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Art. I.—*India: Its Past and Future.*

1. *Indische Alterthumskunde* von *Christian Lassen*, ord. Prof. an der Universität zu Bonn. 1ster Band. *Geographie und die älteste Geschichte.* Bonn, 1847. 2ter Band. *Geschichte von Buddha bis auf die Ballabhi und jüngere Gupta Dynastie.* 1852.
2. *The Calcutta Review.*

A well known writer of Great Britain at times indulges in the imaginary vision of some traveller from New Zealand taking his stand, in the midst of a vast solitude, on a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's. This, to a majority of readers, suggests a time immeasurably remote, a time that will, that can never come. And this we must call natural. The same spirit exists in all ages. Doubtless, the men of Nineveh, in their pride and power, never dreamt that civilization and knowledge should once fix their abode in continents utterly unknown to them; and that travellers from distant regions, from an isle, cold, dreary, and barbarous in their time, should in vain labour to decypher on some mouldering pedestal the name of their proudest chief. Doubtless the princes, the philosophers, the merchants, of tumultuous Alexandria,

with its harbour of ten thousand masts, its observatory, its immense library, its numberless work-shops, furnishing Rome and Italy with the necessaries as well as the luxuries of life, never once imagined that at some future day their harbour should be filled with sand, their streets with poverty, their houses with ignorance, their very atmosphere with moral and physical pestilence; that their learning and their arts should flee to unknown shores, to men who but rarely think what Alexandria once was, and what Alexandria now is. Doubtless the great Cappadocian teachers, almost the only depositaries of true Christian doctrine of their age, never once conceived of a time when the very name of their country should almost be forgotten, when superstitious, well nigh savage rites, should be practised where their proudest temple stood, and when a country of which a philosopher of their tongue once had a dreamy vision, should send messengers to re-christianize their degraded successors. We, and all other nations, are in the same condition. Self, and the desire for self-advancement excludes from our view what is more distant, and, after all, on that very account, more hopeful.

Such thoughts spontaneously and irrepressibly arise when we think of a country whose future is but just beginning to unfold itself, and whose almost forgotten past furnishes the materials for the prodigious work of Lassen.

Lassen, the pupil and coadjutor of Schlegel, the well-known editor of a Sanscrit Chrestomathy, the author of the most complete Pracrit Grammar that has appeared in Europe, one of the earliest successful decypherers of the Persepolitan cuneiform inscriptions, the Nestor of Sanscrit learning on the continent, has begun to erect for himself a *monumentum ære perennius*—of which thus far we are permitted to see the pedestal—*A History of Ancient India.* As qualifications for the accomplishment of his task, he brings with him a most extensive acquaintance with the whole literature on Indian topics, a complete mastery over the languages in which the original records are contained, a life-long study of the primary and secondary sources of the history, a glowing enthusiasm for his subject, and much of the "historic spirit," though this is perhaps too deeply tinged with Hegel's views.

The work which was commenced sixteen years ago, and of which we have two volumes at present, containing more than twenty-two hundred pages, is to consist of six Books. The first Book contains the geography of India; it describes the whole peninsula as to size, form, division, and relation to other countries, its climate, its natural productions, and thus arrives at the physical condition of its ancient inhabitants. Though, from the nature of the case, there must be much in a geography that is dull, dry, and uninteresting, yet we have found this part of Lassen's work attractive, and even fascinating reading, from the vivid aspect which the *ensemble* furnishes of India, from the minuteness with which the more interesting particulars are detailed, from the intimate relation to life and men in which facts are exhibited that would otherwise claim the attention of the botanist or zoologist merely, and especially from the frequent recurrence of the most valuable suggestions and observations of a philological and ethnological nature.

The Second Book, which commences at Vol. I., p. 353, and is not yet concluded, contains the external history of the different divisions of India, and of the races and nations which have existed there successively or contemporaneously. The Third and Fourth Books are to give a representation of the development of the Hindu mind, as it appears in their religion, their literature, in their arts, and in the state and advancement of science among them. The Fifth and Sixth Books are to review the civilization of the ancient Hindus, as it appears in their social and political condition. The conclusion of the whole is to be formed by a philosophy of the history of India, which is mainly to serve for correcting the views which Hegel has put forth on this subject.

Considering the thorough manner which distinguishes all the labours of Lassen, we could hardly say too much in praise and recommendation of this gigantic undertaking of his; our fear, however, is, that like so many other German works, it will never be finished. Already does the length of the period through which these two volumes have been in the course of publication, entail on the reader the hardship of getting much that is merely raw material, where he expects to find a *work* fit for his entertainment and instruction: *the author has found it necessary to*

append, thus far, one hundred and sixty pages of corrections and additions.

One point, however, has considerably abated our admiration; it is the manner in which Lassen *constructs* the history of the remotest period. Since Sir William Jones's fortunate discovery that the *Sandrocottus* of the classical writers is the same as the *Chandragupta* of Somadeva's poem, and the subsequent and repeated verification of this discovery* by other scholars, the absurd and extravagant chronology of the Hindus has been superseded by one which has served as the framework of veritable history down to the conquest of Hindostan by the Mahometans, and up to the very origin of Buddhism. But, before this point, all is still dark as night. The Brahmans were no historians. No record of actual facts, except a few local accounts (of Ceylon, Orissa, Cashmere, and the kingdom of Pandya) has come down to us, and, in all likelihood, none ever existed; for where the system of caste prevails, external changes of the whole do not affect the relative position of the castes—there is, therefore, no change, no movement, hence no history. Besides, in their Pantheistic theosophy, men and their deeds constitute such a mere speck in the immensity of the Deity, that they lose all importance and interest. The marvellous and unreal they regarded as natural and real, so that the latter were insipid and valueless.

Another cause of this indifference to history may be found in the insulated village-system that prevails all over India, which stifles the rise of all patriotic sentiment, or rather never induces a consciousness of a common country. Moreover, if we remember the inactive, indolent, contemplative mode of life which is the Brahman's *beau ideal*, we shall not wonder that all their literary energies were expended upon the production of their fanciful poems, their legends, and their mythology. Now it is these which Lassen relies upon as the sources of his history. We would guard against being misunderstood.

* The change of sounds from *Chandragupta* to *Sandrocottus* is easily accounted for. The Greeks had no sound like *ch;* the nearest to it was *s*—just as *se, si,* is heard in the Venitian dialect where the other Italians have *ce, ci.* The form of the latter part of the word is due to a wide-spread corruption of the mode of spelling it in the MSS. The true reading is fortunately preserved in a single passage of Athenaeus, who writes: Σανδρόκυπτος.

It is undeniable, we presume, that the popular literature and the poetry of a people may be, and in many cases must be used, as furnishing the truest view of their character, their customs, their vicissitudes—in short, their history. "Every well-instructed historian now sees more history in Demosthenes than in Plutarch; values the Clouds of Aristophanes at least as highly as Xenophon's Anabasis; finds more facts in the 'Canterbury Tales' than in all Higdon's Polychronicon; studies the Italian annals in Dante rather than in the Villains; and holds the Novels of Fielding to be trustier historical authorities than Smollett's continuation of Hume." The creations of the human mind in all ages are as real materials of history, as outward actions and monuments reared by handicraft. In this sense none would object, and everybody expect, to see poetical productions and fictitious writings used for the resuscitation of the forgotten life of a nation.

But Lassen employs the Hindu mythology in a different manner. Resolving it into separate sagas and myths, he admits hardly any of them to be purely poetical myths, but few to be philosophical, or cosmogonical, and uses as many as possible as geographical, etymological, and historical myths, from which he attempts to eliminate true history. The process is by no means new; it was adopted in one direction by the early Greek philosophers, when they wished to disenthral the intellect from the faith of Homer and Hesiod, who, as *they* taught, personified the powers of nature, and deified the sons of men.

In modern times, Vico was the first to introduce into philosophical history this crystallizing of fancies into deeds. In his *Scienza Nuova*, the Egyptian Hermes is the type of the ancient Egyptian science, representing a whole series of the early natural philosophers of Egypt. The legends concerning Orpheus embody the ideas of the invention of music, its power over the passions, and the subduing of the passions as preceding and necessary to the organization and foundation of society. Hercules is the type of the Greek heroic age. Romulus represents the Roman people. Numa typifies the rule of law and order, and stands for the unknown founder or founders of those institutions which formed the basis of the ceremonial religion of the

Romans. "In this way," says Vico, "all contradictions and anachronisms are explained. It ceases to be a mystery, for instance, how seven cities should claim each to have been the birth-place of the one Homer; for there were many Homers, and every Greek city had one, or more than one, of its own. Nor is it more mysterious how so much doubt and contradiction should exist, as to when, precisely, Homer lived; for Homer lived all through the four or five centuries of the Greek heroic age—singing in his youth Achilles' wrath and force, and in his riper years of the wisdom and calm endurance of a many-counselled Ulysses."

In our own day we have seen some very disastrous results and egregious failures in the application of this process to a more solemn system. To be sure, the application was preceded by the unprecedented feat of first turning veritable history into myths; but even when there was unanimity in the first step, the theories obtained by the second were as various and as numerous as their origination.

Even taking the most favourable view, and granting that some legends rest upon a historical substratum, the most successful search for this substratum can amount to nothing more than a felicitous guess, without any collateral evidence, without the possibility of verification. If we adopt, as our author does, a principle of semi-historical interpretation, we may obtain a long series of events and historical personages, but they are still due to nothing but to the "chemistry of thought," which resolved fables into facts.

For instance: The Mahabharata relates, that Kansa, king of the Jadava, made a league with Jarasandha, king of Magadha, and married his two daughters, Asti and Prapti. But, says Lassen, as these last two names signify *Existence* and *Acquisition*, it is plain that the legend means that Kansa *confirmed* and *increased* his power by a league with the king of Magadha.* To adduce other and more striking exemplifications would lead us too far. But it is obvious, that conclusions obtained in this manner rest on too slight a foundation to claim, with any degree of justice, to be regarded as legitimate deductions from well attested facts.

* Vol. i. p. 624.

But it cannot be our object to criticise a work, for which, with whatever exceptions may be taken to it, we must feel grateful. Our object here shall merely be an attempt to reproduce the impression which we have received on consulting it, together with some numbers of the periodical at the head of our article, in quest for information on some points of the history of India.

India has always been called the land of wonders, and daily the judgment thus given finds confirmation. The objects which formerly excited the attention of the world, its precious productions, the division of its people into castes, its strange penitents, its gigantic architecture, are no longer the only things which meet the astonished glance. There was a time, it is true, when the intellectual world found no interest in Indian researches. Scientific men would, perhaps, be excited for half a day, on hearing that a stone, with an inscription in strange characters, had been dug up in Central India, which proved the wide extent of country under the sway of a single monarch, before the commencement of our era; or that a new temple had been found on a mountain in the midst of some dark, unhealthy, and almost impenetrable forest, which spoke of a time when the jungle was a garden, and a populous city flourished at the foot of the hill—but soon all this would be forgotten. There was another time, again, when men in the cloisters of Oxford and the halls of Bonn were busy tracing connections between the rocky soil of Greece and the highland of Central Asia, between early Asiatic conceptions and the refinement of Hellas; still, the acting and thinking world at large would remain untouched.

At the present hour, however, when men have become more fully acquainted with the *country* of India, especially with its wonderful Alps in the North, with its immense internal resources, its external advantages, its hundred and fifty millions of inhabitants, its unexampled wealth in navigable rivers, accessible coasts, fertile plains, its industrious population, and the richness of its ancient and multifarious literature, when the concatenation of man with man, of nation with nation, and race with race, becomes constantly closer, the position of India in the world's history, and its future destiny, obtrude themselves more and more upon the attention of men. Stretching from

equatorial regions to everlasting layers of snow, neither exclusively highland, nor exclusively lowland, it unites within itself the phenomena and advantages of the tropics and polar climes. The giant range of the Himalaya, the sandy deserts of Rajputana, the fertile plains of the lower Ganges and of Tanjore, the mighty Ghats, and the healthy plateau of Mysore, alike rank among its territories. It is a central land in which the West, the North, and the East of Asia meet; the roads of the caravans from all these points here encounter one another. Its coasts are open to the merchants of Egypt, of Africa, of Babylonia, of Persia, of the Isles, and of China not only, but also to those of Europe and America; it is the central point of a world's commerce. The conqueror, too, from Asia, from Persia, and from Europe, is attracted to it; its conquest would be the crowning deed of all his glory.

The most diverse races may here be found; the Mongolian, the Chinese, the Malay, the Iranian, the Semitic, the European, and the African: and all these comprehended in one vast fabric of Indian society, with its intricate system of castes, its various forms of government, its peculiar civilization at once heterogeneous and uniform, its history losing itself in the obscurity of the fabulous ages, and its multitudinous and so often strange and mysterious religions. For there are found not only Christians, Nestorian, Syrian, Romish, and Protestant; not only Jews; not only Turkish, Persian, Afghan, and Arabian Moslems; but also fire-worshipping Parsees, Jains, Sikhs, the disciples of Nanuk, followers of Confucius, uncounted sects of Brahmans, and the adherents of that most prevalent system, Buddhism, which contains the germ of the scepticism of every age, and in its apparent respect for any creed, but foreshadows the tendencies of the *educated* mind among ourselves. The boasted discoveries of modern sceptics are but a metempsychosis of primeval error. That which was the fashionable creed of philosophers only, in the high and palmy states of Athens and Rome, that which is the vaunted result of the highest flights of our modern "lords of the air," as their gentle countryman calls them, is the creed of the million in India. Ask the plodding ploughman who it is that speaks and acts when *he* speaks and acts, and he will unhesitatingly answer, "God."

Yet, notwithstanding, or rather, *hence*, the Hindu is the most religious being in existence. Rising up and sitting down, walking and standing, drinking and eating, waking and sleeping, obeying the precepts of his moral code, and disregarding them, all he does is with the spirit of religion. Not an action he performs, not a step he takes, not a word he utters, not a breath he draws, but he does all agreeably to the institutes of his religion. It is prescribed to a Brahman which foot he must put first in getting up; he must then carefully cleanse his teeth; then follows religious ablution of the whole body; next he recites inaudibly certain sacred texts; his hair and nails must be cut round, though he must never cut them himself; his mantle must be white; his staff, made of the canonical wood, must be of such a length as to reach his hair, straight, without fracture, of a handsome appearance, with its bark perfect; he must wear golden ear-rings. He must not eat with his own wife; nor look at her eating, or sneezing, or yawning, or sitting carelessly at her ease, or setting off her eyes with black powder, or scenting herself. He must not blow the fire, nor warm his feet in it, nor stride over it; he must not sleep with his feet wet; he must not step over a string to which a calf is tied; he must not pass over the shadow of a red-haired man. He must read the Vedas in various ways; every word singly, or every other word twice, or backwards. He must not look upon the rising or the setting sun, nor when it is clouded over, or upon its image in the water. He must avoid standing upon hair, or ashes, or bones, or potsherds, or seeds of cotton, or husks of grain. He must not remain even under the shade of a tree with outcasts, or idiots, or washermen, or other vile persons.

In no other country has there been an exhibition of so many modifications of the religious sensibility. Transcendental Theism in all its loftiness, absolute Pantheism with all its horrors, murky Mysticism with its multitudinous brood of morbid feelings, and Idolatry of the most grovelling species, have all had, and still have their representatives in India. No wonder that the manifestations of this feeling should be so various. At one time you see streams of pilgrims pouring into Puri, visiting with devout earnestness its sacred tanks, and dipping their feet in the rolling surf; subjected to the grasping exaction of vile

panders or priests; journeying homewards laden with heavy baskets of holy food, travelling in heat and rain and storm, weary and footsore, sleeping like sheep upon the bare road, or on the soaked grass, and suffering deeply from fatigue and disease; at another time you encounter the worshipper of Brairava, the loathsome Kapalika, a naked mendicant, smeared with funeral ashes, armed with a trident or a sword, carrying a hollow skull in his hand, half intoxicated with the spirits which he has quaffed from that disgusting cup, and prepared to perpetrate any act of violence and crime; now you are shocked at the licentious practices and ferocious observances of the Saktas; or you hear of the fearful hecatombs daily slaughtered on the reeking altar of that bloody idol, the monstrous rite of Entrajati, which enjoins the conveyance of the sick and aged away from their homes, to be exposed on the banks of the Ganges, and before death, to be submerged beneath the waters of the sacred stream; the fires of Suttee are scarce extinguished; the strangling cords of the Thugs, those religious, systematic, professional assassins of unsuspecting men, are not even yet laid aside. But how enumerate what may only be comprehended by all that experience can teach and fancy suggest of stages and phases of religiousness possible between the grovelling ignorance of the wretched hermit on whose flesh vermin are preying, or the fanatical faquir who reclines on a bed of spikes, on the one hand, and the cunning deception of the haughty Brahman, or the cold indifference and the philosophic airs of the young Vedantist on the other.

No wonder that in such a land the "lamp of sacrifice" burns brightest, and that the most gorgeous temples and the grandest remains of architecture are here to be found. These are but the shadows of their dazzling mythology. Who that has heard of the hall of Sudra with its roof of gold, and its pillars of chrysolite, where three hundred and thirty-three millions of gods sit in solemn conclave; of the huge sea-serpent which upholds on his head the world we dwell in; of Krishna and his shepherdesses; of Shiva with his forehead of fire; of Kali with her tongue dripping blood, and the ocean-churning Asuras, that has them not to pass at times before the mind's eye like some unhallowed dream?

It is these conceptions which have given form and splendour to their temples and altars, their statues and porticoes, whose pure white marble vies in brilliancy with that profusion of the most precious stones and the gold, the turkis and the ruby, the emerald and the porphyry, which would verify the fables of Golconda. This it is which has produced their variegated forms and proportions, that graceful trellis work, and those exquisite carvings, the marvellous sculptures of their pediments and friezes, the delicately worked meanders and ornaments winding beneath those cornices, that lavish array of vivid colours which give the impress of a joyful and festive beauty, and strike the sense of the traveller with bewilderment. And now let the eye of our imagination be placed in a point where we can see these temples and palaces, as they harmonize with the brightness and transparency of the encircling atmosphere, and stand out amidst the fragrant flowers among which rich orange and citron trees, entangled with jasmines and groups of magnolias, waft their choice perfume around, and where the tall palms rustle, where the tapering bough of the bamboo arches, where the white lotus floats on the bosom of the lake, where mango-topes form their grateful shade beneath the tropic sun, where the small leaves of the tamarind whisper in the breeze, where the cocoa waves its long plumes, where the slender betel, like an ancient pillar, raises aloft its richly wrought capital, where the banyan, that wondrous sacred tree,

> "Spreads her arms
> Branching so broad and long, that in the ground
> The bended twigs take root, and daughters grow
> About the mother tree, a pillar'd shade
> High over-arch'd, and echoing walks between;
> Where oft the Indian herdsman, shunning heat,
> Shelters in cool, and tends his pasturing herds
> At loop-holes cut through thickest shades;"—*Milton.*

where in deep recesses is heard the soft twittering of the birds, the loud chirpings of the merry minah, and the shriller tones of the martin and the green parrots; where the light squirrels are playing through the quivering foliage; where "the beast that mocks our race" sits with the calmness and gravity of a Socrates; where the slow buffalo wallows in mud; where the

tiger unseen lurks in the jungle; where the sly snake pursues its sinuous course; where

> "Trampling his path thro' wood and brake,
> And canes which crackling fall before his way,
> And tassel-grass, whose silvery feathers play,
> O'ertopping the young trees,
> On comes the elephant, to slake
> His thirst anon in yon pellucid springs.
> Lo! from his trunk upturn'd aloft he flings
> The grateful shower; and now
> Plucking the broad-leaved bough
> Of yonder plane, with wavy motion slow,
> Fanning the languid air,
> He moves it to and fro."—*Southey.*

Imagine* these elements forming the background of a landscape representing an Indian morning when the husbandmen are afield; when the women of the different villages, in their airy and fanciful costume, are busily engaged going and coming from the wells, with water-jars nicely poised upon their heads; when a party, perhaps, of Belooch horsemen, grotesquely habited and accoutred, with their plaited hair and ponderous turbans, their swords and matchlocks, may be seen dashing across the plain; when the haughty Moslem, mounted on his fine Khorassani steed, decorated with rich trappings, himself wearing the tall Sindian cap of rich brocade, and a scarf of gold and silk, is approaching from the city; where you may find the Affghan, with his dark-blue scarf cast over his breast, his long black hair falling in masses on his shoulders, his olive cheek painted by the mountain breeze, and his eye full of fire and resolve; and the Seyund of Pishin, in his goats' hair cloak; the fair Herati; the merchant of Candahar, with flowing garments and many-coloured turban; the tall Patan, with heavy sword, and mien calculated to court offence; the swart Sepoy of the Deccan; the sturdy Goorkha of the hills; the robust husbandman of Oude; the tall, thin, dark warrior of the Punjab; the rapacious Mahratta; the Cashmeree, with his manly features, his herculean build, his symmetrical proportions, his classical make; and then, again, the filthy Sindian, and the small, miserable-looking, cringing Hindu—and these elements will

* It is perhaps needless to observe that it would not be easy to find such elements united in any *one* region of that vast country.

represent India in the beauty and the variety of its animate and inanimate nature.*

This variety of races and nations, however, suggests the inquiry after its origin; and this leads us to the *history* of India. But India, it has been said, *has* no history. And truly, if we understand the history of a land to comprehend only such events as form an indispensable, a necessary link in the long chain of progress and development which unites the aggregate of humanity, in this sense India has no history. Neither the successive conquests to which it has succumbed, nor the differing systems of faith which it has assumed, have at any time, as yet, placed it in a conspicuous position on the high-road which our world's destiny is travelling. Nay, Indian society itself never seems to have been lastingly or materially affected by the varying fortunes of its rulers and of its religious sects. Whether Tartars or Arabs, Greeks or Portuguese, carry their victorious arms into it; whether Brahmanism bears undisputed sway, or Buddhism, pointing the dagger against the very heart of its foster-parent, inculcates its doubting subjectivity; whether Islam overruns it with its religious zeal and exterminating hate, or whether the missionary of the cross lifts up the warning voice of his peaceful doctrine, Hindostan's son appears the same. The descriptions of Herodotus and Megasthenes, of Strabo and Justin, are the exact counterparts of modern accounts of its men and manners, its laws and customs, its towns and cities. Where stability is stamped on all that elsewhere moves, how can there be any interest in history—how can there be any history at all—the record of change?

Yet, in another aspect, can we believe that India is always to remain thus? That a mighty continent of such extent and such resources, as vast almost as the whole of Europe, with more inhabitants than either America or Africa, inhabitants that have furnished to the world the shawls of Cashmere, the muslins of Dacca, the jewellery of Cattack; inhabitants, whose unparalleled patience and taper fingers surpass the ingenious machinery of England; whose literature, whose architecture, and whose mythology are constructed on a Titan scale, whose country has been the source of our languages; who, notwithstanding their natu-

* Vide Captain Postan's Personal Observations on Sinde.

ral languor, have always astonished their conquerors by their bravery, and among whom the ancestor of the German, the ancient Goth, may still find a brother among the Jats, whom Jomandes called *Getæ*,* and where the Brahman still represents the type of the ancient Greek; that such a country is never to play its part in the world's great drama?

To have affirmed this, even in the days when Vasco de Gama had first doubled the Cape of Storms, would have been less plausible than to have said that the newly discovered Western Continent would always be but the great gold mine of the Spaniard; and that America has long ere this commenced to roll back mighty waves to disturb tired old Europe, whilst isolated India still is but a trading station of distant Albion, is so far from favouring such a view, that it rather is nought but what should have been expected. Two facts we must observe: *History*, like the sun, the history of the world and of the Church, *moves westward;* and India is not, as we are accustomed to think and say in our Europe-inherited modes of speech, East, but West of us. The distance from our ports on the Pacific to Calcutta is scarce half of that travelled over in our usual circuitous route eastward. In our position, on the true watershed of nations and of history, we may in truth exclaim, *India is west of us;* and thitherward the course of history is pointing.

Let us pause a moment and see *where* history begins. Doubtless in the garden of Eden. But where was this? The almost universal voice of man points East, to that region now so largely overrun by a race, who, though admitting much that is true concerning the origin of man and his early history, have yet exchanged the true revelation of God for the Koran. But in what particular region shall we locate the garden of Eden? The Mahometans assign four places for the *Jannat-i 'Adan*, as the Persians call it, (*Gan-Eden* in Hebrew): the first, Ghute of Damascus, a valley of surpassing beauty between Lebanon and Anti-Libanus; the second, towards Ubulle, in the Arabian Irak

* The names *Gothi* and *Getæ* were also used interchangeably by Orosius, Jerome, Augustin, Cassiodorus, Procopius, Ennodius, and King Alfred. Grimm's History of the German Language is nothing but a demonstration of the identity of the Goths and the Getæ. The close relationship of the Getæ and the Thracians, and the Eastern origin of the latter, are facts much more widely and readily acknowledged.

or Chaldea; and the third, on a spot bordering upon the desert of Noubandijan in Persia, called Sheb Buvan, watered by the Nilab; whilst others fix it at Samarkand.* More ancient traditions of theirs, however, place it in the island of Sarandeb or Ceylon, where they say Adam was interred; and the Portuguese have named the mountain, where they point out the grotto and the sepulchre of the father of mankind, *Pico d'-Adam.* Ghute has been affirmed by many to be the same as Eden mentioned in Amos i. 5, and Clericus and Schulthess also thought the latter to have been the same as the place of primeval innocence mentioned in Genesis.

As for occidental opinions generally, two centuries ago, Stephen Morinus, when on this subject, broke out into the exclamation: *Vix possunt in numerum redigi omnes de Paradiso terrestri sententiæ.* What shall we say at this day, when these opinions have been multiplying with tenfold rapidity? We would nevertheless attempt to reduce them to three general classes: the mythical, the allegorical, and the literal interpretation. (We pass over that large class of ancient commentators who confounded the garden of Eden with the Paradise mentioned in the New Testament.)

The objection to the mythical interpretation is simply the fact, that the Scriptures are not a mythology. How an Israelite —and none of these *mythographers* have denied, as yet, that the book of Genesis was written by an Israelite—should have *fabled* about rivers and countries, some of which, at least, were sufficiently known to his readers, however imperfect otherwise their notions about geography generally might have been, it is hard to tell.

The allegorical interpretation is open to the fatal objections, there is no end to the theories as to what is taught under this dark guise; and that the narrative purports to be a veritable history, the foundation and corner-stone of what all admit *and feel* to be history. We say nothing about the naturalistic and hieroglyphic modes of interpretation; their life was too spasmodic, and their death too disgraceful. *Requiescant in pace!*

Among the literal interpreters we may again distinguish

*So in the Scholia to the Twelfth Makame of Hariri. (Vide Baur, Amos, p. 242.)

three classes. Some deny the possibility of identifying the locality on account of the changes which the surface of the earth must have undergone at the deluge. This is easy, but not very philosophical, nor very true. The opinions of Christian geologists in modern times incline the other way. Buckland in his *Reliquiæ Diluvianæ* has made it very clear that the deluge did not change the general features of the earth's surface.* Dr. Macculloch, one of the ablest geological writers of modern times, says: "There is nothing to make us suppose that the deluge could have disjoined islands, excavated valleys, or deposited alluvia."† Professor Hitchcock says: "The Mosaic account does not require us to admit that any traces of the Noachian deluge would remain permanently on the face of nature. Currents of water could have affected only the surface of the globe, and their effects would be similar to those now produced by rivers and floods. Yet as they would be spread over the whole surface, and not so much confined as rivers, to a particular channel, they would be less striking, and sooner obliterated."‡

But besides, it is evident from the narrative itself that the sacred writer had in view existing geographical relations, and that he describes countries and rivers known to him. The names which he uses occur also in other passages of the Old Testament, and some localities, which he supposes to be less known to his readers, he describes with the aid of others which are better known to them; so with the river Pison, and the land of Havilah, whilst of the fourth river he merely says, it "is Euphrates," and of the well-known "land of Cush" he omits all description. There is very little dispute, indeed, as to two of the rivers, the Euphrates and the Hiddekel, (Tigris); these are certainly "known quantities" in the problem, if such it must be considered. Moreover, in enumerating the productions of the land of Havilah, can he be supposed to enumerate those of a country that has disappeared from the earth? In addition to this, if we take into consideration how the writer mentions Eden in Genesis iv. 16, when pointing out the situation of another

* S. Raumer's Palestina, p. 454. † A System of Geology, London, 1831.
‡ The Historical and Geological Deluges Compared.

country, the land of Nod, it were strange, indeed, to suppose that he would take the trouble to add the words "on the east of Eden," if he thought that either one or both of these countries could no longer be found.

But the most conclusive argument is derived from the grammatical structure of the description given, which precludes the possibility of applying it to anything but to a continuing, lasting state. The words rendered in the English version "went out" (v. 10), "which compasseth" (v. 11), "that compasseth" (v. 13), "which goeth" (v. 14), are participles, a form of speech in Hebrew which denotes a lasting, continuing, fixed, actual, present state or condition, and which can only be made to refer to past or future time by accompanying verbs in these tenses respectively.* So entirely convinced of the correctness of this rule is Delitzsch, who, as a Hebraist, is *facile princeps* among the commentators of the believing school at the present day, that he is obliged to change the pointing of the first verb (סֹבֵב into סָבַב) in order to support his interpretation, which in itself is quite plausible and innocent—viz: that although the four rivers still exist, yet as *the garden* no longer exists, so the *one river* which watered the garden, and which, after its exit from this garden, "was parted" into four branches, is no longer to be found.

From these considerations we conclude, that the sacred writer described geographical relations existing in his day, and that we cannot evade the solution of the problem by the plea, that the Deluge effaced all traces of Eden. Yet neither would we attempt to fix its site, and especially that of the garden, so exactly as is done by those whom we regard as the second division among the historical interpreters, and whose variant conclusions alone should deter us from such an attempt. For among those we find some, who, with Credner, locate Paradise on one of the Canarics in the Atlantic Ocean; others, with Hasse, on the banks of the river Pregel, in the province of East Prussia; Olaus Rudbeck locates it in Sweden; Sickler, near the Caspian Sea; Harduin, in Galilee; Lakemacher, in Syria; Buttmann, in Farther India. It has also been placed near the

* See Ewald's Ausführliches Lehrbuch, § 168.

sources of the river Amazon; and there is but little doubt that, when the interior of Australia shall be more fully explored, the four rivers, with Havilah, bdellium, and the onyx-stone, will by somebody be discovered to be there.

To the third division we would assign those, who, adhering more strictly to the Scripture narrative, locate Eden, with greater or less definiteness, somewhere in Central Asia. Thus v. Hammer advocates Bactria; v. Bohen, Persia; Herder and Hartmann, Cashmere; Milton,

> "From Auran eastward to the royal towers
> Of great Seleucia, built by Grecian kings;
> Or where the sons of Eden long before
> Dwelt in Telassar."

Armenia has had a large number of advocates, among whom we would only mention Reland, Calmet, Faber, Verbrugge, Link, Gesenius, v. Lengerke, v. Raumer, Bertheau, Baumgarten, J. Pye Smith, and Kurtz. To these we would add the great mass of sensible interpreters of all classes, represented by such names as Calvin, Fr. Junius, Grotius, St. Morinus, Hottinger, Michaelis, Wahl, Rosenmüller, Beck, Ewald, Bush, Delitzsch, and Knobel, who apply the description given in Genesis to some tract, larger or smaller, situated in the region between the Euphrates and the Indus.

Lassen* supposes that Gen. ii. 10–14, only gives the general outlines, and that a country is designated which is bounded by the Euphrates and Tigris in the West, and by the Oxus and Indus in the East. These rivers inclose the table-land of Iran, which is ascended from the plains of Mesopotamia, Turan, and the Punjab, and bounded by the Zagros and Armenian mountains in the West, and by the Belurtag, Hindukush, and Sulaiman mountains in the East—a conception of the cradle of the human race such as the unbeliever Lassen concedes, need not be rejected by the most philosophical geographer.

In support of this hypothesis we may state, in the briefest possible way, that the river Oxus, even at the present day, also bears the name of Gihon, and especially among Arabian, Persian, Turkish, and Syrian writers; the same opinion as to this

* Vol. i., p. 528 sq.

river is maintained by J. D. Michaelis, Rosenmüller, v. Hammer, Hartmann, Knobel, and others. The name Pison, meaning *overflowing*, is a translation of *Sindhu*, the native name of the river Indus; so Cosmas Indicopleustes, Schulthess, Gesenius, Bush, Ewald, with some hesitation Delitzsch also, Knobel, and others.* The verb (סבב), rendered in the English version "which compasseth," may with greater propriety be translated by "passing *through*, or *about;*" it is used (1 Sam. vii. 16,) of Samuel, who *went over* the cities Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpeh, of "the watchmen that *go about* the city" (Cant. iii. 3), and in many other passages similarly. The name *Cush* must have belonged in earlier times to countries farther North than those to which it is afterwards applied; that is, the migrating tribes carried the name of their original abode with them, just as the *Northmen* carried the name of their mother country to France, or as the wandering Greeks carried *Hellas* into Italy; we may also compare the French *Bretagne*, which is applied to two different localities. Nor is it difficult to find names, both in ancient and modern geography, of tribes and places in the vicinity of the Oxus, far more strikingly similar to *Cush* than *Tigris* is to *Hiddekel.*† *Havilah* has often been identified with India. Lassen compares the name with *Kampila*, a region in the North-west of India, mentioned by Ælian under that name. Bush compares it with *Kabul.* The Targum of Jonathan directly renders the word by *India.* In Gen. x. 7, 29, Pseudo-Jonathan and the Jerusalem Targum render it in the same way. Knobel very strenuously, and with good arguments, as it appears to us, maintains the correctness of this rendering. Castelli, Gesenius, Bertheau, and others, hold the same view.

We shall therefore, perhaps, not be charged with presumption, if we venture to fix our first parents' original abode, which

* In the above enumerations of the different writers on this subject, we have frequently placed mythical interpreters among the historical, because the fact is, that many of them bring their whole learning and ingenuity to bear on the elucidation of what the sacred historian's conception really was. This is all that we ask; the individual writer's opinion as to the correctness of that conception may well rest on its narrow, subjective basis.

† V. Grotius on Gen. ii. 13; Winer's Realwörterbuch, i. p. 285, 287; Knobel, Völkertafel, p. 250; Ejusd. Genesis, p. 27.

was, at all events, in the *Eastern* part of Eden, on the banks of the Indus. There man's history *first* began. Its second beginning finds him already a short distance westward, on the mountains that stretch from the borders of India to the sources of the "great river." Thence he descends into the plains, and founds powerful kingdoms and mighty empires. As soon as the record of history begins, it has but to exhibit successively the downfall of an Eastern, and the rise of a Western kingdom; each of which in turn becomes the bearer of history. Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, successively disappear before one another. Persian conquest stretches far towards the West; but its central point being East, it must give way before the westward march of history, and Greece, its language, and its power, becomes the beacon-summit of the world's bright youth. But still towards the setting sun Clio's car is rolling, and Rome, with iron hand and speech of pride, becomes the mistress of the world. The struggles between the powers of the ancient world and the new nations in the West is wavering long, but still decided in due time; and the *Western* Roman Empire, with its emperors crowned in the imperial city of Germany, by its very name bears witness to the onward current of the stream of time. But the glories of Imperial Germany fade before the rising splendours of the farther West, and the armies of the Lily and the navies of the Rose become the umpires of the world. And, as the greatest display of the marine power of Spain was but the immediate preeursor of its rapid decay, so the sceptre may even now be departing from the mighty mistress of the seas;—but, even without a positive decline, Albion must soon be overshadowed by her youthful rival. Here, too, the nations and their civilization, their wealth, their power, and their influence, are visibly moving westward. This fact is so familiar, that it has ceased to be observed; and it has become a trite remark, that the undeveloped, yet already well known resources of this mighty West, prepared by a bounteous and omniscient Providence, point to the greatness of their future possessors.

Christianity has pursued the same course: lights in the East were extinguished, to direct the eyes of men to the rising brightness farther West. The candlestick of the Asiatic

churches has been removed; Antioch, Alexandria, Byzantium, (and even these had their culminating periods in due succession,) saw their patriarchates fall, to make room for the Eternal City; but here, too, pallor and gloom gathered and thickened, until that unprecedented effulgence burst forth in the heart of Germany, which placed it high above the nations, and caused the language of men to fossilize the fact, that Germany was then the bearer of Church history, by calling it the Land of the Reformation. But soon a great dragon with three heads, called Philosophy, Physics, and Criticism, blew pestilential vapours over its fair fields, and desolation and destruction covered the once gladsome plains. Protestant England, almost alone among the nations of the earth, stood now forth the beacon-light of Christian joy. But at *this* moment, when the corruptions of an effete Prelatism, the ambition of a bigoted Cardinal, and the increasing infidelity of a once pious people, dim the bright light of the gospel, it is not presumption to say that the Church of the Future, the Church of the Present, has erected her tabernacle among us—that upon us are directed the waiting eyes of the nations, to see what the law of Christ is to effect through this favoured country.

And already has this land shadowing with the wings of the eagle, which is beyond all the rivers, the nations, that Ethiopia ever sent forth—already has it sent ambassadors by the sea, even in vessels of bulrushes upon the waters, saying, Go, ye swift messengers, to nations scattered and peeled. Already are the hills of the islands of the sea gleaming in the rays of saving light that have shot across the dark waters; already has a long secluded nation felt that the Pacific is no longer an impassable barrier, and that the forests of Maine and the groves of Florida furnish the bridge that spans the wide ocean; and already has a still mightier nation begun to feel the upheavings produced by new, by Christian ideas, that entered it almost by stealth. The least meaning that can be attached to such events —(and who would say they mean nothing?)—is that they are guides which point out clearly and steadily the course of history and the march of Christianity, its great centre.

The single apparent exception that presents itself, the mighty empire of the North, is more than an exception; it is an omi-

nous anomaly. Progressing and increasing, as it seems to be, it has no principle of growth within itself; its accretions are those of a stone. *Petrified* in its policy, petrified in its manners and customs, petrified in its theology, and petrified in its religion, it is like that great image of terrible form, its head of gold, its breast of silver, its thighs of brass, its legs of iron, yet its feet of clay; it is unable to stand. Its colossal weight may yet be hurled by Providence upon the West to crack into a hundred shivers the hollow intellectualism of modern Europe; it may yet crush miserable Turkey, which, to use Lamartine's expression, is dying for want of Turks; it may even serve to circumscribe and oppose the aggressive spirit of Britain, in Asia; still, it lies out of the path of man's *progressive* march, and leaves untouched the wheels of time; the magic car that began its course at the creation, moves on until it reach its goal.

The design of creation was pronounced in the command: *Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it.* When this command shall be fully obeyed, then the design of creation will have been accomplished. The design of redemption was pronounced in the command: *Go ye into* ALL *the world, and preach the gospel to* EVERY *creature.* When this shall have been fully obeyed, man's work will be done. The *remotest* end of the great circuit to be completed is doubtless India; and how this land has been prepared by the past for its future, we would now inquire and endeavour to answer in the most hasty manner.

The internal history of India may be divided into *four periods*, according to the faith of each dominant power: First, *Brahmanism* terminated by the rise of Buddhism in the sixth century before Christ; second, *Buddhism*, whose power was broken by the irruption of the Mahometans at the beginning of the eleventh century; third, *Islam*, the dominating power until 1765, when the great Mogul acknowledges England as the ruler of Bihar, Bengal, and Orissa; the fourth period is occupied by the extension of the *British power* in India. To pass this history even in the most cursory review before us, is out of our power in these pages; we can only fasten on three or four of the most conspicuous peaks of the landscape, on the "*fastigia*

rerum," to gather from such prominent features what can be gathered from them.

Of *the earliest period* we have no records, except those contained in the Vedas, the ancient hymns of the Hindus, and the two great epic poems, the greater of which, the Mahabharata, relates a war waged in the fourteenth century before the Christian era, two centuries before the fall of Troy, in consequence of the first invasion of the Deccan by the sovereigns of Northern Hindostan. However, the scene presented by these poems is all phantasmal; it is all dim and indistinct. We see the preparation for the combat; we hear the din of the battle, the clashing of the swords; we are surrounded by the raging fury of the warriors panting to meet the foe, the snorting of the steeds, the buzzing of the hurled javelins; all sounds and colours are there; yet we can hardly tell who wages this fearful fight. Their hymns present scenes of peaceful repose; we recline upon the soft grassy ground; we behold the verdant palms, the twittering birds, the deep blue arch above, the glowing sands of the desert; yet all this, in the trembling distance, the hum of the breezes, the whispering sounds, with wave-like motion swims together into a chaotic mass; nothing distinct emerges, and the image melts away like the shade of Creusa.

Our knowledge of *the second period* rests upon more solid materials gathered from every side. For this Chinese literature furnishes its stores of information, although the difficulties in the way of obtaining it are very great. For the Buddhist doctrines were derived by the Chinese from works in the Pali language, and are now contained in an immense mass of books exceeding perhaps 10,000. Few of these books are translated into Chinese, the greater portion being supposed to retain the original language, but attempting to give it in Chinese characters, thus producing a very curious jargon. Gutzlaff never met with a single priest who could explain these books. Whatever has been obtained from this source has been found in consonance with the accounts rendered by Burmah, Tibet, Nepaul, and Ceylon. And besides, the earth and the mountain have been made to yield up their monumental treasures; caves have been penetrated, relics dug up, rock inscriptions decyphered. In this period falls the first contact of the Hindu with European

nations. Numismatics has exhibited the history of three great nations, the Graeco-Bactrian, the Bactro-Scythian, and the Indo-Scythian. The coins have shown how the Greeks consolidated their power, and extended it to the furthest East: how they preserved their religion, arts and civilization, and yet cemented the bonds of political union with their Eastern subjects: how they led on their people in the onward course of commercial activity and national prosperity; how they held the Barbarians in check; and how, weakened by internal strife, and struggling with their rivals, the Parthians, they fell an easy prey to the Scythian. Then Northern India was the battle field, not only of ambitious autocrats, but also of races, religions, and opinions;—it was the scene of such contests as might be anxiously looked upon by the gods of Greece, by the Hindoo Triad, by the Gautama of Buddhism, and by the elemental divinities of Parsism. For at that time, and in that country, on both sides of the Indian Caucasus, met all the different forms of life and thought which antiquity exhibited, in such close and immediate contact that their commingling produced either a new life or a speedy suffocation. There met the worshippers of Jaratustra and Brahma, the preachers of Buddhist quietism and artists who would substitute the beautiful gods of Hellas for the deformities of Oriental symbolism; the cautious Banian met with the Chinese merchant; and in the armies of the kings there marched Hindus on their elephants, and Saca archers by the side of the close Macedonian phalanx, and the well-ordered Bactrian horsemen. Hence the value of the Greek accounts of this age. For it was, as it were, on the cross-roads of historical formation that the Greek in Bactria stood. From this point he could open with his right hand the Vedas of the Brahmans, and the Nosk of the Mazdajasnians, and draw with his left the bolt that closed the gates of the great Chinese wall which guarded the entrance of the Middle Kingdom.* Still, the Greek could produce no lasting effects in India, for he came from the *West;* streams do not ascend.

Nor could the *Mahometan invasion* effect a real and perma-

* Lassen, Zur Geschichte der Griechischen und Indoskythischen Könige in Bactrien, Kabul und Indien, durch die Entzifferung der Altkabulischen Legenden auf ihren Münzen.

nent change in the character of that nation. For though the Arab incursions commenced early in the eighth century, Moslem rule was not established until the eleventh, and although the Mogul emperors were perhaps the most splendid the world has ever seen, though their succession was a long and prosperous one, one that can boast an Akbar and an Awrungzeb among their number, still, history moves westward, and they came *from* the West. Yet these monarchs erected tombs over the remains of their relatives, that would elsewhere have been thought fit for temples and palaces. Their pavilions were formed of the purest white marble, wainscoted with lofty mirrors and tapestried with the richest brocades. They had but to give the word, and in a few years a range of rocky hills became the site of a new metropolis. "Some of the halls in the palace of Delhi had their floors and ceilings covered with plates of silver, and the walls and columns, of the finest marble, were inlaid with elegant flowerwork composed of carnelians and other precious stones." But now, those "walls and ceilings have been stripped of their silver ornaments; the inlaid gems have been picked out of the marble, and the only tapestry that is now seen on the shattered walls and columns is what the spider weaves." In those desolate halls dwells the helpless descendant of a long and illustrious line of princes, dependent for his daily bread on the bounty of foreign conquerors.

The first of these conquerors were a lustful and unscrupulous band of tyrants and marauders. The calendar of Portuguese conquest presents an unceasing succession of tales of blood. These, the first European followers of Jesus which modern Hindostan saw, were fierce, cruel, and remorseless, insolent and overbearing in their demeanor, tyrannical and exacting beyond all Hindu or Mahometan precedent, with hearts set on gold, and hands stained with blood. They were bound by no laws, and restrained by no scruples. But they have long since passed away. "The rapid growth of the Portuguese empire in India had been the natural forerunner of its rapid decline. The extraordinary success which attended the first efforts of the Lusitanian conquerors inflated them with a boastful self-reliance, and urged them on to those excesses which precipitated their

overthrow." Yet their rule is memorable, if it were for nothing else, for the introduction of Romanism into India. Among that race of effeminates there towers a form majestic in mind and body, Francis Xavier, the Apostle of the Indies; the eye rests relieved on the page that records his deeds, as he toiled, shrinking from no amount of labour, from no suffering, from no humiliation, with his restless zeal overcoming every obstacle, "committing to memory translations, at the time unintelligible to himself, of the creeds of his faith," to recite them with tones and gestures that should speak at once to the senses and to the hearts of his hearers. Solitary, poor, unprotected, he burst through the barriers which separate men of different tongues and races.

Yet the defects of his work were enormous and radical; for, as has been well expressed in a comprehensive and incontrovertible climax, "Xavier was a Fanatic, a Papist, and a Jesuit." The worship which he established was idolatrous; and the morality which he inculcated, placed ritual forms and outward observances above virtue and holiness. His successors, trained in the theology of Laynez and Molina, addressed themselves to the dominant classes, and for the sake of proselytes, they turned aside from the practice of no deceit, from the exercise of no hypocrisy. They lied in word, and they lied in action. They called themselves Western Brahmans; and in the disguise of Brahmans they mixed themselves with the people, talking their language, following their customs, and countenancing their superstitions. Clothed in the sacerdotal yellow cloth, with the mark of sandal-wood on their foreheads, their long hair streaming down their backs, their copper vessels in their hands, their wooden sandals on their feet, these new Brahmans found acceptance among the people, and were welcomed by the princes of southern India.*

Who can wonder at the opposition which the Hindu offers to the attempts at converting him, that considers not only that among them, apostasy to another faith amounts to an abandonment of ancestral fidelity, to religious pollution, and even to civil outlawry, but who also remembers who and what were the

* Tennent's Christianity in Ceylon.

first representatives from the West of that religion which is now preached to them?

Nor is this all; for when in *the fourth period* of the history of India, Protestant missionaries came among them, men that were actuated by the intensest zeal for their Master, by a burning love to their fellow men, by an eager spirit of adventure in spreading Christ's kingdom, by the greatest powers of self-denial, and by an entire devotion to God, they were placed in the most anomalous position by the irreligion and the avarice of the new conquerors of the land—British *Christians*. The East India Directors not only resisted the introduction of missionaries into India, and sanctioned their deportation from its shores, but they even placed themselves on the side of idolatry by restoring temples, adorning pagodas, taking charge of their funds, and attending in parade their festivals. And even at the present time the Government are still the managers of lands which afford endowments to heathen temples. Very large sums of money are paid out of the Company's treasury for the support of heathen idolatry and Mahometan worship, and the patronage of some of these priestly appointments still remains at the disposal of the East India Company.* But this, thanks to God, is gradually disappearing; a better spirit has begun to prevail; the sneer that called the missionaries little detachments of maniacs sent out to command the allegiance of a hundred million of men, has become obsolete; the preacher of the gospel is now recognized as the messenger of peace by the conquerors, and as the teacher belonging to a superior race by the conquered; he is no longer pushed aside by the eager merchant for fear that he would injure his trade; and while the one is busily gathering gold and precious stones, the other can freely offer the pearl of great price.

Truly, in more than one respect has India undergone a great revolution; the most notable for our present purpose is, perhaps, that which is indicated by the fact that whilst all the previous incursions of foreign nations into India passed through the narrow mountain gorges in the West of India, these modern conquerors spread from the East, by making Bengal the original seat

* The Calcutta Review, March, 1853, p. 113.

of their empire, and by making Bengal the great portal through which history in its western course must pass into India. And unless the course of history, thus far so uniform, should all at once change its direction, we might almost presage that England is not destined for ever to hold India as its own. As neither Greek, nor Mahometan, nor Portuguese, nor Dutchman, nor Frenchman, all coming *from* the West, was able to prevail in India, so it may yet be with the Englishman. India in its ultimate development is to be an *endogen*. Such vast continents as Australia and India (that look like immense tumours on the small body of England,) whenever they shall be peopled by a race of *men*, conscious of being such, cannot but feel the cramping, crippling, crushing effects of a management of their dearest interests in the hands of a body of *merchants*, or of a distant and expensive government. Their eye may chance to fall on a page in the chronicles of the world, headed July the Fourth, 1776. History is philosophy teaching by *example*. It is true, before such an event *could* happen, India will have to be born again. But is not the time at hand for this regeneration?

What hinders men that love their fellows, that are true and right-hearted, to set themselves to the work of eradicating the prejudices and superstitions which debase that great nation, that they may put away the follies and subdue the passions which lead to crime and guilt, and live together in a brotherhood of peace and love, to have a true faith, a sure hope, and the same God? A people in its infancy is to be moulded by the hands of faithful teachers. Shall we permit, can we endure, that the world and Satan are to take their instruction into their hands? Our poetry and our arts, our science and our philosophy, will soon be transplanted thither; but what can these do? They may charm the intellect, and pour into it an increasing flood of wonder and delight; but what is this, if death and suffering, sorrow and crime, continue to waste and blur God's fair creation? Can there be anything more elevating than the very attempt to rescue our fellow-creatures from mental bondage, from cruel, murderous delusion, and to lead them to Christ and holiness? What though our own personal efforts, or the efforts of our generation seem to be unavailing? What though we

strike hard and long, and not a stone of the great wall of superstition seems to move? We have no trumpets to cause it to fall at the blast; but we have faith, and times and seasons are in God's hands. We must insert the insignificant seed in some crevice of the mighty structure, and "soon roots will be felt striking their tiny fibres within the solid masonry, loosening every stone, and insensibly, but surely, bringing the day of overthrow, when the pile itself shall yield to almighty power."

But for this work devotion and zeal are not the only requisites. The spiritual husbandman must also know the ground which he is to till; he must make himself familiar with the customs, the prejudices and the susceptibilities of the race to which he is sent, and especially must he seek to know their religion and their philosophy. The Hindus will not listen to one who comes among them strong only in his own faith and ignorant of theirs. "Read these translations," said a clergyman to a sect of religionists at Benares, who were already seceders from idolatrous worship, and were not indisposed for argument upon the comparative truth of different creeds. "We have no objection to read your books," was the reply, "but we will enter into no discussion of their contents with you until you have read ours." The *practical* religion of the Hindus is by no means a concentrated and compact system, but a heterogeneous compound, made up of various and, not unfrequently, incompatible ingredients. The superposition is based upon ignorance, and until the foundation is taken away, the superstructure, however crazy and rotten, will hold together. The whole tendency of Brahmanical education is to enforce dependence upon authority; in the first instance, upon the Guru, in the next, upon the books. A learned Brahman trusts solely to his learning; he never ventures upon independent thought; he appeals to memory; he quotes texts without measure, and in unquestioning trust. It will be difficult to persuade him that the Vedas are human and very ordinary writings; that the Puranas are modern and unauthentic; and even that the Tantras are not entitled to respect. As long as he opposes authority to reason, and stifles the workings of conviction by the dicta of a reputed sage, little impression can be made upon his understanding. Certain it is

that he will have recourse to his authorities, and it is important to show that his authorities are worthless.*

The missionary, therefore, must know his own peculiar strength, as well as the peculiar weakness of the system which he opposes. He must know not merely that he is strong and his opponents weak, but where and why he is strong, and where and why they are weak. The Brahman not only admits, but declares it to be most worthy of God to reveal himself as man—that this is the only true revelation of Him—that an incarnation is the fittest outcoming of the glory of God. The Buddhist admits that in God we live and move and have our being. But both the Brahman and the Buddhist lose their precious truths as some noble river that is lost in the sands.†

The missionary can teach the deluded heathen the coherence and the foundation of these truths; nay, more, he has already done so; and great and marvellous beyond precedent has been the result of his labour. The Brahmans, those earthly gods, do not now meet with the unqualified reverence which they once claimed and received. The fire which they are said to have emitted from their mouths at one time for the destruction of their enemies, has long since been extinguished. Some servile castes of Menu's ordinances have become masters and leaders. The Brahmans no longer pass the four stages prescribed by their lawgiver, nor do they abstain from lucrative employments, however inconsistent with their vows; they even sell their learning, live by their pens, and condescend to the most unpriestly avocations for the sake of gain. The degrading superstition, which hung like a cloud over the length and breadth of the land, from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin, from Coromandel to Malabar, is passing away. The bed of the stream, which had erst been dry, is filled half way up with the pure and healing waters. The simoom-blast is giving place to a gentle breeze. Green pastures start up in the midst of the wilderness, and astonish the eye. The work of regeneration has commenced, and is advancing fast. Soon, if *we* fail not, soon, the hundreds

* Such is the view presented by that excellent authority, *H. H. Wilson*, in his *Lectures*.

† See these considerations more fully carried out by *Trench*, in his *Hulsean Lectures*.

of millions that now bow to Buddha, the god of their own creating, will break away from his dominion, and bless the Prince of Peace. Soon, the Shasters, those lying vanities, will be exchanged for the oracles of the true God. Soon, the wretched worshipper of Gunga, who seeks salvation and cleansing in the muddy waters of the Ganges, will be saved by the death of Christ, and washed by his blood. The sound of the gospel will soon be heard everywhere; the worshipper of the true God will soon be found "in green Bengala's palmy grove," near "Gunga's mimic sea," "on broad Hindostan's sultry meads," and "black Almorah's hills."

And when the commerce and nautical skill of Arabian merchants shall have taken the place of those of Spain and Portugal of old, as these overshadowed Tyre and Sidon; when Siamese and Burmese philosophers shall have supplanted the ancient Greek sages, as these superseded the Egyptian hierophants; when Persian mathematicians shall be cited in place of the French, as these took the place of the Chaldeans; when the learning and researches of those that now worship the Dalai Lama shall have won the fame now possessed by the Germans, as these cast into oblivion the schools of Tiberias and Pumbeditha; when China shall represent a rejuvenated and regenerated Russia, and the culture and arts of India shall be what the culture and arts of Italy were, then the philosophic Bishop's prophecy, uttered centuries ago, shall yet prove true:

> "Westward the course of empire takes its way;
> The four first acts already past,
> A fifth shall close the drama with the day,
> Time's noblest offspring is the last."

ART. II.—*Origin of Writing.*

The Development of Writing, by Dr. H. Steinthal, Privatdocent in the University of Berlin, 1852. 8vo. pp. 113.
Palaeography an aid in Linguistic Investigations shown particularly in the Sanscrit, by Dr. Richard Lepsius, extraordinary Professor at Berlin 1842. 8vo. pp. 101.*

WE have placed the names of these treatises at the head of this article without the design either of discussing or of reproducing the philosophical speculations which they contain. We are constrained to admit that they are too dreamy or too intangible for our taste or our comprehension. Nor is it our purpose to bring forward an original discussion of our own, with the hope of throwing new light upon a question so often and so profoundly treated, and which nevertheless remains involved in so much mystery and obscurity. We shall simply, without committing ourselves positively in its favour, but for the sake of its readier presentation, appear as the advocate of one of the most plausible of the many ingenious hypotheses, by which the attempt has been made to account for the origin of writing. And in so doing we shall pretend to no refined ingenuity and no profundity of research: we shall aim at nothing farther than in the plainest and most familiar way to render this scheme intelligible even to non-scientific readers.

It is surprising how the evidences of divine wisdom and foresight thicken about him, who has once commenced to observe them. The defect of one of the smallest members of the human frame would have rendered all the skill with which the rest was constructed abortive, and have made man's creation a failure. Without the eye, for instance, mankind could not have subsisted. Without the tongue they would have remained for ever in a state of idiocy or barbarism. There is no more elementary truth in human advancement, than that mind must be acted on by mind in order to its culture and development. The material world furnishes an abundance of objects for every sense,

* Die Entwickelung der Schrift, von D. H. Steinthal u. s. w.
Palaeographie als mittel für die Sprachforschung zunächst am Sanskrit nachgewiesen, von Dr. Richard Lepsius, u. s. w.

and its phenomena afford endless food for reflection. But in order that the spirit may be brought to act upon what is thus furnished for it, it must be roused and stimulated by spirit. "Iron sharpeneth iron," said the wisest of men; "so a man sharpeneth the countenance of his friend." A man isolated from his species from the first moment of his being, would of necessity be scarcely lifted above the brutes. Only by intercourse with his fellows can he be humanized. Hence language, the medium of intercourse between man and man, is the great humanizer; and without the gift of speech civilization and culture would be impossible. How sublime in its simplicity, and how grand in its results, is this conception of making thought audible, and opening thus, through the medium of an outward sense, communication between mind and mind! These invisible, intangible, immaterial, mysterious agents within us can thus be brought in contact: the thoughts, ideas, feelings, knowledge, experience of one can be forthwith imparted to another. The man of hoary hairs can put the stripling, in the outset of his course, in possession of that which he laboured long years to obtain. The man of earnest thought can stamp his impress upon those around him, and waken in them an activity like his own. Set free by the faculty of speech, man's spirit no longer lives alone, shut up a prisoner in solitary confinement in its mortal cell. The doors are thrown wide open and the man is set in living connection with all around him. Knowledge no longer streams in barely through his single perceptions, or is the product of his single reflections. The eyes of those around see for him: their minds think for him; for their experience and their thoughts can now be added to his own. And his intellectual power and wealth grows without limit, as the tiny drop, by kindred drops falling thick and fast around it in a summer's shower, forms first a rill, a rivulet, a brook, a river, and at last a flood.

And yet the sphere of man, though thus vastly widened by the gift of speech, is still narrow and contracted. Speech has opened communication for us with a little circle just around us, those whom we personally meet. If we would gather up the experience of men in other lands, and add their thoughts to our own, we must, like the wise men of ancient times, Pythagoras, Plato, Herodotus, travel far and near. But few can do this;

and how few of their species can be personally visited, even by those who do possess ability to travel! From how large a part of the race are we necessarily cut off! And then the men of past generations are buried in the dust. Are they by consequence lost for ever to the world? And have all their earnest thoughts and zealous labours, and careful observations been sunk irrecoverably like lead in the wide waste of waters? Have all the genius, and the intellect of former days vanished thus, leaving no trace behind? And must those of each age be in this way lost to their successors? Who will give to the absent a tongue, and to the dead a tongue? We need an instrument to annihilate for us time and space, and to prevent this monstrous waste of intellectual power and acquisition; to take the evanescent thought, and to convert it—not into an equally evanescent sound that dies away upon the ear as soon as it is uttered, but give to it a permanent and tangible and portable form. We need some magic wand, some potent spell to give immortality to thoughts; to bring around us the great and good of this and of every land, of this and of all past ages, and bid them talk with us at our own homes, and unlade all the wisdom they have gathered at our feet; to put our minds into living contact with all the world at once, and all who have ever lived, so that all their rich furniture of cultivated thought and pure and elevated taste, and ripe judgment and matured experience, the intellectual treasures of mankind gathered through long ages, may be displayed before us. This would sound like some wild dream of enchantment, had it not all been realized, and that by a method as simple in its principles as its results are magnificent.

You can sit in your library, in your easy chair, with your fire blazing brightly on your own hearth before you, and you can there converse with men of every age and every clime. You can travel back long centuries before the Christian era, and can stand face to face with Moses and Solomon and Isaiah. Or you can sit at the feet of the Son of God himself, or talk with his apostles of all that they were commissioned to make known of the salvation he achieved. Turn to Grecian antiquity; and the father of history will tell you all that he could learn in his long journeys and careful observations of the state and origin of ancient empires. Blind old Homer will sing again for you

his immortal song. Demosthenes will thunder as of old at the rostrum. Socrates and Plato and Aristotle will entertain you with their profound and elaborate inquiries. Or Rome will send you her historians and poets and orators and logicians and philosophers, all ready in their turn to communicate to you their maturest thoughts, their most brilliant conceptions, and their gathered stores of knowledge. Still seated by your own cheerful fireside, you can follow down the stream of time, and summon around you, at your bidding, the rare, commanding intellects of each successive age—those who have toiled most and achieved most in any favourite department of thought or learning—till you come to the busy, bustling present. And then, if you choose, you can take up the newspaper of to-day, and learn what twenty millions have been seeing and hearing and thinking and doing yesterday, from Maine to Louisiana—in fact, what has, within a few weeks, been taking place all round the globe. You have, thus, the whole civilized world put into your service; looking out for you, listening for you, labouring to increase your stores. The astronomer, with his telescope, be he at Harvard, at Greenwich, at Berlin, or at Washington, is determining for you the magnitudes and movements of the stars. The chemist is experimenting for you in his laboratory. The geologist is examining for you the structure of the earth. The traveller is inspecting for you the manners and the sights of foreign climes. The antiquarian is digging for you among the hoary ruins of Nineveh and Thebes. The orator, the metaphysician, the poet, are busy, each with their several labours, that they may increase the stores of your intellect, or add to the refinement of your taste. You have all the intellect of the world, all the eyes and ears and fingers of ancient and of modern times laid under contribution: the entire results of their labours are at your service. Instead of picking up scanty bits of knowledge by your single observations, with no assistance and no stimulus, nothing but the natural and uninstructed workings of your single powers, you have here gathered into one accessible and available mass the combined labours, experience, and reflections of the greatest sages, most profound thinkers, and acute observers. This is what our fairy has achieved. The fairy's name is WRITING—her magic wand,

the pen. Her office is to record thought; no matter how that record be made, so that it be brought into a permanent, accessible, intelligible form, for the use of other men and other times. This alone gives permanence to intellectual achievements, and makes progressive advances in knowledge and civilization possible. But for this, the acquisitions of each generation would be buried with it, and an increase of knowledge from age to age would be as impossible as it was in the old mythology, for the daughters of Danaus to fill with water their casks without a bottom.

Perhaps all our readers have smiled over the amazement of the savage, of whom the missionary Williams speaks, when he for the first time saw ideas conveyed by writing. It was impossible for him to conceive how a chip, on which rude characters had been traced by a bit of charcoal, could say to Mrs. Williams that her husband needed a hatchet. The idea of conveying intelligence by written signs is so familiar to us, and seems so simple, so very common-place, that many may scarcely have thought of there being any thing wonderful or mysterious about it. But the more we reflect upon it, the better we will be able to enter into the surprise of the South Sea Islander, and the less strange we will think it that he held fast to that mysterious chip, and displayed it as a charm exultingly to his equally astonished fellows. The moment we ask ourselves seriously, how the conception was first reached—how the first idea of it ever came to enter any one's mind, we will begin to be sensible of the amazing difficulties of the subject. We interrogate profane history, Who first taught mankind to write? The only answer that we hear comes from far, far back beyond authentic records. The subject is all involved in mythology and fable, from which no credible account can possibly be disentangled. Baffled in our search we turn to the sacred history. It informs us of the origin of many arts. It tells us who first wrought in brass and iron, who first taught men to dwell in tents with flocks and herds, who first constructed the harp and organ. But it says not a word as to the origin of writing.

Throwing these things together which have now been recited, the importance, the indispensableness, in fact, of the art of

writing to the culture and progress of man, the difficulties seemingly almost insurmountable attending its first conception, and the silence of history, sacred and profane, as to its origin, many have been led to think that it could not have been a human invention at all, that it must have been equally with speech itself the direct gift of God; and that there is truth as well as fable in the pagan mythology which made letters the invention of the gods. And there are some circumstances which at first sight do throw an air of plausibility as well as sanctity around this theory. The patriarchs, it has been alleged, were not acquainted with writing: else when Abram bargained with the children of Heth for the cave and field of Machpelah, why was not a written deed drawn up in evidence of the contract? To be sure, this very transaction has been appealed to on the other side, and from the money current with the merchant, which we are told he paid, it has been argued that coins imply figures and inscriptions, and these the art of writing. Passing this by, however, we find no plain mention of the art of writing till Israel were in the wilderness journeying toward Sinai. It is mentioned but once, (and may not that, it is said, have been by anticipation?) before the people were assembled around that sacred mountain to receive the ten commands written in stone by God's own finger. Now what hinders our supposing that those letters, so mysteriously graven on the two tables of stone, reveal the origin of writing—that God taught this sacred art to Moses, he to Israel, Israel to the world? The plausibility of this solution is increased by the fact, well known, or easily ascertained, that all the alphabets of Europe, and several of those of Asia, can be undeniably traced back to the Hebrew letter as the common centre from which they are severally derived. Why not then accord to the chosen people, chosen to bless all nations with the true religion, the additional honour of first receiving, then dispensing for the benefit of mankind, the divine gift of letters?

Nor does it seem derogatory to the Most High that he should thus interfere for such a purpose. It is not barely that letters are so essential to the progress of the race in civilization and worldly culture. But there was a juncture in the economy of grace which seemed just then to call for special interposition.

A traditional revelation had been tried long enough to prove its insufficiency for the purposes of man. A great addition was now to be made to the revelation previously existing: such as could not be preserved pure for a single generation, if left solely to tradition and the memory of men. For the salvation of the race some method must be made known by which it could be permanently recorded. There is much that is attractive about this theory. The whole difficulty of the origin of letters is in an instant solved by the interposition of God for such a worthy cause. And it gives a pleasing sacredness to letters, thus to connect them with God as their immediate giver, and with the everlasting welfare of man as the immediate end of their bestowment.

This theory, however, cannot in fairness be maintained. It has against it the fact, that no intimation is given in the sacred record that writing was first made known at Sinai; that it is even mentioned once as employed before the giving of the law, so that the knowledge of it could not have been derived from that event; and, that from intimations in the books of Moses, it would appear, that the people possessed a familiarity with writing for the most ordinary purposes, which supposes a longer acquaintance with the art than on this theory could be allowed. Besides, there have been facts developed recently, from the monuments of Egypt, which seem to put the Sinaitic origin of writing completely out of the question. Actual alphabetic writing has been discovered there, which they who pretend to knowledge in such matters say is demonstrably older than the time of Moses. At any rate, it is not God's ordinary method to give to man, by inspiration, instruction in the arts of civilized life. The faculties with which he has been endowed are sufficient for these purposes, and he is left to develope them for himself. But letters lose not, thus, one whit of sacredness in our eyes, nor is our indebtedness to the Most High at all diminished for this inestimable boon. What comes to us through the instrumentality of second causes, should wake our thankfulness to the Author of all good, no less than if it came directly, or by miracle. And it exhibits more the wise orderings of a far-reaching Providence, that when the necessity for the art of writing came in God's scheme of grace, there it

was, already furnished; all the steps had been already taken, and the invention was complete: there was no such lack of foresight, as failed to anticipate the crisis till it came, and then must supply the deficiency by miracle.

If, then, writing is to be regarded as a human invention, there is a probability in the supposition, that, like other inventions, it reached its perfection, not all at once, but by slow degrees. And, in fact, various steps can now be pointed out, through which it has with considerable plausibility been argued that this art passed, in its progress toward its present development.

The first in order is what is commonly called picture-writing. This simplest, most elemental stage of the process, consists in conveying the ideas of things, or of events, by the representation of the things, or the events, themselves. To convey the idea of a house, or of a man, the picture is drawn of one of those objects. If the house has been burned, or the man has been slain, the former is pictured as in flames, the latter as pierced through by the weapon that inflicted the fatal wound. This method has naturally been employed, even by the most barbarous people, to transmit the memory of important historical facts. Its existence among the Mexicans, and the Aborigines of North America, is well known. Nearly one hundred pages are devoted to the elucidation of this subject by Schoolcraft, in the first volume of his great work on the Indian Tribes, published by the authority of Congress, and many curious illustrations are given. So, too, the Egyptians and the Assyrians portrayed upon the walls of their temples and palaces events which they would hand down to memory. And it is mainly from this very source, that the learned are now laboriously gathering up the lost history of these ancient empires. There it is written by themselves. And we can now obtain as clear an idea of many of the usages of these nations, and of the character of their life, though they have been extinct for ages upon ages, as though they were in existence still—so vividly and so minutely has all been depicted. The soldier may be seen plying all the enginery of his dreadful art, the husbandman engaged in the various processes of agriculture; and they who are curious in such matters, may learn the fashions of

ladies' dress, the style of domestic furniture, and the etiquette of a public entertainment in the time of the Pharaohs. This mode of conveying ideas is, evidently, very limited in its application, and belongs, in its exclusive use, only to the rudest state of the art. We say, *in its exclusive use*—for it has, within its own limited range, advantages peculiar to itself, and in which no other method of conveying thoughts can rival it; and, consequently, it has not yet been, and never will be, abandoned. The vividness of pictorial delineation is far beyond anything that can be attained by verbal description. It is employed at this day by the painter, who has carried it to its highest perfection. It is no less the grand conceptions of a vigorous mind which impress those who gaze upon the productions of a Raphael and a Michael Angelo, than it is the same which thrills his soul who follows, in his thundering periods, the prince of Grecian orators.

But, whatever advantages may attend this primary method of recording thoughts, it is, evidently, very limited in its range. It is only sensible and material things which can be thus depicted. The immaterial and the abstract, the whole world of ideas and emotions, find no appropriate representation. What painter can represent a soul, or thought, or abstract ideas, such as goodness, greatness, and the like? To cover this new field, a second step became necessary in the progress of our art. This is ideographic writing—in which ideas, incapable of direct pictorial exhibition, are represented by some conventional sign, some natural symbol, it may be, or some symbol purely arbitrary. The figurative language of every tongue under the sun suggests such symbols in abundance, whence the transition to their employment in written signs is natural and easy. The idea of innocence might as easily be conveyed by a lamb in a picture, as in a figure of speech: so, by the dove, gentleness; by the lion, courage; and by the ass, stupidity. By an extension of the same process, a circle might represent eternity, as having neither beginning nor end; the eye might represent omniscience; a crown, regal dominion; and so on. Such ideographs are to be found, as is well known, in the hieroglyphics of Egypt; though these are not exclusively composed of such symbols, as was once supposed.

This method of writing must also be very limited, or it will grow to be exceedingly cumbrous. Every fresh idea must have an emblem of its own; and as the list is extended, it becomes more and more burdensome to the memory. And yet it would be unjust to pass it by without acknowledging that it too has advantages peculiar to itself, and speaking as it does to the imagination, or to the power of association, it has a power greater even than that of words. It is of precisely the same nature with figurative language or symbolic actions. We would feel that a great element of power in our language was lost, if we were deprived of all figurative expressions, or of all expressions based on figures. It is often represented as though ideographic writing were necessarily ambiguous or obscure, as though the symbol might stand for anything the interpreter might fancy, and there were nothing in any case to determine its signification. As an example of ambiguity, may be mentioned the symbolical letter sent by the King of Scythia to the Persian Darius, when the latter in his inconsiderate pursuit had become entangled in that wild and inhospitable region. It consisted simply of a bird, a mouse, a frog and five arrows, left without explanation. This Darius interpreted as a surrender of themselves and of their country: the mouse representing the land, the frog the water, the bird the air, (or, according to Herodotus IV. 131, 132, their swift horses,) and the arrows their military power. But one of his advisers more shrewdly explained it to mean, that unless the Persians could soar through the air like a bird, or burrow in the ground as a mouse, or dive beneath the water as a frog, they could not escape the arrows of the Scythians. Symbols are ambiguous, however, only to those who possess not the key. If it be agreed upon that a given sign shall represent a certain idea, there will be no difficulty in knowing, when the sign is seen, what is the idea intended by it. In fact, words themselves are arbitrary signs of thought addressed to the ear, as ideographs are addressed to the eye. And yet those who have been instructed in the meaning of words find no difficulty or obscurity in their employment; though to a foreigner, unacquainted with their meaning, they might convey not a single idea, or an erroneous one. Symbols, however, have this advantage even over words,

that in many cases they are not arbitrary, but naturally, and of themselves expressive. Who does not feel the power of that beautiful allegory which the immortal Bunyan has drawn of the Christian life? Under his graphic pen it stands all pictured before us: the Slough of Despond, the Strait Gate, the Narrow Way, the Hill Difficulty, the Delectable Mountains, the Land of Drowsiness, the River without a Bridge. Who thinks of any obscurity here? Could the meaning be plainer if stripped of its symbols, and expressed in literal terms? But how much of its beauty and of its force would then be gone!

An important part of divine revelation was, under the former dispensation, conveyed by the language of symbols. And yet the sacrifices and the ritual of the Old Testament spoke with no doubtful meaning to the devout worshipper. So too in the case of those sacred symbols perpetuated among Christians, the holy supper, and baptism with water. There is no obscurity about them, because their meaning is wrapped up in symbols; and there is an impressiveness about them which no form of speech could equal. The national flag is a symbol purely arbitrary, and yet intelligible. What American can see the stars and stripes, and not recognize in them the emblem of the sovereignty of his own glorious land? The devices of heraldry were a species of ideographic writing composed of arbitrary symbols. And travellers tell us that the Turkish ladies, brought up in ignorance of letters, are yet ingenious enough to hold correspondence with their lovers by the ideographic method, and that a bouquet of flowers skilfully selected is made to speak unerringly the language of the heart. The language too of the deaf and dumb is in part ideographic. They have an alphabet, to be sure, which they play off upon their nimble fingers; but besides this they have another mode of communicating their ideas, in which each sign denotes not a letter, nor a word, but a thing or a thought, and their whole meaning can be thus conveyed more quickly, as well as more forcibly, than by the employment of words. If it be said of a man that he is a dog in the manger, or that he is a snake in the grass, no one would have any difficulty in divining the meaning. And why should there be any more difficulty in suggesting the ideas of surly snappishness or sly hostility by

the pictorial representation of a dog in the manger, or of a snake in the grass, than by the employment of the words?

It has been claimed already in favour of this method of writing, that it may be free from ambiguity, and that it has an expressiveness peculiar to itself. It may even be proper to go further, and to add, that in application to some purposes it is really the best method of writing ever discovered. The language of mathematics, for instance, is purely ideographic. The figures 1, 2, 3, &c., are signs not of sounds, nor of words, but simply of ideas. They simply suggest numerical relations. So the various algebraic signs denoting addition, subtraction, division, powers, roots, equality, &c., and the additional signs of the Calculus, and of Astronomy, the symbols for the various planets, for perigee, apogee, conjunction, opposition, etc., are all ideographs. They have nothing to do with the names of the things, much less with the sounds of the names; they signify directly the things themselves. Consequently they are independent of all variety of language, and are just as intelligible to the man who calls them one thing, as to the man who would call them another. The same mathematical calculation can be read and understood with equal ease by English, French, Italians, Spaniards, and Russians, though they may not know respectively a word of the others' language. The mathematical signs would convey exactly the same idea to every one of them; and yet were they to undertake to pronounce what they read, it would be a perfect jargon; one would render it into English, another into Spanish, and so on, each into his own tongue.

So again the notation of music is ideographic. The signs stand not for the names of things, but for things themselves; its staffs, and clefs, and rests, and flats, and sharps, and repeats, and staccato, and crescendo, its minims, and crotchets, and demisemiquavers, are all ideographs. They have nothing to do with words, but only with the relations of harmony which they are designed to indicate. They belong not to one language nor to another. They are lifted above all differences of language, and can be read irrespective of them. The performer of one land will read off the same harmony from a piece of music, as a performer from any other land.

This facility afforded by mathematical and musical signs of

being read with equal ease by men of every language, has suggested to some minds the inquiry, whether some universal method of writing cannot be invented, which shall be independent of all differences of language, and shall be capable of being used and being equally understood everywhere, thus affording a medium of communication between all the nations of the earth. Mathematics and music have each their own system of writing, intelligible equally to all cultivated nations. Cannot the same thing be done in other matters? Cannot some similar process be extended over the whole range of human thought and intercourse? It is a grand conception, but one, we fear, which is destined never to be realized. We doubt if even this inventive age will be able to bring out of it anything of practical value toward such an end. And, yet, who can pronounce it utterly impracticable? This very thing is now done, on a somewhat limited scale indeed, and by an unwieldy process; but who knows how it may be simplified by some inventive genius? The Chinese character is at this day read differently in different sections of that great empire. There are parts of the country whose spoken tongues have perhaps scarcely anything in common, and yet the written Chinese is equally intelligible in all. It would be understood alike, yet read by each in his own tongue. We confess, however, that we are little inclined to believe that any complete ideographic system could be introduced without its being as cumbersome as the Chinese, with its 25 to 50,000 characters; for every fresh idea must have its distinct sign.

The palpable inconveniences and objections attending this method of writing led to a third step in the progress of our art, of still greater importance than either which had preceded, and which finally issued in that employed now and for ages past by the great body of the civilized world, to wit, phonographic writing, or writing representative of sound. This is the radical difference between this method and either of its predecessors, that it aims not at images of things, nor signs of ideas, but signs of sound. This connects it at once with language. The picture writing and the ideograph, as we have seen, have nothing to do with language. They represent directly things or ideas. Phonographic writing only represents their names.

Language is the utterance of thought; writing is the notation of language; and therefore only indirectly and mediately expresses things and thoughts. To employ a commercial figure: thoughts are our intellectual property. Spoken language is the currency by which the value of that property is directly represented. Writing is the bank note or the bill of exchange drawn at sight and payable in coin, representing directly not the property itself, but the gold and silver, which ar e the immediate representatives of property.

Here, if anywhere, is the halting place of the theory of the gradual invention of writing. The transition from the methods before described of representing things, to this of representing sound, seems indeed very abrupt; and it may be, and has been doubted, whether they furnished any preparation for this whatever; it may be thought that phonographic writing might as easily have been invented without those initiatory stages, or before them, as it could after them. Indeed, there have been some to claim that the writing of sound was the primary original method, and that the ideograph was only used in the Egyptian hieroglyphics for instance, as a secret cypher to conceal from the vulgar and the uninitiated a meaning known only to the priests. But in the view of the advocates of the theory which we have undertaken to represent to our readers, it may be shown from the writing in use among the Chinese, that this seeming chasm can be bridged. Theirs was manifestly, at first, picture writing. There are 608 of their characters, and those among the first invented, in which a plain resemblance can be traced between the original form and the object represented by it. Their primary forms, as given by the Chinese philologists, are simply outlines of the objects themselves. These have been modified in the course of time, and by the changes in their writing materials from the iron style and bamboo tablet to the hair pencil and their paper; but the resemblance is still very perceptible. Then they have another class of 107 characters, which are simple ideographs; thus the moon, half appearing, is made to represent *evening;* the sun, just above the horizon, signifies *morning;* the mouth, with something in it, means *sweet.*

A third class, of 740 characters, consists of compound

ideographs, in which two or three symbols are combined in one character to express a single idea: thus the figures of the sun and moon, placed in juxtaposition, express brightness; two trees put side by side, mean a forest; three trees forming a triangle, mean a thicket; the emblems of *dog* and *mouth* combined, mean to bark; *woman* and *broom* denotes a wife; *pencil* and *to speak*, is a book or to write, which is the pencil speaking.

From these as their initial points, they proceeded to form another class of characters, which is by far the most numerous of any in the language, amounting to 21,180. They consist of a picture or imitative symbol, united to another character, which loses its own meaning, and merely gives its sound to the compound. Without some such method as this, the Chinese would be obliged to employ an entirely new and independent character for every different idea. But by this plan of forming new combinations by the union of symbols expressing idea and sound, they are enabled to increase the number of their characters to any extent without multiplying the original symbols. To make this more plain we will cite an example from Williams's Middle Kingdom, I. p. 464, from which the preceding facts relating to this language have been chiefly derived. "Supposing," he says, "a new insect was to be described, whose name had never yet been written, but which was well known in its native localities by the term *nan*. It would be sufficient to designate this insect to all persons living where it was found, by selecting a well understood character, but without reference to its meaning, only having the exact sound *nan*, such as the insect itself was called in that place, and joining it to the symbol *chung*, meaning insect." *Chung*, in the combination, loses its sound; and *nan*, which, standing by itself, means *south*, in the combination loses its sense. "It would [accordingly] signify to every one who knew the sound and meaning of the component parts, the insect *nan:* and be read *nan*, meaning an insect." In like manner the Chinese have no difficulty in writing foreign proper names by combining characters to represent the sound of the various syllables, disregarding their proper original meaning: thus the character for *beautiful*, prefixed to the character for *scholar*,

spells *Mr.:* and the two characters signifying *frame* and *not*, spell *coffee*.

These facts show that symbols of sound could arise, and have arisen, out of symbols of thought and picture representations of things. The same transition, precisely, has taken place in the hieroglyphics of Egypt. It was at one time supposed that these mysterious characters, which were a puzzle even to the old Greeks and Romans, were all picture symbols or ideographs. It has been discovered, however, by the laborious and successful investigations of modern times, that a great proportion of them are phonographic. The necessity of finding some method to record the names of their monarchs upon the monuments erected by them, or in their honour, seems to have given birth to the idea here. The picture of an object is made to stand for the first sound in its name, and thus the word is spelled out by a combination of such pictures. This would be the same as if it were desired to represent the word *hat*, and for that purpose we were to join together the figures of a *hand*, an *apple* and a *top*, which, taking the first sounds of each, would spell h-a-t. Now this method has been pursued to a great extent in the Egyptian hieroglyphics. From the proper names in which it seems first to have been employed, it was extended to other words and sentences, so that it is found that a great part of these strange devices are capable of being spelled into words and read; and there are grammars and dictionaries of this, just as there are of any written language. For example, the Coptic name of an eagle is *aham:* consequently the picture of an eagle stands for the letter A. A lion stands for L, because its Coptic name is *lobo:* and an owl for M, the first sound in its name, *moulad*, &c. Of course it will be easily seen that by this method of writing the same sound might come to have several representatives: and this has actually been found to be the case. Thus A may be represented by an *arm*, or by the leaf of the aquatic plant *achi*, etc., as well as by an eagle.

It is thus found in two entirely distinct and independent examples, the writing of the Chinese and that of the ancient Egyptians, that what was originally pictorial or ideographic passed over by a natural, perhaps it may even be said, by a neces-

sary process, into the phonographic. And thus is reached the grand idea which has given birth to the modern and most perfect systems of writing, viz: the idea of representing by written characters not things nor thoughts, but sound. The idea has been reached; but it is yet only a rudimental conception and needs to be developed. Just so he who produced the first simple pipe from reeds had fallen upon the idea of instrumental music; but how far his primitive notes were removed from the swelling harmony of the full-toned organ, he who has an ear may judge. And he who first discovered that the steam issuing from a heated flask could be instantly condensed by plunging it into cold water, had seized the embryo idea of the steam engine. But it is an enormous stride from that original idea to the locomotive and the steamship.

We have seen the Chinese emblems employed as signs of sound, not of a simple elementary sound, however, but the complex one of a syllable or a word. In the hieroglyphics we find a further analysis of sound into simpler elements; but the very same sound may have three, four, or a dozen representatives. This is still too complicated and cumbrous. Two or three hundred signs, although a wonderful relief to him who has known nothing but the ideograph, and simplicity itself compared with the 25,000 characters of China, are yet too burdensome. Gradually one sign established itself for each sound, and the rest were dropped as superfluous. This would effect, of course, a vast reduction in the number of the characters, and in the complexity of the system. But it was still a slow and tedious process, if for every sound represented a full picture must be made or a complicated symbol; accordingly the individual symbols of sound which were still retained, were gradually simplified. From the full picture they were reduced to the mere outline; from a complete outline to a simple draught of the most necessary parts, until a form was reached that could be made by a single, or at the utmost, by a few strokes of the pen. Thus, if an ox (in Hebrew and Phenician *Aleph*) represent A, the figure of the ox is successively lopped off and abbreviated until nothing is left but the rude outline of the head with the projecting horns; and as in the course of successive mutations this letter has gone round a complete circle so as to have come back

again very nearly to its original form, as it appears on the oldest Phenician monuments, any one may see for himself that the capital Roman A inverted bears a rude resemblance to the head and horns of an ox. A similar recurrence to something like its original form has taken place in M, denoting water, (Hebrew *mayim*) and borrowing its shape from the waves on the surface of that element. O took its form from the eye. Q from the head. T from a cross, the upper arm having been in the course of time neglected.

Thus by a variety of steps, such as those detailed above, the true theory of phonographic writing may be supposed to have been reached. This theory is, that the various sounds of a spoken language should be reduced to their simplest elements, and these be represented each by a single sign, and that of easy formation. The perfection of the various systems which practically grew out of this theory, depended wholly upon the skill and success with which these principles were in various cases applied, the power of the analysis by which the sounds were reduced to their primary elements, and the simplicity of the characters respectively employed to represent them. Here the modes adopted divide into two branches. The less simple is the syllabic writing, in which, as its name implies, each character represents a syllable, a consonant followed by a vowel. Of this the Ethiopic is an instance, in which there are 182 signs, representing as many syllables. These are all based, however, upon 26 forms, indicating so many consonants, which are variously modified to denote the character of the accompanying vowel. The Sanscrit also follows a syllabic system. So do the Cherokee Indians of our own country. The other branch referred to above, and far the simpler of the two, is the alphabetic. This is superior to every other method of writing which has yet been adopted, not only in simplicity, but in compass and power. Its capacity for expressing the various combinations of sound is immense beyond conception. The 26 letters of our alphabet, which a child can learn in a day, at least it is said, if we remember correctly, that John Wesley's mother taught them all to him in one day, are capable of expressing not only the 30 or 40,000, or whatever number of words we may have in the English language, but with a few additions for peculiar sounds

occasionally met with in other tongues, they would record with perfect ease every word in all the thousands of languages spoken over the habitable globe. Thus 26, or at the utmost 30 or 40 characters, and these capable of being made by one or two strokes of the pen, are made the key to all the mysteries contained in language, and unlock every treasury of human thought; and by their aid, somewhat simplified and abbreviated, the practised stenographer will record word for word the utterances of the most rapid speaker for hours together. By them and the aid of movable types, an invention which alphabetic writing first rendered possible, our presses are scattering intelligence and learning broadcast over the world. By the aid of a notation founded upon them, the telegraph carries our messages with the speed of lightning. What a change from the stately and laboured and multitudinous hieroglyphics!

The single characters arrived at, the mode of grouping them is a matter of convenience or of taste. It by no means follows as a thing of course that each succeeding letter is to be set to the right of its predecessor, simply because we have been accustomed to that method all our lives. The direction of their writing has been as various among different people as could well be imagined. Thus the Chinese dispose their characters in perpendicular columns written from the top to the bottom of the page, the columns being themselves arranged from right to left, each column as it is added being placed to the left of that before it. The Tartars write also in perpendicular columns, but commence at the opposite side of the page, at the left hand, disposing their columns from left to right. The Mexican picture writing differed from both the preceding in beginning at the bottom and being written upwards to the top. The majority of languages, however, are written horizontally; those of Europe generally in the same direction with our own, towards the right; some of the Asiatic languages, the Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic particularly, in the reverse direction toward the left; while the ancient Greek was at one period written both ways at once, that is to say, in alternate lines, first toward the right, then toward the left; just as in ploughing a field it is first traversed in one direction, then in the opposite; an analogy which,

as every lad advanced enough to have a smattering of Greek grammar knows, gave name to that method of writing.

The method of connecting the characters together is equally arbitrary. In Sanscrit the different letters are not joined immediately with each other, but are suspended in common from a line drawn over them all, like so many pot-hooks and hangers ranged upon the old fashioned crane of our grandmothers. In Syriac the position of the uniting stroke is beneath the letters, in place of above them, and the individual characters appear to rise in succession out of it. In Japanese the line of junction is perpendicular, and the letters are strung along on either side. While in many languages, as in the running hand of our own, the terminating stroke of one letter attaches it to another, and the final letter of the word is perhaps distinguished by a larger than the ordinary flourish. Or yet again, as in the case of the Hebrew and the Ethiopic, each character stands distinct by itself unconnected with any other. Some methods of writing make no distinction between words, scarcely even between sentences; in others each is plainly distinguished.

Much might here be said upon the correlation subsisting between different languages and their respective alphabets, how alphabets have been modified to suit languages, and what reflex influence has been exerted again upon languages by their alphabets; also upon the history of various alphabets, (for some of them, our own for example, have quite a history,) and the mutations they have undergone as they have passed from hand to hand and from people to people, with the causes and the results of these mutations; then upon all the questions arising in comparative palaeography, which has of late grown to be quite a science, and is not without important practical results, affecting not literature merely, but even points debated in theology, showing the filiation of various alphabets, their common derivation and relation to each other; and, to mention no more of the topics growing out of this theme, the wonderful resuscitation which has been effected by the combined efforts of eminent scholars of our own day, of several lost alphabets, particularly the discovery of the key to the hieroglyphics, that enigma of ages, the singular arrow-headed character of the Persian monuments, and of those recently exhumed at Nineveh, and the Zend character,

containing the writings of the famous sage Zoroaster. We shall however, pass these by, and refer to but a single point in conclusion, which seems a necessary finish to the train of thought which we have been pursuing.

We have traced the history of our art, agreeably to the hypothesis which for the time we are representing, from its rudest, its most elementary beginnings, to its present development. It has been seen how to pictures of things may have been added symbols of ideas, and to these may have succeeded the grand conception, in which was wrapped, in embryo, what has since been unfolded into existing systems of writing—that of giving representations of sound. It has been seen how, by successive modifications and improvements growing out of this radical conception, the modern modes of writing, whether syllabic or alphabetic, may have originated. The vast power and superior advantages of this last have been pointed out. Has the term of all progression in this respect been now reached? or is there anything yet latent and unfolded in the future superior to what has been already attained? Our alphabet, plainly, is not perfect. Like our language, it has been of slow and gradual growth. Neither owes its existence to one man, or one age, or one class of circumstances. The necessities of the people who have employed them have consciously, or unconsciously, given to both their present shape and character. The result of this gradual and unpremeditated evolution has been, that neither our language nor our alphabet is strictly philosophical in its character, nor rigidly uniform in its details. A careful analysis of the sounds of our language would show, that they do not correspond exactly in number with the twenty-six symbols of sound that compose our alphabet. And the most superficial inquiry into the powers of our letters will reveal, that each letter does not stand strictly as the representative of a single sound, but in some cases of two, three, or even four: and that, on the other hand, the same sound is in different connections represented not by one sign merely, but by several. A in *fate*, *fat*, *far*, and *fall*, has four different sounds, though that one letter stands for the whole of them. C is sometimes sounded as *k*, sometimes as *s*, sometimes as *sh*, and, combined with H, has still another sound, distinct from any of the

preceding, *ch*. And every one, probably, has made himself merry with the half-dozen different sounds which have been tacked on to the poor, unfortunate termination, *ough*. It is one thing in *though*, another in *through*, another in *plough*, another in *tough*, another in *cough*, and another in *hough*. Again, the sound K is, in *cat*, written with a *c;* in *kitten*, the very same sound is written with a *k;* in *back*, with *c* and *k* together; in *chord*, with *ch*. Besides all which, letters are sometimes used to signify no sound at all. What is the use of six letters in spelling *tongue?* or of four in the first syllable of *beauty?* or of three out of the four with which *phthisic* commences?

There are, undoubtedly, blemishes in our system of orthography, which will be considered fair game by pedants, and a pretext for changes by innovators. And the present mode of writing the English language is not, perhaps, to be considered an absolute fixity, nor need it be supposed that those laws of change, which have wrought such revolutions in it already, have wholly ceased to be operative. It is altogether possible that some future generations may regard some of our modes of spelling as barbarous and uncouth, as we do those of the days of Chaucer or of Spenser.

And yet, we must confess that we are not prepared to follow in the wake of those who advocate a reconstruction of our whole orthographic system, who propose to abolish our present alphabet, or, at least, to tinker it into a more philosophical shape, and then to apply the phonetic principle in its utmost rigour, and to spell every word precisely according to its sound, tolerating no unnecessary letters, nor any of variable power. This thing, as is well known, has been already done by some of the more adventurous sort. And any of our readers who may have chanced to see books, or papers, printed after this new-fangled method, have probably had to look twice, before they could satisfy themselves whether what they saw was really English, or was some foreign and outlandish tongue. There is, to be sure, something plausible in the principles alleged by the advocates of this new system; and the undeniable awkwardness in the present mode of spelling some words in our language, gives them, occasionally, quite a show of reason.

But we have little faith in the introduction of such an exten-

sive system of change as they propose. It would involve a complete revolution in our whole literature. There is not a book now existing in the language, that would be intelligible to a generation brought up after the new alphabet. The whole would have to be remodelled. And we would like to be sure that a thing was perfectly right, and that it would not need to be presently remodelled afresh, before incurring the responsibility and the inconveniences of such a change. It will be better to let the alterations which take place in the future be like those which have gone on in the past—adopting no novelty until it has first approved itself to the mass of intelligent readers and writers, who employ the language, and who must, after all, be allowed to shape it.

Besides, we are not so sure that this absolutely rigid system, of spelling with a sole regard to sound, is, even in theory, the very best for our language, and for others like it, the French, for example, where it would make even greater havoc than with us. The strict idea of phonographic writing certainly requires that each character should always represent one and the same sound, and that each sound should always be represented by one and the same character. Now this is very nearly the case in some languages, viz., the Spanish and the German. But, in the English, it is not so. The phonographic has been modified by the presence of another element, the etymological. In many of those spellings which seem so anomalous at first sight, the written word has preserved indications of its origin and history, which have been lost in its pronunciation. Pronounce the word *reign*—and it might be doubtful from the sound whence it was derived, or how it came to mean kingly sway; but write it, and the merest tyro in the languages will tell you that it is derived from the Latin *regnum*. So the *b* in *doubt*, and the *g* in *phlegm*, and the *p* and the *l* in *psalm*, seem to be needless incumbrances; and yet those very letters give the key at once to the derivation of those words from the Latin *dubitare*, and the Greek φλεγμα and ψαλμος. And even the outrageous waste of letters in spelling *phthisic* points, true as the needle to the pole, to its Greek original. Words of similar sound, but different derivation, are also kept apart by the variety of their spelling.

An innovation which would, at a stroke, obliterate all this, and it runs very beautifully through our orthographic system, is much more bold than useful. We are inclined, therefore, to insist upon the necessity of adhering to the old-fashioned spelling for some time yet to come, in spite of the danger we incur of being condemned as foes to progress and reform.

Art. III.—*St. Ignatius and the Jesuits.*

Vie de saint Ignace, fondateur de la compagnie de Jésus. Par le P. Dom. Bouhours. Paris, Méquignon junior, 1826.

Histoire générale de la naissance, et des progrés de la compagnie de Jésus, et analyse de ses constitutions, et principes. Par Christ. Coudrette. Paris, 1761.

In a former number,* while considering the "character of Pascal," and noticing his "Provincial Letters," we had occasion to exhibit the doctrines and policy of the Jesuits; to vindicate the justice of the author in unfolding their system; and to show the probable tendency of the work in hastening their downfall. We are not, however, satisfied with that examination; we would extend our inquiries further, and learn still more of this extraordinary society. The investigation requires impartiality. We have placed at the head of our article two works—the one by an advocate, and the other by an opponent of the Jesuits; and by looking at both sides, we shall be prepared to seek and find the truth. We have no desire to multiply the faults of those whose character we describe; to impute to them principles, or consequences of principles, which they disown; to charge evils upon a system of which it was only in part the cause; or to draw stronger conclusions than the premises warrant. Though we may express ourselves strongly, yet we wish to avoid all animadversion not supported by fact; to indulge in no rancorous denunciation, and to weep, rather than triumph, over the exposed faults of those who call themselves Christians, and bear the sacred name of Jesus.

We shall consider the character of him who instituted the

* The No. for January, 1854.

order, and that of his immediate successors—the constitution and rules which embody the designs and principles of the Society—their system of education—their missions—their code of morals as exhibited by their own writers—their suppression and downfall—and finally their revival, and present condition.

The *founder of the order*, it is well known, was Ignatius Loyola, descended from an illustrious family in Spain, a courtier and cavalier, distinguished in youth for a nice sense of honour and gallantry which well fitted him to shine in courts, and in camps. Being severely wounded in the leg in the defence of Pampeluna against the attacks of the French, he was conducted to the paternal castle, at no great distance. There he endured weeks of anguish, and months of languor; there his limb, though restored, had suffered so much injury and was so deformed, as to spoil him for war or pleasure; there he was almost ready to despair, believing that he could not live without some great ambition, or be happy without some absorbing passion. To while away the tedious hours, he asked for a book. No work of chivalry being at hand, there were brought to him the "Life of Christ," and "the Lives of the Saints." The latter so full of strange adventures and wonderful exploits, naturally fixed his attention. The reading acted like a magical charm upon his spirit, roused his ambition, and kindled a burning desire for religious fame. As he read, and mused, and pondered, a bright idea struck him—"what if *I* were to do what St. Francis accomplished—what St. Dominic achieved?" From that moment the current of his soul was changed, and the chivalry of romance was abandoned for that of a spiritual crusade—his plan was fixed—his system devised—his will determined. He proceeded at once to make the preparation that was needed to equal—to excel the sublime heroes of whom he had been reading, with a courage which convinced him that all things were possible. The soldier and the page became an ascetic and flagellant. He sought an image of the virgin Mary, prostrated himself before her with sentiments of the profoundest homage, and tenderest affection, and swore to her inviolable fidelity. Effulgent in celestial majesty, she appeared to him, and accepted his vow. A favour so signal produced a sensible effect, weaned him for ever from things earthly, gave him a permanent

disrelish for sinful enjoyment, deadened within his bosom all worldly ambition, and set him free from the enthralment of every evil passion. He arose, and suspended at her shrine that sword and spear which had once been desecrated to worldly ambition. Under her immediate guardianship he continued through life; and if he was able to subdue his evil propensities, or at any time to perform any good actions, it was, he declared, "through the intercession of the most Blessed Virgin."

As the "saints" had acquired for themselves celebrity and renown by their self-imposed penances, he resolved to surpass them by severe discipline and austerity. Arraying himself in the garb of a mendicant, with his loins girt with a chain of iron, he traversed the country, begging from door to door in the villages and cities. At one time we see him plunged in a gloomy cavern, pursuing a course of the severest mortification, remaining for hours upon his knees, fasting for days, scourging himself with rigour, and causing the grotto to resound with cries of agony. At another time, we view him in a hospital, seeking the most disgusting patients, and performing with alacrity the very lowest offices. All this would have excited our admiration, if we were not told by his biographers that he was thus "working for merit"—deceiving himself with the mockeries of the sublime virtue of benevolence.

After the most painful self-denial and rigorous fastings, the tempter, who had violently assailed him, was signally defeated; and then, we are told, not "angels," but "the queen of angels" "ministered unto him;" she granted him heavenly consolation; disclosed to him the mysteries of the Holy Trinity; showed how the wafer is transubstantiated into the body and blood of her Son; presented to him, in mystic symbols, the wonders of creation and providence, and unfolded to him other truths which to him were not the objects of faith, but the objects of immediate inspection. Thus favoured, why should he esteem as necessary the light of the Scriptures? Why regard as worthy of his study the revelations made to patriarchs, and prophets, and apostles?

Loyola had bound himself by a solemn oath to visit the Holy Land; and after many difficulties which to any other would have been insuperable, he arrived at the city of Jerusalem.

His object was, not merely to visit the memorials of the Saviour's life and death, but also to restore the schismatical Greek communion to the true Church, and to convert the millions of the followers of Mahomet. His purpose, however, was frustrated; the Provincial of the Franciscans, who had charge of the sepulchre, forbade him to remain, and threatened him with excommunication, if he submitted not to his authority. On his return to Europe, he revolved his future course, and seeing that it was the divine will which prevented him from attempting any good work in the East, he now anxiously considered to what field of labour he should devote himself. From this time there was a complete change in his conduct; he was no longer the sordid and half-distracted anchoret, but a man distinguished for good sense, profound sagacity, calm perseverance, ability to conceive gigantic designs, and address to effect their accomplishment. Being deficient in education, knowing only how to read and write, possessing no language but his own, no science but that of the camp, no knowledge of books but that of the lives of the knight-errants and the saints, he, at the age of thirty, resolved to become a learned man, and to know all that the doctors teach. Abandoning his imaginary projects, and resigning a life of asceticism, he took his place in the elementary schools, first of Barcelona, and then of Salamanca, and commenced the study of the first rudiments of the Latin tongue. He resolved to persist in his new employment, to yield to every task that was assigned to him, and to submit to every chastisement which was inflicted upon boys making no more progress than himself. His purposes were answered; he applied himself day and night to his books with intense assiduity and astonishing success. Whatever he had been before, this prodigious empire over himself shows that he was an extraordinary man.

Fully resolved to gain all the knowledge that was necessary for the fulfilment of his mission, he repaired, after finishing his course at the grammar-school, to the institution where science at that time attracted so many inquirers, the University of Paris. There he devoted himself to the study of philosophy and theology; found the means of carrying into effect the cherished purpose of so many years; was convinced that he was chosen of God to establish a company of apostolic men, and

sure that it was destined to have its origin at that seat of learning. His associates in study, accordingly, became the first converts to his system. He had for his room-mates, in the college of St. Barbe, two young men. The one was Pierre le Fevre, a shepherd of the Alps, of humble birth, but of insatiable thirst for knowledge. Ignatius studied his character, dealt cautiously with him, after a time revealed his project, and at length succeeded in effecting his conquest. The other was Francis Xavier, a nobleman of Biscay, proud of his birth, handsome, accomplished, learned, covered with academic laurels. Him Loyola praised and flattered, and by his peculiar mode, completely gained. Several others of the same age, and engaged in the same pursuit, joined him; undergoing, in their turn, the same resistless power of fascination. They were Laynez, Salmeron, Bobadella, Rodriguez—all men whose names stand foremost among the founders of the society. Though it was not to all alike, nor to all with the same ingenuousness that he opened his bosom, yet to all he imparted something of that great work which they were called to carry forward; and communicated it in such a manner as to lead them to feel the high destiny which was unfolding before them. He was careful, however, not to hasten the work; he gave them more than two years to mature their resolutions and complete their studies.

At length, on the 15th of August, 1537, the long concerted scheme was accomplished, and the determined vow taken. Montmatre was the scene of the ceremony; a hill near Paris, consecrated by the blood of martyrs—whence its venerated name. In a sepulchral chapel, rendered illustrious as the spot where St. Dionysius, the apostle of France, was decapitated, the disciples with their master assembled. The day chosen for the dedication of themselves was the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, selected that she might be specially invoked, and claimed as the future protectress of the order. Le Fevre, being the only consecrated priest, said mass, and gave to them the "body of the Lord;" while they ate, they swore over the consecrated host the vow of confederacy. They promised to go to Jerusalem to convert the Turks; or should they be defeated in that design, to throw themselves at the feet of the

Pope, without reservation or condition, to undertake any service to which he should appoint them.

The war having broken out between Christians and the Turks, the pilgrimage to Jerusalem was impracticable. When the little band seemed disappointed that they could not embark for the villages and solitudes of Judea, Ignatius showed them another place of combat, and pointed to Luther, Calvin, the Anglican Church, Henry VIII., all of whom were besieging the Papacy. Captivated with the idea of such warfare, he, in accordance with his former profession, called the society "*The Company*," like a company of soldiers that do battle against their enemies; and for the purpose of attraction and renown, added the sacred name "*of Jesus;*" "because," said he, "we are to fight against heresy and vice under the standard of Christ." To inspire his disciples with encouragement, he related a vision lately enjoyed, in which the eternal Father appeared to him by the intercession of the Virgin, and placed him with the eternal Son, and said, "I will be propitious to thee at Rome." He himself had no fear; the man who had overcome every obstacle for fifteen years could look the future in the face, and resolve success. He wished his chosen band to feel as he did; to dispel every doubt; and to excite their enthusiasm, he exclaimed, "Ought we not to conclude that we are called to win to God, not only a single nation and country, but all nations and kingdoms of the world? Can we achieve any thing great, if our company does not become an order, capable of being multiplied in every place, and of being continued to the end of time?"

Application was made on their arrival at Rome, to Pope Paul III. for a bull of constitution. The Pontiff thought well of it. He saw heresy boldly advancing—Germany almost wholly Protestant—England severed from the Papal allegiance—Switzerland, Piedmont, Savoy, and all the adjacent countries "infected"—France suffering from the "distemper" brought from Geneva—the "venom" penetrating the south of Italy, and advancing towards Rome. If such had not been the state of Europe, Ignatius would probably have only founded an order that would have been a mere fraternity of worshippers of the Virgin. But the religious innovations which were abroad gave to his

enthusiasm another direction, and to the court of Rome a readiness to accept the succours that were offered. That court perceived that the lazy monks and mendicant friars were no longer able to defend the ramparts of the church assailed on every side; that the inquisitive spirit of the age required a society more active and learned to oppose the progress of error; that the decrees of councils, the decisions of cardinals, and the bulls of the Popes would avail but little, if there were no active agents employed to enforce them. Such agents it found in Loyola and his companions; men resolute in their adherence to the doctrines and ritual of the church, full of energy, determined in the performance of the most arduous duties, highly accomplished in sacred and secular literature—the very instruments needed in this dangerous crisis.

Thus estimating the prodigious importance of the auxiliaries, the Pope assented to the proposal of recognition, and issued his bull for the constitution of the society on the 27th of September, 1540. Besides the three usual vows of poverty, chastity, and monastic obedience, there was a fourth of unlimited and unconditional submission to the Pope, whose supremacy and infallibility they were always to maintain, and whose commands they were promptly to obey, in going whenever and wherever he pleased, without pecuniary reward or support. These privileges were afterwards enlarged; more than forty bulls followed, by which the society in time procured exemption from all jurisdiction, civil and ecclesiastical, and from all tithes and imposts on themselves and their property.

The society being instituted, Ignatius, who had never ceased to be a soldier, nor wholly resigned his martial spirit, deemed it necessary to begin with electing a commander in chief, or "General," for his company. The little troop was summoned at Rome for the purpose; the votes were collected; the choice fell upon Loyola. It was natural that he should be chosen; he who had been so favoured of Heaven; he who had been enlightened to see so many mysteries; who had "been associated by God the Father with God the Son." But Ignatius, like Cæsar, refused the dignity, and gently pushed away the proffered diadem. He was amazed and distressed in learning the mind of his colleagues—he felt himself entirely too small,

and unworthy of the burden and honour. Strange that they should think of *him* as General of the Society of Jesus; him who had led such a life before his conversion, and who had since, abounded in so much weakness; him to rule over others, who could so ill govern himself! After four days in prayer and penance, a second election was held, and the result followed by the refusal, was the same. Time passed on; and there was danger that the infant society would be dissolved for want of a leader. Under this apprehension, Ignatius agreed to submit the matter to the decision of his confessor. It is unnecessary to add that the confessor told him that in resisting the office, he was resisting the Holy Ghost, and fighting against God; he commanded him, on the part of Christ, to accept it. His installation as General was conducted with extraordinary solemnity in the church of St. Paul; where the vows were renewed before the altar of the virgin; where Loyola administered the communion to his brethren; where they swore unqualified and absolute obedience to him, and he, the same obedience to the Pope. In this manner, like Octavius, he reached the goal of his life's ambition; and the better to seize and the surer to retain it, began by being indifferent, and even repulsing it.

We have thus traced the history of Ignatius to the time when his Society received the sanction of the Pope; we now proceed to consider more particularly the nature of the institution; its *constitution, government, and laws.* This we are able to do from authentic acknowledged records. The statute book which was long concealed has been discovered; it was brought to light in the course of the celebrated suit of Lionci and La Valette, in France, in 1761.

The paramount and professed object of this order was to win back the countries that were lost to the Church of Rome, and to augment them by new accessions; to restore the absolute and universal supremacy of the Pope; to check the progress, and entirely destroy the principles of the Reformation. The war contemplated was not one merely of defence, it was also aggressive; suitable instruments were to be employed to dare and to do great things, and to strike terror into foes. Hence the Jesuits, who were to do this work, held a middle rank

between the monks and the secular clergy. They resembled the monks in this, that they lived separate from the multitude, and were bound by certain religious vows; but they were exempt from stated hours of worship, and numerous services which were burdensome to other orders, that they might devote the time to different duties. Designed for action; vigorous, persevering, wide-spread action, they had special immunities and privileges which qualified them for their peculiar vocation. While the primary object of other monastic orders was to separate men from the world, the design of this was to make themselves masters of the world; they were sent forth to watch every transaction, civil or sacred, that affects the interests of the see of Rome; to engage, as far as that object is concerned, in secular business, and to trade largely and extensively with the nations of the earth.

The order is divided into three classes. The first comprehends the professed members, who live in what are called the "professed houses;" the second contains the scholars; and to the third belong the novices, who reside in the houses of probation.

The professed members, besides the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, that are common to all the monastic tribes, are obliged to take a fourth, by which they solemnly bind themselves to go, without delay, wherever the Pope shall see fit to send them. They constitute what is called the "Power of the Congregation"—sometimes the "General Congregation;" are the bones and sinews of the society, and have the privilege of electing the General. They have always been few in number, and are generally men of wisdom and learning; dexterous in all kinds of business, from long experience; with much natural penetration and sagacity. Ignatius had an object in view in restraining their number.

The scholastic, or scholars, are those whose future position in the society is to be determined by their respective qualifications; and if they have satisfactorily passed through the course of their studies, they become approved scholars. The novices are those who are admitted on trial, and whose probation last two years, during which they are trained in spirituality, and taught the import of the vows which they are about to take.

Besides the coadjutors spiritual, who are simple priests, there is another class called coadjutors temporal, composed of the laity; the companions and associates of the order, who formally join them and assume their name, but who are little acquainted with the secrets of the society. This last privilege was adapted to all places, reached other orders, and extended to the laity in every situation, whether single or married, male or female; to lawyers, physicians, merchants, artisans, soldiers; even to kings and princes. Ferdinand II., Emperor of Germany, and his son Ferdinand III. were enrolled in their register. Sigismond III., King of Poland, the Duke of Savoy, the Queen Consort of Charles IX. of France, and the mother of the Emperor Rudolphus, were all, in this respect, members of the society. It led the Jesuits to boast—"these kings and queens rejoice more in being of this body than in the crowns which decorate their brows; for other titles are proofs of their dignity, but this of their complete happiness."

It became essential to the society that its constitution should be monarchical; that the whole exercise of the authority should be in the hands of a single chief. A General chosen for life possessed supreme and independent power, extending to every person and case; by him all the provincials, rectors, and other officers were appointed, and by him removed at pleasure. By his disposal all the members were located; upon them he could, by his mandate, impose any task, or require any service; to his command they were required to yield, not only outward obedience, but also the inclinations of their wills, and the sentiments of their understandings; to his injunctions they were to listen, as if they had been uttered by Jesus Christ himself. Under his direction they were to be only passive instruments, like clay in the hands of the potter, or mere machines incapable of resistance. The same unqualified submission to his superior is required of all, without exception, through the entire course of probationary exercises, and through the whole period of life. To him must be surrendered understanding, will, conscience, according to the express language of the constitutions—"the novice must devote himself to the service of God, leaving the care of all other things to his superior, who doubtless holds the place of Christ our Lord." Such stress did Loyola lay upon

this, that at the close of life he added the following to the "Spiritual Exercises": "I desire that the company should know my last thoughts upon the virtue of obedience. Let every one persuade himself that they who live under obedience should permit themselves to be moved and directed under Divine Providence by their superiors, just as if they were a corpse, which allows itself to be moved and handled in any way; or as the staff of an old man which serves him whenever, or in whatever thing he who holds it in his hand pleases to use it."

Such blind, implicit, unquestioning obedience to the superior is the grand principle on which the whole society rests. The trust reposed in the General of the order, required that he should be intimately acquainted with the powers and dispositions of the agents over whom he possesses such unlimited control. Accordingly, every possible security was taken for the acquisition of such knowledge; inspection of the minutest kind was maintained; reports from every district were multiplied; and tributary streams of information were incessantly rolling into the great reservoir of Rome, to which the head of the society alone had access. In these communications, the Provincials were required not to confine themselves to the state of their society, but also to present the civil and political circumstances of the countries in which they resided; which latter statements were to be conveyed by a particular cypher, known only to the writer and the General.

The society being fully organized, composed of men of no ordinary stamp, and endowed with privileges conferred upon no other order, let us now *inquire into its success*—let us follow these eight men into the world, and learn what they accomplished. After the company was fully established by the Papal mandate, no time was to be lost. Ignatius at once displayed the most consummate skill in the dominion which he exercised over the conventual house at Rome, the centre of government to the society; and issued his orders in such a manner, as showed that he expected his monarchy to be universal. Soon, all his disciples were in action, overspreading the world. Francis Xavier was dispatched to India, as Apostolic Legate; Lainez was sent to Venice; Le Fevre to Madrid; Bobadilla and Le Jay to Vienna; Salmeron and Brouet to Ireland.

The first church which the society erected, and which it could call its own, was in the city of Rome, dedicated to the Holy Virgin, where Ignatius preached with great effect, and where multitudes resorted to him as a skilful physician of souls. All who were scattered abroad seem to have commenced their work in like manner, and employed the same weapons which the Protestants were using so successfully; they preached to the people in their own style, and with great earnestness; and never was such preaching heard before in the Romish church; it was such as produced at first breathless silence, then tears, then sobs, then prostration at the feet of the preacher, accompanied with confession of crimes, and ardent pleadings for mercy. Other means, united with this, soon made them popular, and caused them to be well received in the countries whither they went. John III., king of Portugal, opened his kingdom to them. Rodriguez entered in, was successful in instituting a college at Coimbra, in providing funds, and in having it liberally endowed. Barcelona, Valencia, Alcala, and Salamanca, soon enjoyed the same privilege. In Germany, dissensions among the Protestants gave advantage to the Jesuits, and imparted to their operations additional vigour and success. They were supplied with houses, furnished with chapels, and provided with pensions; and, in one instance, there was handed over to them an endowed school, which had been governed by a Protestant regent. Vienna, Cologne, and Ingolstadt, were the three metropolitan centres, whence they radiated over the length and breadth of the land. With untiring purpose, endless expedients to meet every emergency, strict discipline in personal conduct, undeviating method in tuition, and above all, perfect unity in will, they conquered the Germans on their own ground, and wrested from them a part of their land, which to this day has not been reclaimed. And why? Because the Reformers were not agreed among themselves; were fighting each other with reckless fierceness; were not magnanimous enough to tolerate minor differences of doctrine and discipline. In the different parts of Spain, Portugal, Germany, Italy, and Sicily, houses of their order were founded upon a firm basis, over which were placed well qualified Provincials.

While his colleagues were abroad, labouring incessantly and successfully, Ignatius was at Rome, promoting various reforms, and founding ecclesiastical institutions. Among these, was the Roman college, which he designed as the model of all others; in the institution of which he spared no pains nor expense; in which were taught not only Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, but also all the sciences, by able instructers and professors. He presided over it, and did everything to bring it into a state to captivate and allure. Every hour he made inquiries respecting the studies: to animate the scholars and teachers, he appointed intellectual contests in the classes, at which he aided, accompanied by Cardinals and other men of rank; and, to give perfection to the scheme, he obtained permission from the Pope for the students, after due examination, to be Masters of Arts and Doctors.

At an early period Ignatius found it necessary to take a step which tended much to the reputation and permanency of the society; to suppress all hopes of individual ambition; to prevent the members from the reception of individual dignities; to have the vow strictly fulfilled, "to live and die in the society." Other orders were but a stepping-stone to the honours of the church; a kind of storehouse of ecclesiastical functionaries. Not so, however, with this society. The General perceived, that if once one of his colleagues were allowed to accept of a bishopric, or if such preferment were the reward of eminent ability, he could no longer hold in his hands the hearts, or control the services of those who had the least degree of worldly ambition. If this were tolerated, the society would soon be regarded as an open way to mitres and emoluments, and in a little time would cease to fulfil its high intention. An instance occurred of an offered episcopate, which gave the founder an opportunity of expressing his opinion, and of opposing the offer with all his energy. The Bishopric of Trieste became vacant. Ferdinand, king of the Romans, who had the nomination, offered it to the Jesuit Le Jay. The king, the Pope, and the Cardinals, were all of the opinion, that he was the very man to fight the cause of Romanism on the brink of the "heretic land," Luther's Germany; and they craved the boon at the hands of the General. He, however, firmly refused

to give his consent—it was contrary to the constitution of the society—it was manifestly inexpedient to the company. Should the precedent once be established, the order might in time be deprived of its best men, and ultimately become extinct. In a letter to the king, he reminded him that the company had been formed with but one object, fixed in the mind of every member, namely, to penetrate all regions of the globe, at the will of the Pope, in behalf of the Catholic faith. The head of the church had approved their efforts, and God himself had fixed upon them his seal of approbation. Let him look at the results of their enterprise. To remain as they were was a a guaranty of the duration of their company; to permit an innovation in the original constitution would be its ruin. Hence he might clearly see what an injury it would be, if the order were permitted to make Bishops. By such, and similar other arguments, he freed himself from the honours offered to the society, persuaded the court of Rome to yield, and thus avoided the extreme peril. Not long after, Bobadilla refused a similar honour, the Bishopric of Trent. This settled the matter; and it was determined that no Jesuit, in ordinary cases, should be Bishop, Archbishop, Cardinal, or Pope; that he should receive no such ecclesiastical dignities, unless imperative circumstances made it expedient. In the case of Bellarmine it was so decided; and declared that his elevation would decidedly advance the common cause.

But while Ignatius rejected all such marks of superiority, he encouraged among his followers high distinction in courts. When Gonsalez was invited by John III. king of Portugal, to be his confessor, he was inclined to refuse the honour. But the General favoured it, saying, "a member of the Society of Jesus should always be ready to promote the good of others, whether they be beggars or princes; should turn aside from no office of charity, whether in cottages or palaces." In this case, he acted consistently; and while he rejected ecclesiastical honours, he gladly accepted for his followers the most influential employments in the courts of kings.

The society gained no little reputation from its representatives at the Council of Trent. Two were selected for this purpose as the Pope's legates, Lainez, and Salmeron—young men

in years, but mature in experience, eminently gifted for such a service, who had already shown themselves able combatants in the controversies of the times. Ignatius gave them instructions fitted for the occasion, displaying his habitual tact and dexterity, and indicating his full conviction of his supreme power and influence—"In the Council, you must be rather slow than eager to speak—deliberate and charitable in your advice on matters doing, or to be done—attentive and calm in listening—applying yourselves to seize the mind, intention, and desires of the speakers—so that you may know when to be silent, or to speak. In the discussions which shall arise, you must bring forward the arguments of the two opinions in debate, so that you may not appear attached to your own judgment. You ought always to manage, according to your ability, so that no one leaves, after your speech, less disposed to peace than he was at first. If the matters which shall be discussed are of a nature to force you to speak, express your opinion with modesty and serenity, always conclude with these words—'better advice, or everything other equivalent, excepted.' In hearing confessions, think that all you say to your penitents may be published on the house-top. By way of penance, enjoin them to pray for the Council. In giving the exercises, speak as you would in public. You will visit the hospitals by turns every four days—each once a week, at times not inconvenient to the sick. You will soothe their afflictions, not only by your words, but by carrying to them, as far as you will be able, some little presents. In fine, if to settle questions, brevity and circumspection are necessary, so as to excite piety, we ought, on the contrary, to speak with a certain degree of diffuseness, and in a kindly manner. Another point remains, which concerns the care of watching over yourselves, and guarding against the shoals to which you will be exposed. And though you ought never to forget the essential of our Institute, you must nevertheless remember, above all, to preserve the strictest union, and most perfect agreement of thought and judgment."

These instructions were strictly fulfilled; and the representatives took a high position in the Council, as the champions of the Pope and of orthodoxy, and at the same time, the indirect advocates of their own order. When the General of the Augus-

tins attempted the modification of the Papal dogma distinguishing between justification inherent, and justification applied and imparted, asserting the latter alone to be the Christian's confidence and hope, Lainez opposed him with all his force, produced a volume of arguments to sustain his position, and was gratified to find his commentary enrolled in the acts of the Council. To him belongs the credit of having then received, the Molinist, or what was afterwards called in Holland the Remonstrant doctrine; a system which he contended was "temporibus accommodatior"—more suited to the times. He also took a prominent part in the discussion on the eucharist, making an overwhelming display of theological learning, and dexterous ingenuity. While thus establishing his reputation, he injured his health; and was compelled by sickness to withdraw from the assembly. The Council suspended its sittings until his recovery, showing the estimation in which he was held, and the high honour that was reflected upon the society.

When the Council afterwards resumed its sittings, in 1562, Lainez was again conspicuous; a lofty pulpit was assigned to him, that the members might lose nothing of his harangues; and from that elevated seat, he made an address of two hours long, on the Episcopal authority and duties. He and his partisans openly opposed the Bishops, and maintained that they derived their power not immediately from God, but entirely from the Pope, on whom they were dependent; while they publicly propagated the theory of the entire absoluteness of the Pontiff, and threw the divine right over every part of his prerogative. The consequence was, no honour was denied them by the Pope's party.

It was by these and other similar means that this system, in a few years, so widely spread. Other orders arose gradually, and by degrees attained reputation and success; but this sprung at once from the brain of Ignatius, full-grown, armed, and ready for battle; from the beginning, it fought manfully and effectually, and far exceeded the expectations of its founder. The disciples of Loyola recommended themselves everywhere by their name; by the declared disinterestedness of their motives; by the lofty end which they had in view. They were the popular preachers and fashionable confessors;

cherished by popes, fondled by princes, beloved by the people; eminent for the development which they gave to science, for their indefatigable exertions in the education of youth, for their extensive missions at home, and abroad. In fifteen years after the establishment of the order, it had penetrated almost every part of the world; and no achieved kingdom was ever left by a monarch in greater prosperity than this was on the death of its founder. There were twelve provinces: nine in Europe; three in Asia, Africa, and America—one hundred colleges, in which fifteen hundred were engaged in tuition—in all, at least, two thousand in the company, with novices, scholastics, and laymen, of all trades and avocations—some stationed in towns—some flying from city to city—and others wandering in the wilds of Africa, Asia, and America.

Though in general they were received by all nations with open arms, yet France was an exception; their conquests in that country were effected with difficulty. Notwithstanding the favour shown to them by Henry II., by Cardinal Lorraine, and by the Court, the French clergy had a deep suspicion of the new order, and opposed it; both on account of its sentiments respecting the Pope's infallibility and superiority to councils, and on account of the probable exclusion of other orders which its permanent establishment would produce. All his colleagues urged Ignatius to furnish to the church and the world a formal refutation of these charges. But he knew his part better, and instead of complying with their advice, enjoined on them, and on himself, patience and silence. "Truth," he said, "will prevail over that temporary illusion which, just now, leads the doctors of the Sorbonne to misrepresent and oppose the society; she will avenge herself and us in due time." The result showed that his advice was wise. By yielding to the storm, its vehemence in time abated, and the society crept on until it obtained as firm a footing in France as elsewhere.

On the last day of July, 1556, Ignatius died, unexpectedly to his brethren and medical attendants. On the night before, he called for his secretary and said, "My hour is come; go and ask the Pope for a blessing for me, and an indulgence for my sins, in order that my soul may have more confidence in this terrible

passage. And tell his Holiness, that if I go to a place where my prayers avail aught, as I hope from the Divine mercy, I shall not fail to pray for him, as I have done, when I had more reason to pray for myself." The secretary delayed until morning. Ignatius passed the night alone. In the morning he was found sinking. Thinking that he was faint, his friends wished him to take something, but he whispered in dying accents, "there is no need of it;" and joining his hands together, raising his eyes upwards, pronouncing the name of Jesus, he calmly breathed his last. He departed in the 65th year of his age, and died uncanonically; without the last sacraments; without confession, without absolution from any priest, without extreme unction—a singular fact in a church that regards these things of paramount importance; the omission of which would, at one era, have deprived him of Christian burial.

While considering what Ignatius accomplished within thirty years, and remembering that in that short period he saw the members of his order raised to the right hand of princes, swaying the destinies of nations, and filling the world with terror, we can, from these high achievements, form some idea of his character. All that he effected proves that he possessed a powerful intellect which must ever command the homage of the world. He was the inventor of a scheme essentially his own; and though he found the elements ready to his hand, yet he had sagacity to perceive and skill to mould them to suit his purpose; and having formed the system, he breathed into it the vital force which carried it over the world, and gave it perpetual existence. He exerted a mighty influence over those with whom he associated; even those who were superior to him in mind and accomplishments; he knew what to make, and how to mould them: and having formed, he knew precisely how and where to engage them. He had an orator for one enterprise—a statesman for another—a philosopher for this object, and a high-toned moralist for that. With such acute penetration united with an indomitable will and an unshaken perseverance, he could not fail; success was the natural consequence of power acting against comparative weakness, in circumstances which he always made favourable. On one occasion, when an impediment was thrown in his way, he exclaimed—"if by ordinary

means, I cannot succeed, I will sell myself rather than disband my phalanx." Religion he made the basis of his monarchy, and to motives derived from God and a future state he continually appealed—and if he recommended prayer, he tells us how it is to be performed; that Divine assistance is to be implored, as if Heaven were to do everything, and natural means used, as if the event depended entirely on human assiduity; saying, "let us pray as if we had no help in ourselves; let us labour as if there were no help for us in Heaven." His devotions were frequent and ardent—were they *Christian?*—"The Lord knoweth them that are his."

But his influence was not confined to his followers; it seemed to extend to all classes and conditions. They resorted to him for counsel, for relief, for instruction, for succour; and all felt that he was a monarch who had a right to reign because of his native supremacy, to whom they should yield an unhesitating allegiance—a conviction expressed on his tombstone, in the inscription written by his disciples: "Whoever thou mayest be who hast portrayed to thine imagination Pompey, or Cæsar, or Alexander, open thine eyes to the truth, and let this marble teach thee how much greater a conqueror than they was Ignatius."

After the death of the founder, the "Congregation," consisting of twenty members, assembled to elect a General for the Company of Jesus. Lainez, whom we have seen at the Council of Trent, was chosen for life, contrary to the expressed wishes and orders of the Pope, who would limit the appointment to three years. He was the oldest of Loyola's companions; the one who had the greatest share with him in the formation of the Society, and the one who more than any other was consulted, employed, and trusted. We have not time to dwell upon his character. It must be acknowledged that he possessed extraordinary abilities, natural and acquired; that he was well acquainted with the whole compass of theological literature, and with all the moral sciences of his age; and that he was a subtle and skilful politician. Nor have we time to speak of his immediate successors; Francis Borgia, Faber, Aquaviva, and others—men worthy of being the successors of Loyola—

men of rare powers, both of endurance and action—remarkable for their industry and labour, genius and learning.

According to our design we must pass on, and consider the *mode of education* adopted by the Jesuits.

One of the principal means employed by Ignatius to extend his system, to win back all that the Popedom had lost, to effect a complete restoration of the Romish faith, was the educational scheme. This occupied much of his time and attention, and was so connected with his whole system that without it, it could not be carried into effect. He perceived that the fruits of the other functions of the society would be only temporary, unless he could perpetuate them through every rising generation; he therefore required every professed Jesuit to bind himself by a special vow to attend to the instruction of youth. Borgia prosecuted the object with great vigour, and spared no pains or expense in the establishment of schools and academies. His successors were inflamed with the same emulation, and strove to have their literary institutions excel all others, and to be in the foremost rank in all departments of knowledge, whether human or divine. In looking at this object, pursued through nearly three centuries, we perceive some diversity of details; but we find the main object the same, and similar means for the attainment of the like design.

There was a particular reason why this desire should be felt, and this effort made. The period when the order appeared was the time of the revival of learning. Europe had tasted of the tree of knowledge; light was spreading on all sides, and making such rapid progress that none would directly oppose it. The design, therefore, of the Jesuits was not to attack science, but to manage it in a way that would not injure them; to satisfy the universal desire that was prevalent, and yet to cultivate that kind of knowledge which would not endanger the Papal power; so to comply with the taste and spirit of the age as to acquire the character and renown of the best educated and the most learned personages in the world. This they in time effected. Following the maxim of Lainez, the Company required that all who undertook the task of tuition should devote their whole life to the employment; thus giving them the benefit of long experiment, and making every year's expe-

rience so many steps of advancement towards perfection. In this department the same activity was required as in the other operations—unflinching industry, inventive self-possession, thorough perception of human character, and a manner calculated to allure and attach. The consequence was immediate success; persons of all conditions, from the scions of royalty to the sons of peasants, flocked to their institutions; parents recalled their children from other schools and sent them to the Jesuits; everywhere the people were startled at the results, and the cry was raised that the pupils in these new places of education learned more in a few months than others did in whole years of instruction. In their "Ratio studiorum" and "Modus docendi" they exhibit their course of studies. We have not time to dwell upon it; we shall only remark that it is in many respects worthy of admiration and imitation; that its main characteristics are the adaptation of subjects to the students' capacity, frequent repetitions, an ability to inspire a spirit of industry, and a capability of bringing forth every hidden gift of nature. For nearly two centuries, the Jesuits had under their care the greater part of the schools and colleges of Europe, and therefore it is to be expected that they would have sent forth many and ripe scholars—linguists, orators, mathematicians, philosophers, poets, critics, artists, and others distinguished for taste and erudition.

But if we closely examine the nature and tendency of this system of education, we shall find them stinting the growth of such branches of knowledge as could bear fruit dangerous to the Papal power, or bending, directing, or grafting upon those branches much that tends to the advancement of their order, and the extension of Romanism. By inspiring a taste for classical literature, profane history, and mathematics, they contrived dexterously to extinguish the relish for inquiry, and the spirit of investigation. The philosophy which they taught was no other than the scholastic system revived and corrected, suited to present circumstances, and applied to the controversy with the Reformers. All that relates to the moral improvement, to the ennobling of human nature, seemed to be omitted, and that was retained and insisted on, which rendered theology, as well as philosophy, a barbarous system of useless, and even

ridiculous subtilties. While, then, we give the society credit for the service which it has rendered to certain parts of literature, we are compelled to admit that other parts were kept entirely in the dark, or its avenues so obstructed that nobody could enter them; that the system was so incomplete and partial as to set the mind in a wrong direction; so brilliant in one respect, and yet so obscure in another, as to exercise the imagination and memory, to the neglect and sacrifice of thought and reason.

With respect to the study of religion, it was entirely confined to books composed by their own casuists and moralists; and if the Gospels sometimes appeared in their works of devotion, they were accompanied with interpretations and alterations suited to the views of the society. The Bible, as a whole, was unknown in their schools; they seemed desirous to conceal it, as if their condemnation were there recorded. Their system, then, was not calculated to form men, in the full acceptation of that term; there were wanting those solid principles which are needful to make good citizens and sincere Christians—and if any have become good and useful citizens under their tuition, they have become so in spite of their system and management.—How different from the mode of instruction pursued by the Reformers!—how different from that adopted by Port Royal! Rollin's "Ancient History" and "Treatise on Belles Lettres," have thrown more light upon what is really useful, and have done more for boys in fitting them for the duties of men, and the privileges of Christians, than all the school-books which have ever issued from the press of the Jesuits. Are these the men to whom a State will choose to confide its rising hopes and expectations? these the guides who are to form the minds, direct the consciences, and elevate the principles of our youth? Our country answers—No!

The Company of Jesus boast not only of its system of education, and the many illustrious men it has educated, but also of its *Missions;* that which, in the estimation of some, has conferred upon them Apostolic glory. Let us consider this peculiar feature, for which the society has been distinguished.

As the object of this order was to obtain supreme influence in all parts of the world, and as the General had a right to

send his men wherever he pleased, they, at the very beginning, directed their attention to the countries which were beyond Christendom, and followed out their scheme with invincible perseverance. The times were favourable for their project. A passion for conquest seized the Spaniards and Portuguese in the sixteenth century, which they had an opportunity of gratifying. The former seized a part of America; the latter overran South Africa and the continent of India, conceded to them by the Papal Bull. When the scheme of Christianizing these nations was conceived, and regarded necessary for the subjection of the natives, application was made to the Pope for missionaries. The Jesuits, the essence of whose vocation is to traverse every part of the globe, furnished them in abundance, and sent them out into foreign lands—to the barbarians of the East, and the cannibals of the West.

What is the nature of these missions? Candour requires us to say, that they conveyed a partial civilization into many provinces of America, and made known to large portions of the East, it is true, a debased Christianity, but still a religion far superior, in its comforts and morals, to the blood-stained doctrines and licentious ceremonials of idolatry. No one can read with impartiality their letters and journals, though he is continually disgusted with many things related, without admiring the adventurous spirit, and determined self-sacrifice of these missionaries; without admitting that they did good to humanity, softened the oppressive chain of the savage, and, for a time at least, meliorated the condition of the semi-barbarous. Who can read the life and know the labours of Francis Xavier, the first that was sent by them to preach Christianity in India, without admitting his intrepidity and boldness; his earnest and benevolent, though often misguided, zeal in the cause of his Master? We cannot but admire the Christian, and do honour to the man, though we have no respect for the Jesuit; we see that what he did, he did heartily, though too consistently with the blighting superstitions of his society; we behold his soul borne onward, through distress and danger, without ever being subdued; we hear him exclaiming—"this I dare to say, that whatever form of torture or of death awaits me, I am ready to suffer it ten thousand times for the salvation of a single soul."

But, though we make these concessions, there is no doubt that the injuries done by these missions more than counterbalanced the advantages gained; that the wounds inflicted upon religion and the state were deep and dangerous; that their exertions in the different parts of the globe paved the way for their sovereignty, and laid the foundation for the throne of universal empire which they laboured to erect.

The number of missionaries in foreign lands was great. The Jesuits could say to the king of France in 1594—"We have colleges in Japan towards the East—in Brazil towards the West—in Lima and the furthest part of Peru—and in the extremity of the Western regions; in Mexico, which lies between them; towards the North, in Goa, a town and country forming two-thirds of the distance between Lisbon and Japan, a journey of six thousand leagues. We have colleges in many parts of the East and West Indies; and where we are without regular colleges, our members are to be found in the regions of Mount Libanus, and of Egypt, of Africa, and of China."

If, in contemplating these vast acquisitions, they could say, in the words of Virgil:

"Quæ regio in terris nostri non plena laboris?"

we may, without a breach of charity, reply, by another quotation from Juvenal:

"Quando uberior vitiorum copia?"

A large and respectable part of the Romish Church accused them of sinister views, and unworthy practices in the prosecution of their missions, and looked upon them as a dangerous and pernicious set of apostles. It was said that in instructing their proselytes in the doctrines of Christianity, they taught them a corrupt system of religion and morality that sat easy upon their consciences; that they tolerated in their new converts profane opinions and superstitious rites; that by commerce, conducted with rapacious avidity, and other methods not consistent with probity and candour, they acquired overgrown opulence; that they were inflamed with the thirst of ambition, and were continually grasping at worldly honours and prerogatives; that they employed the arts of adulation and the seductions of bribery to insinuate themselves into the friendship of men of power; and that wherever their views were obstructed or disap-

pointed, they refused obedience to ecclesiastical authority. These heavy and grievous accusations were well attested; confirmed by striking circumstantial evidence, as well as by a number of unexceptionable witnesses; by many of the most respectable and illustrious members of the Church of Rome, whose testimony cannot be imputed to the suggestions of envy, or to the effect of ignorance.

In Japan they everywhere excited disturbances, meddled with the affairs of state, in time brought down persecution upon the Christians, and at length ruined the cause of Christianity. In China they taught a debased form of religion, and allied Christianity with the idolatrous worship of Confucius. In Madura, within the Ganges, Christianity was introduced by Robert de Nobili, an Italian Jesuit, who took a singular method of rendering his ministry successful. Knowing that the inhabitants held in the highest veneration the order of the Brahmans, as descended from the gods, he assumed the appearance and title of a Brahman who had come from a far country; and by besmearing his countenance, and imitating their austere manner of living, at length persuaded the people that he was in reality a member of that venerable order. By this stratagem, he gained over to Christianity twelve eminent Brahmans, whose example and influence engaged a prodigious number of the people to hear the instructions and receive the doctrines of the missionary. And this Nobili was regarded by the Jesuits as the chief apostle of India, after Francis Xavier. They applauded his "pious intention," and justified his conduct; asserting that the rites were merely civil observances, that they had nothing in them of a religious nature, and that they were essential to the propagation of Christianity in India. In Malabar they gave liberty to their female converts to wear the image of the god Pilear, provided a crucifix was cut in it, so as not to be discernible. In the island of Chio, they permitted to their proselytes the exterior of Mahometanism, on the condition of their retaining an inward Christian faith; they allowed them to go to the mosques and prostrate themselves before the false prophet, provided that at such a time and in private, they directed their thoughts to Jesus Christ; and they administered the sacraments regularly to those who lived in this criminal

dissimulation. In Paraguay they aimed at establishing an independent empire, subject to their society alone. To prevent the Spaniards or the Portuguese in the neighbouring settlements from acquiring any influence over the people within the limits of their own province, they inspired the Indians with perfect hatred and contempt for those nations, cut off all intercourse, and prohibited any private trader from entering their territories. In Japan, when persecution arose against the Christians, in consequence of the conduct of the Jesuits, it was declared that no one should remain, unless he showed his abhorrence of Christianity by casting the crucifix on the ground and trampling it under foot. The Jesuits, wishing not to renounce the commerce which they had long profitably carried on, complied with the condition, but pretended that they only offered an affront to the material of which the crucifix was made, and that they withdrew not their regard, in any degree, from him whom it represented—an instance of the magical effect which attended the secret direction of the mind, and which operated as a quiet salvo to the conscience.

We mention one or two instances of the manner in which they made Christians in India, as specimens of what occurred elsewhere, and almost daily.

In the island of Cyorono several natives had assembled in a grove of palms, to indulge in their idolatrous rites. To these poor Pagans, two of the Jesuit priests, Almeida, and Correa, were sent, together with a certain lawyer, Juan Fernandez. They were circumvented while engaged in their religious ceremonies and ordered to be seized. Under the influence of terror, one of them cried out—"what's the use of binding us?—let us be made Christians." All were disposed to acquiesce; and some rushing from one side, and some from another, shouted and declared that they were ready to embrace the cross. By repeated accessions, the numbers so increased that five hundred candidates presented themselves for baptism. They marched in a long train with the Christian banner and drums, entered the church of the Virgin, and were baptized: and to show the sincerity of their conversion, they learned on the next day to make the sign of the cross.

In Goa the method pursued was different. Missionaries

were out by twos, perambulated the city, and the neighbouring villages, explained the gospel, gathered the boys together by the sound of a bell, gave each a green bough to carry in his hand, and marched them into the church, singing loudly and joyfully. The result was that crowds of the Pagans assembled for the sake of the sight, or through the solicitations of acquaintance, or through the love of pomp and revelry. Six hundred composed the first company of converts—the numbers daily increased—and multitudes rushed with eagerness to embrace the Christian faith, and to profess it by a Christian rite; so that in 1559, no less than three thousand, three hundred and thirty-three were baptized in the church of St Paul's at Goa.

The same ease and rapidity of making converts were seen in several parts of America. Soon after the establishment of the mission in Brazil, Louis Grana began his ministry by baptizing in less than a year thirteen hundred and nine idolaters. But his companion Antonio Rodriguez surpassed him in his evangelical expeditions, and baptized during the same period five thousand, five hundred and thirty-nine. These reports were sent to Europe, to blaze abroad the glory of their missions. But the subsequent history shows that these boasted proselytes were neither happier nor better for the ceremonial aspersion; that their Christian teachers sowed divisions among them which made them an easy conquest to their enemies, and rendered them more perverted and base than they were before.

It was to be expected that apostacy from Christianity would take place with a precipitancy equal to the renunciation of Heathenism. We adduce but a single instance, which is a fair sample of what occurred in many other parts of India. In 1701 arose a persecution of the Christians in Tanjore, caused by a public outrage on the idols of the country, during one of the processions in Pondicherry. How did the converts of the Jesuits act? To the shame of their Christian character, not one was ready to seal his faith with blood; they flocked by thousands to the pagodas, renounced Christ, and received the indelible mark of Vishnu branded on their shoulders—evincing that their profession was but a vain phantom of Christianity, without any real or practical faith.

The missions which were conducted by the French Jesuits in

North America, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, have been a subject of much boasting to the society—the missions at Hudson Bay, among the islands of the St. Lawrence, at the sources of the Mississippi, on the prairies of the Illinois, and the Missouri. It is true that some of those who were employed were interesting men; they bore their sufferings and trials with heroic constancy, and became martyrs to the faith, under the blows of barbarians, or amid the fires of the stake. But we know enough of their mode of instruction to be persuaded that the means used for the conversion of the savages were far from being scriptural; that it was "another gospel" which was preached. A Catechism exists in the Iroquois language, with a French translation, containing the principles in which they were instructed, and the cases of conscience which refer to their conduct. Nothing could be more puerile; nothing more untrue than the descriptions of heaven and hell by figures drawn from savage life; nothing more loose than the morality recommended and enjoined. How different from the instruction given to the Indians by Eliot, and Mayhew, and Brainerd!

In thus considering the rapid progress which Jesuitism made, and the supreme ascendancy which it acquired, we find that it scrupled at no instruments which promised to aid its accomplishment; that its interests were to be promoted by all possible means, and at all possible expense. This will be more clearly perceived, while we next examine *their tenets and principles—the peculiar system of morals for which they are distinguished.*

That any flagrant recommendations of vice should appear in their constitution and rules, we do not assert; on the contrary, we admit that they contain many excellent principles and maxims. The slightest acquaintance with human nature must convince us that no code professing to lay down rules of action could appear with hope of being received without some good and useful sentiments; that the feelings of mankind exact this homage to virtue; and that the policy of the lawgiver concurs with the requisition. We accordingly find that no code likely to be accepted has failed to recognize and recommend some great principles of morality; that it was so anciently, and is so now; that it is apparent in the system of Confucius, and in that of Mahomet. That error should be

conveyed with any prospect of success, it must be sheltered under the cover of some sound doctrine; it must have such a mixture of truth as may render it palatable. It is so with the system of the Jesuits; it is the good inextricably blended with the evil which stamps it with its unenviable originality. To persons of strict morals, they studied to recommend themselves by the purity of their doctrine, and even the austerity of their lives. But to acquire an ascendancy over persons of different principles—over those of worldly rank and power, they propagated a system of the most relaxed morality, which accommodated itself to their passions, justified their crimes, and admirably suited those who were "lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God." Wholly absorbed by one idea, the supreme aggrandizement of their society, they consulted what was expedient rather than what was lawful, in attaining their object. In this way they succeeded, at the very beginning, in acquiring a wonderful ascendancy. By their modified system, they supplanted in the palaces of the great, and in the courts of princes, those rigid doctors who had formerly held there the tribunal of confession and the direction of conscience, and engrossed to themselves an exclusive and irresistible influence in those retreats of grandeur from which issue counsels that govern and regulate nations. All this was permitted, and even recommended, by their casuists, who wished to rival those of other orders, and who far exceeded them in the despicable art of deceiving the conscience; who in the closet invented or expanded their endless definitions and distinctions in the matter of sin, until it was found difficult to transgress the law of Christian morality; until by their specious sophistries, and subtilties, and hair-splitting distinctions, they succeeded in changing the pure precepts of the gospel into an "evil full of deadly poison." Emmanuel Sa, Cornelius à Lapide, Gaspar Hurtado, Gordonus, Suarez, Sanchez, Filiutius, Vasquez, Henriquez, and Toledo, led the way, or were contemporary with the far-famed Escobar. They employed all the force of their subtle distinctions to sap the foundations of morality, and in proportion as their works were read and studied, they opened a door to all kinds of iniquity. They maintain that persons void of the love of God may expect

eternal life, provided they be impressed with a sense of the divine anger, and filled with the dread of future punishment; that those may transgress with safety, who have a probable reason for transgression—that is, a plausible authority in favour of the sin, derived from the opinion of some learned divine; that actions intrinsically evil, and directly contrary to the divine law, may be innocently performed by those who have so much power over their own minds as to join a good end to a wicked action, or who are capable of directing their intention aright; that philosophical sin, that is, an act contrary to the dictates of nature and right reason, done by one ignorant of the written law of God, or doubtful of its true meaning, is of a very light or trivial nature, and deserves not the pains of hell; that the transgressions committed by a person blinded by the seduction of passion, agitated by the impulse of tumultuous feeling, and destitute of all sense and impression of religion, however ruinous they may be in themselves, are not imputable to the transgressor before the tribunal of God, and that such transgressions may often be as involuntary as the actions of a madman; that the person who takes an oath, or enters into a contract, may elude the force of the one, and the obligation of the other, by adding to the form of words that express them, certain mental additions and tacit reservations. These, and other enormities of a like nature, make an essential element of the system of morality inculcated by these casuists. One of them, Casnedi, says: "We are never more free from the violation of the law than when we persuade ourselves that we are not bound by the law; for he who says that we are bound by the law, rather exposes himself to danger of committing sin. Perhaps he who has thus persuaded himself will not fall into sin; but he who says that the law is not binding cannot sin. He, therefore, who follows the less rigid and less probable opinion, cannot sin." Suarez says: "If any one has promised, or contracted without intention to promise, and is called upon oath to answer, he may simply answer, *No*—and he may swear to this denial by secretly understanding that he did not sincerely promise, or that he promised without intention to acknowledge it."

Sanchez says: "It is lawful to use ambiguous terms to give the impression a different sense from that which you understand yourself. A person may take an oath, that he has not done such a thing, though in fact he has, by saying to himself, it was not done on a certain specified day, or before he was born, or by concealing any other similar circumstance, which gives another meaning to it. This is extremely convenient, and is always very just, when necessary to your health, honour, or prosperity." Similar to this is the language of Filiutius: "With what precautions may we equivocate? By pretending to use only material words. A person may begin to say, *I swear;* he can add this mental restriction, *to-day*, and in a whisper he may repeat, I say, and then resume his former tone—*I did not do it.*" Emmanuel Sa says: "It is not a mortal sin to steal that from a man which he would have given, if asked for it. It is not theft to take any thing from a husband or father, if the value be not considerable." To this agrees Cardenas: "Servants may secretly steal from their masters as much as they judge their labour is worth, more than the wages which they receive." Bonacina says: "A mother is guiltless who wishes the death of her daughters, when, by reason of their deformity or poverty, she cannot marry them to her heart's desire." What says Fagundez? "It is lawful for a son to rejoice at the murder of his parent, committed by himself in a state of drunkenness, on account of the great riches thence acquired by inheritance." And again: "Christian and Catholic sons may accuse their fathers of the crime of heresy, if they wish to turn them from the earth, although they know that their parents may be burned with fire and put to death for it." Similar to this is the opinion of Escobar: "Children are obliged to denounce their parents or relations who are guilty of heresy, although they know that these relations will be burned. They may refuse them all nourishment and permit them to die with hunger, or kill them as enemies who violate the rights of humanity." With respect to treason the following is the sentiment of Philopater: "All theologians and ecclesiastical lawyers affirm that every Christian government, as soon as it openly abandons the Romish faith, is instantly degraded from all power and dignity; all the subjects are absolved from the

oath of fidelity and obedience which they have taken; and they may and ought, if they have the power, to drive such a government from every Christian state, as an apostate, heretic, and deserter from Jesus Christ, and a declared enemy. This certain and indubitable decision of all the most learned men is perfectly conformed to the most apostolic doctrine."

We might present many other quotations of a similar nature, to show that this system makes void and practically nullifies every commandment of the Decalogue and every precept of the Redeemer; that it is a foul attempt to consecrate impiety, to justify vice, and to erect a temple of worse than heathen corruption on the ruins of Christianity.

But it may be asked, "does the society, *as such*, permit its casuists to propagate such opinions and maxims, and does it set its seal of approbation on the books in which they are contained? Does it permit such a system of morals and religion to be taught in its seminaries and theological schools? Does it suffer such dangerous and pernicious sentiments to be acted out in the closet of the minister and the cabinet of the prince?" It not only permits, but *requires* it. Here is the regulation: "A confessor must apply himself to the study of moral theology and cases of conscience; especially upon those difficult topics—restitution of stolen property, marriage, and censures. For this purpose he must be familiar especially with the works of Layman; Busembaum's Medulla, as enlarged by Lacroix; the practical theology of Ilsung, and all the works of Tamburinus."

The writings from which we have quoted, and others containing equally corrupt maxims, must necessarily be authoritative, claimed as such by the order, and published under the sanction of the superintendents, agreeably to the regulation: "he who has talents for the composition of books may compose them; but he must not compose them before the General has seen them, and caused them to be examined." By these works we are to determine the character of the society; according to the rule, "the doctrine of the Jesuits must be judged only by their books, and not by their speeches." Besides, there is something so peculiar in the society, so different from any other, that there cannot be any essential difference among the members. One of the strongest oaths which the Jesuit takes, is to

hold no private or peculiar opinion of his own; no doctrine different from that of his superior; no sentiment varying from that of the entire body. "If any member," says the Constitution, "hold a sentiment different from that of the Church and our doctors, he must submit his mode of thinking to the definitions of the society. Every one, whatever scruples or difficulties of any kind he may experience, must abandon his own opinions to the judgment and conform to the sentiments of the society." It requires that there should be but one way of thinking, one doctrine, one rule of conduct—entire unity of judgment, and, if possible, of will. It requires them, as a body, to defend the opinions of the individual members. Of such uniformity they have always boasted. What said Le Moine in 1726? "It is not a slight testimony in our favour that in these troublous times not one among us has changed or wavered. Uniformity on this point will always remain the same." These peculiarities among the members are not confined to any one nation; they have nothing to do with the countries of which they were natives, nor with the people among whom they laboured; they are the essential principles of the system, without which they could not belong to the order.

But were these sentiments and maxims carried out into action? The whole history of the Jesuits declares that they were. We perceive it at an early period, even in the conduct of Ignatius, in the "Constitution," the "Spiritual Exercises," and the private duties he enjoined. Does he recommend flagellation as a religious exercise? Here he uses artifice—"Let us make use, in this exercise, of small twine, which wounds the skin, skimming over the exterior without reaching the interior, so as not to injure the health." Does he recommend an unworthy member of the society to be set aside? "Let him be dismissed, not for his own sake, nor so much on account of his sins, as for the purpose of removing the scandal he has brought upon us." Does he urge his disciples to attract men to virtue, and to fight the enemy of their salvation? He tells them—"employ the same arms which Satan uses to destroy you." What blasphemy! When did Paul or his Master ever stoop to imitate the devil in his manœuvres? Did he desire to be the General of the order, that he might exercise supreme

dominion over his followers? We have seen how, to conceal his ambition, he declined the appointment again and again, until forced by his confessor to accept it. Would he, when he entered upon the office, be adored and almost deified by his subjects? He tells them how he had "seen the Holy Virgin, with the infant Jesus in her arms, and the sacred Trinity, and God the Father placing him with God the Son." Was he asked on one occasion by Lainez, whether it was true, according to report, that he had an archangel for his guardian spirit? He blushed, hung down his head, and said nothing—silence yielding assent.

His followers trod in his steps, and closely imitated his dexterity and craft. Did they wish to extol the "Spiritual Exercises?" They declared that "the book was truly written by the finger of God, and delivered to Ignatius by the Holy Mother." Did they, in order to glorify their society, desire the canonization of their founder, and could it be effected only by attested miracles? A new life was issued, exposing a vast number of miracles which he had wrought, and excusing their previous omission, because there was not at first certain and sufficient testimony. Did they in their writings maintain the sentiment, and continually reiterate it, that the end justifies the means? So many instances of this pernicious and dangerous maxim occur, that it is difficult to make a selection—we mention two or three.

The "League," that was such a scourge to France for so long a period, originating under Henry III., and intended to crush the Huguenots, owed much of its rapid development to the intrigues of the Jesuits. The one who was employed by them, to visit the different Catholic princes to discover the prospect of affairs, was Samnier. He was admirably qualified for his business, and could transform himself into any object; was dressed sometimes as a priest, sometimes as a soldier, sometimes as a country clown; could play at dice and cards, as well as preach and pray. Thus changing at pleasure his name, his garb, his profession, he visited successively Germany, Italy, and Spain, proclaiming that the Catholic religion was in danger, and that the king was secretly favouring the Protestants.

When the celebrated ecclesiastic, Parsons, first penetrated England, he pretended that he was a captain returning from Flanders. His dress was of bluff, overlaid with gold lace, with suitable hat and feathers. He not only assumed the dress, but imitated most successfully the character of the officer. "Full of strange oaths," he swaggered away, and became the soldier so completely as to baffle the keen-sighted sagacity of the English searchers. All this, according to the Jesuit writers, was "a wonderful manifestation of God's care and protection." Who can tell how many oaths he uttered before he reached London? Soon followed his companion, Campion, in the disguise of a pedler, with his box of laces and jewels. Who can tell how many falsehoods he told, before he reached the assembly that deliberated on the means of depriving Elizabeth of her crown, and of restoring England to Rome? When, in 1574, an attempt was made to introduce Popery into Sweden, a Jesuit, by the name of Nicolai, a Norwegian, was sent from Rome by the Company, under the disguise of a Protestant. He presented himself to the Lutheran preachers, and told them that he had spent his life in the study of the high sciences, in which he had made considerable progress; for his proficiency in which he had gained high reputation in several universities; that having heard that the king was establishing a new college at Stockholm, he had come to offer his services in giving instruction. The trick succeeded, and the professorship of Theology was given to him. He commenced his instructions, and by his manners and learning gained the confidence and affection of his pupils; and at length, in his lectures, adroitly attempted to sap all the foundations of Lutheranism. The rector of the college detected and exposed him. These deceptive and fraudulent means were not only approved, but applauded by the Company, because the actor was promoting a "good end."

For two centuries, this people had enjoyed the most unparalleled prosperity. Years rolled on, and their celebrity and reputation increased; their fame, like the lamp that illumines the universe, blazed brightly and intensely. Their influence extended far beyond the pale of religion, and reached almost every region of the globe, and every department of action;

they presided over the fortunes of empires, undertook the negociations of princes, and achieved commercial exploits hitherto unknown. In these circumstances, they were exposed to great temptations, arising from their high and unprecedented prosperity; but of these dangers they would not be aware; they had grasped at too much for mortals to hold, but they would not relax their grasp. Their lofty eminence would naturally excite the jealousy of men; this, however, would have had no effect, if, as was the case with Daniel, "they could find no occasion against" them, "except concerning the law of God;" but this feeling would be exchanged into righteous indignation, when the objects of suspicion were found to be the subjects of guilt. It was so with the Jesuits; and yet it was long before they were discovered. For more than a century and a half, the organization, constitution, and rules of the society were concealed from the world; few even of its members were permitted to know them; but at length all was revealed. Before this discovery, Pascal, in his "Provincial Letters," had exposed their corrupt maxims; and his successors in this work, Nicole, Arnauld, Perrault, Berthier, and others, made more extended extracts from their writers, and in the language of those who were regarded as oracles, exhibited to the world their whole system.

The time was now come for action; the apathy of men ceased; the complaints against the Jesuits were loud and long; the abuses of the company were openly spoken of; but they would consent to no reformation—they refused to yield a hair's breadth, and in their pride and self-sufficiency, rejected every compromise which bore the slightest appearance of change. In this infatuation, nothing remained but open warfare against an abused ecclesiastical dominion, and a corrupt system of morals and religion. Worn out with their rapacity and ambition, their treachery and stratagems, their intrigues and cabals, their destruction of public morals, and disturbance of social order, their incitement to rebellion, and instigation of murder, all, of every religion, and of every country, united their efforts to sweep them from the earth. Having lost the respect and confidence of the world, they hastened to destruction; and their downfall was almost as precipitate and marvel-

lous as their rise. In this crisis, the honour and glory of the Papacy demanded the sentence of abrogation; and on the 21st of July, 1773, Pope Clement XIV., after a full and solemn examination, issued his bull of suppression. In it he says, "After a mature deliberation, we do, out of our certain knowledge, and the fulness of our apostolical power, suppress and abolish the said Company, abrogate and annul its statutes, rules, customs, decrees, and constitutions, even though confirmed by oath, and approved by the Holy See, or otherwise. We declare all, and all kind of authority—the General, the provincials, the visitors, and other superiors of the said Society—to be for ever annulled and extinguished, so that the name of the Company shall be, and is, for ever extinguished and suppressed. Our will and pleasure is, that these our letters should, for ever and to all eternity, be valid, permanent, and efficacious, have and obtain their full force and effect, and be inviolably observed by all and every whom they do, and may concern, now or hereafter, in any manner whatever."

Though they were formally abolished by this bull of suppression, yet they were not in reality extinct or disbanded. In Russia and Silesia, an asylum was opened to them, where they laboured with assiduity; while many were dispersed through the world as chaplains, teachers, professors and authors, waiting for the time when they should re-appear, in the fulness of renovated strength and energy. That time in the course of years arrived. At the period when Jesuitism was passing away into oblivion; when its obnoxious doctrines and criminal practices were beginning to be forgotten; when all nations were breathing freely because the millstone of ecclesiastical despotism had been taken from their necks, the system suddenly revived, and in 1814, the Pope proclaimed by a bull that the order was restored. What adequate reason could be assigned for such an act? From what place was he able to dig up some musty record of the virtues of the Society? In what quarter of the globe did witnesses start up to show grounds for the resuscitation of that extinct monster, whose obsequies the wise and good of all kindreds and tribes had sung with satisfaction and joy? Why weave anew the fatal web of political and religious intrigue? The Pope, Pius VII., in his decree of restoration, says,

"we should esteem ourselves guilty of a great crime towards God, if amidst the dangers of the Christian republic, we neglected the aids which the special providence of God has put at our disposal; and if, placed in the bark of St. Peter, tossed and assailed by continual storms, we refused to employ the vigorous and experienced labourers who volunteer their services in order to break the waves of a sea which threaten every moment shipwreck and death." He then proceeds, "in virtue of the plenitude of apostolic power, and with perpetual validity," to decree the restoration of the order, with all necessary powers, that all states "may freely and lawfully receive all who desire to be admitted" into it; with power to the members "freely and lawfully to apply themselves to the education of youth, to decree colleges and seminaries, to hear confessions, to preach, and to administer the sacraments."

Strange that the Pope and his adherents should have learned so little from the history of past ages! Strange that they should not have perceived that the crimes and evils imputed to the Society were chargeable upon the nature of the institution itself; that the consequences complained of must naturally have arisen from its fundamental principles, that the order is to be maintained at any expense, and that the end sanctifies the means. Strange that they should not have believed with the world that it was a public nuisance, and that they should not have feared that by letting it loose upon society, they would be chargeable with high treason against the common interests and happiness of man! It is a fact worthy of notice that the Pope who revived the order of the Jesuits, re-established the Inquisition, that monstrous engine of intolerance, tyranny, and bloodshed.

It is unnecessary to say much respecting their *progress and operations since their revival.* They have effected comparatively but little. They have laboured as hard as did the Jesuits of old, but they have not had the same opportunities for success. Instead of being everywhere encouraged, as the order once was, they have met with deserved opposition. In 1816, they were banished from Russia, and have not been permitted to return. Since then they have been expelled from France, Bavaria, Austria, some parts of South America, and even from Rome itself; but they would not allow the sentence of ejection long to

remain, and were soon re-admitted. Even under the decree of expulsion, they remained working, unseen, unknown, unsuspected, as a hidden disease, or as a mine, ready at any moment to be sprung. From their history it would appear that they have lost no part of their distinctive character; that they have grown no wiser by misfortunes; that they are still aiming at the pinnacle of supremacy; and that if they had the power, they would gladly desolate afresh the nations of the earth.

In retracing what we have said, we perceive that no society can permanently exist that acts upon the principle that the end to be achieved can justify the means that are employed. This was the fundamental principle of the sons of Loyola, upon which their order was established. We have seen that to effect their purpose, they everywhere resorted to disguise and prevarication; that they courted obscurity and darkness; that they carefully concealed from the gaze of men their motives and objects; that secrecy was their principal strength; that when fully trained, they had the same instinctive love of intrigue as the experienced gamester has for play. How repugnant is all this, not merely to the genius of Christianity, but to the manly spirit of the world! Our wonder is, not that they were discovered and brought down to the dust, but that they were permitted so long to flourish and deceive the nations. This trait in their character, now known, and covering them with obloquy, will prevent them, we have reason to believe, from ever again attaining any high ascendancy; for whatever is ingenuous and honourable wins approval, and carries force. It will be found, we think, sooner or later, that the cause of Romanism will not ultimately be promoted by the revival of Jesuitism; that its spirit has a natural tendency to dissolve any body into which it is diffused; that as a noxious weed, it will insinuate itself into the loose stones of a decayed building, and bring it to the ground.

In guarding against this society, let us ever remember that its members can, like Proteus, change their forms at pleasure; that they can pursue a course of conduct for one place, and adopt the opposite for another; that the privilege was given them by Paul III. in his bull of 1543, which authorizes

them "to adopt such rules as they might judge fit; with power, as well with respect to the rules already adopted, as to those which should be made in future, to alter and annul them, according to the difference of the time and place, and the quality or diversities of things; and to form other rules, which, by special favour, shall be, *ipso facto*, considered as approved by the Holy See." Taking advantage of this privilege, they will change their policy in this enlightened and agitated age, and will seek to rule the world, not so much from the depths of closets and the cabinets of statesmen, as by immediate communication with the people; not by that silent intrigue which draws near to the throne, and whispers in the ears of princes, as by that active dexterity which will sway the multitude, and bring them under their absolute control. For this purpose they will crowd into those countries where free institutions exist, and pursue a policy suited to the form of civil government.

We had intended, at the close, to show the changes which this society had introduced into the Romish Church, the new doctrines, and the novel practices which it had from time to time admitted; but we have time to consider only one—*the great stress which it has ever laid upon the worship of the Virgin Mary.* We acknowledge that this practice existed long before the origin of Jesuitism; that, though wholly unknown in the first three centuries, it was introduced gradually, and at a comparatively early period.

It has been made a question how far the Church of Rome is necessarily an idolatrous church. That the Liturgy recognizes a worship of the Virgin admits of no doubt; but the decrees of the Council of Trent do not *require* it; they only say that it is "good and wholesome"—the subject is expressed in a vague and ambiguous manner—the terms are cautiously chosen to avoid the imputation of idolatry, in the literal sense of the word. Availing themselves of these decrees, and of the compendious Confession of Faith drawn up by order of Pius IV., many pious Catholics, we doubt not, both individuals and communities, while exercising the highest regard and reverence for the mother of our Saviour, have not given her that worship which is due only to God. Not so, however, with the Jesuits;

no one can read their history without being convinced of their entire devotion to her, almost to the exclusion of God. It was so from their origin. Ignatius was the "knight of the Virgin" —his system, "our Lady's institute"—Mary its Divine patron. The society was formed at the festival of the "assumption of the Virgin," chosen for that purpose. When Loyola was inaugurated General, he and his colleagues renewed their vows "before the altar of the Virgin." When the formula was afterwards adopted, the members engaged to live and die in the society "in presence of the most Holy Virgin." When Aquaviva was elected General, he was, they all declared, "chosen by the Virgin." When Lainez was afterwards elected to the same office, "a sermon was delivered by way of thanksgiving to the Holy Virgin." When the "Council or Office of Charity" was instituted in Sicily, in 1555, the members assembled to recite only "the Office of the Virgin." In their schools and colleges, the pupils are required to "pray frequently to the Holy Virgin." Many of the Jesuits dated the year of grace from the *Mother* rather than the *Son*, and commenced their letters by "*the year of the Virgin God-bearer;*" or by another formula—"*post virginis partum*"—after the delivery of the Virgin. The books which are dedicated to her by their writers are almost innumerable; the manner in which many of them have spoken of her is blasphemy. Several have been so daring and impious as to say that she is at the Divine tribunal as a mistress rather than a servant; that she has full dominion over her Son; that she preserves and governs all things, and has everything under her control. The Jesuit, Alphonso de Liguori, a writer of no little authority among them, plainly and without equivocation, substitutes Mary for Christ, in the plan of salvation; and teaches that as a woman introduced death, so a woman introduced life; that as Eve brought in condemnation, so Mary brought in salvation; that as the former was the first sinner, so the latter is the first Saviour; that as the former was the author of the moral disease, so the latter is the only author of the spiritual remedy. If others who are not of this order worship the Virgin, yet it must be acknowledged that this Society (and they are always ready to boast of it) have done more than

any others to promote such worship, to give it encouragement, to increase its depth and intenseness, and to make it in many places entirely exclusive. The sentiment of the fathers is the opinion of the children. All who now visit Rome and other parts of Italy, testify that it is everywhere the chief devotion; that Mary is the principal object of adoration, and Jesus Christ only secondary; that the Jesuits have done, and are are now doing, all that they can to increase the worship; to have the Saviour utterly dethroned from his priesthood, and a creature exalted to his place, as more worthy of affection, confidence, and homage.

The Jesuits are abroad in all parts of the world; and are multiplying their numbers and resources in our own land. Though vigilance shall not be wanting on our part, yet we shall not fear them. We shall watch over all their attempts to insinuate their subtle poison into our families, our schools, and our civil institutions; and re-burnishing our spiritual weapons, shall boldly contend with them, and not be afraid. They have never conquered the Anglo-Saxons; and God helping us, never shall. Other nations have been subdued; but these have never been under their sway. They fought bravely for domination in the land of our fathers; and though on some occasions they succeeded in corrupting kings and princes, yet they were unable to seduce others; though the 2d Charles and the 2d James were the successful subjects of their intrigues, yet they could not obtain a spiritual conquest over Parliament, or deprive the people of their dear-bought liberties. They will not be discouraged by those defeats there, nor by any they may meet with here; they will labour on with the same unshaken purpose as did their fathers; but we venture to predict that they shall utterly fail. In the warfare, a fair and moral intellectual warfare, which we shall continue to wage against them, they shall be overcome; they cannot, as long as we have any moral principle, extend among us a system so corrupt, and which has within it the elements of its own destruction. It would be a disgrace to fear them; but it is not presumption to believe that they shall be routed and put to flight by the energy of God's Spirit. They shall be scattered by the breath of the Almighty,

with all their wiles and deceitful policy, as the Spanish Armada, the everlasting monument of their treachery and cruelty, was scattered by the winds of heaven. "Fear shall take hold upon them—the depths shall cover them—the Lord shall reign for ever and ever."

ART. IV.—*The True Barrier against Ritualism and Rationalism.*

The Authority of God; or, The True Barrier against Romish and Infidel Aggression. Four Discourses, by the Rev. J. H. Merle D'Aubigné, D. D., President of the Theological Institute, Geneva. With an Introduction, written for this edition. Author's complete edition. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

DR. D'AUBIGNE has won for himself a standing as a Christian author, which will of course ensure readers for whatever he may publish, without any "letters of commendation" from us. This little volume is enlivened by that evangelical ardour, and that fresh and racy style, which give a charm to his histories, and a *vis vivida* to all his productions. As we should expect, he views the topics handled in these discourses largely from the historical stand-point, and thus adds to their strength and value. He, however, does not fail to sustain the plenary inspiration and divine authority of the Bible, by arraying those arguments, which are always conclusive on the subject, with great skill and force.

And surely the occasion of these discourses demanded that he summon to the defence of God's truth all the resources of Christian learning, logic, and love. It was no less than the defection of his associate in the Theological Faculty of Geneva, Professor Scherer, to the ranks of those who deny the normal authority of the external word, *i. e.*, the Scriptures, by asserting that the inspiration of its authors differs not in kind, but only in degree, from the spiritual exercises of ordinary Christians. Consequently, so far as *authority* is concerned,

the Scriptures stand on the same footing as the writings of Baxter, Calvin, or Edwards, and indeed the fancies and preferences of every individual; *i. e.*, they have no real divine authority to command the conscience, and require faith and obedience. Thus we have the so-called intuitional theology, derived from our own intuitions and preferences, instead of the Divine Word. We become a law unto ourselves, instead of having a law of our faith and practice in any external revelation from God. This is unmitigated infidelity, however it may disguise itself under the appellatives of Christianity. And we regret to say that it is in this highly specious, seductive, and dangerous form, the current infidelity of our time, for the most part, shrouds itself, and deceives multitudes of the simple and unwary.

But we will let the author's account of the origin of these lectures speak for itself, and at once confirm and illustrate these remarks. He says, p. 34, et seq.

"I must say a few words concerning the occasion of these discourses. A man of much talent, whose person I love, and whose character I esteem, while I deplore his errors, wrote a letter to me in November, 1849, which was published in Paris, in May, 1850.* The following extracts from this letter, which are quoted verbally, are necessary to be known, for the full understanding of my discourses:

'No supernatural intervention has removed the authors of the books of the New Testament from those causes of error which they could not avoid without an intervention of this kind.' 'The New Testament nowhere declares itself inspired.' 'These writings are the productions of great saints, or of great religious heroes.' 'The action of the Spirit in the Apostles does not differ in its nature, from that which every believer has a right to expect—a duty to desire.' 'In other words, the inspiration of the Apostles is purely religious; it only exempts them from error in the measure in which sin brings forth error, and holiness, knowledge.' 'I do not see what harm can arise to piety, from changing the letter of a code to the living products of apostolic individuality—an

* "La Critique et la Foi; Deux Lettres par Edmond Scherer." Paris: Chez Ducloux.

authority to a history; and, to say all I think, a cabalistic ventriloquism for the noble accent of the human voice.' 'In the ancient Church, they had recourse to the authority of an inspired code, just as they had recourse to the episcopacy, and to the magical virtue of the Sacraments, because the spirit which animated the primitive believers was either changed or withdrawn. They had to create an *authority*—to substitute an external, literal, tangible rule, to that impulse of life and spirit which the apostle himself formerly opposed to the economy of Scripture.' (2 Cor. iii. 6.) 'The Reformation of the sixteenth century, after having begun, in the person of Luther, with great liberty, and great spirituality of views upon the subject, was arrested in its development, and finished by preserving, besides many other things, the remains of that system against which it had arisen. Protestantism remains a mere system of authority; the only difference between it and Roman Catholicism being, that it has substituted one authority for another—the Bible for the Church.' 'For the simple believer, the Bible is no longer an *authority*, but it is a *treasure*.' '*Biblicism* is not merely a theological error, but it is a plague upon the Church.' 'The Holy Spirit, after this enfranchisement, will again occupy that place which belongs to Him in the life of the Church and of the believer; for the reign of the Spirit and that of the letter are two hostile and incompatible sovereignties.' 'We will again raise to honour a precious truth, which Quakerism has long represented alone, and of which the Christians of our days seem again to have some idea.' 'Instead of sending a poor proselyte to the articles of a code—to the formulas of dogmatism, and to the leaves of I know not what mysterious oracle, we would send him to the great prophets of all ages—to the living teaching of the Church—to the Word of God personified in His servants—to the Spirit and its manifestations—in short, to the immediate contact of the heart with truth.'

"The letter in which these assertions were made, being communicated by the author to some of his friends, was soon circulated, in manuscript, in Geneva and elsewhere. The question of the Inspiration and Divine authority of the Scriptures became a subject of general interest. The author of the letter

delivered public lectures, in which he developed his system. It became necessary that the truth concerning these important questions should be publicly professed in the Church. Such was the occasion of the first two discourses, which were delivered on Sundays March 17th and 24th, at special services of the Evangelical church of Geneva. The third was delivered June 26th, in the General Assembly of the Evangelical Society, over which the author was called on to preside. The fourth was addressed to the friends and students of the Theological College at Geneva, October 2d, at the commencement of the session."

We need not say that our author has refuted this malignant heresy not only with his wonted learning and logic, but also with that Christian tenderness and wisdom, which alone could have been equal to a crisis at once so delicate and so urgent. But he does not confine himself to impugners of the authority of the Bible from the infidel side. The authority of God in his word is far more widely overborne from the Papal and prelatical side. Here the authority of the Church, in the form of tradition, or the decrees of infallible Popes or Councils, is set up to overshadow and overbear the authority of the oracles of God. Dr. D'Aubigné, therefore, devotes a part of his discourses to this class of assaults upon the Bible. Here he finds occasion to develope the scriptural doctrine of the Church, seeing very clearly with the Reformers, that if the Church of the New Testament be any visible society or corporation on earth, then it must have the attributes of truth, sanctity, infallibility and unity, which the Scriptures, in divers ways, ascribe to the Church. The logical conclusion is inevitable, with such premises. Whatever such a visible body declares to be the truth, through its appropriate organs and representatives, must be true. Thus we have a standard of truth above the immediate word of God, and Protestantism dies. We do not remember to have seen any brief deliverance on this subject more to our mind than the following, p. 19, et seq.

"It is a fundamental principle of the blessed Reformation, that nothing which is external—nothing which man can give or take from man, constitutes the communion of the soul with God, or

salvation; this communion proceeds solely from the act by which the soul, without any intervening object, attaches itself to Jesus Christ, by means of justifying faith.

"It is a natural consequence, that the Church—which is the body of the Lord, and out of which there is no salvation—is not any society whatever governed by men, and of which human decisions and a written constitution rule the admission, the conditions, the extent. The true Church is solely the communion of all those who have Jesus Christ for head, His word for rule, His Spirit for the principle of life. In vain would a pope, bishops, even synods, presbyteries, councils of churches, disown the members of this body, and excommunicate them; they are the Church, because they are of Christ: 'I believe in the communion of saints.'

"Here, then, are two important principles.

"The first is, that Christ and His word are the only absolute authorities for the Christian. The second is, that the relation of the saved soul with Christ, is an immediate relationship; no human mediation is necessary to establish and maintain it.

"These two principles are disowned by the Papacy. Rome recognizes many authorities—many mediators. The visible Church, with the multitude of its institutions, slides in between the soul and Jesus Christ, as authority, as a necessary mediator. The Reformation destroyed these excrescences of the human self, which, instead of leading to Christ, remove from Him. All the Evangelical Church should beware of making them re-appear in the smallest degree.

"The most natural leaning of the human heart is to desire to be something. A particular church—a church government cannot escape from it. If the clergy were abolished, the Evil One would endeavour to turn the laity themselves into clergy: 'What I say unto you, I say unto all: watch.'

"One of the greatest evils of Protestantism has arisen from this, that the idea of the spiritual invisible Church—of the *Body of the Lord*—has been put into the shade; that the sovereign importance of it has not been sufficiently felt; that every one has sought again and again to attach himself essensially to the corporation—to the sect of which he was a member. The Papacy—softened, mitigated, doubtless, but always

preserving some of its essential features—has thus returned, in many places, into the bosom of the Reformation.

"The errors prevalent in the English Church date far back; unknown in the Apostolic ages, they commenced very early in the Church. In the third century, some divines began to confound the true spiritual Church—the Body of Christ, σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ,—with the visible or empirical Church. That was applied to the external Church, which is Christianity, which belongs only to the internal Church, to the assembly of those 'whose names are written in heaven,' Heb. xii. 3. *Unity* and *sanctity* are two predicates or attributes of the spiritual Church—of the *Body of the Lord.* The desire was to apply these in an absolute manner to the visible Church. Now these two attributes, which can perfectly be united when applied to the invisible Church, mutually exclude each other when they are applied to external Christianity. If you wish that the visible Church be *one* externally, you must certainly tolerate in it many members who are not *holy.* If you wish that a visible Church be composed only of *holy* members, you must break the unity, and form a little Church separate from the great one.

"From that time we find two parties in the Church; those who exalt the unity at the expense of the sanctity, or the *Catholics*, and those who exalt the sanctity at the expense of the unity, or the *Sects.* Cyprian was the first apologist for the outward unity of the Church in a book on the '*Unitate Ecclesiæ.*' He pretended, like some divines of our days, that out of this external Church, in which, according to him, was the episcopal succession of bishops, no one could have part in the influence of the Holy Spirit. The Montanists, the Novatians, and some other sects, were apologists for the absolute sanctity of the external Church, and maintained, that every Church of which some members are not holy members of the body of Christ, is not a true Church. The truth lay neither with the one nor with the other. Unity and sanctity are the necessary attributes of the spiritual Church, to which we must, above all, belong—out of which there is no salvation. But as for the visible, or empirical Church, unity and sanctity are the attributes towards which it ought to tend—which it ought to

endeavour to attain, without, perhaps, being ever able completely to come up to them."

Having sufficiently indicated to our readers the general drift of the volume before us, we will now offer a few reflections in regard to the nature and causes of these two leading and all-inclusive forms of unbelief—the ritualistic and rationalistic—superstition and infidelity.

In that hideous portraiture of heathenism, which Paul gives in the first chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, we find not only a graphic sketch of its vices in detail, but also of those radical sins and errors which underlie and produce this monster growth. It will be observed, that he attributes to heathenism those foul iniquities and worse than brutal abominations, the very mention of which shocks all sense of morality or decency. But all those pollutions are uniformly represented as flowing from a single cause, viz: renouncing, ignoring, or perverting the truth concerning God. Thus verse 21, et seq. "Because that when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful. * * * And changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man —*wherefore* God gave them to uncleanness through the lusts of their own hearts," &c. So verse 26, et seq. "Who changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for ever. *For this cause* God gave them up unto vile affections," &c. Now, wherein did this rejection of God and the truth concerning Him precisely lie? It did not lie in abjuring all belief in a Supreme Divinity, or the obligation to render to such Divinity due homage. It did not lie in rejecting the whole truth concerning God. This would have been too monstrous to impose even upon their own sin-blinded souls. It was entirely another process. They *changed the truth of God into a lie.* They did not reject or ignore it altogether. This were impossible to rational beings made in the image of God, howsoever that image may be marred by sin. They retained so much as this; that there is a superior order of being, to which men owe homage and worship, and on whose favour or wrath depends their happiness or misery. Is not this now vital, fundamental truth? Surely. Among the school of modern pantheistic, and we know not what

other progressives, it would entitle its holder to Christian fellowship. Yet they so held this truth, as to change it into a lie. They denied other associated truths, no less vital, which were essential to any right reception of this. They ignored or denied the unity, supremacy, independence, holiness, truth, spirituality, infinitude and perfection of the Godhead. They recognized and worshipped God's creatures and works as true divinities. "They changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds and four-footed beasts and creeping things." So they "worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator." Thus holding the great truth that there is a Divinity, which we ought to worship—they changed it into a lie, by rejecting connected truth, and superinducing upon it abominable errors. Now this is the radical and characteristic feature of all forms of apostacy from God, Pagan, Mahomedan, Infidel, of rationalistic, ritualistic, superstitious, and other forms of degenerate and apostate Christianity. All kinds of false religion rest not on the utter denial of *all* truth, but on half truths turned into lies, by the admixture of positive or negative errors.

Since man is so constituted that he cannot rest long without some semblance of religion, so the great mass of the heathen world, and indeed of all the world who reject or know not the gospel, make up their religious system of certain truths which, by perversion, are turned into lies. Let us look at this momentous fact, in the principal forms in which it exists, in its causes, and in some of its practical consequences.

1. All religious error, the world over, whether mixed with the truths of Natural Religion or of Christianity, and be each error greater or less, runs in one of two directions; either toward superstition or scepticism; therefore, when mixed with and falsifying Christian truth, in the line of ritualism or rationalism. Now, there is in each of these grand currents which bear along fallen humanity, an element of truth, although so mixed with error as to be turned into a lie, and as to turn all other truths interblended with it into lies.

Superstition undertakes to propitiate God by rites and ceremonies often rigid and austere, and relies on these to ensure a good estate with him, while it leaves the heart uncleansed, free

to indulge its ungodly feelings and evil lusts. The peculiarity of superstition is, 1. That it makes religion, or that whereby we are made acceptable to God, to consist of ceremonies rather than inward moral excellence. 2. It makes a fund of merit out of these services, whereby they are conceived to deserve the favour of God. 3. It has little regard to their reasonableness or unreasonableness, to their fitness to promote piety, or honour God, or to their having been commanded or not commanded of him. Superstition, as it is connected with a degenerate Christianity, usually clings to the cardinal Christian mysteries of the Trinity, incarnation, atonement, original sin, regeneration. It shrinks from no mysteries in religion. It holds them all often in their utmost completeness. Moreover, it rightly holds that God is to be honoured by worship, and that he can never be pleased with those who do not render him homage; and withal, that if God reveals any truth, or commands any duty, it is not for us to inquire whether or not it accords with the dictates of our own reason. It must be reasonable, whether we see how or not, if it emanates from the Supreme Reason. But these truths are turned into lies by the error superinduced upon them. First, by losing sight of, and ignoring, as often as is convenient, the great fact that no ceremonies or sacrifices can be acceptable to God, which he has not himself appointed, and that even such as he has appointed cannot be pleasing to him, unless offered with a right spirit and pure feelings. Even sacrifice and burnt offering, divinely appointed services for God's ancient people, he desired not, unless accompanied with a broken and contrite spirit. Thus superstition, however earnest it may make one, even till he becomes a complete devotee, yet substitutes ceremonies and penances for a humble, penitent, holy heart and life. Next it vitiates all these services, however otherwise good they may be, by making them meritorious; giving them a character of self-righteousness, in derogation of the righteousness of Christ, and the ruin of that humility which alone is consistent with right feeling in fallen beings. It changes the truth of Christ's one and only sacrifice into a lie, not by denying it, but by making its efficacy dependent upon our sacrifices and works. It operates in the same way upon his priestly office by making it dependent on the intervention of a

human priesthood. It overthrows his kingly office, not by denying it, but by transferring its exercise to popes, patriarchs, or other supposed vicegerents of Him whose name is above every name. It destroys the prophetical office of Christ, not by denying it, but by erecting the Pope, or Church, or Councils, into infallible expounders of this will; whose decisions all are bound to believe and obey, whether they agree or conflict with the sacred word. It subverts the work of the Spirit, not by denying it, but by making baptism, and other rites administered by human hands, the sure and indispensable instruments of regeneration, so that men are born to newness of life, not by the will of God, but of man. It can grant indulgences to the robber or the adulterer, and reward bead-counting, genuflexions, and paternosters, with a title to heaven. Admitting that worship is due only to God, it can yet encourage creature worship to the Virgin and departed saints, as those who bear the special impress of the Almighty. So does baptized superstition hold the truth, at least a great deal of it, yet so hold it in unrighteousness as to change it into a lie.

Of this fatally distempered religion, the Pharisee was the model type. The scathing delineations of his character, given by our Saviour, present the great outlines which are constantly showing themselves in all the superstitious forms of apostate Christianity. The same slavish precision and punctiliousness in observing rites and ceremonies, made to cloak all sorts of moral dereliction, are alike flagrant and loathsome in them all. Thus the Pharisees tithed mint, anise and cummin, but neglected the weightier matters of the law. They devoured widows' houses, but for a pretence made long prayers. They compassed sea and land to make a proselyte. And when made, he was two-fold more the child of hell than themselves. They shut up the kingdom of heaven, neither entering in nor suffering others to enter in. They built the tombs of the prophets, and garnished the sepulchres of the righteous, while they were ready to crucify any living teacher of righteousness who appeared among them. In short, they were whited sepulchres, glossing over their inward corruptions by an ostentatious ritual. They were precisely what the Papal, Greek, Armenian, all apostate, superstitious, hierarchical churches,

bearing the Christian name, are at this day. Like these, they claimed to base their religion on the word of God. Like these, too, they did actually embrace many of its truths. Like these, too, they made the word of God and its holy truths of none effect by their traditions.

Looking now at Rationalism, it reaches the same goal, though by travelling in a contrary way, as all extremes, starting in opposite directions from the zenith of God's truth, meet in the nadir of soul-destroying error. As its name indicates, it enthrones human reason above God's word. It repudiates, or ignores, at all events, it will not accept or credit, whatever of the testimonies of God's word and principles of Christian doctrine it cannot explain into accordance with its own modes of reasoning and feeling. That is Rationalism which rejects any manifest teachings of God's word, any plain Christian doctrines, because they are repugnant to the judgment or feelings of the rejecter. It differs from technical infidelity in that it regards the Bible as in some sort a revelation from God, while infidelity, in the technical sense, discards it as an imposture. But it exhibits the spirit, power, and venom of infidelity in this, that it will not accept what the Bible manifestly teaches; not so much because God does not declare it to be true, as because when judged at the bar of its own intellect and feelings, it ought not to be true: *i. e.*, seems unreasonable, or incomprehensible, unworthy of God, or injurious to man.

Following this lead, some go a little way, some a great way, and multitudes go all lengths, till they have made havoc with every distinctive article of the Christian faith, everything that is either incomprehensible to the narrow, or unpalatable to the corrupt mind of man. It is only by a happy inconsistency, that any who start on this track, stop short of this dread finality. The principle, if good for anything, is good for everything. If justly applicable to one, it is justly applicable to all the doctrines and precepts of the Bible. Nothing can arrest this destructive process when once begun, but the potent veto of whatever vigour of conscience and purity of feeling yet remain in the soul. But whether partial or total, it is, in its nature, and as far as it goes, one and the same. And it is evermore marked by the following features.

The Rationalist acknowledges the Bible to be, in some sense, the word of God, but in no such sense that it is to be deemed authority for any doctrine repugnant to his own judgments and feelings. He also acknowledges that there is a species of truth in the fundamental articles of the Christian faith. He will usually receive them, or most of them, at all events, so far as their titles are concerned; and generally in somewhat of their meaning, discarding, however, so much of them as is either deemed to be inexplicable, or felt to be unpalatable; *i. e.*, all in them that is distinctively divine and Christian. Rationalism claims to receive them so far as they have truth in them, or for substance of doctrine. It would only, forsooth, free them of the unwarrantable dogmas in which they have been encrusted, which hinder their acceptance and efficacy among men, which confirm the prejudice and unbelief of the impenitent, and embarrass the faith of simple disciples; which, indeed, appear to be affirmed in the Bible, if we interpret it literally, and have therefore found their way into the creeds; but which, nevertheless, when adjudged at the bar of what it calls right reason, right feeling, common sense, philosophy, the enlightened spirit of the age, and we know not what other terms used to shroud the same revolt of the unsanctified soul against God and his truth, must be condemned as intolerable. In this way Rationalism declares impossible to be true, what God pronounces true. Yet, like heathenism and Christian Ritualism, it holds some part of God's truth, but so denies what is incomprehensible or unpalatable in connection with it, as to change that truth into a lie. Sometimes it carries this destructive process into one class of truths, sometimes into another; and once beginning, unless checked, will sooner or later put it through them all.

In illustration of our meaning, take the doctrine of salvation by Christ. All calling themselves Christians, admit most surely, that this is a true and cardinal article of the Christian faith, and still further, that he died for our sins. But then how did he die for our sins, and in what sense was his death efficacious therefor? The Scriptures, they confess, teach that Christ in his sufferings and death endured the punishment of our sins; the chastisement of our peace was upon

Him: He became a curse for us; and so they teach that the first and immediate object of his sufferings and death was to release us from personal punishment, by direct substitution for it. But, says the Rationalist, this cannot be strictly true. It is monstrous to suppose that God could accept the woes of innocence in lieu of the woes of guilt; or that he can desire any sacrifice or suffering as a condition of reconciliation to a sinner who is truly penitent. These scriptural representations must be taken, therefore, to be merely figurative, intense, hyperbolical, or artistic statements, designed merely to awaken pious feeling, and deepen the sense of our extraordinary obligations to Christ. He died as a martyr simply, when on a benevolent mission to reclaim men to truth and virtue, by his holy teachings and spotless example. This was the primary and direct object for which he appeared on earth. His death was not the primary object, but was merely incidental to it, and a signal proof of his devotion to it; just as Paul's martyrdom was no direct object of his mission, but incidental to his great object of winning men to God by his holy teachings and example. Now, it is true that Christ died as a martyr. Is that the only or chief sense in which he died for the sins of men? Then is Paul as truly and as much our Saviour, our Redeemer, our atoning sacrifice, as Christ! Thus this most vital truth of salvation by Christ is turned into a lie, not by rejecting everything connected with it, but by rejecting what is vital in it. We might readily show, if it were necessary, how a similar process has been applied to the Trinity, incarnation, justification by faith, original sin, regeneration, election, every distinctive doctrine of Christianity, till even in some of the most ancient and renowned churches, Puritan and Reformed, defections have occurred which retain little beyond the principles of natural religion, with Christian titles annexed to them.

We have selected this particular doctrine, because it is the very corner-stone of the Christian religion, as regards faith and practice, and because, of late, those have arisen in communions nearly allied to us, who are disposed to apply this annihilating process to this and other correlate doctrines. Rationalism is an extremely insidious as well as dangerous leaven to introduce in any degree into our religious reasonings.

As the ancient Pharisees were the representatives of a divine religion paralysed by being overlaid with superstition, so the Sadducees, who denied the resurrection, were the representatives of the same religion paralysed by rationalizing unbelief. And we shall do well to heed the charge of our Saviour and of his holy Apostle—Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees. Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit. Touch not, taste not, handle not. For a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump.

Superstitious formalism turns the truth of God into a lie, not so much by believing too little, as by adding to it human inventions which spoil it. Rationalism rejects these inventions of superstition, and so far is right; but it also rejects more or less vital elements of revealed truth, without rejecting every feature and ingredient of that truth, and so turns it into a lie.

Moreover, it is true as Rationalism contends, that the truth of God is supremely rational, as God himself is the Supreme Reason. But it perverts and misapplies this truth, and so turns it into a lie. Whatever God is, or does, or ordains, must be right, simply because he is perfect, because he is God. To deny this is Atheism. But does it hence follow, that puny, short-sighted, sin-blinded mortals can fathom the divine counsels, and completely survey the universe, all time and all space, and determine what it is wise and right for Infinite Goodness and Wisdom to do, or to pronounce aught false or absurd which God has pronounced true? Is God to give an account in any of his matters to worms of the dust, or are they competent judges to review, annul, or condemn any of his procedures? Never! We cannot recognize such a being, as our God. Such a being, amenable to, capable of being measured by a race who must first become fools that they may be wise, could never be a legitimate object of adoration or religious worship.

But it is said that he who made the Bible made the human mind: that truth revealed by him through the one channel, can never contradict truth revealed through the other: that, therefore, the Bible cannot reveal anything contrary to the intuitive decisions of the human mind. But to say nothing further—What are intuitive decisions of the human mind? Those things which the whole race intuitively perceives to be

true, with as much certainty as they perceive their own existence. But this cannot be applicable to the denial of any of those great Christian truths which Rationalism rejects: for the people of God, a multitude whom no man can number, have believed them, and thousands have sealed their faith with their blood. If any one says that the mysteries of godliness are denied by his intuitive convictions, he simply mistakes his own sinful prejudices, and the pride of his narrow intellect, for the intuitive decisions of the human race. They are truly rational who are satisfied to take the attitude of learners, not of judges, before the Infinite and Unerring Mind; who take the yoke, and learn of Christ. They find that the truth of God, however mysterious in some aspects, alone satisfies the wants of their moral, intellectual, and spiritual being; that it harmonizes with divine Providence and devout feeling; that all departures from it for the sake of shunning difficulties, do but multiply the difficulties they would thus shun, going from labyrinth to labyrinth, "to find no end in wandering mazes lost!"

These two dangerous routes, two principal tracks of the broad road which so many travel, have their origin in that evil heart and evil conscience which inhere in fallen humanity; a heart averse to God and propense to all evil, a conscience charging guilt and threatening the wrath of the Almighty, which is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness. According as one of these predominates over the other, while neither is cleansed by the blood and Spirit of Christ, will the drift of the soul be towards either superstition or infidelity, which, mixed with Christian truth, respectively become formalism or rationalism. So far as the conscience is active and charges guilt, so far it will crave some method of appeasing God; and, so far as the evil heart persists in its love of sin at the same time, it will crave some method of propitiating God, which will not interfere with its sinful indulgences and idols, but rather sanctifies them. Therefore it will crave superstitious rites and ceremonies, hoping to atone by strictness in these things for license in all others. Such are the beggarly elements to which mankind in all ages have been driven, who have not bowed to Christ's easy yoke, pacified their consciences through his blood, and by faith purified their hearts, thus cleansing them from

all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God. And in this state of mind, people will not stop to inquire whether the yoke of ritual and hierarchical bondage under which they come, is reasonable or scriptural. They prefer to assume it with a sort of blindness, since they deem ignorance the mother of devotion; and if their religion be scrutinized too narrowly, it may be found not to serve their purpose. "Man," says a celebrated writer, "cannot renounce either his sins or his God." His evil heart binds him to sin; his evil conscience makes him afraid directly to approach, and yet afraid altogether to forsake his Maker. Superstition is the result. The same causes in other circumstances generate Rationalism, which usually prevails among those who have learned how senseless and worthless rites and ceremonies not ordained of God must be, and how vain any rites, even divinely authorized, must be, when divorced from moral purity. In these circumstances, what will he, whose heart is averse to the God of the Bible, but whose conscience will not suffer him utterly to break loose from God and Christianity, do? He will make God altogether like himself, *i. e.*, he will in a sense accept the Bible and Christianity, while yet he will contrive to explain away and repudiate so much of them as is repugnant to his own unhumbled mind and heart, meanwhile flattering himself, and as many others as choose to believe it, that he still accepts the substance of the whole; at all events, that he accepts enough for the soul's salvation. This may be true in some cases; it certainly is not in others. But whether true or not, he will be sure to think it is so, and to esteem all in the highest degree intolerant and bigoted who do not agree with him. He can tolerate all forms of religious belief in others, for there is truth hid under them, which he is large-minded enough to perceive and acknowledge. He is only disturbed when others have not a like charity for his own views; when they deem the principles he assails, so important that they will not receive him within the circle of Christian fellowship. In its full development, in modern Pantheism, Rationalism leads men to avow that they can believe everything, "as many creeds as are offered;" *i. e.*, that they in reality believe nothing; and this more especially, because it is a radi-

cal principle with them, that moral evil is a stage in man's training for goodness, and so, that in its place, it is in itself good. As Rationalism is essentially negative, denying positive truth, instead of having anything positive itself to propagate, so it lives comfortably amid all forms of belief, so long as it is itself quietly tolerated. It takes no offence, till it is itself condemned and disowned. And disowned it must be, wherever there is a living, positive faith, which in its very nature strives to live and reign, and overthrow all antagonism to itself. Says McCosh, "A negation can exist anywhere; it is slippery, easy, accommodating; but that which is positive must have space and room, and it would drive out that which resists it."

Every man is by nature something of a rationalist and something of a ritualist, for every man is by nature sinful, and so guilty, blind, averse to holiness and truth, which yet his conscience will not suffer him utterly to repudiate. So long as the best of men are imperfectly sanctified, so long they will need to watch, lest some residuum of the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees still work within them, to turn them from the simplicity that is in Christ. The difference between those, who, calling themselves Christians, respectively belong to Christ and Antichrist, is often not that one class holds fundamental truths which the other rejects, or that one class holds errors while the other is free from error; but that the one class, whatever may be their errors, hold them in such proportion and subordination to the truth, as not seriously to impair its integrity, vitality, and authority; while the other hold errors of such magnitude and in such admixture with the truth, as to paralyse it, and turn it into a lie. This criterion will hold good even of those merely speculative believers of the most orthodox creeds, who hold the truth in unrighteousness. For all these discern not, and of course believe not in, that divine beauty of spiritual truths which alone can attract the heart. So rejecting what is most vital and essential in them, they turn the truth of God into a lie.

It follows from all this, that an individual, or a communion, may cling to fundamental saving truth and hold fast the Head, while yet weakening and deforming, but not destroying, that faith by manifold errors and "doubtful disputations;" and, on

the other hand, that the truths of the gospel may be held in name and in a sense, but so held with superincumbent fatal errors, as to be utterly subverted. Hence the plausible and universal plea of heretics, that they hold so many precious truths in common with the orthodox, that they ought not to be *disfellowshipped;* or that by spreading a drag-net through Christian literature, they can fish up nearly the whole brood of their own heresies, one here and another there, is of no account. The question, Ought not those who hold in common a great number of fundamental truths to walk together? is too much loaded with ambiguity to admit logically of an unqualified affirmative or negative answer. Like many other questions *ad captandum*, put by partisan sciolists in ethics and divinity, we can only answer them safely after the manner of the old theologians in such cases, neither yea nor nay, but *distinguimus*. The mere theist holds a great deal of precious fundamental truth. Is he, therefore, to be recognized as a Christian? The Socinian holds a great deal more in common with us, albeit he denies that our Lord is God, and hath purchased the Church with his own blood. Shall he then be brought within the sacred circle of Christian fellowship? The Papists hold vastly more, even most of the distinctively Christian mysteries. Shall they then be countenanced as true Christians who turn the truth of God into a lie, by making all grace dependent on the intervention and pleasure of the priesthood for its efficacy, substituting ceremonies for holiness, and making all subservient to hierarchical domination? Or suppose that all else be held "according to the straitest sect," but that vicarious atonement, or spiritual regeneration, or eternal punishment be contemptuously abjured, does, or does not, one such heresy so derange all associated truths, as to turn them, either at once or ere long, into a lie? There can be but one answer to these questions in the light of Scripture, history, or logic. It is possible out of a hundred related facts, to state all accurately, only omitting a single one, and, by that omission, to falsify all the rest. What sort of an account would he give of man, who should state everything truly about him, except simply that he has a moral nature, or, stating this, should ignore its fallen state? The question then in these cases is, not merely how many and what truths others

hold in common with us, but whether they so hold them, or other things in connection with them, as virtually to neutralize them. In our present imperfect and fallible state, there surely is a broad field in which Christians must agree to differ. But there is another sacred enclosure which cannot be invaded. To reject the fundamental doctrines of Christianity is to reject Christianity. Here there can be no compromise. It is well, the very instincts of the gracious soul demand it, that those who have hereunto attained, and agree in holding the head, should walk by the same rule, and combine their strength in a common cause against a common foe. In this behalf, and *pro hâc vice*, they may well forget their differences, justly feeling that their points of agreement are vastly more important than their points of difference. When the friends of God summon us to associations of this sort for the purpose of promoting our common Christianity, but not of protecting its impugners, we hear their voice, for it is not the voice of a stranger, but of the true Israel. Then will we gather to the "sacramental host of God's elect." But how often do heretics and reckless innovators make the welkin ring with the same watchwords, for the manifest purpose of screening their heresies and arts from detection and exposure! These we will not hear. For although the voice be the voice of Jacob, the hands are the hands of Esau.

As we have seen, the truth is turned into a lie by being incorporated with positive or negative errors which produce the transmutation. It is a necessary consequence, that the surest defence against, and remedy for this fatal tendency, is to hold and teach the truth as it is in Jesus, in its utmost fulness and simplicity; for all parts of the system of divine truth mutually support and brace each other. The removal of any part, therefore, although it be not the foundation, weakens and imperils the whole edifice. This must be so, as God is its author. It is so, as all experience testifies. We are persuaded that such could be shown, historically and logically, to have been the effect of losing faith in doctrines so remotely connected with Christian experience, as the imputation of Adam's sin, and the scriptural idea of the Church. Therefore, whatever connections we may form for promoting our common Christianity, with those who cannot yet digest the strong meat of what is

peculiar to the system called Calvinistic, we must not in any wise fetter our liberty to maintain them boldly in every appropriate sphere. To bind ourselves not to teach all things whatsoever Christ hath commanded us, is treason to him and his truth, therefore, to our common Christianity. We sum up all in the celebrated aphorism of Augustine:—*In necessariis unitas; in non necessariis libertas; in omnibus caritas.*

ART. V.—*Thoughts for the Ministry.*

EIGHTEEN centuries ago, the command was given to the Church, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." Here is at once the *charter* of her territory, and the *compend* of her duties. The earth is hers by the grant of Heaven, just as fast as she is ready to occupy it; and the end of her being as to this world, is, through the occupancy of her domain, to bring all mankind to the knowledge of the truth. That she has hitherto failed in both respects, is, alas, too manifest to require even an assertion. She has suffered the enemy to retain long and almost undisputed possession of large portions of her territory; while in the meantime countless millions of those whom it was her duty to have reached, have descended, unevangelized, to their graves, and to the miseries of death eternal. Solemn truth!

Nor is she now, we fear, with all her activity, awake to her duty, or prosecuting her work in a way likely to be very soon successful. The population of the world grows much faster than Christianity spreads, and the resources of the Church are not developed and applied as they actually exist or accrue. Increasing numbers, abounding wealth, divine commands, promises, invitations, and influences, have not given her that progressive impulse which might have been expected, and which doubtless is indispensable to her success. She tarries yet on the borders of her rightful possessions.

That the responsibility of this delay does not rest with God, all will admit. His command is and has been uniformly the

same—"Go up and possess the land." His promises have held out unfailing encouragement to obedience. "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world." "My word shall not return unto me void, but shall accomplish that whereto I sent it." His Spirit has accompanied every faithful effort; and his providence has not only wrought with, but gone before the Church, beckoning her forward, as with a visible hand or an audible voice. While, therefore, as a Divine Sovereign, he doubtless has his reasons for permitting this delay, yet is he no more responsible for it than when unbelieving Israel refused to enter the land of promise after the return of the spies. It was their duty to have gone up then, without delay. They committed a two-fold sin by refusing, namely, distrust of God's love, faithfulness, and power, and disobedience to his command. So has the Church, in not taking possession of the world.

It is equally obvious that the responsibility of this delay does not rest solely, or even mainly, with the enemies of the Church and of God. Israel was not delayed by the strength of her enemies, but by her own imperfections. With her own heart right, and with God as her helper, no matter what opposition she encountered; it was nothing. The combined forces of kings, and the strong walls of cities, were alike powerless in her presence. No matter whether she had a numerous army, or simply Gideon's band; her success depended not on the proportionate adaptation of her means to the end to be accomplished, nor on the weakness of her foe as compared with herself. Her failure always arose from the imperfections of her own spirit. When she departed from God, he left her a prey to her adversaries. When she looked unto him, he always helped her.

So with the case in hand. The Church has not failed or been delayed because her enemies were so numerous or powerful—because the work to be done was so vast, *i. e.*, so large a world to be evangelized; or because to persuade men to submit to Christ is so difficult; nor yet because her numbers or her resources have been so limited; but because of her own deficiencies. While those who have withstood or disregarded her, have of course their responsibility to bear, yet she herself is the great sinner, for not having gone up to possess the land.

If this be true, (and we think it will not be questioned,) it throws upon her a tremendous responsibility. The blood of millions stains her garments—it cries to God against her. She ought with the utmost anxiety and haste to seek the cause or causes of her failure, and to put them away. Into the notice of all these we cannot now enter. They are various, no doubt. But whatever they are, or have been, we confidently believe that the *ministry* is mainly responsible.

Without enumerating just here what we conceive to be the great defects of the ministry, let us notice some considerations which seem to show that, so far as the Church has failed in doing her duty, the guilt lies mainly with them. Our first argument is drawn from analogy. They are the rulers and leaders of the Church, just as civil or military officers are of a nation or an army. Now the whole history of the world shows that the success or ruin of governments and armies has generally been dependent on their leaders. With honest, faithful, competent rulers, very few governments, if any, have ever failed; with able, brave, and devoted officers, very few armies have been conquered. With the right men at the helm, prosperity has been the rule; adversity the exception. With improper men there, whatever may have been the spirit of the people, disappointment and overthrow have been their lot.

Not only is this true of the past, but the world is full of living illustrations of the same point—the extent to which the destiny of nations is in the hands of their rulers. Look at England, France, Russia, Spain, &c., &c. How completely are the people in the hands of their governments! What could not these governments do for the good of their subjects, respectively, if from the highest to the lowest, every official agent were actuated by a patriotic spirit? What deeds of oppression and iniquity can they not perpetrate with impunity, when banded together? What can the people do, while bound hand and foot by ambitious, mercenary, and corrupt rulers?

In a republican government like ours, (more analogous to the government of the Church,) the destiny of the nation is not so completely in the hands of the rulers as in those mentioned above; but even here it is sufficiently so to illustrate the point in hand. Who does not see that notwithstanding our excellent

constitution, settling the general principles of the government, and limiting very minutely the authority of our rulers, yet a tremendous power for good or evil is necessarily thrown into the hands of the administration? It must be so in the very nature of the case. The very idea of government implies power in the hands of the rulers. With the greatest limitations compatible with its existence, it is still immense. Hence the responsibility to which we rightfully hold each successive administration. Hence, too, the anxiety with which every sincere lover of his country watches the character of the men placed in authority. With *faithful and competent rulers*, we are safe. With unprincipled demagogues presiding over us, feeding upon us, we may be ruined before we are aware of our danger. Here is the rock on which our gallant ship will split, if she ever founder. Our unprincipled aspirants after office are the worst enemies of our country, and the most execrable beings in the world. The Lord deliver us from their devices!

But to apply the illustration, already too much protracted. If it be true of civil governments and armies, that their leaders control their destiny, and are held responsible accordingly, why is it less so with the Church? Why may we not with equal confidence expect the influence of her rulers—her ministry—to be felt for good or evil through all her borders? What should make her an exception from all other associations of men? We can devise no reason. With the same confidence, therefore, that we look to a good government for the prosperity of a nation; or the same indignation with which we denounce a bad government for the woes of the people, may we look to the ministry of the Church, and hold them responsible for her condition. If she does not thrive, it is because they do not rule her properly. If she does not march forward, and conquer as she goes, it is because they do not properly arm and lead her forth.

We argue to the same point, again, from the history of the Church, under both dispensations. In reading the Old Testament, we cannot fail to observe, that the prosperity or adversity of Israel was determined very generally by the character of her rulers; and, moreover, that their piety or wickedness is almost uniformly spoken of as the ground on which the Lord

blessed or punished the nation. When the rulers "walked in the way of the Lord," it went well with the people; when they "did evil in the sight of the Lord," the curse fell upon the people, as well as themselves. This was not less the fact, too, with spiritual than with civil rulers. When their priests and prophets were holy men of God, the nation felt the blessing; when they were the selfish, lying tools of oppressive rulers, the blight fell upon all the kingdom.

Nor does the history of the Christian Church speak less emphatically on this point. When faithful apostles preached the gospel, it spread with irresistible power and amazing rapidity over the earth; nothing could stay its progress. When corrupt teachers came in, perverting the truth, or preaching another gospel, they tarnished the glory, and retarded the progress of the true. When good and great men here and there arose, like Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, Origen, Chrysostom, and Augustine, they were like suns, around which the smaller orbs were gathered, and together served to preserve the Church from utter corruption. When these had departed, and the priesthood as a mass became corrupt, then came the "dark ages" of the Church. What light could beam upon the people, when corrupt priests, laden with their own sins, sealed up the Bible, veiled the Sun of Righteousness, and lied concerning the way of life? They covered the earth with Papal darkness. This continued until the Reformation. Then under the guidance of men called of God as was Aaron, such as Luther, Melanethon, Zuingle, Calvin, Knox, and others, the Church, by the grace of God, arose to put on once more her beautiful garments. Thus her past history shows how deeply the character of her ministry has affected her prosperity, and therefore how great has been their responsibility in conducting her affairs.

But we need not go back to remote history. We may argue the same point, the paramount influence and responsibility of the ministry, from actual observation. In looking over the Christian world at the present time, we cannot fail to see that the various denominations, both as to *doctrine* and *spirit*, are very much what their ministry has made them. Chalmers, and a few others, whose heads and hearts were filled with heavenly

truths and divine emotions, by the help of God communicated their spirit to the devoted men who came out of the Scottish Establishment a few years since. And these, under God, have made the Free Church of Scotland what she is. Wesley and his colleagues, perceiving the deficiencies of a corrupt and imbecile Establishment, struck out with new fervour to preach Christ among a people perishing in a formal religion. And their spirit, as it has been communicated to others, has made Methodism what it is. Pusey and his deluded associates, losing sight of the simplicity of the gospel, of the true nature of the Church, and filled with a mistaken zeal for forms and ceremonies, have communicated to a part of "The Church of England" a spirit which is fast uprooting true piety, and hurrying them back to the embrace of the mother of harlots. It was not the people who brought the ministry up to these things, but the ministry who brought the people. It is not the people who keep the ministry, but the ministry who keep the people. Take away or corrupt the shepherds, and what must become of the flocks?

We may narrow our observation, too, to the condition of individual congregations connected with the various denominations existing in our own land. Do we not see around us, that wherever a particular church enjoys the presence and services of a faithful and competent minister, whatever its state when he came to it, it soon begins to prosper? Do we not see on the other hand, that wherever a church is cursed with an unfaithful or incompetent minister, whatever its former prosperity may have been, it soon begins to decline? Do we not, in reference to such a church, rejoice when a change is effected, and they obtain a minister under whom there is some hope of a resuscitation? Do we not commiserate the church which has been mistaken in the choice of her pastor? What do these things prove but that the ministry mould the churches, and are therefore responsible for their condition?

The same conclusion is forced upon us with greatly increased evidence of its truth, when we consider the end or design for which the ministry was appointed. It was "to *feed* the flock of God;" to edify the Church; to lead her forward in the discharge of duty; to bring her, under God, to possess the world.

This is the business of the clergy—for it they have every necessary facility. The position which they occupy, the estimation in which they are held "for their work's sake," and the solemn truths they have to publish and defend, are eminently adapted to the end contemplated. They stand as ambassadors for Christ between God and men. They are regarded as the safest expositors of revealed truth. In fulfilling their work, they have access to the houses and hearts of the people. They deal in the most interesting, important, and solemn matters that can claim the attention of rational beings. They profess to be called of God to this work, *i. e.* to study and preach the word—to commune with God in secret and through the Scriptures—to drink from the pure stream of life, and then go forth to display its excellencies, explain its nature, and proclaim its freeness. In short, to tell what the Bible reveals of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost—to discourse of time, of eternity, of sin, of holiness, of life, of death, of heaven, and of hell.

They go too, to a people not only having a susceptibility of being impressed by these sublime truths, but having an inward conviction of their importance, and even a sense of vacancy or want until they are understood and embraced—to a people who, notwithstanding all the degradation and corruption of sin, yet cry out with a longing heart, "who will show us any good?" to a people sensible of woes here, which no earthly panacea can cure, and dreading greater woes to come, from which only God himself can save them. They go, as Heaven's accredited agents, to bring the only remedy that can reach the wants of our ruined race—a remedy which claims the power of overcoming all opposition. They have the promise of their Master, "Lo, I am with you;" and they have the Comforter, the spirit of promise, whose work it is to "convince the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment." And they have the power of discipline by which they may remove that which cannot be cured.

That they may give their undivided attention to this work, they are authorized to expect the supply of their temporal wants from the Church. Thus relieved of distracting cares, provided with almighty help, and sent forth for a specific object, if the Church is not fed—so fed that she grows, becomes strong, and

accomplishes her mission, the responsibility of her failure must fall first and heaviest on her leaders. Say not that the people are very worldly. Say not that the Church is very lifeless. All this is true. But what is the ministry for, but to meet, and, with the help of God, to correct these very evils? Have they not a divine remedy, with never-failing promises of all necessary aid from their chief Shepherd? Does not their success depend rather on his presence and blessing, than upon the state or character of those to whom they minister?

All these considerations (and others, too, which might be mentioned) force us to the conclusion, that so far as the Church has failed or is now failing, the ministry is mainly at fault. The Church is and always has been just what they have made her; good by God's grace dispensed through them, or bad, by their neglect, incompetence, or wickedness. And if she does not now arise to take possession of the land, it will be because they do not rightly instruct her and lead her forward. Brethren in the ministry! this solemn truth throws a tremendous responsibility on us—a responsibility to which we are held alike by the enlightened judgment of the world, by the Church we serve, and above all, by God himself. Would that we felt it as we should!

As to the particular defects of the ministry, in so large a class of men, and requiring such various gifts, it is impossible of course to embrace all under a few specifications. Certainly in no two denominations, nor perhaps in any two individuals of the same denomination, will there be found a precise correspondence of character. It must vary, as in other classes of men, almost indefinitely. We have felt it desirable, therefore, to establish as clearly as possible, the general proposition, that they are mainly responsible for the state of the Church, and leave it, as the work of close self-examination and prayer, for each one to determine what are his defects, and what his share in this solemn responsibility. Each individual case will thus be much more certainly and effectively reached than by an enumeration of defects which in the nature of the case must be partial, and in some points impertinent. If every member of the order would seriously ponder the questions, What are my defects? what is there that hinders my usefulness? and then set

himself prayerfully to correct or remove them, the work would soon be done, and the Church soon begin to move with new life and energy. To this, therefore, we affectionately exhort. Without it, specifications are of little value.

At the same time, and by way of assistance to any who wish to follow the subject farther, we will venture to mention a few general points which are worthy of attention. 1. While we will not slander the ministry by even raising the question, whether the vast majority of them are truly converted men, or whether true piety is regarded as an essential qualification, (taking all this for granted,) we yet fear it is too true that the importance of *eminent piety* has not been felt as it should, nor that attention given it which it deserves. There can be no question but that successful preaching depends more on this than any other qualification. It gives the preacher power with God. It gives him the power of God working through his ministrations. It gives him the clearest views of evangelical truth which men ever attain. It gives him the right state of soul to present that truth. It gives him true and heavenly emotions, which put him in tender sympathy with his hearers, and them also with him. It makes him earnest, natural, affectionate, and forcible. Who has not felt its power, in listening to others?

But is it cultivated as it deserves? We fear not. There are many things which interfere with its cultivation:—a sinful nature, an imperfectly sanctified heart, in common with private Christians; a tendency to formality, to convert his reading and study of the Bible into a mere professional employment, so that the precious soul-cheering aliment of the truth is overlooked as to his own heart. His very familiarity with truth and sacred duties tends, in this corrupt state, to beget insensibility, against which it is not easy to guard. The collision of different denominations is apt to give a sectarian or controversial turn to his studies, rather than practical. The ill judged compliments of his people may stir up and feed a spirit of pride which is fatal to growth in grace. The gayety and worldliness of the community, and especially of the Church, has a tendency to lower his standard of piety, both as to his judgment and personal practice. Being reluctant to think his people worldly,

his very love leads him to excuse them as far as possible. Thus while making charitable allowance for them, his standard of Christian character is almost imperceptibly lowered, and he himself, thus beguiled and affected by their contagious example, falls in on the same platform of Christian life, which he has designated for others.

In some such way his piety suffers; and with it his usefulness is necessarily diminished. In a cold state of heart, he does not attempt much that he would undertake and accomplish were he more like his Master. Trifling difficulties become insurmountable barriers in his way. Opportunities of usefulness, which an expanded heart of love would see and embrace, are passed unheeded. He cannot preach as he would in a different spiritual state. The most overwhelming of all views of truth, suggested by a personal experience of its preciousness and power, are hid from his blind and torpid heart; and even the amount of truth which he may present, does not come with that unction to his hearers which his own overflowing soul would have given it. How much of the power of preaching is thus lost, no tongue can tell. Not only is the present impression of truth lost, time and strength wasted, but careless habits of hearing are formed among his people, which serve to harden their hearts and increase their natural insensibility to truth. And, worst of all, the Spirit of God, whose presence he might have enjoyed, is grieved away—away from the very instrumentality Heaven has appointed for reaching the hearts of men, and that by the weak and sinful agents who know that all their success depends on his presence! It is the more important, too, to consider this defect, because it seems to be the father of almost all others. It carries with it a legion. If corrected they would necessarily be removed. If it remain, it is vain to expect their correction. If all would only cultivate that spirit of eminent piety which is so essential to their office, there would be but little occasion to urge other qualifications upon them.

2. Another, and we fear a growing defect of the ministry, is a failure to preach the gospel in its simplicity, exhibiting Christ and his cross as the centre of the system, presenting and insisting on the true nature of discipleship as involving an unreserved consecration of soul and body to the Lord, accompanied with an

earnest desire to honour him and benefit mankind by bringing all to the knowledge of the truth. We do not insinuate that these things are never preached. They undoubtedly are; but not, it is to be feared, with that frequency and plainness which they deserve. There are several obvious reasons why they are neglected. One is, that it flows as a natural consequence from the defect just named—a want of eminent piety. This is attained only by dwelling much on Christ. And he who has failed as to himself in doing this, will hardly be remarkable for urging it upon others.

Another is that we live in a controversial age, in which the conflict of truth with error, and especially the conflict of one denomination with another, turns the attention both of ministers and people to sectarian landmarks and fortifications, rather than to Christ, as the Saviour of sinners. That such preaching is wholly improper, in the present state of the Church and of the world, we would not say. But that it has been carried to undue length in many places; that it has been characterized by undue asperity, and that it does turn aside from the simple gospel of Christ, is no doubt true.

A third reason for this defect is, that we live in an age when money, fashion, and pleasure, have a most powerful influence in the Church. There is a love of money, a devotion to its pursuit, a subjection of sense and religion to fashion and show, which seem to be bearing the community away, as on the current of a mighty stream. This tendency is seen, among other things, in the style of dressing and living, in the erection of splendid churches, and in the character of our church music, which is growing more and more artificial and theatrical. To withstand this current is no easy matter. To float with it, and try to regulate it, is much easier, and more in accordance with carnal wisdom. This the ministry seems to be doing, in an unwarrantable degree. They have not set themselves abreast the stream, with the banner of the cross high unfurled, calling on the church to stop. They have not insisted on the inconsistency of such things with Christianity, nor endeavoured to correct them, by preaching the pure, humbling, self-denying doctrines of the cross. Their preaching

partakes rather of a character to conciliate by concessions than to christianize by the truth.

And still another reason (perhaps more operative than any yet mentioned) for leaving Christ out of the gospel, is that we live in an unusually intellectual age. There have been, it is true, great minds in almost every age, and some in former ages perhaps superior to any that now exist; but as a whole, there is more intelligence, more true mental cultivation and refinement now, than ever was seen before in the world's history. Many seem to think that the plain and simple truths of the gospel are not adapted to reach intelligent minds—that the attention of such is much more easily gained through the refinements of philosophy, the abstractions of reason, the flights of imagination, or the fascinations of style. After these there is a tendency to run, to the neglect of Christ and his cross. That this is a mistaken, as well as wicked policy, we need not stop to show. The fact that there is this tendency to supplant the cross is what is now before us. This fact finds its corroboration, and at the same time its withering reproof, in the oft-repeated remark of Daniel Webster, that "ministers now-a-days take their texts from the Bible, and their sermons from the newspapers."

There are no doubt other reasons for such a course, which cannot here be noticed. Without pretending to assign all, the result is that the gospel is not preached with that simplicity and earnestness which are so essential to its highest success. He whose own standard of piety is low, will seldom preach so as to lead his hearers higher than himself. He whose mind is excited and biased by controversial study, will weave in sectarianism as the filling of his discourse, whatever the warp may be. He who bows to the world, will not easily persuade the world to bow to Jesus. He who thinks to substitute the lofty conceptions of his own mind, or the more exciting topics of cotemporary history, for the plain truths of Christ, will only disappoint and condemn himself, while he feeds the flame of worldliness and pride which is already consuming his hearers.

That there are very many noble exceptions to these remarks, we rejoice to testify. Christ is not banished from the pulpit.

The sermons of many are pervaded and tinged with the doctrines of the cross, like the altars of old with the blood of their sacrifices. May God perpetuate and multiply such preachers! But still we cannot escape from the painful impression that there is a tendency to omit the cross with some, and with others to seek for original, profound, or philosophic views, even when Christ is preached, rather than to give the simple milk of the word.

3. Intimately connected with this, and in a great measure growing out of it, is another defect which deserves attention; it is the failure to deal plainly, earnestly, and affectionately, with the *conscience* of their hearers. They are not only to preach the gospel with all simplicity and love, but to "reprove, rebuke, and exhort, with all long-suffering and doctrine." This is especially true in regard to the members of the church, of which they are, in virtue of their office, invested with the oversight. They not only *may*, but *must* "reprove, rebuke, and exhort" where there is occasion for so doing. But are they doing this difficult and delicate work as they should? Do they point out and characterize the sins of the Church with sufficient clearness? Do they insist on that elevated standard of piety which is binding on all the followers of Christ?—that love to God and man which is the fulfilling of the law—which makes everything tributary to the interests of Zion? Do they present and insist upon the law of benevolence, the grace of giving, as it deserves? We fear not. And as a consequence the Church neglects her duty, and the world suffers loss, through their failure.

We are not here recommending a scolding or overbearing ministry, one that lords it over God's heritage. Far from it. What we recommend is a ministry that first of all lives up to, and then preaches, the truth in plainness and in love—that can say "thou art the man"—that so preaches as to make the conscience of the hearer say, "I am guilty before God." This may be done without scolding, and in a way that will rarely give offence. Let the people see that their minister loves them, that he is sincerely desirous to do them good, that he tries to live as he preaches, that he reproves because he dare not be silent, that he prefers duty to every other consideration, and

they will not only bear his keenest words, but honour him for his fidelity.

It is to be feared, however, that many preachers are wanting in this respect. There is with some a natural timidity or a tender shrinking from imparting pain, which holds them back. With others, a consciousness of personal delinquencies which prevents their boldness, upon the familiar and homely maxim, that "they who live in glass houses should not throw stones."

4. Another, and perhaps the most serious defect of the ministry of this age, lies in the construction and delivery of their sermons. They partake too much of the essay style, and are *read* too often in an inanimate manner. As essays they may be very chaste, logical, and scriptural, and may be so read as to secure the approbation (or even the applause sometimes) of a promiscuous assembly. But as sermons they fail to reach and impress the heart, as should be done where such momentous interests are at stake, and such soul-stirring truths are the theme for discussion. This is a great defect where it exists. But taking our country at large, there are probably one hundred sermons delivered without writing, where there is one read. Even those ministers who write most regularly, are called upon constantly at lectures and funerals to speak without writing; and the vast majority of the ministry of our country and of our Church seldom or never write their sermons. We have small respect for the outcry against written sermons. In nine cases out of ten it comes from those who are unwilling to take the labour to write. A carefully written sermon is the work of from three to six days. An unwritten sermon, in a majority of cases, is the work of less than half as many hours. It is no wonder, therefore, that there should be a large majority against writing. We, however, are willing to admit that few men deliver discourses from manuscripts with the power they infuse into unwritten sermons; and that if the same amount of labour could be secured for the preparation of unwritten sermons as of those which are the work of the pen, we should be glad to see written discourses banished from the pulpit. This, however, is very seldom done; and, therefore, what is called extempore preaching commonly loses all power over an intelligent audience. Whatever may be said about the different modes of

preaching, there is no doubt a great defect in ministers as preachers, whether they use notes or not. What is the cause of this defect? Some are disposed to refer it to our prevalent modes of theological training. That training is said to be too little practical. It tends to make theologians rather than preachers. We believe there is ground for this objection, though it is no doubt exaggerated, and arises from an erroneous conception of the design of professional training. The defect, however, so far as it exists, the Church is endeavouring to correct by the appointment of experienced men as professors in our several Seminaries, with a special view to the training of preachers.

It is not here so much, however, as in the neglect of the heart, that the evil of our theological discipline lies. If our ministers give character to the Church, our professors give character to the ministers; and we admit that here a weight of responsibility truly fearful rests. No one of them probably will be found, who is not ready to acknowledge how far short he comes, and what a blessing to the Church would be a larger measure of God's Spirit poured on our theological professors.

It is, however, to the want of adaptation to the popular mind in constructing and delivering sermons, that we would direct more particular attention. The training must of necessity be an intellectual exercise. The mind must be developed and furnished in some good degree by close application. This being done, the harness is then buckled on, and the work becomes practical. The question now is, How shall I go to work? How bring the truth to tell upon men with the greatest power? How gain the greatest influence over them? The young lawyer, asking himself very much the same questions, at least so far as his success is concerned, is led to associate in a free and familiar manner with the people, to study their character, the best way to arrest their attention and affect their mind. At the same time he does not neglect his books of authority, or the profound study of the deepest principles of law. He feels it to be all important to be well read, a profound as well as a practical common-sense man of the people, if he would gain their confidence and patronage. He must thoroughly understand his cause and the jury; and in presenting the former must have

constant reference to the latter. Thus discovering what are the really strong or weak points of his case, he brings them out or conceals them, as may serve his purpose; and understanding the sympathies, prejudices, capacities, or habits of his jury, he plays upon them with all his ingenuity.

Is it not true that many ministers fail in this respect, *i. e.*, in studying a proper adaptation to the people? They do not associate with men, and study human nature, with a view to reaching and controlling it through the pulpit; and in their public performances, often fail to arrange their discourses so as to present distinctly the points on which the whole discussion turns. The lawyer is continually saying, "here, gentlemen of the jury, is a point of great importance; give it, if you please, your special attention. Here too is another, and here another, either of which is enough to decide the case in favour of my client." Thus, by emphasis and repetition, he *compels* the jury to see and remember where the stress lies. But with very many sermons, alas! there are no points to be urged; or if there are, owing to the smooth and flowing style in which they are written, or the hasty and unimpassioned manner in which they are read, they are not impressed on the hearers. Ministers, especially those who read closely, do not, like lawyers, make prominent the strong points of the case, and then illustrate and repeat them, until they cannot be overlooked or forgotten. In this, we verily believe, lies one great secret of unimpressive preaching. Nothing definite is presented to the mind; no fixed impression made on the hearer. The congregation, most of whom, like the jurors, are plain, uneducated people, with minds little used to abstract reasoning, and memories not accustomed to be burdened with logical sequences, leave the church with only an indefinite recollection of a general strain of pious remarks, beginning from some particular text, which they try to remember, but poorly able to call up what the minister said, or even aimed at precisely.

This enumeration of defects might be greatly prolonged. We might speak of the want of zeal, the want of an enterprising, persevering spirit, such as the times demand—the prevalence of indolence, ambition, vanity, levity, and the like. But it is not necessary. Enough has been said, we trust, to start

the mind of the conscientious on a course of serious self-examination. Let this be done, and the whole subject will then be properly surveyed. We are therefore much more concerned about the main point of these pages, viz., that the ministry is responsible for the state of the Church, than about the specification of defects that has been made. We may have been mistaken as to the causes of their failure, and as to the best way of removing these causes; yet if our general proposition be correct, (and we think it cannot be questioned,) they occupy a solemn position; one which should make them tremble. No men on earth have such work, such difficulties, such responsibility. The Church depends on them for edification; the world looks to them for the gospel; and Christ himself expects them to disciple all nations.

SHORT NOTICES.

The Life of Archibald Alexander, D. D., first Professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, New Jersey. By James W. Alexander, D. D. New York: Charles Scribner, 145 Nassau street, 1854. 8vo, pp. 696.

The intimate relation sustained for many years, both by the subject and the author of the above memoir, to this Journal, as well as the intrinsic value and abiding interest of the work itself, demand for it an extended notice in our pages. It was in the hope of presenting such a notice in our present number that we passed it in respectful silence on its first appearance. We have not abandoned the hope thus indicated, and the design of the present notice is not to apologize for the non-performance of a grateful duty, but simply to account for an unavoidable delay. As the work is already known in every part of our land, it needs no announcement; and as it is already regarded as a model memoir, it needs no commendation. All we can hope to accomplish in an extended notice, is to enrich our own pages with a reflection of the image of the venerated father as it has been portrayed by his gifted son.

Morning and Evening Exercises, for January, February, and March. By William Jay. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. Pp. 560.

Do. do. for April, May, and June. Pp. 601.

Do. do. for July, August, and September. Pp. 668.

Do. do. for October, November, and December. Pp. 700.

Each of these handsome volumes is furnished with an index, both of subjects and texts. The plan and character of the work are well known to our readers. It will, we trust, long continue to be a channel of truth and pious feeling to an increasing circle of Christian readers.

The Woodcutter of Lebanon, and the Exiles of Lucerna. By the author of "The Morning and Night Watches." New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. Pp. 246.

The design of this work is to give a view of "Hebrew customs, scenery, and life."

More Worlds than One; the Creed of the Philosopher and the Hope of the Christian. By Sir David Brewster, K. H., D. C. L., &c., &c., &c. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1854. Pp. 265.

It is a painful fact that science is to a great degree arrayed against the Bible. The speculations of such charlatans as Gliddon and Nott, who have no standing among men of science, and no force of any kind to give their ribaldry effect, are of no account. Much more injurious are the views of such men as Agassiz, who, under the influence of a one-sided culture, venture to throw out theories which may answer the facts of natural history, but are utterly inconsistent, not only with the Scriptures, but with other departments of science. There are two great evils to be deprecated in reference to these assaults on Revelation. The one is, an unreasonable opposition to natural science itself. Because scientific men assail the Scriptures, a certain class of theologians assail science, and thus expose themselves to ridicule, and injure the cause of truth. The other is, the attempts of sciolists to answer men of science. Let every one adhere to his own sphere. Let Christian philosophers answer infidel philosophers, and let not the cause of truth suffer by ministers reading up for a conflict with men whose lives are devoted to special studies. It is refreshing, therefore, to see such men as Miller and Brewster, holding the front rank among men of science, appearing as the defenders of scriptural truth. We commend this little work of Sir David Brewster to the perusal of all our readers.

The Words of Jesus. By the author of "The Morning and Night Watches," &c. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. Pp. 131.

A series of devout meditations.

Emblems Divine and Moral. By Francis Quarles. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. Pp. 323.

Quarles lived under Charles I. and II. His Emblems are a work *sui generis*. A quaint device constitutes the emblem; under which follows a poetic exposition. The originality of thought, the quaintness of expression, the pungency of wit, the flavour of piety, by which these effusions are characterized, have kept them alive for centuries, and will cause them to live probably for centuries to come.

Eclectic Moral Philosophy. By James R. Boyd. Fourth (Revised) Edition. New York: Harper & Brothers, No. 329 Pearl Street. 1854. Pp. 423.

The author states in the Preface: "The present edition, compared with the third, has been greatly improved—chiefly by substituting new articles on the Voluntary Principle,

(pp. 34—40,) on the Moral Qualities of Human Actions, (pp. 99—104,) and on American Slavery, (pp. 363—376.)

The Harmony of the Gospels in the Greek of the Received Text; on the plan of the author's English Harmony; with the most important various readings, brief grammatical explanations, select biblical references and chronological notes. By James Strong, A. M. New York: John C. Riker, 129 Fulton street, 1854. Pp. 370.

This appears to be a book prepared with great labour. The extended title, which we have copied, informs the reader what he is to expect. The author has availed himself of the most recent helps, and has furnished a work which students will find both useful and convenient.

The History of Minna and her Lambs and Doves. Presbyterian Board of Publication. Pp. 75.

The Blind Man and Pedler, or the Scoffer Convicted. Blind Betsey, or Comfort for the Afflicted. Philadelphia: Board of Publication. Pp. 72.

The History of Peter Thompson. The Premium. The Dying Sheep, and The Bible the Best Book. Philadelphia: Board of Publication. Pp. 72.

Memoir of the Rev. Joseph W. Barr. By the Rev. E. P. Swift, D. D. New edition, adapted to Sabbath-schools. Philadelphia: Board of Publication. Pp. 132.

Anne Bell. The Hated Task. The Red Berries, &c. By Charlotte Elizabeth. Philadelphia: Board of Publication.

Sister Agnes; or, the Captive Nun. A Picture of Convent Life. By a Clergyman's Widow. New York: Riker, Thorn & Co., 129 Fulton street. Pp. 412.

Ministering Children: a Tale dedicated to Childhood. New York: Riker, Thorne & Co., 1854. Pp. 415.

Hermann and Dorothea. From the German of Goethe. Translated by Thomas Conrad Porter. New York: Riker, Thorne & Co., 129 Fulton street. Pp. 168.

A prose version of one of Goethe's celebrated poems; elegantly printed. The author says truly, in vindication of his use of prose in the translation of a poem, "A golden statue wrought out with curious and elaborate skill by the hand of a master, loses, it is true, its artistic worth and beauty in the furnace, but the gold remains; so Goethe's rhyme, when melted into English prose, is Goethe still—the idyl is still idyllic."

Letter on the Divinity of Christ, from a Father to his Son. Albany: J. Munsell, 78 State Street. Pp. 18.

This letter evidently presents the workings of the writer's own mind, and is the exhibition of the evidences of the divinity of the Redeemer, on which his own convictions rest.

The Claims of Virginia upon her Educated Sons. An Address before the Union Society of Hampden Sydney College. By Rev. A. B. Van Zandt, D.D.

An earnest appeal to Virginians to devote themselves to the development of the resources of their own State, which God has so highly favoured with the gifts of nature.

The Inauguration of the Rev. John Maclean, D. D., Tenth President of the College of New Jersey, Wednesday, June 28th, 1854; and Dr. Maclean's Inaugural Address. Princeton: John T. Robinson. Pp. 52.

The College of New Jersey has a history which gives a place in the veneration and love of our country, and especially of Presbyterians, to which no institution of less antiquity can lay claim. The inauguration of a new President, therefore, was an occasion of solemn interest. The Institution has commenced its career under Dr. Maclean with the most encouraging prospects, and everything promises that the future history of the college will be worthy of the past.

The Divine Origin and Authority of the Christian Religion, in a connected series of familiar discourses, giving a concise view of the historical argument for the truth of the Bible. By William Neill, D. D. Philadelphia. Pp. 273.

We heartily agree with the venerable author of this little volume, that no apology is requisite for an addition to our list of works upon the evidences. There is, perhaps, no field of theological discussion, or of popular instruction, in which there is so great a demand for varied and repeated labour. The doubts to be removed are so diverse in origin and character, and the modes of presentation so indefinitely variable, that a constant succession of such works, judiciously prepared and specially adapted to popular rather than professional use, would not outrun the real wants of the public. Besides these general considerations, the attentive reader of this little work will find abundant reason to approve of its appearance, and to wish for its extensive circulation. To the author's many personal friends throughout the Church it will afford a pleasing proof of what is known already to those near at hand, to wit, that his declining years are still actively employed in the good work to which a long life has already been so faithfully and usefully devoted.

Leila Ada, the Jewish Convert. An authentic Memoir. By Osborn W. T. Heighway. Revised by the Editor. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 265 Chesnut street. Pp. 230.

Leila Ada was the lovely and accomplished daughter, and only child of a wealthy Hebrew gentleman residing in Wales. From the earliest years of her life, she seems to have been under the

influence of the Holy Spirit, leading her to long after God and holiness without any clear view, at first, even of the true Jewish faith. From the Talmud she was led to the Old Testament Scriptures, from the Old Testament to the New, and thus to Christ. The narrative of her experience is even more interesting than that of her sufferings as a confessor. She died at the age of twenty, in the joyful hope of salvation through grace by faith in Jesus Christ.

The Child's Catechism of Scripture History. Deuteronomy to Judges. Parts III. and IV. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

The Millennium: An Essay read to the General Convention of New Hampshire, June 1853. By Nathan Lord, President of Dartmouth College. Dartmouth Press, Hanover. 1854. pp. 56.

We believe no opponent of Millenarianism has ever succeeded in stating the doctrine to the satisfaction of its advocates. From some cause, either subjective or objective, they have always been misunderstood. This offence has been visited with such chastisement by tongue and pen, that he must be a bold man who would venture to say what Millenarianism is, unless he be a believer of the doctrine. Those who wish to learn what the theory is, as held by President Lord, can find it set forth in this pamphlet. We would, however, even with this authority in our hands, rather upset a bee-hive than to undertake an exposition of the doctrine.

Brief Sketch of the Rise and Progress of Astronomy: in three Lectures. By Albert Taylor Bledsoe, Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy in the University of Mississippi. Philadelphia, 1854.

Three Lectures on Rational Mechanics; or, the Theory of Motion. By Albert Taylor Bledsoe, Professor, &c. Philadelphia, 1854.

The Way of Peace. By Henry A. Rowland. New York: Published by M. W. Dodd, 1853.

This work is designed "to enable one who thinks that he has found acceptance with the Saviour to satisfy himself on this point, by means of suitable evidence; and also to show how he may preserve his religious affections in their proper purity and strength, and continue ever to live in peace with God and in the enjoyment of his love."

The Heavenly Home; or, the Employments and Enjoyments of the Saints in Heaven. By Rev. H. Harbaugh, A.M. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston, 1853.

Essays on Summer Hours. By Charles Lanman. Third edition, revised. New York: M. W. Dodd, 1853.

Odd-Fellowship examined in the light of Scripture and Reason. By Joseph Cooper, Pastor of the Second Associate Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia. Philadelphia: William S. Young, 173 Race street, 1853.

Open Communion; or, the Principles of Restricted Communion examined and proved to be unscriptural. By S. W. Whitney, A.M., late pastor of the Westport Church, New York. New York: M. W. Dodd.

Well Watered Plains; or, Instructive Lessons from the History of Lot. By H. N. Brinsmade, D. D. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

Witnesses for Christ: the Poet, the Hero, the Statesman, and the Philosopher. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

A brief account of Cowper, Haldane, Wilberforce and Chalmers.

Family Prayers. By the author of "Morning and Night Watches," &c. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1854. Pp. 356. 16mo.

Besides a collection of prayers for the morning and evening of each day in the week, and varied for each week of the month, this volume contains a series of occasional prayers, appropriate to a considerable variety of cases, most likely to come up in the experience of the private Christian, and also an appendix, entitled "The Faithful Promiser," in which an attempt is made to sustain devotional meditation, very much after the manner of Jay's well known Meditations, excepting that the passages selected are generally, perhaps uniformly, of the nature of a promise, and the object is to strengthen the faith and increase the fervour of the worshipper.

Abbeokuta; or Sunrise within the Tropics. An outline of the origin and Progress of the Yoruba Mission. By Miss Tucker, author of "The Rainbow in the North." New York, Robert Carter and Brothers, 1854, pp. 278. 18mo.

The Claremont Tales; or Illustrations of the Beatitudes. pp. 363. 24mo.

Clara Stanley; or a Summer among the Hills. By the author of "Aunt Edith." pp. 383. 24mo.

The first of these little volumes, is an instructive and deeply interesting narrative of the establishment of Christianity within the Yoruba Nation, near the Bight of Benin, on the West Coast of Africa. A good deal of collateral information is given, touching the slave trade, the Niger expedition, and the conflicts of the hostile natives with the Christian settlements on the coast; together with striking characteristics of the native African tribes, both before and after they came under the influence of the Gospel.

"The Claremont Tales," is a miscellaneous collection of stories, designed to illustrate the nature and power of religious

truth in moulding the character and determining the life; and especially in relation to the great questions of duty and happiness.

Scripture Natural History: Containing a description of Quadrupeds, Birds, Reptiles, Amphibia, Fishes, Insects, Molluscous animals, Corals, Plants, Trees, Precious Stones and Metals, mentioned in the Holy Scriptures. Illustrated by numerous Engravings. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1854.

An important addition to the popular understanding of the Scriptures. The descriptive letter press gives only the most general characters of the classification, with a fuller popular account of the objects designed to explain and give force to the allusions and references of the inspired narrative. The apologetics of the volume are skilfully handled, and kept in due subordination to its higher popular and practical uses. The illustrative cuts are remarkably spirited and graphic.

The Problem of the Philosophy of History. By Henry B. Smith, Professor in the New York Union Theological Seminary. Reprinted from the Presbyterian Quarterly Review, June, 1854. Philadelphia. 1854.

A Discourse on the Uses and Results of Church History. Delivered by Robert B. Dabney, May 8th, 1854, at his induction into the Professorship of Ecclesiastical History and Polity in the Union Theological Seminary, Virginia. Richmond: 1854.

This discourse is one which must excite very favourable anticipation of the success of Professor Dabney in his new department. It is characterized by a manly vigour of thought and expression, as well as by an exalted, but not an inflated idea, of the importance of Church History.

Discourses delivered at the opening of the First Reformed Presbyterian Church, Broad Street, Philadelphia, by the pastor of the congregation, by Rev. J. N. McLeod, D. D., of New York, and by Rev. Alexander Duff, D. D. Philadelphia: 1854.

The Discourses and Sayings of our Lord Jesus Christ; illustrated in a series of Expositions. By John Brown, D. D., Professor of Exegetical Theology to the United Presbyterian Church, Edinburgh, author of "Expository Discourses on 1 Peter," "Discourses on the Sufferings and Glories of the Messiah," etc. Complete in two volumes. Vol. I. pp. 646. Vol. II. pp. 599. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

In this new work of Professor Brown a valuable contribution is made to our exegetical literature. The expositions seem to be characterized by sound judgment, pious feeling, and competent scholarship. The author's range of reading, ancient and modern, judging from his references, is very extensive. The volumes before us form a very suitable companion to the work on the Epistle of Peter, already published by our enterprising friends, the Messrs. Carter of New York.

Daily Bible Illustrations: being Original Readings for a year, on subjects from Sacred History, Biography, Geography, Antiquities, and Theology. Especially designed for the Family Circle. By John Kitto, D. D., F. S. A. Evening Series. The Apostles and Early Churches. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1854. Pp. 448.

This is the closing volume of "the entire series of Daily Bible Illustrations," containing a great amount of information in a very interesting form.

Gratitude: An Exposition of the Hundred and Third Psalm. By the Rev. John Stevenson, author of "The Lord our Shepherd," "Christ on the Cross," &c. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. Pp. 324.

A sound and devout work.

Lectures on Female Scripture Characters. By William Jay, author of the "Morning and Evening Exercises." New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. Pp. 351.

Old Redstone; or, Historical Sketches of Western Presbyterianism, its Early Ministers, its Perilous Times, and its First Records. By Joseph Smith, D. D. Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, & Co. Pp. 460.

Dr. Smith has laid the Presbyterian Church in Western Pennsylvania, and indeed throughout our country, under great obligations, by this valuable contribution to her eventful and important early history. We believe the time is not distant when the people of this country will learn to estimate aright the character of the early Scotch-Irish settlers of Western Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina. We would not detract one iota from the just praise bestowed on the Puritans of Plymouth Rock, nor would we lessen the commendations bestowed on them for their patience, self-denial, and true religious heroism; but we are reminded by this book that there were others who braved the dangers of the deep, the hardships of the wilderness, and the terrors of the tomahawk and scalping-knife, for conscience sake. Irrespective of all adventitious claims to interest, this book intrinsically deserves a wide circulation, and will well repay a careful perusal.

Since our last sheet was sent to press, we have received the following works:

A Complete Concordance of the Holy Scriptures. By Alexander Cruden, M. A. From the Tenth London Edition. Carefully Revised, &c. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1854.

A standard work, in one large octavo volume, handsomely printed. Price, $3.50.

A Series of Tracts on the Doctrines, Order, and Polity of the Presbyterian Church. Vol. VIII. Philadelphia: Board of Publication.

Letters of the Madiai, and Visits to their Prisons. By the Misses Senhouse. Philadelphia: Board of Publication. Pp. 166.

Devotional Poetry; or, Hymns for the Closet and Social Meeting, selected from Hymns approved by the General Assembly. Tract form. Price 5 cents. Philadelphia: Board of Publication.

The Pictorial Second Book; or, Pleasant Reading for the Young. By Cousin Mary. Board of Publication.

Captives of Abb's Valley. A Legend of Frontier Life. By a Son of Mary Moore. Board of Publication.

Dorcas: A Model Female Portrait. Selected from the writings of Cox and Jay. Board of Publication.

Thoughts on the Resurrection of the Body. By a Layman. Tract form. Board of Publication.

The Closet Companion; or, Manual of Prayer. With an Introduction by Albert Barnes. Fourth Edition. New York: M. W. Dodd. Pp. 306.

Is Christianity from God? A Manual of Bible Evidence for the People. By Rev. John Cumming, D. D. With an Introduction by the Hon. Theodore Frelinghuysen. New York: M. W. Dodd. Pp. 276.

The Westminster Catechism, with Analysis, Scriptural Proofs, Explanatory and Practical Inferences, and Illustrative Anecdotes. By Rev. James R. Boyd. New York: M. W. Dodd. Pp. 264.

Religious Maxims, having a connection with the Doctrine and Practice of Holiness. By Thomas C. Upham, D. D. Philadelphia: William S. Martien. Pp. 144.

The Twins; or, Conversations on the Importance of the Office of Ruling Elder. By the author of "Why am I a Presbyterian?" Philadelphia: William S. Martien. Pp. 174.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

G. K. Mayer, The Genuineness of the Gospel by John. 8vo. pp. 467. 1 th. 27 ngr.

K. F. Schneider, The Genuineness of John's Gospel newly investigated. Part I. The external testimonies. 8vo. pp. 61. ⅓ th.

C. F. Werner is publishing an edition of Bengel's Gnomon, translated into the German.

The second edition of Ewald's Commentary upon Job, 8vo. pp. 344, 1⅓ th., exhibits little alteration. It forms the third part of his translation and commentary upon the Poetical

Books of the Old Testament. The first edition appeared in 1836.

The Church-Lexicon, an Encyclopedia of Catholic Theology and its auxiliary Sciences, by Professors Wetzer and Welte, is approaching its completion. In the 4th volume it has reached the letter W.

Codex liturgicus ecclesiæ universæ in epitomen redactus. Curavit H. A. Daniel. This work, begun eight years since, is now completed by the publication of the 4th volume, 8vo. pp. 726, which is devoted to the liturgies of the Greek Church. The other volumes are occupied with the Roman Catholic, Lutheran and Reformed Churches, a measure of attention being bestowed upon the Nestorians, Armenians, Jacobites, Maronites, Copts, and Abyssinians. The cost of the whole is 16 thalers.

A Bernauer, (Catholic Priest,) The Freedom of the Human Will; a historico-philosophical treatise. pp. 34. $\frac{1}{6}$ th.

J. Scheinert, The Christian Religion. Vol. II. 8vo. pp. 572. $2\frac{2}{3}$ th.

G. Ulhorn, Licentiat and Privat-docent of Theology at Göttingen, has made a fresh attempt to solve the question of the origin and mutual relation of the Homilies and Recognitions of Clemens Romanus. (8vo. pp. 439. 1 th. 20 sgr.) His theory is that the Homilies are the older; and that they in their present form, as well as a prior source which he assumes, are to be traced to Syria, while the Recognitions were composed in Rome.

Abbé Christophe's History of the Papacy in the 14th Century, has been translated from the French into German, by J. J. Ritter. This work, consisting of three volumes, treats in six books of the history of the Popes in Avignon, from the death of John XXII. to the great schism in 1378. The author is everywhere the apologist of the Popes, and spares no pains to make them seem the noblest and most virtuous of men, and to blacken the characters of their adversaries.

D. Erdmann, The Love and Sufferings of the first Christians. Part I. The period of the apostles and the apostolic fathers, 1st and 2d centuries. 8vo. pp. 154. $\frac{3}{4}$ th.

K. Ziegler, The Kingdom of the Anabaptists in Munster. An historical sketch. 8vo. pp. 63.

L. Herzfeld, (Rabbi,) History of the People of Israel, from the completion of the Second Temple to the appointment of Simon Maccabeus as high priest. Vol. I., No. I., 8vo. pp. 160. The whole to be completed in two volumes, or six or seven numbers.

J. Wunderbar, (Rabbi,) History of the Jews in the provinces

of Livonia and Courland, from their earliest settlement to the present time. 8vo. pp. 80. 12 ngr.

Adolph Jellinck continues to publish selections from the earlier Rabbinical Literature. His most recent issues are Contributions to the History of the Crusades, from manuscript Hebrew sources, 8vo. pp. 25, $\frac{1}{3}$ th., and Salomo Al'ami's Moral Lessons, in the form of a letter written to a pupil in Portugal in 1415. 16mo. pp. 32. $\frac{1}{2}$ th.

J. J. Unger, Poemata Hebraica tam dramatica quam lyrica et didactica. 8vo. pp. 92. 1 th.

Guericke's Handbook of Church History has reached its eighth edition.

Karl von Raumer's History of Pædagogics from the Revival of Classical Studies until our times, has been completed by the appearance of the 4th volume, 8vo, pp. 371, which treats of the history and present state of the German Universities, including his own academical experience, which has continued with few interruptions since the beginning of the present century as a student in Göttingen and Halle, and since 1811 as a professor in Breslau and Halle. The dates of the foundation of the several universities are given as follow, viz:

In the 14th century—1. Prague, 1348. 2. Vienna, 1365. 3. Heidelberg, 1386. 4. Cologne, 1388. 5. Erfurth, 1392.

In the 15th century—6. Leipsic, 1409. 7. Rostock, 1419. 8. Greifswald, 1456. 9. Freyburg, 1457. 10. Ingolstadt, 1472; removed to Landshut in 1802, and in 1826 to Munich. 11. Tübingen, 1477. 12. Mentz, 1477.

In the 16th century—13. Wittenberg, 1502; removed to Halle, 1817. 14. Frankfort, 1506; removed to Breslau, 1811. 15. Marburg, 1527. 16. Königsberg, 1544. 17. Dillingen, 1549. 18. Jena, 1558. 19. Helmstadt, 1576; discontinued, 1809. 20. Altorf, 1578, discontinued. 21. Olmutz, 1581. 22. Wurtzburg, 1582. 23. Gratz, 1586.

In the 17th century—24. Giessen, 1607. 25. Paderborn, 1615. 26. Rinteln, 1621; discontinued, 1809. 27. Saltzburg, 1623. 28. Osnaburg, 1630. 29. Linz, 1636. 30. Bamberg, 1648. 31. Herborn, 1654. 32. Duisburg, 1655, discontinued. 33. Kiel, 1665. 34. Innsbruck, 1672. 35. Halle, 1694.

In the 18th century—36. Breslau, 1702. 37. Gottingen, 1737. 38. Erlangen, 1743.

In the 19th century—39. Berlin, 1809. 40. Bonn, 1818. 41. Munich, 1826.

J. Frohschammer, Privatdocent (since promoted to be extraordinary Professor in the Theological Faculty) at Munich, has

written a book on the Origin of the Human Soul, 8vo. pp. 232, in which the three views are discussed, of its pre-existence, its immediate creation by God when the body is formed, and its derivation, like the body, from the parents. The last is the view adopted by the author.

The Legends of Merlin. With Welsh, Scotch, Italian, and Latin Poems and Prophecies of Merlin, the Prophetia Merlini, by Gottfried of Monmouth, and the Vita Merlini, a Latin Poem of the 13th century. Published and explained by San Marte. 8vo. pp. 351. 1 th. 25 ngr.

Gottfried of Monmouth, Historia Regum Britanniæ, with a literary-historical introduction and copious remarks, etc., by San Marte. 8vo. pp. 636. 3 th. 18 sgr.

J. A. Messmer, On the Origin, Development, and Significance of the Basilica in Christian Architecture. 8vo. pp. 86. 24 ngr.

H. A. Göll, De triumphi Romani origine, permissu, apparatu, viâ. 8vo. pp. 57. $\frac{1}{3}$ th.

F. L. Hoffman, List of writings which have for their object the history of the art of Printing in Switzerland. 8vo. pp. 11. 6 ngr.

O. Klopp, History of East Friesland to 1570. 8vo. pp. 472. 2 th.

F. Kërtum, History of Greece, from the earliest periods to the dissolution of the Achæan League. Five Books, 3 vols.

J. Müller, The Evangelical Union, its essence and divine right. 8vo. pp. 418. 2 th.

T. Mommsen, Roman History, Vol. I. to the battle of Pydna. 8vo. pp. 644. $1\frac{1}{3}$ th.

The third number of Böhtlingk and Roth's Sanscrit Dictionary has appeared, reaching to page 480.

The press is teeming with publications relative to Turkey and Russia, representing every phase of opinion upon the Eastern question.

END OF VOL. XXVI.