discussion, even on these "speaking the truth in love," with a meek but brave endurance of the filth with which he is bespattered from "the dark places of the earth," will more effectually shame and silence his assailants, than by any rancour of recrimination. *The most forbearing are by no means the least dreaded by ungenerous opponents.* To such a triumph the steadfast adherent of the truth may, in all humility aspire, if he can but "bear and forbear" when the cause of truth requires. And by the grace of God he can. By that grace, he can do far more. He can not only bear for himself, but, what is sometimes infinitely harder, he can bear for others. Even where it would be little to endure reproach in his own person, he may find it the severest trial of his faith and resolution, to behold the vision of the prophet realized—"the child behaving himself proudly against the ancient, and the base against the honourable" (Isaiah iii. 5)—the hoary head dragged in the mire by the hand of upstart petulance—the most venerable forms and faces wet with the spittle of calumnious self-righteousness. At such sights, even he who is callous in his own behalf may feel his blood begin to boil, and the more he gazes at the object, the more difficult it seems to check the rising of unhallowed anger, until God is pleased to do what seemed impossible, by lifting, as it were, a veil beyond the object present to the senses, and disclosing one till then invisible—the form of one arraigned before a judgment-seat, scourged, buffeted, and spit upon; denounced, reviled, abhorred, despised as a traitor, an impostor, a false teacher, a glutton and a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners. In that sight the other is forgotten, while those lips, inexorably sealed to his accusers, seem to say, in soothing accents, to the partners of his shame:—"the disciple is not above his Master, nor the servant above his Lord. It is enough for the disciple that he be as his Master, and the servant as his lord. If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household?" Matt. ix. 24, 25.

SHORT NOTICES.

An Essay on the Encouragements and Discouragements of the Christian Ministry. By John M. Lowrie, Pastor of the Presbyterian church of Lancaster, Ohio. Cincinnati: 1851, pp. 61.

This little treatise is written in an animated and attractive style, and is adapted to be useful. It reviews successively the discouragements arising to a minister of the gospel from the work itself in which he is engaged, in its vastness, and the insensibility of those amongst whom he labours; those which arise from the inconsistencies or weaknesses of nominal or real Christians, his fellow-labourers in this cause, and those which spring from a sense of personal unfitness and shortcomings. Then over against these are set a variety of considerations of an opposite sort, drawn both from Scripture and experience, which are calculated to encourage the minister, and cheer him in his work.

1. *The Natural History of the Varieties of Man.* By Robert Gordon Latham, M. D., F. R. S., late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, &c. &c. London: John Van Voorst, Pater Noster Row. 1850. pp. 574. 8vo.
2. *Man and his Migrations.* By R. G. Latham, M. D., F. R. S. New York: Charles B. Norton, 71 Chambers street. 1852.
3. *The English Language.* By Robert Gordon Latham, M. D., F. R. S., &c., late Professor of the English Language and Literature, University College, London. Third Edition, revised and greatly enlarged. London: Taylor, Walton & Maberly. 1850. pp. 609. 8vo.
4. *A Hand-Book of the English Language,* for the use of Students of the Universities and Higher Classes of Schools. By R. G. Latham, M. D., F. R. S. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway. 1852.

Since the lamented death of Prichard, Dr. Latham has vindicated for himself the distinction of being *primus inter pares,* among the small but choice band of general ethnologists in England; and also among those devoted to minute and philosophical researches into the Comparative Philology and Grammar of the English Language, and its primitive tributaries and cognate languages and dialects.

Dr. Latham's medical training has qualified him abundantly for appreciating the anthropological aspects of ethnological questions, while his professional philological labours, in University College, London, have put him in full possession of the arguments from linguistic sources as bearing on the great questions of Ethnology. Like the other leading ethnologists,

especially in the philological division, he is found on the side of the unity of the human race. In his larger work the author attempts a complete classification of the race, in its affiliations and relationships, in three comprehensive families,—the Mongolidæ, the Atlantidæ, and the Japetidæ. The first he subdivides into six divisions:—(A) The Altaic Mongolidæ, including, (1) The Seriform, or Chinese-Language nations, and (2) The Turanian stock, with branches running into Mongolia, Siberia, Tartary, Turkey, and stretching along the Arctic Ocean from Kamschatka to Norway. (B) The Dioscurian Mongolidæ, inhabiting the range of Mount Caucasus. (C) The Oceanic Mongolidæ, including the Malay, the Polynesian, and the Australian branches. (D) The Hyperborean Mongolidæ, chiefly on the Yenisey and Kolima Rivers and isolated spots on the Arctic coasts. (E) The Peninsular Mongolidæ, inhabiting the Peninsulas and Islands of North Eastern Asia; and (F) The American Mongolidæ, covering the entire Western Continent.

In the smaller and more popular work, "*Man and his Migrations*," originally prepared as a course of lectures in Liverpool, after discussing the elements of ethnological science, and the relative value of its several principles of classification and evidences of affiliation, the author takes up six starting points, as centres of distribution for the most distinct and widely separated families of the race; and then undertakes to trace back the line of migration from each of these points, chiefly by the aid of comparative philology, to the borders of Central Asia, where he finds them giving strong signs of blending into one primary form of speech. The points selected to start from, are (1) Terra del Fuego. (2) Tasmania (Van Diemen's Land.) (3) Easter Island, the farthest extremity of Polynesia. (4) The Cape of Good Hope, (Hottentot country.) (5) Lapland. (6) Ireland.

This, it will be seen, is a bold problem in the present state of the evidence; but the author wrestles with it like a hero: and we submit that the mere fact, that a man like Dr. Latham should undertake such a task, in the present almost incipient stage of the researches, is at least presumptive proof of its feasibility, when those researches are carried out a little more fully. We miss the evidence of Sanscrit scholarship in the author, which seems to hamper his movement over a part of his field, though he is perfectly familiar with the results of the great continental philologists: and in one of the most important links in his chain of affiliations, viz: the Ossetic and Irôn of the Caucasus,—we are very sure he will fail to command the assent of any one who has any personal acquaintance with the

true structure of the Chinese, with which he is disposed to class them. But whatever reservations the reader may feel compelled to withhold from the general conclusions of the author, they will not affect seriously the strength of his convictions, that this argument foreshadows the approaching verdict of ethnological philology, in regard to the great fundamental question, of the original unity of the human race in origin as well as species.

With the subject of the two other works which we have placed at the head of this brief notice, Dr. Latham is still more familiarly and minutely acquainted. The larger one was completely rewritten in the second edition; and the third, which lies before us, comprehends the results of all the scholars who are labouring in the same interesting field, both in England and on the Continent, to the date of its publication, in 1850. The *Hand-Book of the English Language*, just reprinted in convenient form, presents the gathered fruits of years of laborious research, in a comparatively plain, unprofessional way. It brings the subject fully up to its present status, and is entitled, therefore, to precedence over, if indeed it does not supersede, most of the numerous works that have been pouring from the press on both sides of the Atlantic for ten or fifteen years. The author seems to be perfectly at home in the Anglo-Saxon, and to have a good comparative acquaintance with all the Continental cognate Gothic tongues, in both their principal branches —the Scandinavian and the Teutonic,—as well as with both the living subdivisions of the old Celtic.

The work is divided into six parts: the first discusses the general ethnological relations of the English language. Well aware of the complexities and uncertainties of the minute questions which are implicated in this discussion, he threads his way with commendable caution, and announces his results with becoming modesty. The second part, on the History and Analysis of the English Language, strikes us as admirably done, though not exhaustive for the want of more complete researches into some of the constituencies of the language. The philosophical discussions touching the causes of linguistic changes are cautious and safe; conducted in the light of facts carefully collected and clearly stated, rather than by a trenchant analytic, or *a priori* process.

The third part treats of sounds, letters, pronunciation, and spelling: with the included topics of euphony, permutation of letters, quantity, accent, and a historical sketch of the English alphabet.

The fourth part investigates both historically and philoso-

phically the questions of Etymology, both in the limited and the extended sense in which that term is used. This is much the largest, and, grammatically speaking, much the most important portion of the book. The author brings into play his familiar acquaintance with the comparative philologists of the Continent; and thus gets illustrations of blind, abnormal forms from very unexpected quarters. The researches which throw light upon this branch of the subject, are going forward with such unwearied and efficient progress, that the work before us, though in our judgment the most advanced in its class, yet bears no appearance of being the last. The reader must be content to accept it gratefully as a help; probably erroneous more or less in many things, and certainly still incomplete in many; but fertile with suggestive views, and furnishing a wholesome stimulus to their development.

The three remaining parts on "Syntax," "Prosody," and "Dialects of the English Language," we have not yet had time to examine, except by a cursory glance over the chapters and the sections. The questions which belong to them respectively, are broadly met and fairly grappled with.

A book like this, and others that preceded it, gives us very mingled feelings. It is not to be disguised, that as a part of educational apparatus, it has come before its time. There are very few institutions, and very few pupils in this country, who are prepared to grapple with such a book. Though intended for the use of students, we have but few students who are competent to use it. As a means of mental discipline it would be invaluable; but how can it be applied? We want a grade of academic institutions, adapted to boys from fourteen to sixteen years of age, who have had good early opportunities of study, and are prepared at the former unripe age to enter the Freshman Class in our colleges: and then we want our Freshman Class to be what our present Junior is, at least in the grammars and literature of the Classic and the English tongues.

We ought, perhaps, to say, that the Hand-Book of Dr. Latham might, we think, be very much simplified. It would be a better school-book, if it were less technical and complex. The author's sympathies with the difficulties and perplexities of the young mind, we suspect are hardly strong enough to enable him to make a really good school-book.

Bible Dictionary; for the use of Bible Classes, Schools and Families. Prepared for the Presbyterian Board of Publication. Second Edition. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

The second edition of an excellent book, prepared from the Presbyterian stand-point: and the only one, so far as we know,

that does give a clear and succinct statement of the views held by the Presbyterian Church, in regard to a great variety of important topics in the religious education of the young.

Considerations for Young Men. By the Rev. J. B. Waterbury, D.D., Author of Advice to a Young Christian. Published by the American Tract Society, 150 Nassau Street, New York.

Who are the Happy? or Piety the only true and substantial Joy. By the Rev. J. B. Waterbury, D.D., Author of Advice to a Young Christian. American Tract Society, 150 Nassau Street, New York.

There is a raciness of style, and elasticity of spirit, and a sympathy with youthful buoyancy and hope, which, together, render Dr. Waterbury an unusually attractive and effective writer for the young; while, at the same time, there is an earnestness and wisdom in his counsels, which commend them to the thoughtful reader. We are sincerely glad to see books of such a character, among the original issues of a Society which has the public ear to such an extent.

A Comprehensive Lexicon of the Greek Language, adapted to the use of Colleges and Schools in the United States. By John Pickering, LL.D. Boston: Wilkins, Carter & Co., 1851.

The successive improvements in Greek Lexicography have been so essential and rapid, that we might almost say of them,

> ——"quodcunque sŭis mutatum finibus exit,
> Continuò hoc mors est illius, quod fuit ante,"—*Lucretius*,

and the history of this Lexicon serves to mark the progress of classical learning which has taken place in this country. It appeared first in 1826 on the basis of the Greek and Latin Lexicon of Schrevelius, not as a mere translation, but accommodated to the then existing wants. So highly favourable was the reception it met with, and so rapid its sale, that in 1829 a new edition was demanded, and this was enriched by the addition of more than ten thousand entirely new articles, since the list of authors read in this country had proportionably extended. The next edition appeared in 1846, in preparing which he availed himself of the labours of Liddell and Scott, Dunbar, Rost and Palm, Passow and Pape. The edition of 1851 is a revision and correction of the one immediately preceding.

The superiority of this work over those of Schneider, Stephens, Schrevelius and Donnegan, consists in the better arrangement of the words, and the order of their meanings, as well as in the greater attention paid to the particles and prepositions. We have no occasion to join with Damm in the lamentation, "magna illa et indigesta moles primitivorum difficultatibus et tenebris suis deterrere magis quàm invitâre discentem potest." And the long felt want of a chronological order in

the significations is in a great measure satisfied. We refer for illustration to the prepositions. They express the relations of time and place, cause and effect, motion and rest, connection and opposition, or, as they are called by the schoolmen, the *Accidentia motûs et quietis, loci et temporis;* while the principal relations of things to one another are indicated by the three cases; "origin and possession by the Genitive, acquisition and communication by the Dative, and action by the Accusative." Each preposition, then, has an invariable, radical meaning when standing by itself, and so have the cases of the nouns. Place them in connection and the radical meaning of the preposition undergoes a modification; but still, amidst the variations, there is always a consistency, constituting one of the charms and beauties of the Greek tongue. Suppose, then, we find in a Lexicon twenty different meanings, with no apparent connection, not one expressing the radical idea, and only at the end of the list light upon it, and we have the defect of Donnegan's and the superiority of Pickering's Lexicon and others of the same class, in this respect. We take the word καταφαγω, which, according to Donnegan, means "to devour, to eat up, *met.* to consume. *Th.* κατα, φαγω. Κατα with him signifies "against." How great must be the bewilderment felt by the Græculus tiro, when he attempts to trace the connection between "eating up" and "eating against." If he has sufficient perseverance to try the others after failing with this, he will find relief only in the 30th meaning, "down." How simple the transition by starting with this, the fundamental idea! Motion "down" must be stopped by the surface of the earth, and hence it implies completion, fulfilment. Thus "to eat down" is, after commencing at the top and going downwards, "to eat up, to consume."

Our limits not admitting of a more extended notice, we will only add that this Lexicon is really what it professes to be, adapted to the use of colleges and schools in the United States.

A Series of Tracts on the Doctrines, Order and Polity of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, embracing several on Practical Subjects. Vol. VII. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

Another volume of the admirable series published by our Board, embracing the Tracts from No. 112 to 136 inclusive. We know of no better practical reading for ordinary Christian families.

Wesley, and Methodism. By Isaac Taylor. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 82 Cliff street. 1852, pp. 328. 12mo.

There are few more remarkable phenomena in the history of the Christian Church, than the rise, consolidation and power of

Methodism. The order of ability, both philosophical and rhetorical, brought to the discussion of the subject, as well as the ecclesiastical stand-point of Mr. Taylor, are abundantly known to our readers.

A Reel in a Bottle, for Jack in the Doldrums; being the Adventures of Two of the King's Seamen in a Voyage to the Celestial Country. Edited from the Manuscripts of an old Salt. By the Rev. Henry T. Cheever, author of The Whale and his Captors, Life in the Sandwich Islands, &c. New York: Charles Scribner, 145 Nassau street. 1852, pp. 355. 12mo.

A very good book, under a very odd, and to non-nautical readers, a very unintelligible, if not repulsive title. It is an allegory, conducted with a good degree of spirit, and full of edifying religious truth. The Doldrums is an *alias* for the equatorial latitudes, commonly, we think, called by American sailors, the "horse latitudes," between the Northern and Southern trade winds, where calms and baffling winds so commonly prevail, to the great trial of the patience of sea-farers, to say nothing of their material detriment. The analogy between the "doldrums" of nautical life and the baffling unprogressive periods of the spiritual life, is sufficiently obvious to suggest the ground-work on which the author rears his allegory.

Early Religious History of John Barr, written by himself, and left as a Legacy to his Grand Children. To which is added, A Sketch of his Character. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 265 Chestnut street. pp. 80. 18mo.

A very instructive little book; and a striking testimony to the preciousness and power of the great doctrines of salvation by grace.

A Key to the Book of Revelation, with an Appendix. By James M. Macdonald, Minister of the Presbyterian Church, Jamaica, L. I. Second Edition. New London: Colfax & Holt. pp. 210.

It is some time since this work reached a second edition. It has, however, but recently come into our hands. It has met with very great favor, due to its simplicity, clearness, and consistency. Mr. Macdonald divides the Book of Revelation into five parts. 1. The Introduction, chaps. i.—iii. 2. Jewish Persecutions and the destruction of that power, chaps. iv.—xi. 1—14. 3. Pagan Persecutions and the end of the Pagan persecuting power, chaps. xi. 15.—xiii. 10. 4. Papal Persecutions and Errors, and their end, chaps. xiii.—xix. 5. Latter Day Glory; Battle of Gog and Magog; Final Judgment; Heavenly State, chaps xx.—xxii.

Thoughts on the Origin, Character and Interpretation of Scriptural Prophecy. In Seven Discourses. Delivered in the Chapel of the General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church: with Notes. By Samuel H. Turner, D. D., Professor of Biblical Learning and Interpretation of Scripture in the Seminary, &c. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers. 1852. pp. 219.

These discourses are judicious, clear and well written. They relate to the divine origin of prophecy: as increasing development and certainty; the different ways in which prophetic knowledge is communicated; prophetic vision, simile and figure; qualifications of the interpreter of prophecy. To these is added a discourse on the blessing of Japheth.

A Catechism of Scripture Doctrine and Practice, designed for Families and Sabbath schools, and for the oral instruction of coloured persons. By Charles C. Jones. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

The third edition of this work appeared as long ago as 1843. The Board of Publication have this year added it to their list and published it with their sanction. It was originally prepared by the author for the religious instruction of Negroes, among whom he so long laboured with disinterested zeal and devotion. It is well adapted not only for its original purpose, but for a much wider field, as it is a comprehensive digest of scriptural truth, skilfully prepared and abundantly sustained by proof passages from the word of God.

Infant Baptism; including a series of Conversations on the subject and mode of Baptism, designed chiefly for the benefit of the young. By R. Douglass. Philadelphia: 1851.

This little work is for sale at the office of the "Christian Observer," No. 216 Chestnut street, Philadelphia, price 37½ cents. It appears to be written in an excellent spirit, and to present the usual arguments on the subjects to which it relates in a perspicuous manner.

Chapters on the Shorter Catechism: a Tale for the Instruction of the Young. By a Clergyman's Daughter. First American, from the second Edinburgh edition. Philadelphia: William S. Martien, 144 Chestnut street. 1852.

This is an ingeniously constructed work, and bids fair to be as popular in this country as it has proved to be in Scotland.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The new edition of the Encyclopædia Metropolitana is not merely to be re-edited; almost all the volumes are to be re-written, and posted up to the present state of science. This delays the issue somewhat, but will render it the more valuable.

We notice the second enlarged edition of a recent work by Trench, entitled "On the Study of Words, five lectures, addressed to the pupils of the diocesan training school at Winchester." The design of the work will be indicated by the following extract:—"Not in books only, nor in oral discourse, but often also in words contemplated each one apart from the others and by itself, there are boundless stores of moral and historic truth, and no less of passion and imagination—lessons of infinite worth, if our attention is only awakened to their existence." Besides his "Parables" and "Miracles," "Hulsean Lectures" and "The Star and the Wise Men," Mr. Trench has published "Sacred Latin Poetry," "Commentary upon the Sermon on the Mount," mostly from Augustine, "An Essay on Augustine considered as an Interpreter of Scripture," "Elegiac Poems," "Justin Martyr and other Poems," "Poems from Eastern sources, Geneve and other Poems."

We also see among the late issues of the English press, a new revised edition of "McCulloch's Commercial Dictionary," "Analysis of Church Civilization, by De Vericour, of Queen's College, Cork," "Protestantism contrasted with Romanism, by the acknowledged and authentic teaching of each religion." An anonymous work, of apparent weight, edited by the Rev. J. E. Cox, of All Souls College, Oxford, Vicar of St. Helen's. "India in Greece, or Truth in Mythology, containing the Sources of the Hellenic Race, the Colonization of Egypt and Palestine, the Wars of the Grand Lama, and the Bud'histic Propaganda in Greece," by E. Pocock, dedicated to H. H. Wilson Boden, Professor of Sanscrit, Oxford.

At the suggestion of Prince Albert, a course of lectures, on the results of the Great Exhibition is in progress before the Society of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce. Six or eight of the lectures have already been published, among which are Professor Owen's on "Raw Materials from the Animal Kingdom;" Dr. Lyon Playfair's on "The Chemical principles in-

volved in the manufactures of the Exhibition, as indicating the necessity of individual instruction;" and Professor Lindley's on "Substances used as Food."

J. W. Parker, London, has just published another of those priceless records of personal observation in the "Leaves from the Note Book of a Naturalist." By W. J. Broderip, F. R. S.

Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh, advertise an "Atlas of General and Descriptive Geography, with a complete Index, and an elementary Atlas of Physical Geography."

We notice the republication of "Bancroft's History, Vol. 4," "Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli," and the works of Mitchell, Headly, and Mr. Lee.

Regal Rome, an introduction to Roman History, by F. W. Newman, Professor of Latin in University College, London.

Niebuhr's Lectures on Ancient History, comprising the History of the Asiatic Nations, the Egyptians, the Greeks, Carthagenians, and the Macedonians, translated by L. Schmitz.

Welsh Sketches (chiefly ecclesiastical) to the close of the twelfth century. London: James Darling.

Bagster's Analytical Lexicon to the Greek New Testament, "An alphabetical arrangement of every word found in the Greek text, in every form in which it appears: that is to say, every person, number, tense or mood of the verb, every case and number of nouns and pronouns that occurs, and is placed in its alphabetical order, fully explained by a grammatical analysis and referred to its root."

Frederika Bremer's Impressions of England in 1851, are now publishing in Sharpe's Magazine. Literature and Romance of Northern Europe; constituting a complete history of the Literature of Sweden, Norway and Iceland, with copious specimens of the most celebrated Histories, Romances, Popular Legends and Tales, Old Chivalrous Ballads, Tragic and Comic Dramas, National Songs, Novels, and Scenes from Life at the Present day," by William and Mary Howitt. The 3d volume of Gladstone's translation of Farini's History of the Roman States. The 9th and 10th volumes of Grote carry the History to Philip of Macedon. Great activity has prevailed during the past two or three years, among Continental Scholars in the departments of Asiatic Philology and Antiquities. The publication of the Veda has been commenced under the patronage of the East India Company, which Professor Wilson says is an epoch in the history, not only of the Religion of India, but of the whole world. The works of Cunningham and Massey on the Bhilsa topes, and Captain Gill on the Cave Temples, are mentioned as important contributions to Indian Archæology.

From the India Press is announced the completion of Raja Redha Kant Deb's voluminous Sanskrit Lexicon.

From the lithographic presses of the natives at Agra, Delhi, and other places, 110 distinct works upon Indian subjects have reached England in a twelvemonth. The Journal of the Indian Archipelago contains much valuable information about this part of the world.

History of the Church of England from the Revolution to the Last Acts of Convocation, 1688—1717, by Rev. William Palin, M. A.

Harmony of the Apocalypse, in a revised translation by Christopher Wordsworth, D. D., Canon of Westminster. The third edition also of a "Comparative View of the Churches of Rome and England, with an Appendix on Church Authority, the Character of Schism, and the Rock on which our Saviour said that he would build his Church," by Herbert Marsh, D.D., Lord Bishop of Peterborough.

Manual of Ecclesiastical History, Centuries 1st—12th, by the Rev. E. S. Foulkes, M. A., Fellow and Tutor of Jesus College, Oxford. 1 vol. 12*s*.

2d. Edition revised and anlarged of Jelf's Greek Grammar. 2 vols. £1 10*s*.

GERMANY.

Another volume of Neander's Universal History of the Christian Religion and Church, has been published. This is the eleventh part of the entire work, and brings the history down from Boniface VIII. to the Council of Basle. It was prepared from Dr. Neander's papers by K. Fr. Theod. Schneider. pp. 805.

A Condensed Exegetical Manual to the Apocrypha of the Old Testament, has been commenced by Prof. O. F. Fritzsche, of the University of Zurich, and Prof. W. Grimm, of the University of Jena. The first number, 8vo. pp. 222, has appeared, containing a Commentary on the Third Book of Esdras, the additions to Esther and Daniel, the Prayer of Manasseh, the Book of Baruch, and the Epistle of Jeremiah, by Fritzsche. The next is to contain Grimm on the Books of Maccabees; the third, Fritzsche on Tobit and Judith; the fourth, Grimm on Ecclesiasticus and the Book of Wisdom. It is issued from the same house, (Weidmann's, Leipzic), and in uniform style with the Manual to the Old Testiment by Hitzig and others, and the Manual to the New Testament by De Wette, to which it is

intended in its method to correspond, and to which we may add, taking this number as a specimen, in its spirit and theological views it also corresponds.

The tenth number of the Condensed Exegetical Manual to the Old Testament has appeared, containing an Exposition of the Book of Daniel, by Hitzig.

D. A. Hilgenfeld, The Epistle to the Galatians translated and explained.

W. A. Van Hengel, Commentary on the 15th Chapter of Paul's first Epistle to to the Corinthians.

L. J. Rückert, Theology. Part II.

Fr. Duesterdieck, De rei propheticæ in V. T. quum universæ tum messianæ naturâ ethicâ.

C. Ramers, Origen's Doctrine of the Resurrection of the Body.

The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, collated from thirty ancient Greek codices, by E. Tischendorf.

The Book of Enoch, in Ethiopic, from five codices, with various readings, by A. Dillmann.

Pistis Sophia. A Gnostic production, attributed to Valentinus, taken from a London Coptic manuscript and rendered into Latin, by M. G. Schwartze.

H. Ewald, Treatise on the Phenician views of the Creation of the World and the historical value of Sanchoniathon.

H. Brugsch, Book of Metempsychosis of the Ancient Egyptians, from two funeral papyri in hieratic characters, translated into Latin, with notes.

J. W. Wolf, Contributions to German Mythology. I. Gods and Goddesses.

H. R. Hagenbach, Leonhard Euler as an apologist of Christianity.

G. T. Grässe, Hand-book of Ancient Numismatics. No. 1, with three plates. To be completed in 18 or 20 numbers.

A. von Humboldt, Kosmos. Vol. III. Part 2.

We notice the 1st volume of Cicero's Orations, by G. Long, also English Synonyms, edited by R. Whately. The Countess Ida Hahn Hahn's "Journey from Babylon to Jerusalem," has elicited a great number of replies, one of the best of which has lately been put into an English dress. The activity of T. K. Arnold in the production of school books is astonishing. One of his last and most ingenious is "Spelling turned Etymology," in which by a series of progressive exercises, the pupil is made unconsciously master of all the radicals of the language. With all our boasted ingenuity and our long start, English school books are now beginning to be imported in considerable numbers.

The Expository Lectures on 1st Peter, by Professor J. Brown, D. D., has reached a second edition.

There are published by the same author, "the Resurrection of Life, an Exposition of the Fifteenth Chapter of 1st Corinthians."

"Discourses and Sayings of our Lord Jesus Christ."

"An Exposition of our Lord's Intercessory Prayer, with a Discourse on the Relation of our Lord's Intercession to the Conversion of the World."

Alison the Historian has in preparation "A History of Europe from the Fall of Napoleon in 1815, to the Re-establishment of Military Government in 1851." The best help to the study of Alison, is the Atlas to Alison's History of Europe, by A. Keith Johnston, F. R. S. E. Crown, 4to. £2 12*s.* 6*d.*

Among the publications and republications in this country, we note "The Memoirs and Writings of Hartly Coleridge," and "Eleven Weeks in Europe and what may be seen therein," Ticknor, Reed, and Fields. Abridged editions of Surrenne's and Adler's standard French and German Dictionaries. The last is a great convenience; it is well printed and bound, and as the abridging was done by the author with corrections and additions, it may claim to be, in some respects, a new work. Appletons, New York.

Lectures on the History of France, by Sir James Stephen, K. C. B., a manual prepared for the students of Cambridge University. Popular Account of the Discoveries at Nineveh, by Austen Henry Layard. Harpers.

Scribner announces "Hungary in 1851," with an Experience of the Austrian Police, by C. L. Brace, the able correspondent of the Tribune.

The Appletons have commenced a new series of books, among them is to be "The Life of Goldsmith," by John Forster, one of the first historical writers of the age.

"Arctic Searching Expedition; a Journal of a Boat Voyage through Rupert's Land and the Arctic Sea, in Search of the Discovery Ships under the command of Sir John Franklin. With an Appendix on the Physical Geography of North America." By Sir John Richardson, C. B., F. R. S.

"Memoirs of Sarah Margaret Fuller, Marchesa Ossoli," edited by Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Wm. H. Channing. "Though several more hands than these join to make the book, yet there is no lack of unity. For so marked was her character, and so predominant her influence over those with whom she came in contact, that they are almost all reduced to the same point of view, and give the same representation."

Bancroft's long looked for 4th volume has just appeared. It is faithfully elaborated, but there is a good deal of display of style in certain parts.

"The Vestiges of Civilization," by a New York aspirant to the honours of Philosophy and History.

"Vegetable Physiology," by M. Edgeworth Lazarus"—Fowler and Wells—is one of the latest and most prurient offshoots of the Phrenological school. The headings of some of the chapters are curious—"Supreme Reason of Analogy," "Passional Mathematics," &c. The writer seems perfectly oblivious of the idea of morality, and appears to consider nature as one great *double entendre.*

"Sacred Streams; or The Ancient and Modern History of the Rivers of the Bible." Edited by George B. Cheever, D. D., embellished with 50 illustrations. Stringer & Townsend.

"Life and Labours of the Rev. Samuel Worcester, D. D.," by his son, Samuel M. Worcester, D. D. Crocker & Brewster, Boston.

"The Epistle of James practically explained," translated from the German of Neander by Mrs. Conant. L. Colby, N. Y.

QUARTERLY SCIENTIFIC INTELLIGENCE.

Ozone.—A brief account of Professor Schönbein's ozone was given by Professor Faraday at a meeting of the Royal Society in June last. The subject is one of rare interest, in relation to the theories of the physical qualities of the particles of matter.

Ozone is produced when an electrical brush passes from a moist wooden point into the atmosphere, and, indeed, in almost every electrical discharge into the air; or when water is electralyzed, as in the case of a dilute solution of sulphuric acid or sulphate of zinc; or when phosphorus acts at common temperatures on a moist portion of the atmosphere. For the latter case, put into a clear two quart bottle a bit of phosphorus, about half an inch long, having its surface newly scraped, and pour in water enough to half cover the phosphorus. Close the mouth slightly to prevent the danger of an explosion. The formation of ozone will quickly occur, which may be known by the luminous appearance of the phosphorus, and by the ascent of a fountain-like column of smoke from it. In less than one

minute the test will show the presence of ozone, and in five or six hours it will be comparatively abundant. Remove the phosphorus and wash out the acids. The ozone may be preserved by corking the bottle.

To prepare the test for ozone, take 1 part of pure iodide of potassium, 10 parts of starch, and 200 parts of water, and boil them together a few moments. This may be put on common writing paper with a brush; or, by dipping bibulous paper into the solution, we have Schönbein's ozometric test. The test when moistened turns blue instantly in the presence of ozone, or if exposed to a dry atmosphere, containing ozone, it becomes blue on being moistened, in consequence of the evolution of iodine.

By whichever method ozone is obtained it is identical. Its principal properties are as follows:—It is a gaseous body of a peculiar odor, which when concentrated resembles chlorine, but when dilute it cannot be distinguished from what is called the electric smell. It is irrespirable, producing catarrhal effects if inhaled with the air, and killing small animals. Like chlorine and bromine, and many per-oxyds, it is a powerful electromotive substance. It discharges vegetable colours with a chlorine-like energy. It acts powerfully on most metallic bodies, producing the highest degree of oxydation of which they are capable. It produces oxydizing effects in most organic compounds, causing a variety of chemical changes; thus guaiacum is turned blue by it. From what has been said, it would seem to be a most ready and powerful oxydizer, acting, in many cases, like Thenard's per-oxyd of hydrogen, or chlorine, or bromine.

With respect to the nature of this body, the two principal ideas are, that it is a compound of oxygen analogous to the per-oxyd of hydrogen, or that it is oxygen in an allotropic state; *i. e.* with the capability of immediate and ready action impressed upon it. When an ozoneized atmosphere is made as dry as possible, and sent through a red hot tube, the ozone disappears, being converted apparently into common oxygen gas, and no water or other result is produced. This agrees with the well known fact that heat prevents the formation of ozone, and also with the idea that ozone is only oxygen in an allotropic state.

Means of obtaining a Vacuum.—The Philosophical Magazine for February contains an account of an ingenious mode, devised by Dr. Thomas Andrews, of obtaining a vacuum in the receiver of an air pump, not less perfect than the Torricellian vacuum, which, though sufficiently perfect, is not generally available.

It is rare to find an air pump which will indicate a pressure

of less than 0.1 inch of the manometer, but by the plan proposed the vacuum is *perfect* so far as it is indicated by the manometer. Into the receiver of an ordinary air pump, which is not required to exhaust further than to 0.3 or 0.5 of an inch, but which must be capable of retaining a vacuum, two shallow open vessels are placed, one above the other, as in the common experiment of freezing water by the cold produced by its evaporation, the lower one containing concentrated sulphuric acid, and the upper a concentrated solution of caustic potash. The precise proportions of these liquids is not important, provided that they are so adjusted that the acid is capable of completely desiccating the potash solution without being much reduced in strength, but at the same time that it does not expose so large a surface as completely to dry the potash in less than five or six hours. The pump is worked till the air in the receiver has an elastic force of 0.3 or 0.4 of an inch, and the stop-cock below the plate is then closed. A communication is now established between the tube for admitting air below the valves and a gas-holder containing carbonic acid prepared with care to exclude atmospheric air. After all the air has been removed from the connecting tubes by alternately exhausting and admitting carbonic acid, the stop-cock below the plate is opened, and the carbonic acid is allowed to pass into the receiver. The exhaustion is again quickly performed to the extent of half an inch or less. If a very perfect vacuum is required, this operation may be repeated. On leaving the apparatus to itself the carbonic acid which has displaced the residual air will be absorbed by the alkaline solution, and the aqueous vapour will afterwards be absorbed by the sulphuric acid.

Evidently the only limit to the completeness of the vacuum obtained in this way arises from the difficulty of obtaining carbonic acid perfectly pure from atmospheric air.

The number of asteroidal planets discovered between Mars and Jupiter is now so large that an improved symbolical notation has become necessary, and has been agreed upon by several European and American astronomers—viz: a circle enclosing the number of the planet in the order of its discovery. The number hitherto discovered is fifteen, of which five have been discovered since the beginning of the year 1850.

Reptiles in the Old Red Sandstone.—Considerable interest has been excited among geologists, by the announcement of the occurrence of the remains of two or more reptiles in the old red sandstone of Scotland, inasmuch as no vestiges of animals of a

higher class than fishes has hitherto been found in that formation in any part of the earth. Silliman's Journal gives an abstract from the proceedings of the Geological Society of London, containing an account of foot-prints found at Cummingston, near Elgin, in every respect similar to those found in Triassic and other rocks, and which are ascribed by paleontologists to turtles or tortoises; and of an extraordinary fossil procured from the sandstone at Spynie. This fossil consists of the impression of a four-footed reptile, about six inches long, in a block of crystalline sandstone.

Dr. Mantell concludes, from a minute examination of the fossil, that the original was a peculiar type of air-breathing oviparous quadruped, presenting in its osteology certain characters that are found in the *Lacertians*, combined with others that occur in the *Batrachians*. It must have borne a general resemblance in physiognomy to an aquatic salamander, (lizard,) with a broad dorsal region, and longer limbs than the ordinary Tritons, fitted alike for progression on land and through water.

Prof. Le Conte, of the University of Georgia, has shown, (in an article in Silliman's Journal) that, contrary to the opinion of some eminent physiologists, the complete congelation of the juices of a plant does not necessarily destroy its vitality. He also suggests various causes which enable some plants to endure extreme cold.

Distribution of Marine Animals on the Coasts of Great Britain.—An interesting account of the sublittoral distribution of the marine invertebrata along the coasts of Great Britain, is given in the Report of Prof. Edward Forbes, on the Investigation of British Marine Zoology by means of the dredge.

British marine animals are distributed in depth in a series of zones or regions along the shores from high-water mark down to the lowest depths explored. The uppermost of these tracts lies between tide marks, and is called the *Littoral Zone*. Whatever be the extent of the rise and fall of the tide, this zone presents similar features wherever the ground affords security for the growth of marine plants and animals, and can be sub-divided into a series of corresponding sub-regions, each having its own characteristic animals and plants.

The common limpet, (*Patella vulgata,*) ranges through the entire zone, and is characteristic of it. The highest sub-region

is constantly characterized by the presence of the periwinkle, *Littorina rudis*, along with the sea-weed *Fucus canaliculatus*.

The second sub-region is characterized by the common mussel, (*Mytilus edulis*,) and the sea-weed *Lichina*. The third is marked by the commonest kind of wrack or kelp, (*Fucus articulatus*,) and the largest periwinkle, *Littorina littorea*. The fourth sub-region is characterized by a new species of *Fucus*, (the *serratus*,) and by the *Littorina littoralis*.

The *Laminarian Zone* commences at the low-water mark, and extends to the depth of fifteen fathoms. Here the periwinkles becomes rare, or disappear; and the *Fuci* are replaced by the large sea-weeds, among which live peculiar forms of animals and lesser plants. The genus *Lacuna*, among shell-fish, is especially characteristic of this zone.

The *Coralline Zone* extends to the depth of fifty fathoms, and is so named from the plant-like zoophytes abounding in it. The majority of its inhabitants are predacious. Many of the larger fishes belong to it.

Below fifty fathoms is the *Region of deep-sea-corals*, so called because true corals, of considerable dimensions, are found in its depths. Its deepest recesses have not been examined.

Gregarious species are most common in the *Littoral Zone*.

The influence of light in colouring marine animals is illustrated by the fact, that some species (for example the *Venus striatula*.) which range through all the zones, are colourless when found at great depths, but conspicuously coloured when taken from moderate depths. Between sixty and eighty fathoms in the Scottish seas, dull white, dull red, yellow or brown are the prevailing hues; at the same time, however, the vividly painted animal of the coral *Caryophyllia* thrives at a depth of eighty fathoms.

Dust Showers.—An article in the Edinburgh Philosophical Journal details the results of a microscopical examination by Dr. C. G. Ehrenberg, of specimens of dust which have fallen in showers at sea, and in the Southern parts of Europe, at various times from the year 1803 to 1846. In all the specimens, a considerable part was found to consist of the shells of fresh water and sand infusoria. There were a few species of marine origin, and a less number of vegetable. The whole number of species of organisms observed was three hundred and twenty.

Dr. H. Goadby has communicated to Silliman's Journal a beau-

tiful way of making wet preparations for the microscope. The preserving cell, when completed, is composed of three pieces of plate-glass, cemented together, the middle one having a circular hole cut out of its central portion for the reception of the specimen and preserving fluid. This hole may be conveniently cut by means of a copper tube, properly set in a lathe, and fine emery or sand. The middle plate should be of such thickness that the preparation may be slightly pressed between the other two, so as to hold it in its place. The plates must be made perfectly clean, by means of sulphuric acid and potash, and dried with a muslin handkerchief. The middle plate and bottom are first cemented together. The cement which Dr. Goadby prefers is a marine glue, suggested by Dr. P. B. Goddard, of Philadelphia. It consists of caoutchouc dissolved in chloroform, by the aid of a gentle heat, to the consistence of a mucilaginous paste, with the addition of carefully selected tears of gum mastic until the mixture becomes sufficiently fluid to use with a brush. The cover should be of thin plate glass, cut a little smaller than the other plates.

The preserving fluid should be made to come into close contact with the sides of the preserving cell by means of a brush, or the preparation will be injured by the gradual appearance of small bubbles of air. The cell being completely filled with the fluid, and having as much poured upon it as can be made to remain there, is to be covered with the plate designed for that purpose, which should be previously wetted by rubbing it with a brush. The fluid is then to be carefully wiped from around the edges of the cover, and the cover cemented by successive coats of the cement before mentioned, applied around its edge.

American Optical Instruments.—Mr. Charles A. Spencer of Cannasota, New York, has constructed a microscope-object-glass in accordance with his new formula, which seems to indicate a decided improvement in the art. He has obtained an angle of aperture of 174½ degrees—considerably greater than was deemed possible up to the time of his discovery. The instrument resolves the markings of test objects in the most satisfactory manner.

Mr. John Lyman of Lenox, Massachusetts, has recently constructed a reflecting telescope, of 16 feet focus, and having an aperture of 9½ inches in the clear. The arrangement for observation is that of Herschell and Lord Rosse. The remarkably accurate figure of the speculum is evinced by the clearness with which it resolves the double stars, in instances when they

are but $\frac{1}{2}''$ distant. Professor S. Alexander of the College of New Jersey, being present at a partial trial of the instrument at Albany, regarded its performance as highly satisfactory.

The Telegraph in Piedmont. — The London Mechanic's Magazine says that the electric telegraph is being extensively introduced into "that happy part of Italy which alone has maintained its free institutions against all attacks from within and without—namely Piedmont." The best methods have been adopted to combine economy of construction with efficiency of service. A line has been completed from Turin to Genoa. From Turin to Arquata the wires follow the railroad, but from the latter place to Genoa a chain of the Appenines intervenes, and it will be long before the road will be completed. M. Bonelli, Director of Electric Telegraphs, has, however, suspended the wires from mountain to mountain, at immense altitudes, riding over deep valleys and ravines without intermediate support. The poles are placed at the summits of the hills at distances of from 800 to 1300 yards. This line had been in successful operation through a great part of the winter. The French engineers have boasted of their successful adoption of long distances, but in their *chef d'œuvre* the greatest length of unsupported wire is 650 yards.