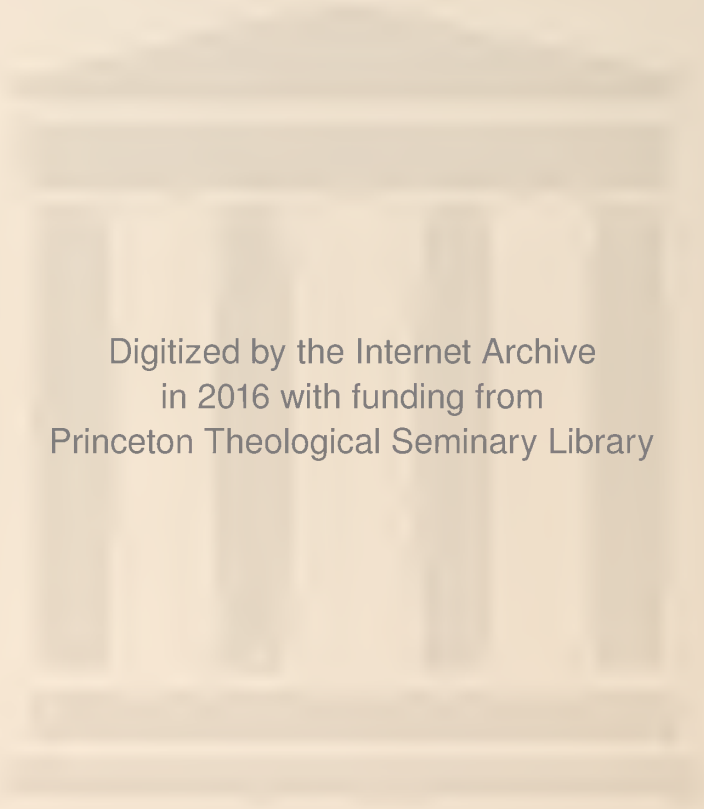

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ART. I.—1. *Synopsis Evangelica. Ex quatuor Evangeliis ordine chronologico concinnavit, prætexto brevi commentario illustravit, ad antiquos testes apposito apparatu critico recensuit Constantinus Tischendorf.* Lipsiæ, 1851. 8vo.

2. *Synopsis Evangeliorum Matthæi, Marci, Lucæ, cum locis qui supersunt parallelis litterarum et traditionum evangelicarum Irenæo antiquiorum. Ad Griesbachii Ordinem concinnavit, prolegomena, selectam Scripturæ varietatem, notas, indices adjecit Rudolphus Anger, Phil. et Theol. Doctor, utriusque in Acad. Lips. Professor, etc.* Lipsiæ, 1852. 8vo.

3. *A new Greek Harmony of the Four Gospels, comprising a Synopsis and a Diatessaron, together with an Introductory Treatise, and numerous tables, indexes, and diagrams, supplying the necessary proofs and explanations.* By William Stroud, M. D. London, 1853. 4to.

4. *A New Harmony and Exposition of the Gospels, consisting of a parallel and combined arrangement on a new plan, &c.* By James Strong, A. M. New York, 1852. 8vo.

5. *A 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, &c.* By James Strong, A. M. 1854. 12mo.

6. *The Four Witnesses: being a Harmony of the Gospels on a new principle.* By Dr. Isaac Da Costa, of Amsterdam. Translated by David Dundas Scott, Esq. New York, 1855. 8vo.

THERE is something strange in the unwearied constancy with which the Church, in every age, has wrought at the great

problem of harmonizing the Gospels. While no one Harmony retains its hold upon the public mind for many generations, there is never wanting one or more possessing such an influence. To each successive age the subject seems as fresh as ever; and to some of the best cultivated minds of each, the theme is still attractive. A mere glance at the immense amount of mental labour thus expended, not only by the Tatians and Augustines, the Calvins and Osianders, the Chemnitzes and Lightfoots, the Macknights and Newcomes, but by multitudes of later or lesser lights in harmonistic learning, is sufficient to make two impressions, which, at first sight, may seem contradictory, but which are really two aspects of the same thing. One is the grand and comforting impression of the Church's strong faith in the absolute consistency of these divine records. The other is the less agreeable impression of continued failure in one specific object usually aimed at, namely, the reduction of these four books to a single narrative, with anything like certainty as to the precise order of minute details. The fact of failure is apparent from the endless diversity of the results, all reached *secundum artem*, and all held with equal confidence. Nothing of the same kind can exceed the complacency with which each harmonist regards his own arrangement as the true one, even when it differs by a year, or two years, from the corresponding dicta of his predecessor. The reason why this vast disparity and endless contradiction need not shake the faith or trouble the composure of the mere reader or spectator, is that he can often see, from his position as such, what the harmonists themselves are blind to, namely, that one grand result of all their labours is to make it highly probable, if not to prove, that these four books were never meant to be reduced to one, but to remain for ever side by side, as four great pictures of the same great object, by four heavenly artists, with something of course common to them all, but with something peculiar to each, and no more admitting of amalgamation, than so many literal paintings upon canvas can be made more perfect by being cut to pieces and then glued together. If the mere identity of subject and of ultimate design can never make this process rational in painting, no more can the same cause have that effect in history. Every complete intellectual pro

duct has its individuality, which dies by the intrusion of a foreign element, however homogeneous and congenial it may seem. Even the oldest garment may be spoiled by patching with the newest cloth. It is this that has made paraphrase, as usually understood, to the great majority of readers, an unsatisfying mode of exposition.

But even in the case of two or more inspired writings, amalgamation is forbidden by a double law, intellectual and moral; as being inconsistent with the unity, which is essential to the effect of every rational, coherent composition; and also with the paramount authority, which gave us these books just as they are, and chose to make them four, when it might as easily have made them one. This may be misconceived as an objection to all meddling with the text of Scripture, in the way of illustration and interpretation; but the two things are entirely distinct. Let every lawful process of investigation and of exhibition be applied to Scripture; but let the Scripture itself alone. Let the Gospels be compared and explained *ad libitum;* but let them not be displaced and supplanted by another. Let each produce exactly the impression which it is intended and adapted to produce, not only by its substance, but its form, not only by its detached contents, but by their combination. We may not be able to detect or analyze the specific operation of these causes; but all reason and analogy conspire to prove that they exist and act, and that their action must be interrupted and perverted by joining together that which God has put asunder. What then, it may be asked, is the use of all this harmonistic labour, from the second to the nineteenth century? We answer, much every way—or rather, every way but one—and that the very one on which the heart of the harmonical interpreter is often set—the undesirable, impracticable, and chimerical reduction of these four inestimable gems to one bright but artificial compound. The true use of Harmonies is threefold, Exegetical, Historical, Apologetical. By mere juxtaposition, if judicious, the Gospels may be made to throw light upon each other's obscure places. By combination, not mechanical but rational, not textual but interpretative, harmonies put it in our power, not to grind, or melt, or boil four Gospels into one, but out of the four, kept apart, yet viewed together,

to extract one history for ourselves. And lastly, by the endless demonstration of the possible solutions of apparent or alleged discrepancies, even where we may not be prepared to choose among them, they reduce the general charge of falsehood or of contradiction, not only *ad absurdum*, but to a palpable impossibility. How *can* four independent narratives be false or contradictory, which it is possible to reconcile on so many distinct hypotheses? The art of the most subtle infidelity consists in hiding this convincing argument behind the alleged necessity of either giving a conclusive and exclusive answer to all captious cavils and apparent disagreements, or abandoning our faith in the history as a whole. This most important end of Gospel Harmonies has been accomplished. It has been established, beyond all reasonable doubt, that however the evangelists may differ, and however hard it may be often to explain the difference, they never, in a single instance, contradict each other. This is a grand result, well worthy of the toil bestowed upon it by Fathers and Reformers and Divines for eighteen hundred years; while, on the other hand, the minute chronology, which some of these have viewed as the great object to be aimed at, is as far from its complete solution now as in the days of Tatian or Augustine; so that the inquirer may still say to the most able harmonists, with one of Terence's dramatic characters: *Fecistis probe, incertior sum multo quam dudum!*

But why is this failure not to be regarded as a great loss and damage to the cause of truth? For the simple reason, to which many great men in this field of labour have been strangely blind, that EXACT CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER IS NOT ESSENTIAL TO THE TRUTH OF HISTORY. All history, indeed, as the science of events, and therefore implying change, must have a definite relation to time, and must, therefore, to a certain extent, be chronological. But this extent is far less than is commonly supposed, by such harmonists as Townsend, who appear to think the Life of Christ worth nothing, till the absolute or relative chronology of every minute fact is settled, and the characteristics of the several Evangelists confounded in one uninspired narrative, without defined character at all; or by such as Osiander, who chose rather to believe that some of Christ's

most unique acts were twice performed without the slightest difference of circumstances, than to admit that either of the four Evangelists had ever departed from the order of time. It is astonishing that an assumption so gratuitous, so groundless, so directly contradictory to ordinary usage, and to the general analogy of Scripture, should have been so obstinately cherished, in relation to this matter, even by some who never thought of applying it to any other. No one can deny that in the historical books of the Old Testament, events are often brought together on account of some affinity between them, or of their common relation to the author's purpose, without detracting in the least from the historical character or credit of the record. If the books of Kings and Chronicles go through with one reign, and then back to the commencement of another partially contemporaneous, why may not the Gospels do the same? If the best biographers of Washington and Bonaparte can treat their private, military, and administrative history *seriatim*, or alternately, without inaccuracy or confusion; if Mr. Prescott, in his Life of Philip the Second, can deliberately and avowedly depart from the precise order of events, so far as to treat kindred portions of the history together, not only without damage, but with great advantage to his ultimate design; why may not the four Evangelists have followed the same method, so far as to have rendered the precise determination of minute dates, and even the precise succession of minute events, not only needless but impossible? If each of the four Gospels makes precisely the impression which its writer and the Holy Spirit had in view; if all the facts designed to be perpetuated are on record, and exactly in the shape and in the order predetermined by infallible authority; if the great phases and conjunctures of the history succeed each other in an order not to be mistaken; why should I care to know which of two parables was first uttered, or which of two miracles was first wrought? If their chronological relation is explicitly recorded, or distinctly ascertainable by inference and combination, so much the better; but such cases are not here in question. If it is not so recorded or so ascertainable, why should I spend my life in reasoning or guessing to discover what, if known, however interesting or worth knowing it might be, would probably add nothing to the strength of

my impressions or the clearness of my views, and what can certainly not be essential to the end for which the history was written, or it would have been written too? These views may no doubt be perverted and abused to the exclusion of legitimate and even necessary efforts to discover what is really contained in the inspired record, although not exposed upon the surface; and the Gospel History abounds in such scarcely hidden treasures, little suspected by the superficial or the supercilious reader. Between such investigation and the vain search for minutiæ of time and order, which are neither needful nor attainable, it may be sometimes hard to draw the line; but that only makes it the more necessary that it should be drawn, and that no *nugæ difficiles* should usurp the place of genuine interpretation.

These few considerations may suffice to show, that the failure of harmonical interpretation to demonstrate the precise chronological succession of the detailed facts recorded in the Gospels, detracts nothing from their credit or historical trustworthiness, nor from the value of the great negative conclusion, reached by these laborious inquirers, often as unconsciously and undesignedly as some of the old alchemists contributed to physical discoveries of later times, although they died without possession of their long sought elixir and philosopher's stone. As men of science now look back upon the toils and speculations of a Raymund Lull and a Paracelsus, so may the biblical interpreter look back upon the labours of that class of harmonists, to whom we now refer, with gratitude for what they have accomplished in the vindication and elucidation of these precious books, but with complete indifference to their speculations and their strifes about those *minima*, of which it may be said in reference to the law that should control all criticism and interpretation, *de minimis non curat lex.*

But besides these reasons for not overrating the importance of this favourite harmonic problem—the determination of the precise order in which every minute incident took place—there are positive objections of the gravest kind against the more presumptuous attempt to substitute a single compound narrative for the four distinct ones in the Canon, not merely in the way of comment, but in that of reconstruction, an error into

which few harmonists of the higher rank have fallen, but which is nevertheless so common, that the arguments against it, though already hinted at, may not without some good effect be more distinctly stated,

The first objection to this practice is, that it assumes some imperfection in the word of God; as if the work of revelation had been done only in part, and needed now to be completed; as if the four Evangelists had only left materials in a crude state, to be afterwards digested and reduced to shape by human skill and wisdom. This, though never openly avowed, and seldom consciously admitted, is really involved in every harmonistic scheme which undertakes to substitute a composite narrative of its own for the four canonical Gospels. By a composite narrative, we do not mean a paraphrase, exhibiting the substance of the four accounts in other language, but a combination of their very words into a new texture, different from any one of the Gospels, but purporting to contain them all. If this is not supposed to be a better and more perfect shape than that of the four Gospels, why attempt it? If intended merely to interpret or illustrate, why not do it by reference to the parallels, or by simple juxtaposition? Why such extreme care to retain the *ipsissima verba* of the sacred writers, and even to gather up the fragments wasted by this sacrilegious process, and preserve them in the margin? All this shows it to be not interpretation, but re-construction; not the elucidation of an old text, but the manufacture of a new one, and as such, implying that the work of the Evangelists is only half done, and requires to be finished, in order to accomplish its design. Besides the fallacy which lies at the foundation of this undertaking, in relation to what constitutes a true and perfect history, it tends necessarily to undermine the reader's reverence and faith in the completeness of the record, which the Holy Ghost has given, of the life of Christ.

Again, as history, from its very nature, is eclectic; and as every historian, inspired or uninspired, must choose his own materials; and as every intelligent historian is guided in his choice by a regard to the object that he has in view; it follows of necessity, that his omissions and exclusions are as much a part of his design, as his insertions; and that I have no more

right to put in what he has left out, than to erase what he has written; nay, that I cannot do so in the one case, any more than in the other, without thwarting his purpose and disturbing the impression which his composition was intended to produce. And if this is a wrong to any book whatever—if Boswell's Johnson has been spoiled by Croker as an intellectual production, though enriched as a mere magazine of facts*—how doubly inadmissible is such a course in reference to writings which are owned and really believed to be inspired, by the very men who thus presume to mangle them! For it is worthy of remark that this mistaken theory and practice are confined, almost exclusively, to pious writers, of the American or English school. If Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, directed by the Holy Spirit, have selected each a certain number of particulars belonging to the Life of Christ, arranged them in a certain order, and wrought them up into a certain shape, it must have been with a design to make a definite impression, perhaps inscrutable by any critical analysis, but not on that account less real, less important, or less sacred. And yet this impression must be greatly marred, if not destroyed, by the adoption of the current fallacy, that the four Evangelists were not inspired to write histories, but only to collect materials for Mr. Townsend or for Dr. Stroud.

The last objection we shall make to this pernicious mode of fusing or amalgamating, under the pretence of harmonizing, four complete productions, both divine and human, just as if they were mere fragments or bundles of anecdotes, is, that it hinders and embarrasses interpretation, by depriving the interpreter of that inestimable aid which he derives from a continued context. A collection of inscriptions—such as that which the French government has gathered from the graveyards of Numidia and Mauritania, and is now publishing in lordly style†—is harder to interpret, as a whole, than the hardest

* The Quarterly Review has very recently (January, 1856,) declared this work to be the best edited in the language, which, so far as illustrations and additions are concerned, may be true, but not in reference to the treatment of the text, and of the composition as a whole.

† Inscriptions Romaines de l'Algérie, recueillies et publiées sous les auspices de S. Exc. M. Hippolyte Fortoul, Ministre de l'Instruction Publique et des Cultes. Par M. Leon Renier. Paris, 1855—56. folio.

ancient book; the book of Proverbs is more puzzling than the book of Psalms, the Psalms more puzzling even than the Prophecies, and all for the same reason, though in different degrees, that at least half the light, which an interpreter enjoys, is shed directly or reflected from the context, and that this is reduced to a *minus* in the lyric, and to a *minimum* in the aphoristic and the lapidary style. It matters little whether we can see the *nexus* in a chapter of John or not; however incoherent it may seem, we know that it is just as he composed it, and we therefore look with some degree of confidence to the surroundings of a passage for assistance in decyphering its meaning. But we cannot feel such faith in the artificial context which the harmonist has thrust in, like a wooden leg, among the mangled limbs of the Evangelists. He may have hit upon the true chronology, but he may not; and if he has, it may be at the cost of the original connection, and of the associations in the writer's mind from which it sprang at first, and of which it is still the living intellectual expression. This loss can never be made good by any possible amount of chronological precision, even though it should exceed that of an almanac.

Before concluding these remarks, we wish to say a word upon an opposite extreme, which has sometimes been engendered by reaction from the one that we have just described. We mean the flippant and contemptuous ignoring of all harmonizing methods, where there seems to be a discrepancy on the surface, and treating them not only as inadequate, and even silly, but as unmanly and dishonest. To those who are at all familiar with the history and literature of the subject, there is something quite amusing in the air with which some recent and by no means first-rate writers, try to put out of existence, by a peevish exclamation or a wave of the hand, problems and methods of solution, which have been deemed worthy of profound thought and laborious exertion, not merely now and then, or here and there, but by many of the great minds of the Christian Church, in every country and in every age.*

* Such views are less surprising on the part of German skeptics, who have no experience in the practical comparison and estimate of evidence, than in American or English Christians who have ever heard a witness cross-examined, or a complicated case summed up.

At all events, this habit of insisting upon cutting, and often with a dull knife, knots which so many strong and skilful fingers have been trying for ages to untie, ought to come, if it comes at all, from those who have acquired the right of speaking *ex cathedra*, and when urged by others, is as little entitled to consideration as the simple faith which it affects to pity, or the honest but mistaken means employed to gain an end, which it dogmatically sets aside as wholly unattainable.*

Abjuring, as we do, both these extremes; believing that the Gospels can and must be harmonized, without destroying their unity and individuality; and knowing that the product of such studies includes wheat as well as chaff; we cheerfully resume the account of contemporary harmonistic literature, which we began more than seven years ago. In the number of this journal for October, 1848, besides stating in another form some of the same views which we have now presented, and enumerating several recent German publications on the Gospel History, we recommended Dr. Robinson's Harmony as, on the whole, the best with which we were acquainted, and at the same time, as the cheapest and most readily accessible to ministers and students in this country. Repeated re-examinations of the subject, and of many later works respecting it, have only deepened our conviction, that for judgment, accuracy, caution, and exemption from vagaries and extremes, this fruit of native scholarship is still unsurpassed by any rival, foreign or indigenous. We can say this in consistency with what we have already said as to the failure of all efforts to determine the minute chronology or ἀκολουθία of our Saviour's life; because Dr. Robinson's conclusions are collectively as probable as any others; and because, apart from this vexed question, the merits of his work enable it to stand a comparison with any that have followed it, to some of which we now ask the attention of our readers.

The works which we have chosen for this purpose may be said to represent four countries, two being natives of Germany, one of Holland, one of England, and two (by the same author)

* This fault is chargeable, in some degree, on Alford's Greek Testament (vol. I. London, 1849,) a useful addition to our English *apparatus biblicus*, though encumbered with a vain parade of textual criticism, and often showing signs of "cramming" rather than digestion.

of America. One of the German works is by a writer, who acquired considerable reputation more than twenty years ago, by a Latin treatise on the Chronology of Acts,* which was regarded as a sort of standard until superseded and eclipsed by Wieseler.† The peculiar feature of his synopsis is not the arrangement of the text, in which he follows Griesbach, but the exhibition, in a lower margin, of quotations, references, parallels, and traditional addenda, from the Fathers of an older date than Irenæus. This description will suffice to show, that the labours of the editor, however learned, and however valuable they may be, belong rather to patristic than to harmonistic literature. They may, and no doubt will, facilitate the task of the interpreter and critic, but can scarcely be expected to throw much light on the points which are particularly interesting to the readers of a harmony. The author indeed seems to have adopted this merely as a convenient vehicle for his collections from the early Fathers, using Griesbach's well-known synoptical arrangement as a text, to which his own patristic parallels might be appended. He has probably accomplished all that he designed, but can hardly be considered as having given a new impulse or advancement to harmonical interpretation.

The name of Tischendorf has been, for some years past, becoming famous, not so much for great ability or general learning, as for strenuous devotion to a single study, and an almost preternatural fertility and diligence in making books for its promotion. As a critical editor of the Greek Testament, and a personal explorer of manuscript treasures in the East and elsewhere, he is commonly allowed the first place in contemporary literature. Although still in the prime of life, he has already published more editions of the Greek text and its Latin versions than Erasmus, Beza, and the Stephenses together. That this is not a speculation or a drudgery, but a passion, may be seen from the unabated zeal with which he can

* De Temporum in Actis Apostolorum ratione scripsit Rudolphus Anger, Philos. D. AA. LL. M. in Academ. Lips. Privatim Docens. Lipsiæ, 1833. 8vo.

† Chronologie des Apostolischen Zeitalters bis zum Tode der Apostel Paulus und Petrus. Von Dr. Karl Wieseler, Professor der Theologie in Göttingen. 1848. 8vo.

rewrite and reprint the same text and prolegomena and annotations, under a dozen varied shapes and sizes and denominations. Of his textual labours we may take another opportunity to give a more particular account. At present, we can only say that the same one idea or ruling passion still inspires him in his Harmony or Synopsis, where a large space is allotted to another reproduction of his critical labours on the text of the Four Gospels. The harmonical arrangement varies only in a slight degree from that of Dr. Robinson; and whether this be acquiescence or coincidence, it bears a very honourable and important testimony to the labours of his learned predecessor. The arrangement and typography of this Synopsis are, as might have been expected from the author's other publications, tasteful and attractive, but without the lavish ostentation which his own wealth or the patronage of others has enabled him, in many cases, to indulge. The work before us, although neat, is wholly unpretending, and within the reach of any student, all the contents, except the text and variations, being written in Latin. Beyond this, however, it would not be just to go, in making Tischendorf's Synopsis an important contribution to the harmonizing of the Gospels.

Much more attention has been paid to the harmonical arrangement of the text by the American and English writers of a recent date. Both Dr. Stroud and Mr. Strong appear to have begun the work *de novo*, reconstructing the whole narrative on principles and methods of their own. Dr. Stroud, however, goes much further in the actual amalgamation of the Gospels into a new and compound narrative, which occupies the leading column of this splendid quarto from the press of Bagster. Besides this mixed text, he exhibits those from which it is compounded in parallel columns. The author is an English physician, previously known, both at home and on the continent, by a treatise on the Physical Cause of the Death of Christ, (London, 1847.) This special and professional inquiry seems to have directed his attention to harmonical studies. For unwearied industry and conscientious care, in the performance of his task, he is entitled to all praise, as well as for a large amount of useful information in his Introduction. We are bound to add, however, that with all the advantage of a

faultless typography and artistical arrangement of the page, the result is complicated and confusing, while the infinitesimal divisions and innumerable titles, far from aiding either eye or understanding, only serve to make confusion worse confounded. Besides these empirical objections to the aggregate result, we are constrained to reiterate our strong dissent from the theory and practice of ignoring the four Gospels, as coherent and complete books, and treating them as bundles of materials for book-making. We have no doubt that, like multitudes of similar productions, Dr. Stroud's costly volume will do good, especially in wealthy circles, where a book less showy might not find access; but we cannot conscientiously regard it as a sensible advance upon preceding harmonies and towards the ultimate solution of the great harmonic problem.

The Gospel Harmony of Mr. Strong is now before the public in two shapes. The first, exhibiting the English text, arranged upon a new plan, with accompanying maps, notes, chronological tables, and illustrative engravings, is a large and elegant octavo volume. In addition to some new and independent views, affecting the adjustment of the narrative, this work has two distinctive features of a bold and somewhat novel kind. The first is a "free version," or accompanying paraphrase, "in a straight-forward and modern style." (Preface, p. vii.); the other an original translation of "poetical strains," especially citations from the Hebrew, into English blank verse. (Preface, p. ix.) Of these we shall say nothing, but exhibit samples, taken almost *ad aperturam libri*. The dialogue between our Saviour and the thief upon the cross is paraphrased as follows:

"Then looking toward Jesus, he fervently begged, 'Master, remember me [by a participation in the reorganization of that period] when you return [after your resurrection] to establish your kingdom [by the resuscitation of saints and the renovation of Judaism!' To this diffident appeal] Jesus blandly replied, 'Yes, I assure you, that [without waiting for any future development of my mediation] *this very day* you shall share with me the immortal bliss of *Paradise* [that portion of *Hades* (*i. e.*, the region of departed spirits beneath the earth) assigned by the Jews to the pious.']"—*Strong's Harmony and Exposition*, p. 360.

The prophecy of Micah, quoted by the chief priests and scribes, in Matt. ii. 6, is versified as follows:

"[Dark is the cloud impending o'er the land;
But gleams of happier times break through the gloom.]

Jehovah singles thee, O Bethlehem.—
Ephráthah erst; though small thy borders seem,
Compared with many towns of Judah's tribe,
Yet large the honour destined thee among
Its Principalities—of 'thousands' all.
For out of thee will rise the Heaven-sent Prince,
A pastoral sway to bear o'er Israel's fold."—P. 22.*

Of these "poetical strains," and this "straight-forward and modern style," as well as of the costly plates and maps, the second or Greek Harmony is wholly destitute. The taste of some, however, will be apt to regard it as a much more elegant and scholar-like performance. While the useful part of the accompanying apparatus is retained, the book attracts the eye by its accurate and neat typography, its clear symmetrical arrangement, and the proof which it affords both of scholarship in general, and of learned labour spent upon this subject in particular. The departures from preceding harmonies, in form and order, though apparently the fruit of independent speculation, and in some cases plausibly defended, are still subject to the general uncertainty, which we have represented as involving the minute chronology of this whole matter. One of the most convenient appendages of Mr. Strong's harmonical arrangement, is the clear and simple exhibition, in the margin, of the textual changes which have been *adopted* (not *suggested* merely) by the latest critics. If we do not set as much store by the grammatical notes, it may be from a want of experience in the use, to which they were particularly meant to be applied. To us, we frankly own, they seem precisely of the sort, which tempts the wish that there were either more of them or none at all.

But the grand peculiarity of Mr. Strong's Harmony, as such considered, and therefore found in both its forms, is yet to be described, and well deserves description for its novelty and ingenuity. Among the parallels, in every case where they occur, he chooses what he thinks the fullest narrative, and prints this in a large type, as the leading column. The other, or others, he displays beside it in a smaller letter. But what strikes us as a really original invention, is the introduc-

* This is the result, to which the fashionable mode of printing such quotations naturally tends. The next step, we suppose, will be to make them rhyme.

tion from the parallel columns into the main one, of such words or phrases as may serve to supplement it and complete it. This, which would otherwise be liable to all that we have said against the method of amalgamation, is redeemed from that reproach by printing these interpolations in a smaller type than the rest of the column, so that the eye can instantly detect them, and refer them to their places in the other columns. We must confess that we were greatly taken with these neat contrivances at first sight, and regarded them as sensible improvements in the method of exhibiting harmonical results, and in the means of promoting harmonical study. Closer examination has made no change in our estimate of the talent for ingenious combination and arrangement which is here displayed. We are constrained to say, however, that the more we have examined the result as embodied in this handsome volume, the more misgiving have we felt, with respect to its expediency and usefulness. The process of selection and comparison, here finished to the reader's hand, is by far the most improving and delightful part of all such studies. Even the school-boy, who requires this degree of aid, must need a clavis to replace his lexicon; while students of a riper age must certainly lose much, both of pleasure and improvement, by having that done for them which they can do, and would do, and ought to do themselves. Another objection to the method is, that it destroys the prestige of integrity and unity belonging to the gospels when presented side by side without admixture. There is something almost morally offensive in the sight of any human hand, however reverent or skilful, tampering with the text of these incomparable records, cutting them into shreds, or mutually patching them, as if by that means we could get a seamless fabric, woven from the top throughout. Especially is this impression made by occasional changes in the form of words and phrases thus transferred, in order to adjust the syntax, a necessity which, far from recommending the arrangement, is itself sufficient to condemn it, or at least to justify a strong predilection for the good old plan of simple tabular synopsis, which exhibits nothing but the matter to be harmonized, and leaves the reader to compare it and combine it at his own discretion.

Very different from all these is the last book named at the beginning of this article. It is not so much a Harmony as a Harmonical Commentary on the Gospels. In its original form, it was a course of popular lectures on the difference and agreement of the gospels, delivered in Holland more than fifteen years ago, and subsequently published, as an antidote to Strauss's Life of Jesus.* It was afterwards translated, with the author's approbation and with some modification of its form and a new title, by a Mr. Scott. This elegant volume, from the press of Ballantyne in Edinburgh, has been since put into circulation in America, at a very reasonable price, and is, we trust, already known to many of our readers. For the sake of such as have not met with it, however, we propose to give a more particular description than we could in a short notice on its first appearance.† Without repeating what we then said, that Da Costa is a Christian Jew, descended from one of the old Portuguese or Spanish families, who fled from persecution to the Netherlands some centuries ago, and is equally esteemed by those who know him, for his genius, learning, and peculiarly unjewish piety; we shall simply say, by way of introduction to what follows, that this work shows so much modest independence and originality, with such familiar knowledge of the oldest and the latest speculations, true and false, and the results of ancient and modern exegetical investigations, that we know of no contemporary writer who seems to come so near the character described in Matt. xiii. 52, a scribe discipled into the kingdom of heaven, and like a faithful householder, bringing forth out of his treasure things both new and old.

The radical idea of the work before us is, that THE GOSPELS CAN BE HARMONIZED ONLY BY DUE REGARD TO THEIR PECULIARITIES, a principle by which it is immediately distinguished from the English schemes of fusion or amalgamation. This primary or fundamental postulate is verified by separate descrip-

*Voorleezingen over de Verscheidenheid en de Overeenstemming der Vier Evangeliën: door Mr. Isaac da Costa. Eerste Deel, 1840. Tweede Deel, 1842. Leiden, 8vo.

† See our number for January, 1855, pp. 162, 163, where this and another of Da Costa's works are briefly noticed, with a few facts of his history.

tions of the Gospels, with their several characteristics, followed by mutual comparison or contrast, and the author's mode of solving alleged contradictions.

The first Gospel he regards as the genuine work of Levi the publican, or Matthew the apostle, written probably in Greek, and not in Hebrew, yet peculiarly oriental and judaic in its character; recording few dates and few minute details, but abounding in quotations from the prophets, as proof of the Messiahship of Jesus; often combining homogeneous matters, without regard to mere chronology, as in the parables, the sermon on the mount, our Lord's instructions to the twelve, and his predictions; *never naming the Samaritans;* peculiarly fond of the word τότε (*then*,) and of generic plurals (as in speaking of the thief upon the cross;) and with a strong disposition to exhibit things in pairs or couples, on which the author founds a new, but rather far-fetched explanation of the two blind men at Jericho, and the two demoniacs at Gadara, where Mark and Luke have only one.

With respect to the second Gospel, the author's views are still both "new and old." He believes it to have been written with a full knowledge of the first, and under Peter's influence, embodying many of his vivid recollections, so that words and acts, which in the other Gospels are anonymous, are here ascribed to Peter; while his vain attempt to walk upon the water is omitted. Compared with Matthew's Gospel, this has fewer incidents but more minute details, as in the account of the Transfiguration, and the miracle that followed. It omits much that was particularly interesting to Jews; the genealogies, some parables, the woes denounced upon the Scribes and Pharisees, Jerusalem, Capernaum, and other cities; it explains peculiar Jewish terms and customs, such as "corban," and washing before meat; all which shows a primary reference to gentile readers. As characteristics of the writer, he enumerrates his fondness for the adverb εὐθέως, and for Aramean or vernacular expressions (*Talitha cumi*, *Epphatha*, *Abba*,) always accompanied by a translation; also his habit of precisely designating persons, (as in the case of Bartimeus, Abiathar, Levi, Boanerges, the father of Alexander and Rufus.) As examples of minuter strokes, not found in Matthew, he speci-

fies the mention of the hired servants at the call of James and John; the crowd being so great that they could not eat; their toiling in rowing; Christ's inviting them to come and rest; the mention of the stone at the sepulchre as great; his looking round with anger, and in general the frequent mention of our Saviour's looks and gestures, most of which we know only through this Gospel. As minute peculiarities of diction, he refers to his habitual quotation of the very words spoken; his frequent transposition of the words used by Matthew, where the words themselves are just the same; and his fondness for the combination of a cognate verb and noun (create and creation, astonish and astonishment, blaspheme and blasphemy.) He accepts the old tradition, that the writer was named Mark, but denies that it was John Mark, on the somewhat unsubstantial ground of a perceptible difference of character; while from the soldierly laconic style, the precision and rapidity like Julius Cæsar's, the fondness for recording brief and peremptory orders, the obvious reference to gentile readers, the occasional use of Latin words, and the allusion to military usages, especially the Roman watches of the night, he draws the singular conclusion, that the writer was a Roman soldier, Peter's son in the faith (1 Peter v. 13,) and therefore not improbably *the same devout soldier, who attended him from Joppa* to the house of Cornelius in Cesarea. As to the view of our Lord himself presented in this Gospel, Da Costa thinks, with many others, that it is pre-eminently that of his humanity, the Son of Man, while Matthew views him chiefly as the Son of Abraham and David, Luke and John as the Son of God. In recording the miracles, he dwells upon the instrumental or accompanying acts, the touch, the clay, the spittle, the sighing, &c., &c. As to the subject matter of this Gospel, its chief peculiarity is, that it has so little that is really peculiar to it, the facts which it records, with few exceptions, being found in the other Gospels.

The third Gospel he regards as the work of a Greek proseyte and a physician, as appears from his descriptions of disease, and of our Saviour's bloody sweat; not an eye-witness, but a regular historian, paying great attention to minute chronology, as in the case of Anna and Eneas, and others, the

duration of whose sufferings is specified, the indication of Christ's age, and of certain intervals occurring in his history; often referring to contemporary persons and events (Herod, Archelaus, Antipas, Philip, Chuza and Joanna, Pilate's massacre, the tower in Siloam;) sometimes restoring the order of time, from which Matthew had departed for the purpose of his argument, as in the Sermon on the Mount, the Lord's Prayer, the parable of the mustard-seed and leaven, the prediction of the downfall of Jerusalem; though a gentile, dwelling much upon the Jewish history and usages; often coinciding, both in sentiment and language, with Paul in his epistles; fond of exhibiting our Lord's beneficence to publicans and sinners, to Samaritans and gentiles, to women and children; dwelling much on his devotional habits and his unction with the Holy Ghost. Compared with Matthew, he exhibits many of the same facts, but with many differences, showing however an acquaintance with the older Gospel, and assuming the same knowledge in his readers. His relation to Mark is, according to Da Costa, that he often borrows the details from him, where he follows Matthew as to the main facts, evincing that he knew both, and derived from both precisely what was suited to his own specific purpose.

Besides the great distinctive features of John's Gospel, which are recognized by all, Da Costa points out his peculiar habit of interpolating parenthetical explanations in his narrative (this he spake of his body—this he spake of the Spirit—he knew what was in man—Jesus himself baptized not—this was that Mary—this was that Nicodemus—this was that Caiaphas —this he spake signifying what death he should die, &c.;) his constant use of logical and not mere narrative connectives, (therefore, for this cause, &c.;) his selection of incidents intrinsically grand, or connected with our Lord's discourses; the paucity but magnitude of miracles recorded; his frequent mention of the Father and the Paraclete; his disposition to record the speeches even of inferiors (John the Baptist, Nathaniel, the Jews at Capernaum, the blind man and his parents; Thomas, Mary Magdalene;) his peculiar use of the terms, Word, Light, Glory, Truth, Son, Lamb, &c.; his attention at the same time, to minutiæ, (much grass—much water—other boats—barley-

loaves—such and such a day, hour, year; so much myrrh and aloes, so many fishes;) his careful record of the festivals which Christ attended; his quotation of prophecies not found in Matthew, among which are some by Christ himself.

This, says our author, is a new but not "another gospel." By a bold musical figure, he describes it as the bass of the quartette! As to the other books, John must have known them, and indeed he may be said to combine Matthew, Mark, Luke, Paul, and Peter, all in one. He is at once prophetical, historical, doctrinal, and practical. He gives no list of the Apostles, but he speaks of "the twelve;" he gives no genealogy or record of Christ's birth and education, but he tells us that men called him "Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph;" he repeats none of the parables recorded by the others, but abounds in parabolic illustrations of the same kind, (the Good Shepherd, the lost sheep, the vine, the harvest;) he records no case of dispossession, but he tells us of Christ's saying, "Now shall the prince of this world be cast out;" he omits our Lord's prediction of the downfall of Jerusalem, but records that of Caiaphas. He explains what Matthew, Mark and Luke left unexplained, as when he tells us that Christ spake of his body, and accounts for the great concourse between Jerusalem and Bethany, by relating the raising of Lazarus, thus explaining Luke's allusion to his mighty works, and Matthew's record of the question, Who is this?

Among his singularities of language is the double Amen, found exclusively in John, which most regard as a real habit of our Lord, but Lightfoot as a mere repetition of the writer, and Da Costa, somewhat mystically, as the echo of Christ's word in the soul of the beloved disciple. He describes, as the grand distinctive feature of this Gospel, its combination of extremes, of grandeur and minuteness, of the Jewish and the Christian, of divine and human.

In determining the author he adopts the old view, but presented in a new light, that although he never names himself, but John here always means the Baptist, every reader feels that the mysterious nameless figure which appears in the first chapter, passing from the school of John to that of Christ, who leaned upon his bosom at the Supper, and followed him on

his arrest, who knew the High Priest, and brought Peter into his palace, who stood beneath the cross and was entrusted with the mother of his Lord, who saw his side pierced, and ran before Peter to the sepulchre, who first knew Jesus on the lake, and of whom that mysterious rumour went abroad, that he was not to die—must be one of the twelve—must be one of the three—and as no one could be less like Peter—and as James died too soon to be the author of this Gospel—the unanimous tradition of the ancient church is true, that it was written, in his old age, by the last survivor of the twelve, John the son of Zebedee, the disciple whom Jesus loved and yet rebuked, the Son of Thunder, the perpetual associate of Peter in the Acts, and with him a pillar of the Church at Jerusalem long after Paul's conversion.

After giving some account of the modern neological reaction against this Gospel, represented by the "Probabilia" of Bretschneider, and the counter-reaction in its favour, represented by Bretschneider's recantation; and after showing how many of the traits peculiar to this one of the four Gospels may be also traced in the Epistles and Apocalypse, Da Costa takes the only miracle recorded by all four Evangelists, the feeding of the five thousand, and employs it to illustrate their peculiarities. He then repeats this process on a larger scale, filling more than a hundred pages (of the English volume) with a thorough analytical comparison of our Saviour's passion, as recorded in the different Gospels. This, though not so satisfactory to general readers, on account of its descending into such detail, is of the highest value to the critical inquirer; even its failures and its over-refinements being not only interesting but instructive. Into this of course we cannot enter further, as it does not admit of either abstract or abridgment, but must hasten to present some of the general conclusions which the author draws from these distinctions and comparisons.

His grand result is, HARMONY NOT UNISON, perfect accordance in design and substance, with the utmost individuality of character and form.

The author's mind, prolific in analogies, exhausts itself in efforts to illustrate this idea, by architectural and musical comparisons which, like most others, do not always run upon all

fours. Some of his distinctions, if not altogether just, are striking and suggestive; as that Matthew presents Christ as a king and prophet, Luke as a king and priest; Matthew writes as a Jew for Jews, Mark as a Roman for Romans, Luke as a Greek for Greeks, John as a Cosmopolite for Jews and Christians.

The chronological relation of the Gospels is presented in a manner equally original, whatever may be thought of its ratiocination. He who writes always as a Jew, an eye-witness, an apostle, building on the Old Testament, combining things that are alike, and drawing gigantic outlines—must be first in time. He who follows the first closely, often using the same words, but omitting, transposing, and particularly filling up the outline with details—must be the second. He who takes outlines from the first, and details from the second, but enriches both with fresh additions, and professes to write ἑξῆς—must be third. He who repeats little from the other three, but is ever presupposing their existence, yet continually adding what is found in none of them—must be the fourth. This mutual relation he illustrates and confirms by Old Testament analogies, or rather by the uniform organic progress, which he thinks may be traced alike in nature, providence, and revelation. As the Prophecies are, so to speak, evolved out of the Pentateuch and one another; as the New Testament thus grows out of the Old, and each successive part from that before it; so Matthew's argument, though it maintains its place, gives birth to Mark's description, and both to Luke's history, and all to John's *θεολογία*—the infancy, youth, manhood, and old age of one and the same revelation—or, to change the figure, as our author sometimes does without sufficient notice, a quaternion of evangelists, the two apostles marching outside, to cover, as it were, the apostolicals, though clothed at the same time, with the authority of Paul and Peter. Whatever may be thought of these particular distinctions and analogies, it must be owned that the ingenious author has established his right to ask the triumphant question at the close, Can all this be the work of chance or human contrivance?

In accordance with his fundamental principle, he holds that these four views of Christ were necessary to produce the

requisite effect; that none of them could have been spared; that though the inspiration of the authors was the same, their human gifts were different; that each Gospel is perfect in its kind, but not complete by itself, like the members of the body; that each answers its own purpose, but not God's, which requires and comprehends them all. If we had only Matthew's outline record of some facts, it would be perfect as an outline, yet not all we need. One side of a building may be perfect in design and execution; yet it cannot be the whole, or any other side but itself.

As to apparent or alleged discrepancies, our author holds that they are aggravated, not relieved, by fusion and assimilation; that the actual diversities are not to be ignored or even extenuated, but allowed to give the key (another musical allusion) to the entire harmony, so that the more differences we find, the more distinctly will the Gospels stand forth in their individuality; and yet these differences, far from being contradictions, will be found to be the necessary elements and indispensable conditions of the highest unity. However transcendental this may seem in form, we do believe that it embodies an intelligible and important truth, the same that was propounded at the outset of this abstract, as the radical idea of Da Costa's work.

We shall close our crude account of this extraordinary book with the author's own summary harmonic rules, or rather pregnant statements of the consequences flowing from the previous discussion. He concludes then, that the earlier Evangelists were well known to the later, and were used by them, but independently, or only in dependence on the Holy Ghost, whose will was not that they should use precisely the same matter, still less the same manner, but that each should choose from the common material, with a view to his own specific task and calling; that they consequently might, or rather must, differ widely in selection, arrangement and expression; Matthew combines like with like; Mark frequently, by transposition, makes it chronological; Luke gives it a historical construction; to which John adheres, except for cause, in what is common to them both. As a general thing, Matthew abounds in topics and in words, Mark and Luke in more minute details, while

John is full in both respects, yet different from all. In speaking of the same thing, Matthew sometimes has the plural, Mark and Luke the singular, the former being more generic and collective in his thoughts and words, the others more specific and individual. Even where John is like the others in his general mode or manner, as in local description or exact specifications of time and number, the details are for the most part peculiar to himself. In recording speeches, all convey the true sense; but Mark and Luke more generally give the precise words, Matthew the substance, sometimes with ideas that were not expressed though really implied, and John with the echo or reflection of the language from his own soul.

In giving an idea of Da Costa's singular production, we have chosen to retain, as far as possible, his own arrangement and peculiar form, although the one is often desultory and the other odd. But the very fact that these peculiarities are so much out of keeping with the old fashioned harmonistic methods of the English school, may lead to wholesome action and reaction, between systems so antipodal in form, though really concurring in the same essential views of inspiration, and of Christ himself. We should not have thought our author's speculations, striking and ingenious as they are, entitled to be brought before our readers at such length, if they were not imbued, and we may say instinct, with vital Christianity, with clear and large views of the most important doctrines, and with pure affections corresponding to them.

In parting from the books which have detained us so long, it is pleasing to reflect, that every one of them is likely to be useful, in its way, and to a certain class of readers. We are glad to think that Anger will lead some German students of the Gospels to compare them with the Fathers of the first two centuries, not only for their own improvement, but for that of others, and not only in the way of illustration, but of critical authentication. We are glad that such a name as that of Tischendorf is here pledged to the possibility of harmonizing all the Gospels, and not merely three of them, which is the *maximum* conceded by the modern German theory and practice. We are also glad that a synopsis so coincident with that adopted by our own best harmonists, is thus put into German circula-

tion with a needless but respectable endorsement. We are glad that many buyers of fine books in England will be led, perhaps insensibly, by Dr. Stroud, to learn far more than they would otherwise have known, about the Life of Christ, not only in its outlines but in its details. We rejoice that our Methodist brethren, of whom we are informed, though not by himself, that Mr. Strong is one, have so intelligent and accurate a writer of their own, on this important and delightful part of sacred learning. And lastly, we congratulate ourselves and others, that such principles and sentiments as those of Da Costa—leaving out of view particular exceptions—are in active circulation through so wide a sphere, in Holland, Britain, and America.

To ministers and students of our own Church we recommend as helps in this most interesting study, the Greek text of Robinson and Scott's English version of Da Costa. We have not compared the same parts of the latter work in Dutch and English; but our strong impression is that the translation is a good one, and its beautiful typography is not the least of its attractions. We have only one defect, or rather one excess, to criticize, which might be deemed too small for notice, but for its doing great injustice to the author's judgment and good taste, merely to gratify a freak of his translator. When we first cast our eye upon the English volume, we were struck with the multitude of *Saints* scattered over the surface. Not knowing this to be a Low Dutch fashion, we regretted that the author, however great a stickler he might be for this saintly etiquette, had not sought or seized a dispensation from the rule, if only to save space and spare the reader's eyes. On coming to a sight of the original, we found, to our surprise and indignation, that this host of saints was introduced by the translator, who might almost seem from this officious act to be a convert from dissent to churchmanship, as scarcely any other would have thought of overloading and defacing such a book, in such a way, lest either of the four Evangelists should once appear without a handle to his name; although it might be hard to say why such a deprivation would be more unjust to them than to the Saints of the Old Testament, to whom even Puseyites and Papists do not scruple to refer, as plain Noah, Moses, David, and Elijah. Against this absurd exaggeration of a harmless though unmean-

ing practice, and especially this vast multiplication of words, without the addition of a single new idea, we appeal not to Scripture or sectarian distinctions, but to taste and common sense. Many a reader, we have no doubt, though accustomed and attached to such formalities in other cases, will consider their use here a work of supererogation, and perhaps be ready to say:

> "Is it a custom?—Ay, marry, is it.
> But to my mind, though I am native here
> And to the manner born, it is a custom
> More honoured in the breach than the observance."

ART. II.—*A Memoir of the Rev. Sydney Smith, by his Daughter, Lady Holland. With a Selection from his Letters. Edited by Mrs. Austin.* In two volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1855.

IT is not without design that we have delayed to notice this Memoir. Other reviews have considered its subject as a critic, a reformer, a politician, and a wit. We design to consider him as *a minister of religion;* for in this relation he was truly a remarkable man. In thus viewing him, we shall examine his religious writings, as well as observe him in his biography and letters.

Sydney Smith was born at Woodford, in Essex, 1771; received his early education at Winchester, and then went to New College, Oxford; where nothing special is recorded of him, except that he obtained first a scholarship, and then a professorship yielding about a hundred pounds a year. After this, he deliberately resolved to enter the church. When Dr. Johnson, in his time of need, was offered a good living, if he should enter into orders, he declined it, saying: "I have not the requisites; and I cannot, in my conscience, *shear* the sheep which I am unable to *feed*." But Sydney Smith had no difficulty in answering the Bishop, that he was "inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon him this office and ministration, to serve God for the promoting of his glory, and the

edifying of his people;" and to believe, according to the Liturgical service, that it is an office that requires us "never to cease from our labour, care, and diligence, till we have done all that lieth in us, according to our bounden duty, towards all such as are committed to our care, in order to bring them to a ripeness and perfection of stature in Christ Jesus."

His first scene of ministration was the parish of Netherhaven, near Amesbury, a village consisting of a few scattered farms and cottages. It is often no disadvantage for a young clergyman to be called to labour at first in a small and obscure parish, where the mind and heart can be well disciplined. Even if no field of extensive usefulness be at once offered, he can remain quiet, trimming his secret lamp, which may one day shed its light far and wide. Some of the most eminent ministers in the church of God have been thus trained. Bishop Wilson, the excellent and devout Bishop of Sodor and Man, after his ordination, was appointed to a small curacy, where he lived in great retirement; where his annual stipend was but thirty pounds; but where he was eminently fitted for the conspicuous station in the church which he ultimately occupied. It was so with Hooker, who was at first settled in a poor and thinly populated parish, containing less than two hundred inhabitants. And Doddridge used often to remark, how grateful he was that he was thus early called to such a situation, and how it prepared him for extensive usefulness in a higher sphere.

Did Sydney Smith feel and act thus? Did he, according to his ordination vow, regard his office as one of high responsibility? He found his parishioners ignorant, unrefined, and miserable. Did he, feeling the value of their souls, strive to enlighten, and refine, and make them happy? Did he instruct the illiterate, reprove the wicked, exhort the negligent, alarm the presumptuous, strengthen the weak, visit the sick, comfort the afflicted, and reclaim the wandering? If he had acted thus, "the wilderness," in a moral sense, "would have been glad, and the desert would have rejoiced, and blossomed as the rose." But instead of this, he complained of want of society, of books, of food, of everything; and, at the end of two years, resigned his living. After this, he departed with the eldest son of the squire to whom he was tutor, and engaged to go with him to

the University of Weimar, in Saxony; but in consequence of the disturbances in Germany, occasioned by the war, he went to Edinburgh. He arrived at that city in1797, with his pupil, Beach, and remained there about five or six years; associated with politicians and men of science, attended the medical lectures at the University, and, as a Dissenter, preached occasionally for Bishop Sanford, in the Episcopal chapel. He was not, however, much known as a clergyman, but distinguished as uniting with Jeffrey and others in the establishment of the Edinburgh Review, and appreciated for his talents—especially for his wit and satire.

We are not of those who believe that satire in itself is wrong, or inconsistent with love to God or man. If not wantonly indulged; if restrained within due bounds, it may be not only harmless, but useful. We have in Scripture striking examples of it—in Elijah's address to the prophets of Baal, (1 Kings xviii. 27;) in the exposure of idolatry in Isaiah, (Is. xliv. 9, &c.;) in the irony of Paul to the Corinthians, (1 Cor. iv. 8; 2 Cor. xi. 19.) Its good effects have often been seen. Evils and follies once prevalent have ceased to exist, because they have become so ridiculous as to excite shame. By this means, Cervantes did real service to his country; Erasmus furthered the Reformation; and even the profane Lucian, "though his heart did not mean so," advanced the cause of Christianity by the happy application of his wit to the follies of Paganism.

But against whom and what did Sydney Smith exercise his wit and sarcasm? Evidently, though not professedly, against that religion of which he was the minister, and which, on the day of his ordination, he had vowed to advance; evidently against the true friends and advocates of divine truth.

At this time a change, which had begun, was advancing in the Church of England, in favour of evangelical religion. A life-giving spirit was everywhere springing up. Instead of the secularity which characterized the clergy, and made them satisfied, if they only regularly received their tithes, and a drowsy indifference among the people, if they only were christened, confirmed, and received the sacrament, many of the former were beginning to learn the true nature of the ministerial office, and to feel that its grand design was to save souls; and many

of the latter were enlightened to see that true religion was more than a decent attention to external rites and ceremonies; that it consisted in supremely loving God, delighting in his precepts, living a life of faith upon his Son, giving up all for Christ, labouring after conformity to his image, and striving for the advancement of his cause. Imbibing this spirit, the friends of religion, individually, and by means of concentrated action of various societies and associations, everywhere spread abroad evangelical truth, and endeavoured to give vitality to a dead church, and purity to a corrupt world. Against an ardent and persevering zeal, in propagating such principles, violent opposition was to be expected. Under the banner of this opposition, Sydney Smith ranged himself; and by one peculiarity, not doctrinal discussion, but bitter sarcasm, he stood in the very front rank.

The first production on this subject which he issued, was an article in the Edinburgh Review, on "*Methodism;*" by which was meant evangelical religion; or, to use his own definition—"We use the term to designate the Calvinistic and Arminian Methodists and the *evangelical* of the Church of England—these three classes of fanatics—not troubling ourselves to point out the finer shades and nice discriminations of lunacy, but treating them all as in one general conspiracy against common sense, and rational, orthodox Christianity."

In the discussion of this subject, the author is careful to tell us that he is no infidel: "It has been our good fortune to be acquainted with many truly religious persons, both in the Presbyterian and Episcopalian churches; and from their manly, rational, and serious characters, our conceptions of true practical piety have been formed." The religion which he professes, and of which he is the minister, is Christianity shorn of its beams, and deprived of all those peculiar qualities which the hand of God has stamped upon it; a religion which lets conscience sleep, while the heart is unchanged, and by which a man is lulled into a state of complete self-complacency; a Christianity, if it deserve the name, which has in it nothing worthy of its Author; nothing great or noble, nothing spiritual or holy, nothing raised above the world; nothing, in short, which puts to shame the claims of a Pagan philosophy. Possessing

such a religion, not of divine, but of human workmanship, why should he flee to infidelity, and deny the authenticity of the Scriptures? Why should he not love, and defend, and worship it?

He shows the sentiments of the evangelical party by quoting largely from their organs, or monthly magazines; endeavours to prove that their "religion is not the religion which is established by law, and encouraged by national provision;" and promises to present their "opinions and habits as objects of curiosity and importance." What are these opinions? They are the simple and fundamental doctrines of the special providence of God, the corruption of man, the necessity of faith in the Redeemer, the importance of holiness, the inefficacy of preaching and the sacraments, without the influences of the Holy Spirit. These doctrines, expressed sometimes in narratives, sometimes by notices, and sometimes by essays, are held up to ridicule, and regarded as the very cant of fanaticism. Take the following, which expresses his views of religion, sneers at divine grace, and conveys a personal sarcasm: "We had hitherto supposed that the disciples of the established churches in England and Scotland had been Christians; and that after baptism, duly performed by the appointed ministers, and participation in the customary worship of these two churches, Christianity was the religion of which they were to be considered members. We see, however, in these publications, men of twenty and thirty years of age first called to the knowledge of Christ, under a sermon by the Rev. Mr. Venn; or first admitted into the church, under a sermon by the Rev. Mr. Romaine. The apparent admission turns out to have been a mere mockery, and the pseudo-christian to have had no religion at all, till the business was really and effectually done under these sermons by Mr. Venn and Mr. Romaine." That which gives joy to angels seems to him the source of sacrilegious mockery. For instance, a letter from a pious chaplain of a man-of-war, found in the Evangelical Magazine: "Off Cadiz, Nov. 25, 1806. My dear friend,—I have only time to tell you that the work of God seems to prosper. Many are under convictions; and some, I trust, are converted. I preach every night, and am obliged to have a private meeting afterwards, with those

who wish to speak about their souls. Capt. —— raises no objection. I have nearly a hundred hearers every night at six o'clock. Pray for us." And another letter from the sailing-master of his majesty's ship Tonnant: "It is with satisfaction that I can now inform you, that God has deigned, in a yet greater degree, to own the weak efforts of his servant, to turn many from Satan to himself. Many are called here, as is plain to be seen, by their pensive looks and deep sighs. Our thirteen are now increased to upwards of thirty." Nothing seems to provoke the defender of "rational and orthodox religion" more than the following facts: "We must remember that the Evangelicals have found a powerful party in the House of Commons, who, by the neutrality which they affect, and partly adhere to, are courted both by ministers and the opposition; that they have gained complete possession of the India-house; and, under the pretence, or perhaps with the serious intention of educating young people for India, (as much as they dare, without provoking attention,) in their own particular tenets."

The gross misrepresentations which he gives of the whole evangelical party are too numerous to be repeated. He says, "they lay very little stress upon practical righteousness; they say a great deal about faith, and very little about works; what are commonly called the mysterious parts of religion are brought into the foreground, much more than the doctrines which lead to practice." They are always gloomy and unhappy: "Ennui, wretchedness, groans, and sighs, are the offerings which these unhappy men make to a Deity who has covered the earth with gay colours, and scented it with rich perfumes. They hate pleasure and amusements. No theatre, no cards, no dancing, no punchinello, no dancing-dogs, no blind fiddlers. All the amusements of the rich and of the poor must disappear, wherever these gloomy people get a footing." It is a religion which leads to insanity: "There is not a mad-house in England, where a considerable part of the patients have not been driven to insanity by the extravagance of these people. We cannot enter such places, without seeing a number of honest artisans, covered with blankets, and calling themselves angels and apostles, who, if they had remained contented with the instruction of men of learning and education, would have been

sound masters of their own trade, sober Christians, and useful members of society."

We have observed a remarkable coincidence between the language of Chief Justice Jeffreys, at the trial of Baxter, and that of the reviewer in this article. The judge cried out, "These fellows have appropriated God to themselves: '*Lord, we are thy people, thy peculiar people, thy dear people!*'" "And then," the historian adds, "he snorted, and squeaked through his nose, and clenched his hands, and lifted up his eyes, mimicking their manner, and running on furiously, as he said they used to preach and pray." Sydney Smith says, "They consider themselves as constituting a chosen and separate people, living in a land of atheists and voluptuaries. The expressions by which they designate their own sects, are, the *dear people*, the *elect*, the *people of God*. The rest of mankind are carnal people, and the people of this world. The children of Israel were not more separated, through the favour of God, from the Egyptians, than they are, in their own estimation, from the rest of mankind."

Throughout the whole article, everything valuable in the Christian religion is made the subject of sport, with an asperity worthy of Voltaire. Evangelical truth had before this been opposed, and at that time was impugned with violence and misrepresentation; but it had never been held up to such contempt, (particularly by a professed Christian,) and by invective so bitter. Compared with it, Lavington's "Comparison between Popery and Methodism" is lenient; and Swift's Treatise on the "Operations of the Spirit" is but little worse.

Who were the men thus held up to scorn, and exposed to the most unsparing sarcasm? They were some of the best ministers of the Church of England, who adhered to its Articles and constitution: such men as Romaine, the Milners, Venn, Cecil, Newton, Scott, Porteus, Goode, Cadogan, Simeon, and a host of others like them; and laymen, like Wilberforce, Teignmouth, Cowper, Thornton, Mrs. More, and numerous others of a kindred spirit. These he stigmatizes; and some of them personally, as Methodists, enthusiasts, fanatics, and schismatics, because they make a distinction between nominal and real religion; because they speak of Christian experience as applicable to the exercises

of the pious mind; because they are ready to inquire into attainments in humility, faith, hope, and love, as the fruit and graces of the Holy Spirit. Let any unprejudiced man read the Scripture, however slightly, and compare with it this article, and he must be convinced that the author was not a secret and concealed, but an open and avowed, enemy of the religion of the Bible.

The next article that appeared on religion, from the same pen, and in the same Review, was on the subject of "*Missions in India.*"

For many years this subject had excited public attention. Long before this period, societies had been formed for the propagation of the Gospel in that interesting land. The "Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge" had employed men from other countries, particularly from Denmark and Germany, to labour in that field; and the names of Ziegenbalg, and Grundler, and afterwards of Swartz and Gericke, are familiar to all who are in any degree acquainted with the peninsula of India. The work, however, was much retarded by the want of more labourers. At length several Dissenting bodies co-operated in the great undertaking, and in a little time outstripped the elder society. The "London Missionary Society," composed of various Christian denominations, was instituted, and sent its missionaries to India, as well as to other parts of the world; and the evangelical portion of the National Church, rejoicing in their zeal, and vigour, and self-devotion, longed to imitate them, and to unite in heart, if not in form, in illuminating the dark corners of the earth. Above all, the Baptist missions had displayed a zeal worthy of such a cause; they bore an honourable testimony for the faith of Jesus, and not without success; they saw several poor and ignorant idolaters "turned from dead works to serve the living God," and the light of revelation rising upon many who were groping in the "region and shadow of death." The father of this mission, at Serampore, was the venerable Dr. Carey. He, and those who were associated with him—Ward, Marshman, and others—encountered many difficulties; but these difficulties tended only to animate their vigilance, and awaken their zeal.

The time when Sydney Smith wrote on this subject, was an interesting period. The British acquisition of power in India had been so rapid and extensive, that nearly sixty millions of inhabitants had submitted to its control. It was a period when Christians felt that this immense population had a claim on their justice and benevolence; that they owed them instruction and protection; that they were bound to dispel the gross delusions of their religion, and to correct the flagrant enormities of their conduct, by imparting, in a greater degree than they had done, the truth of Christianity. It was a period when the subject of the renewal of the charter of the East India Company was shortly to come before Parliament; and when there was a general anxiety that in the new charter a clause should be introduced, authorizing a wide dissemination of Christian principles, and the removal of many long-existing obstacles. It was a period when Corrie, and Thomason, and Henry Martyn were in the field; when the venerable Buchanan was exciting attention by his "Christian Researches in Asia," his "Star in the East," and his "Apology for promoting Christianity in India."

But while the friends of the Redeemer were cherishing this missionary zeal; while they felt that "necessity was laid upon them" to send the Gospel to that great Indian empire which Providence had put into their hands; while the diffusion of the Scriptures and their translation into so many of the languages of the East were preparing the way for the living voice of the preacher; while so many degraded Pagans were ready to "cast their idols to the moles and the bats," so many dark understandings waiting to be enlightened, so many aching hearts longing to be comforted, there sprung up a most violent and pertinacious opposition. For a long time a strong and deep-rooted prejudice had prevailed against missions, which was at length succeeded by a still, but virulent hostility. At last came an explosion of temper which had long been secretly at work; and the Rev. Sydney Smith, for himself and others, felt that it should no longer be in a state of compression and confinement. He had the ambition to lead the van in this anti-missionary crusade, and make a fierce assault against all that is doing for the object in Church and state. Though he pro-

fesses not to be an infidel, yet he unites with those who regard the effort of introducing Christianity into India as visionary and romantic; who stigmatize the "Researches" of Buchanan as an imposition on the public, and a libel on India; and who esteem the mode proposed as calculated to remove the event to a great distance. To this mode he objects, "because," as he says, "the evangelical party have got possession of the Eastern empire. Under the auspices of the college at Fort William, the Scriptures are in a course of translation into the languages of almost the whole continent of Oriental India; and we perceive that in aid of this object, the Bible Society has voted a very magnificent subscription. The three principal chaplains of our Indian settlements are (as might be expected) of principles exactly corresponding with the enthusiasm of their employers at home; and their zeal upon the subject of religion has shone and burnt with the most exemplary fury." This work being under the direction of the evangelical portion of the Church cannot of course be properly conducted. The author says: "This is the great evil; if the management were in the hands of men who were as discreet and wise in their devotion as they are in matters of temporal welfare, the desire of putting an end to missions might be premature and indecorous. But the misfortune is, the men who wield the instrument, ought not, in common sense and propriety, to be trusted with it for a single instant. Upon this subject they are quite insane and ungovernable; they would deliberately, piously and conscientiously expose our whole Eastern empire to destruction for the sake of converting half a dozen Brahmans, who, after stuffing themselves with rum and rice, and borrowing money from the natives, would run away, and cover the Gospel and its professors with every species of impious ridicule and abuse."

It would seem that in the estimation of the reviewer, the Hindoos do not need conversion. He says—"They are a civilized and moral people; and after all that has been said of their vices, we believe that a Hindoo is more mild and sober than most Europeans, and as honest and chaste." He sums up his sentiments on this whole subject in the following manner:—"We see not the slightest prospect of success; we see much danger in making the attempt; and we doubt if the conversion

of the Hindoos would ever be more than nominal. If it is a duty of general benevolence to convert the heathen, it is less a duty to convert them than any other people, because they are a people highly civilized, and because you must infallibly subject them to infamy, and present degradation. The instruments employed for these purposes, are calculated to bring ridicule and disgrace upon the gospel; and in the discretion of those at home, whom we consider as their patrons, we have not the smallest reliance; but on the contrary, we are convinced they would behold the loss of our Indian empire, not with the humility of men convinced of erroneous views and projects, but with the pride, the exultation, and the alacrity of martyrs."

While the author thus argues with those of his own church, and severely denounces them, he treats with perfect levity and buffoonery the whole Baptist mission at Serampore. A most furious and unmeasured attack he makes upon the excellent Dr. Carey—a man so faithful in sustaining the mission in Bengal, so distinguished as an Oriental scholar; so eminent for the many versions of the Scriptures which he had made; so beloved for his humble, benevolent, and self-denied piety. To bring this venerable man into contempt, he quotes from his journal, when he first went to India, in 1793, such parts as he judged the most intolerable religious cant. And what are they? Such things as no true Christian can condemn, but such as Sydney Smith was incapable of appreciating; most repugnant to his taste and revolting to his principles.—"1793: *June* 16—Lord's day—A little recovered from my sickness—met for prayer and exhortation in my cabin—had a dispute with a French deist." "— 30: Lord's day—A pleasant and profitable day; our congregation composed of ten persons." "*July* 7.—Another pleasant and profitable Sabbath—our congregation increased one—had much sweet enjoyment with God." "*Jan.* 25.—Lord's day.—Found much pleasure in reading Edwards's sermon on the 'justice of God in the perdition of sinners.'" "*April* 6.—Had some sweetness to-day; especially in reading Edwards's sermons." "*June* 8.—This evening reached Bowles, where we lay to for the Sabbath—felt thankful that God had preserved us." "—— 16.—To-day I

preached twice at Malda, where Mr. Thomas met me—had much enjoyment, and though our congregation did not exceed sixteen, yet the pleasure I felt in having my tongue once more at liberty, I can hardly describe—was enabled to be faithful, and felt great affection for immortal souls." "1796. *Feb.* 6.—I am now in my study; and it is a sweet place, because of the presence of God with the vilest of men. The work to which God has set his hands will infallibly prosper." These ravings of fanaticism proved Dr. Carey wholly unfit to be a missionary in India! With the same personal rancour he assails Ward, one of the most able of the Eastern missionaries, who did so much by his writings in enlightening the public mind on the absurdities and horrors of Paganism; who was so commended for his elaborate "View of the history, literature, and religion of the Hindoos." Nor do the venerable Danish and German missionaries escape his gross ribaldry; men who had spent their lives, not in the pursuit of gain, or in commercial enterprises, but in removing the ignorance, profligacy, and misery of the heathen; in making them happy in this world and in the world to come. The ridicule poured out upon all these men is like treating with scorn the first heralds of the cross, and their immediate successors, the confessors and martyrs. Shall they be reverenced and preserved in grateful remembrance, because they encountered the fiercest opposition in spreading the gospel among the nations; and shall those who imitate them, and have a congenial spirit, be held up to derision? Yet Sydney Smith was capable of this.

The whole article can excite no other emotions but those of indignation and disgust. Robert Hall is not too severe in speaking of it—"It is impossible to read the strictures of the Edinburgh Review on Missions, in an article which appeared under that title, without surprise that such sentiments could find admission in a work which possesses such just claims to literary mind. The anonymous writer of the article alluded to, with the levity of a buffoon, joined to a heart of iron and a face of brass, has more than insinuated that the Christianity attempted to be promoted in India, by the missionaries at Serampore, would, were it adopted, prove a serious injury to the natives, and that they are much happier and more virtuous

under their present institutions. The system of religion, be it remembered, which these men have attempted to introduce, and which this *Christian* reviewer loads with abuse, is precisely the same in its doctrinal articles with that of the Church of England, to which he has subscribed, *ex animo* no doubt, his unfeigned assent and consent. It may be hoped, that at a time when the Church of England is evincing a spirit of moderation and forbearance, and can boast of so many prelates and dignitaries distinguished for their piety and learning, no clergyman for the future will be allowed to degrade himself in a similar manner, without the most indignant rebuke. It may possibly gratify certain spirits to see the Dissenters and 'Methodists' vilified and abused; but they will do well to remember that the indulgence of a profane and scoffing humour must be ultimately injurious, not only to Christianity, but to any Christian community whatever; and that to stab religion through the sides of fanaticism is a stale artifice of infidels, by which the simplest can no longer be deceived."

Among those who entered the lists of controversy on this subject, and who replied to this article in stern and lofty rebuke, was the Rev. John Styles, an eminent non-conformist, a man of talent and usefulness, the author of several works that had received attention; of an admirable "Life of Brainerd," of an "Essay on Animal Creation;" of "Pulpit Studies and Aids to preaching;" and of an excellent work on the stage, which ranks with the treatises of Collier, Law, and Witherspoon, and which Foster commends and quotes in the Eclectic Review. A notice of him by Sydney Smith occupied another article in the Edinburgh Review. It was written to ridicule rather than to convince, and contains no argument, but only a bitter sarcasm against a good man and his associates. He repeats what he had uttered in his former articles respecting missions and the evangelical party; and says that the Methodists (using the term in the same extensive sense as before) are "vermin" that should not complain of the means employed to destroy them. "It is scarcely possible to reduce their drunken declamations to a point, to grasp the wriggling lubricity of these cunning animals, and to fix them in one position. They must, however, all be caught, killed, and cracked, in the manner and by the

instruments which are found most efficacious for their destruction; and the more they cry out, the greater plainly is the skill used against them." And again: "Undoubtedly the distinction of mankind into godly and ungodly—if by godly is really meant those who apply religion to the extinction of bad passions—would be highly desirable. But when by that word is only intended a sect more desirous of possessing the appellation than of deserving it—when under that term are comprehended thousands of canting hypocrites and raving enthusiasts —men despicable from their ignorance, and formidable from their madness—the distinction may hereafter prove to be truly terrific; and a dynasty of fools may again sweep away both Church and State in one hideous ruin. There may be, at present, some very respectable men at the head of these maniacs, who would insanify them with some degree of prudence, and keep them only half mad, if they could. But this wont do; Bedlam will break loose, and overpower the keepers. If the choice rested with us, we should say—Give us back our wolves again—our Danish invaders—curse us with any evil, but the evil of a canting, deluded, and Methodistical populace. Wherever it extends its baneful influence, the character of the English is constantly changed by it. Boldness and rough honesty are broken down into meanness, prevarication and fraud."

On the subject of the introduction of Christianity into India, he repeats what he had before affirmed, but only with more violence. The following is a specimen. "It is not Christianity which is introduced there, but the debased mummery and nonsense of Methodists, which have little more to do with the Christian religion than it has to do with the religion of China. We send men of the highest character for the administration of justice and the regulation of trade; why then are common sense and decency to be forgotten in religion alone, and so foolish a set of men allowed to engage themselves in this occupation, that the natives almost instinctively duck and pelt them? Our charge is, that they want sense, conduct, and sound religion, and that if they are not watched, the throat of every European in India will be cut. But these pious gentlemen care nothing about the loss of the country. The plan it seems is this:—we are to educate India in Christianity, as a parent does his child,

and when it is perfect in its catechism, then to pack up, quit it entirely, and leave it to its own management. This is the evangelical project for separating a colony from the parent country. They see nothing of the bloodshed, and massacres, and devastations, nor of the speeches in Parliament, squandered millions, fruitless expeditions, jobs and pensions with which the loss of our Indian possessions would necessarily be accompanied; nor will they see that these consequences could arise from the *attempt*, and not from the completion of their scheme of conversion. We should be swept from the peninsula by Pagan zealots; and should lose, among other things, all chance of ever really converting them." We can conceive of nothing more groundless, calumnious, and false, than the whole of this article.

Not only against the Evangelical Magazine does he vent his spleen, but also against all the other organs of evangelic truth. He says, "the Eclectic Review is understood to be carried on upon Methodistical principles." Of the Christian Observer—a work established by the evangelical members of the Church of England, of which Zachary Macaulay was the first editor, whose pages were enriched by the contributions of Lord Teignmouth, Wilberforce, Thornton, Stephen, Babington, Heber, and others of like talents, education and piety—he thus speaks: "We cannot conclude without the most pointed reprobation of the low mischief of the Christian Observer; a publication which appears to have no other method of discussing a subject fairly open to discussion, than that of accusing their antagonists of infidelity. No art can be more unmanly, or, if its consequences are foreseen, more wicked. If this publication had been the work of a single individual, we might have passed it over in silent disgust, but as it is the organ of a great political religious party in this country, we think it right to notice the very unworthy manner in which they are attempting to extend their influence. For ourselves, if there were a fair prospect of carrying the gospel into regions where it was before unknown—if such a prospect did not expose the best possessions of the country to extreme danger; and if it was in the hands of men who were discreet as well as devout, we should esteem it a scheme of true piety, benevolence and

wisdom; but the baseness and malignity of fanaticism shall never prevent us from attacking its arrogance, its ignorance, and its activity."

The next article on the subject of evangelical religion from the same pen, was a review of Mrs. More's "Cœlebs in Search of a Wife."

This work, from the pen of so popular a writer, was received at once with universal interest; it was regarded by the friends of religion as calculated to be useful; to remove from many minds prejudices against real piety; to present an inviting exhibition of Christian life and doctrine to persons of imagination and taste, of a certain rank and culture, who would not be disposed to seek them in more serious works. But this very circumstance, that an evangelical spirit is diffused through it, and is calculated to impress like an interesting picture, leads the reviewer to oppose it, and to display his usual bitterness. Mr. and Mrs Stanley, Lucilla, and the rest are "the children of the tabernacle," "uniformly paltry and narrow; always trembling at the idea of being entertained, and thinking no Christian safe who is not dull."

In this manner, he speaks of the object of the work, and the manner in which it is executed:—"The exaltation of what the authoress deems to be the religious, and the depreciation of what she considers to be the worldly character, and the influence of both upon matrimonial happiness, form the subject of this novel—rather of this *dramatic sermon.* The machinery upon which the subject of the discourse is suspended is of the slightest and most artificial texture, bearing every mark of haste, and possessing not the slightest claim to merit. Events there are none, and scarcely a character of any interest. The book is intended to convey religious advice; and no more labour appears to have been bestowed upon the story than was merely sufficient to throw it out of the dry didactic form."

More than once he misrepresents the meaning of the authoress, to introduce a low jest, which degenerates into mere farce, and much of which is too indecent to be quoted. Among other "methodistical" sentiments, the reviewer is particularly severe against Mrs. More for speaking of the dangerous tendency of dramatic entertainments. He says:—"The finest

exhibitions of talent and the most successful moral lessons at the theatre are interdicted. There is something in the word *playhouse* which seems to be so closely connected in the minds of these people with sin and Satan, that it stands in their vocabulary for every species of abomination." But he not only tolerates the theatre as an innocent amusement, but *recommends* it as one of the best means of continuing virtuous, and reforming the vicious. He adds:—"Where is every feeling more roused in favour of virtue than at a good play? Where is goodness so feelingly, so enthusiastically learned? What so solemn, as to see the excellent passions of the human heart called forth by a great actor, animated by a great poet? What wretched infatuation to interdict such amusements as these! What a blessing that mankind can be allured from sensual gratifications, and find relaxation and pleasure in such pursuits!"

If we were not acquainted with the sentiments and language of Sydney Smith, we should think it incredible that a professed advocate of religion and morals, a minister of the Christian religion, should in this manner undertake the defence of the stage; virtually, to regard it as one of our best institutions, and to esteem it a powerful means for the promotion of virtue; virtually to desire its continuance; and so declare that its cessation would be a great moral evil. By Christians of all ages, and of every denomination, it has been acknowledged that the theatre is calculated to corrupt the morals, to instil dangerous and corrupt maxims, to root out of the heart every religious principle, by its immodest allusions, coarse profaneness, and shameless blasphemies. Yet here a minister of religion asks, "Where is goodness so feelingly, so enthusiastically learned?" Why this ardent attachment to the theatre? A reason may be found. Because he would there be freed from the sight of those religious fanatics and madmen, who it is certain, would not be present; because he would enjoy perfect immunity from Puritanism, cant, and rank Methodism; because, if he did find them there, he would discover them on the stage exposed to ridicule and contempt—a subject with which he was intimately familiar; in the exhibition of which he would be an admirable critic.

These were the last articles on this subject which Sydney Smith published in the Edinburgh Review. We acknowledge that the satire is keen, and the sarcasm bitter, but against what are they levelled? Not against the follies and vices of mankind; not against what deserves our contempt and abhorrence, but against virtue, and truth, and religion: against some of the best men that England has produced, whose personal character they misrepresent, and whose individual reputation they endeavour to destroy. Such criticisms are little to be distinguished from scandal and defamation, and what aggravates the offence is, that the author never, in any degree, regretted it. When, in 1840, thirty years afterwards, he consented to publish his contributions in volumes, these articles he would not omit; he said, "I see very little in my Review to alter or repent of; what I thought evil then, I think evil now."

These thirty years were pregnant with changes in the religious and moral condition of society which must have presented to him many points of inquiry. He had seen India in a different aspect from what it was when he assailed its missions;—schools, colleges, ministers of different denominations everywhere multiplied. He had seen prejudices giving way, and all Christendom united in this hallowed enterprise. He had ceased to hear apologies for heathenism, the sickly whinings once uttered over the injuries of a meek and innocent idolatry; the false alarms of danger incurred by the entrance of Christians into the East, and base and unfounded charges on the missionaries as the authors of revolt. He had seen silenced the tongue of calumny against the Baptist mission, and justice done to Carey, and Ward, and Marshman. He had seen those whom he had stigmatized as evangelical, and branded by the odious name of fanatics, passing away. He had read, or might have read, the memoirs of Buchanan, Henry Martyn, of Thomas Scott, of Wilberforce, of Hannah More, and others like them. He had seen the evangelical spirit spreading in the army, in the navy, in the House of Parliament, in the ministry, from the Archbishop of Canterbury, to the humblest curate; and yet no sensation of regret is felt for his conduct; he "wrote no line which he wished now to blot:" he could say "*I see very little in my Review to alter or repent of.*" This

raises to its utmost height the enormity of his conduct, and compels us to say with Robert Hall (in the passage already quoted) "such a writer has the levity of a buffoon, a heart of iron, and a face of brass."

At the time these Reviews appeared, Sydney Smith was residing in London. He preached for a time at the Foundling Hospital, and was morning preacher at Fitzroy chapel. Little, however, is said in his Memoirs of the effect of his preaching. It would be almost folly to suppose that its design was to make men religious, to lead them to exercise "repentance towards God and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ:" this would be the height of Methodism—to preach about faith, and atonement, and grace, would be most intolerable cant. About this time he published two volumes of sermons. We find in them a marked absence of discussion on all the essential features of the gospel, so that they have little or no claim to be denominated *Christian*, supposing Christianity to be, to proclaim salvation to perishing sinners, through faith in Christ, and by the regeneration of the Holy Spirit. 'Tis true he exhorts his hearers not to be openly immoral and vicious, and yet as earnestly exhorts them not to be Puritans, or Methodists, or Meetingers; to avoid the cant of Deism as they would that of Evangelicalism. To show his utter ignorance of Scripture, it would be amusing, if treating on any other subject, to see his continued misquotations. The apostle's language, "pray without ceasing," is quoted as "praying in every season;" the touching prayer of our Saviour, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do," as "Lord, forgive them;" the declaration of John the Baptist, "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand," is that of an apostle; the caution of Solomon, "be not righteous over much," as that of St. Paul; and the words of Simeon, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace," as the words of the Psalmist!

However dull and frigid he may be on other topics, in his sermons, yet when Methodism is his theme, he always kindles, and has abundant fire and warmth. Never do we see the love of Christ inspiring the heart of Paul with more energy than does this subject the soul of Sydney Smith. If the apostle introduces his loved topic at all seasons, so, this defender of

"rational religion," embraces every opportunity of bringing into notice his favourite theme. Besides having a whole sermon on the subject, he seeks for every occasion to inveigh against it as the great prevailing evil of the age. So concerned is he for his country, that in his "Sermon on the Duties of the Queen," he cautions her against it:—"It will be a sad vexation to all loyal hearts and to all rationally pious minds, if our sovereign should fall into the common error of mistaking fanaticism for religion, and in this way, flinging an air of discredit upon real devotion. It is, I am afraid, unquestionably the fault of the age; her youth and her sex do not make it more improbable, and the warmest efforts of that description of persons will not be wanting to gain over a convert so illustrious and so important. Should this take place, the consequences will be serious and distressing; the land will be inundated with hypocrisy; absurdity will be heaped upon absurdity; there will be a race of folly and extravagance for royal favour, and he who is farthest removed from reason, will make the nearest approach to distinction."

In his posthumous sermons, in which there is much larceny from others, particularly from Barrow, he uses great caution in avoiding an expression that savours of such cant; and to effect his object, changes words and phrases; substitutes for the "practice of piety," our "holy religion," and for the words "righteous," "holy," "godly," puts in their place, "the moral fitness of things," "the virtues and sanctions of Christianity."

But it was not so much as a preacher or writer of sermons that Sydney Smith was so distinguished, when he went from Edinburgh to London, and made the latter city his residence. It was rather as a friend and jovial companion of politicians and men of literature, who admired his wit and sought his society; who were pleased with his constitutional and excessive gayety of spirits; and yet not displeased with his views of religion. Among these men, his reputation spread widely; he was elected a member of one of their clubs, and was generally present at their convivial meetings. In these circles, he was pre-eminent; in the Memoir, much is said of the powers of his humour and sarcasm; very much told of that infectious wit which was perfectly irresistible; which forced peals of laughter

from every guest, and "set the table in a roar." We are informed how, on one of these festive occasions, he personated before a young Scotchman, *Sir* Sydney Smith (for as such he had been introduced to him,) how he assumed the military character, performed the part of Acre to perfection, fought all his battles over again, and showed how he charged the Turks, to the complete and permanent deception of the Highland ensign. We are told how he denied that he was the author of "the letters of Peter Plymley," and how he reported that Dugald Stewart was the author, or generally supposed to be so. On these occasions the "evangelicals" would be a fine subject of satire, and no doubt, were often held up to ridicule, to the amusement of his companions. And judging from some of his letters, we should think, in order to embellish his speech, and give a high relish to a story, that he would, Swift-like, occasionally utter a profane expression.

He was, in time, elevated to the Johnson Club, so called, because it was instituted by Dr. Johnson and his friends. Here too, he speedily arose to the first rank, and was distinguished for his mirth; and at times so excessively jovial that if he who had originally formed the company, and whose name it bears, had come to the light of day, he would have again said, with strong emotion—"This merriment of parsons is most disgusting." But to all such things Sydney Smith was perfectly indifferent; he would eat and drink, talk and jest, go into such company and visit such places as he pleased, without any of the restraints of his clerical profession. He held in this respect all the independence of Swift. Of the latter person his biographer says—"He could not forbear indulging the peculiarity of his humour, when an opportunity occurred, whatever might be the impropriety of the time and place. Upon his coming to Laracor, he gave public notice that he would read prayers on Wednesday and Friday, which had not been the custom, and accordingly the bell was rung, and he ascended the desk. But, having sat some time, with no other auditor than his clerk Roger, he began, 'Dearly beloved Roger, the Scripture moveth you and me in sundry places;' and so proceeded to the end of the service. Of the same kind was his race with Dr. Raymond, vicar of Trim, soon after he

was made dean of St. Patrick's. Swift had dined one Sunday with Raymond, and when the bells had done ringing for evening prayers, he said, 'Raymond, I bet you a crown that I will begin prayers before you this afternoon.' The wager was accepted, and immediately they both ran as fast as they could, to the church. Raymond, the nimbler of the two, arrived first at the door, and when he entered the church, walked decently towards the reading-desk. Swift never slackened his pace, but running up the aisle, left Raymond behind him; and stepping into the desk, and without putting on the surplice, or opening the book, began the service in an audible voice." Sydney Smith, in like manner, for the sake of a good jest, would sacrifice everything, lay aside his clerical character, and renounce all personal dignity. The Memoir is full of instances—one is sufficient. When, on one occasion, an extraordinary good story was told him, he wished to monopolize it, and offered to the narrator five shillings for the exclusive right of it for a week. The bargain was struck, and the money paid down; and for a week, he laughed most heartily himself, and made others laugh, almost to exhaustion. From the same love of merriment, he chose as his text for his farewell sermon at Berkley Fitzroy chapel, "thou shalt not commit adultery;" seeming to adopt the suggestion of another facetious prebendary, Sterne, who advises a clergyman, when at a loss for a text that suited a sermon, to select the 9th verse of the second chapter of Acts: "Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Judea, and Cappadocia, in Pontus, and Asia."

We shall not follow the subject of the Memoir into his political career, nor speak of his political writings, nor consider his political speeches. The time at length arrived, when the party which he had long advocated came into power; then he looked for his reward for having fought the good fight, and anticipated an increase of happiness, according to his frequent declaration—"I am happier for every new guinea which I gain." For his services, he was rewarded with the living of Foston-le-Clary, afterwards exchanged for Combe Florey, near Taunton—then appointed to the Prebendal stall of Bristol; and at length, through the influence of Lord Grey, made resi-

duary Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral. He was not, however, satisfied with these preferments, and aimed at a bishopric. His biographer thus speaks of it:—"I know that he felt deeply, to the hour of his death, that those by whose side he had fought for fifty years so bravely and honestly in their adversity, and with the most unblemished reputation as a clergyman, should in their prosperity, never have offered a bishopric, that which they were bestowing on many, only known at that time, according to public report, for their mediocrity, or unpopularity."

Swift (for we are compelled, in spite of ourselves, to turn continually from the Canon of St. Paul's to the Dean of St. Patrick's,) in like manner, sought and expected an Episcopate in England—"but," says his biographer, "archbishop Sharpe having represented him to her Majesty as a man whose Christianity was very questionable, and being supported in this by a very great lady, it was given to another." Such, it seems, was the reason why the honour was not bestowed on the other expectant. His warmest political friends thought it would be carrying the jest too far, to make Sydney Smith a bishop. He defends himself against the charges, by the following letter to Lord Russell: "I defy —— to quote one single passage of my writing, contrary to the doctrines of the Church. I defy him to mention a single action of my life which he can call immoral. The only thing he could charge me with, would be high spirits and much innocent nonsense. I am distinguished as a preacher, and sedulous as a parochial clergyman. His real charge against me is, that I am a high-spirited, honest, uncompromising man, whom he and all the bench of bishops could not turn upon vital questions; this is the reason why, as far as depends upon others, I am not a bishop."

Resigning himself to his fate, and professing to "have lost all wish to become a bishop," he confined himself to St. Paul's, where he was required to "do duty" for three months in the year; and where he preached some excellent sermons, the most of which, it appears, were not of his own composition. For one that was much admired, he was indebted to our country, as he tells us in a letter to Lady Grey:—"I think Channing an admirable writer. Yet admirable as his sermon on

war is, I have the vanity to think my own equally good; and you will be the more inclined to agree with me in this comparison, when I tell you that I preached in St. Paul's the identical sermon which Lord Grey so much admired. I thought I could not write anything half so good; so I preached Channing."

It is wonderful that he should have condescended to own that any good could proceed from us, and to acknowledge his obligations. For, as a country, we have been honoured by incurring the severest vituperation of one who loaded with calumny some of the best men and women that ever lived. It was Sydney Smith that said, "Literature the Americans have none—no native literature, we mean; it is all imported. They had a Franklin, indeed; and may afford to live for half a century on his fame. There is, or was, a Mr. Dwight, who wrote some poems, and his baptismal name was Timothy. There is also a small account of Virginia by Jefferson, and an Epic by Joel Barlow; and some pieces of pleasantry by Mr. Irving. But why should the Americans write books, when a six weeks' passage brings them in their own tongue, our sense, science and genius, in bales and hogsheads. They have made no approaches to the heroic, either in their morality or their character. Since the period of their separation from us, a far greater proportion of their statesmen, artists, and political writers have been foreigners, than ever occurred before in the history of any civilized and educated people. During the years of their independence, they have done absolutely nothing for the sciences, for the arts, for literature, or even for the statesman-like studies of politics, or political economy. In the four quarters of the globe, who reads an American book?" At a later period, he says: "There appears not at this moment in America one man of any considerable talents." Afterwards he adds, "Mrs. Trollope's picture of American manners is excellent—why should they not be ridiculed?" This is but a small specimen of his obloquy and abuse.

His petition to the American Congress respecting the repudiation of some of the States, and the letters that followed, are well known. He had invested money in the Pennsylvania State funds; and because the interest was not regularly paid,

he embraced the opportunity of publishing his disappointment and spite; of declaring—"I meddle in these matters, because I hate fraud, pity the misery it has occasioned, and mourn over the hatred it has excited against free institutions." Such opprobrious epithets as he was accustomed to use to others, he pours out most copiously against the inhabitants of Pennsylvania; he abuses them for their dishonesty, calls them "men who prefer any load of infamy, however great, to any pressure of taxation, however light," and tells them that their "government is unstable, in the very foundations of social life."

From the "Letters and Correspondence," we see in him no little excitement on the subject. Writing to his friends, he says:—"I hope you were pleased with my attack upon the Americans—they really deserved it—it is a monstrous and increasing *villany*. Fancy a meeting in Philadelphia, convened by public advertisement, where they came to resolutions that the debt was too great for the people to pay; that the people could not pay it, and ought not to pay it. It is a fortunate thing for the world that the separate American States are making such progress in dishonesty, and are absolutely refusing to pay their debts. They would soon have been too formidable if they had added the moral of good faith to their physical strength. I verily believe they are cracking; for a nation cannot exist in such a state of morals. There is nothing in the crimes of kings worse than this villany of democracy." After all this, there was no occasion for him to say—"I envy Lord Byron for his skill in satirical nomenclature."

In following Sydney Smith through the evening of his days, we hoped that we should at last see some of that seriousness and sobriety which become the man of years, the professed Christian, and the minister of religion. But he had such a dread of gravity, and such a horror of solemnity, that he would not yield, but fought against them most vigorously, even when life was closing and the grave opening. At the age of seventy-two he writes to a friend—"I am learning to sing some of Moore's songs, which I think I shall do to great perfection"—no doubt some of those convivial songs which would lead him to drive away melancholy. It was probably suggested by a visit which the poet had made to him a few

weeks before; for he says—"We have had little Tommy Moore here, who seemed to be very much pleased with his visit; he talked and sung in his peculiar fashion, like any nightingale of the 'Flower Valley,' to the delight of us all." After the death of Sydney Smith, this poet was applied to, to write the memoir of his friend, but his serious and sudden illness prevented. It was truly unfortunate that the design was not executed. It would have been peculiarly fitting for two such intimate friends to be thus associated; for the minister of religion, to whom Byron dedicated some stanzas in his "Don Juan," to have his life written by Thomas Moore.

But little is said of his death, nothing of his feelings, in view of the past, or hope of the future. It was to be expected that these things would be hurried over. One last saying, however, is striking, uttered when he must have known that there was no hope of recovery—"I feel so weak, both in body and mind, that I verily believe that if the knife were put into my hand, I should not have strength or energy enough to stick it into a Dissenter." There is "a ruling passion strong in death;" there are exceptions to the remark of Young,

> "Men may *live* fools; but fools they cannot *die*."

Though Sydney Smith was through life an enemy of evangelical religion, and a very unsuitable man for the clerical profession, there is much to admire in the manly perseverance with which he laboured in an obscure parish, for the improvement of the people according to his own standard of religion. He was a disappointed man, more to be pitied than either admired or imitated.

ART. III.—*Principles of the Philosophy of Language.*

THE application of inductive analysis to language has been too long and too greatly neglected. That the phenomena of human speech are among the most interesting which experience offers for investigation, is shown sufficiently by the unwearied attempts of philologists, puerile and unphilosophic though they be. Such efforts are of very old date. At no period in man's progress could the inquiry perhaps be void of interest:—Whence originated the representative or suggestive power of the terms which he employs? That a science which has to be reduced to practice should stretch its roots far back into antiquity, is not always an advantage. Practical rules which become current and gain authority, retard the improvement of principles. The philosophy of language has, from obvious circumstances, rested longer under this retarding influence than any other branch of inquiry.

That instances or phenomena are to be classified, so that inductions be founded on analogies pervading groups, is the indispensable requisite of all sound inductive reasoning. An exposition serving for one instance, must serve for all analogous instances. It is on the more general forms of phenomena, and not on the special or less general, that trustworthy expositions are to be founded. In classifications, moreover, groups of equal rank ought to be distinguished by differences of equal value; and every real analogy should have its due weight in determining the character and the boundaries of the groups which are formed.

These are simple and obvious rules; but scarcely a chapter of a book on philology or grammar can be found in which they are philosophically carried out. Grave and important discussions are, to some extent, influenced by this neglect. Take for instance, the meaning assigned to *αἰὼν* when it is represented as a compound of *ἀεί* and the participle *ὤν*. This, it it has been presumed, renders it equivalent to the English word *eternity*. The exposition, however, is founded on the special

nominative form of the participle, neglecting the more general form containing τ, as in *ὄντα;* and is, moreover, inconsistent with other analogies. So we have Niebuhr assigning *provincia* as a form of *proventus;* and Smith coinciding with G. C. Lewis, in deducing it from *providentia.* Jachel strives to connect the language of the ancient Roman tribes with that of Germany, through such fancies as that *magistratus* is the combination *machste rath.* Here the analogy to supinal substantives, such as *ploratus*, *fletus*, *tractus*, &c., is overlooked. So when *βασιλεύς* is made a compound of *βάσις* and *λεώς* or *λαός*, its relationship to *ἁλεύς*, *φονεύς*, &c., is neglected. Similar instances might be multiplied to any extent. It may be apprehended that a great deal of this puerile and arbitrary dependence on similarities in sound is due to the evil example and authority of Aristotle, or of works ascribed to him. Curious instances occur in the treatise *Περὶ τοῦ κόσμου.*

Whether we deal with the formation of words, or with the character and effect of the variations which they undergo, our object ought to be to reach the great forms of mental conception, under the influence of which these constituents of speech originated. These ideas when unfolded ought to be the foundation of all practice in using or imparting a language; and it is through analogies or dissimilarities in this respect, that the relationships of tongues are best traced or established. Vocal similarities, or resemblances among words, serve to indicate only subordinate relations between subdivisions of great forms of language. We become conscious in seeking to acquire a new tongue, that while the memory is more easily charged with the words, the great struggle in the mind is to modify its conceptions of things and their relations into the new forms required by the idioms of the language. Their older forms of thought may be retained by a people, which has admitted of an entire change in the words of its language; and the relationships of languages, when correctly treated, will afford sure indications of relationships of races, inasmuch as these underlying and permanent ideas may bring into connection dialects which show outwardly, or in their vocal elements, no sign of affinity.

Presuming that language is the produce of the human facul-

ties, or assuming the parallel case, that men without a language had to form one for themselves, it is obvious that there are but two sources from which sounds could be derived capable of being immediately intelligible. One would be found in the natural sounds indicating our emotions or efforts, and the other would be by imitation of the sounds produced by external objects. Nothing merely conventional could be admitted; for means of communication must precede all conventions. Words or their elements derived from the natural signs of emotion may be expected to bear, in all languages, a great degree of resemblance. Those derived from the other source would necessarily vary in different regions, and under the different relations men might bear to external objects. The modes of working up these elements into expanded forms of speech might establish still more notable discrepancies.

It seems an indispensable condition of the expansion of a language, that it take place by combination of elements. The written language of China is an instance of this. The principles on which combination takes place cannot differ absolutely in different languages. They can only differ relatively in the extent to which they are separately carried out. The elements may, when included in combinations, retain conspicuously their original character, or they may be greatly modified by contraction. There may be more or less of generalizing power in the minds of those who form these combinations. When the habits of generalization are weak, combinations will be to a greater extent fortuitous, or will resemble clauses of sentences descriptive of objects. This will constitute the agglutinate form of speech, the elements generally remaining recognizable. Where habits of generalization have become strong, elements expressive of notions of a high degree of generality, serve as the constituents of a multitude of terms; and, by extensive modification and union, form the terminations pervading extensive classes of words. This circumstance characterizes the more perfect forms of the Japetian or Indo-Germanic group of tongues.

We may assume that modifications of the idea expressed by a term could be indicated only by attaching to the term some element significant of the additional conception which gives

form to the modification in thought. This seems a necessity in regard to language. It is difficult to reconcile with this, that process of internal development by which terms are formed in the Semitic tongues. A normal instance of this is found in the introduction of ה as the consonantal variation forming the Hiphil or causal conjugation of the verb. We cannot readily conceive how the mark of causality, which must originally have been an independent vocal mark of the idea, could have had its place anywhere else than either preceding or following the representative of the idea which it modified. Nor could ה represent any sound, which, by the nature of our organs, would tend to displace others, and attain a place *among* them, rather than *beside* them. This process of internal development might incline us to the supposition, that the roots were a sort of binary compounds, of which the constituent elements were at one time separately significant, and that the representative of the modifying idea had slipped in between them, before they ultimately coalesced into one word.

The monosyllabic or biliteral roots of the Japetian family of languages may be considered as consisting normally of two consonants with a pause between them, represented by a short vowel. From this circumstance follows the important rule, that radical syllables are short as to their quantity. The corollary from this, that combination is the sole cause of lengthened syllables, whether these include combinations of vowels or combinations of consonants, is of great value in analyzing the vocables of the classical languages.

Combinations of consonants which may be entitled "consonant diphthongs" afford instances seeming, at first sight, to conform to the principle of "internal development" already noticed. They are, however, to be explained in a different mode. The consonants concerned in forming these diphthongs are those, the utterance of which suits our organs better in one order than in the opposite order. We have, for example, *frangere* for *fragnere*, *cumbere* for *cubnere*, *muliebre* for *mulierbe*. Thus we may trace *provincia* to *vic* of *vicis* or *invicem*, which would give the word its natural signification of a *deputyship*. It then, as is common in similar cases, came to mean the region over which a deputed authority was exercised. It is clear that

there must be a natural necessity for such changes among letters, and that the practice will extend no further than the natural necessity leads. Nothing of the kind could ever happen through any conventional arrangement among those who used a language in its formative condition. Thus in combining the word representing an action with the pronoun or mark of personality, to constitute the inflections of a verb, the process of combination could consist of nothing else than the juxtaposition of the two vocal elements. If in special instances there were consonants thus brought together, of which the sounds in their natural positions presented a difficulty in enunciation, provision would, in these instances, be made for this difficulty by such natural changes of position as have been mentioned above. It is a universal rule that consonants influence consonants, so that by such natural proceedings they change places, combine, or disappear. But on no principle can the idea be sustained, that men agreed universally, or were led by any circumstance, when nature did not require it, to introduce sounds arbitrarily among the combining elements. Hence *o*, *e*, and *i* cannot have, in Greek and Latin inflections, the office which some grammars assign to them, of being merely a sort of vocal copulæ between the elements. What might be necessary between *carp* and *mus*, would not be required between *al* and *mus*, or between *reg* and *mus*, since we have the forms *culmen*, *tegmen*, &c. Had the conventional purpose of forming this connection been contemplated, therefore, it would have been found that no such element was necessary in these instances. When the verbal root ended in a vowel, that radical vowel sound would have been deemed sufficient for the purpose of connection. In instances of the latter class, however, we find that such is not the fact, for the radical vowel is invariably lengthened, as in *părāmus*, *părēmus*, &c. We thus learn that those which have been reckoned to be connecting vowels merely, are essential constituents of the pronominal affixes; or that these elements, in such instances, began with vowels, and had the forms *imus*, *itis*, &c.

The period in its history at which writing has been applied to a language, has a very great influence on the form which it subsequently retains. Processes of combination or contraction are thereafter retarded or prevented. In Latin in its

best days, there was a tendency towards the forms found in the French of the present era, as when *carpsērunt* became *carpsēre*, and *audivisse* became *audisse*. It was only when set free from the influence of letters by becoming the neglected *patois* of Gaul, that the statelier Latin yielded to this tendency, and as French subsequently offered its modified forms again to the retarding or conservative effect of letters. The process which dismissed the sound of *nt* in *carpsērunt*, also obliterated the sound of *er* in *carpsit* for *carp ser-it*, and gave origin to such forms as *carpsisti*, *carpsisse*, &c. This last is composed of the elements *cap-r-sver-ere*. Such is the fashion the word would have had, when, after slight modifications of the original elements, the process of combination was about to commence. Had the root been of a different form, as *nĕ*, the corresponding inflection would have been *nĕ-sver-ere* becoming *nēvisse*.

Tracing the original forms of such variations leads to the conclusion, that analogous modifications of dissimilar ideas are expressed by attaching to dissimilar roots the same superinduced elements. We see thus that in the classical tongues there can be but one mode of declension in regard to substantives, and one mode of conjugation in regard to verbs. It may happen that an element may be of a composite form, so that in the use of it, one portion may gain supremacy over another. These portions may also differ in different instances. Thus the composite indication of plurality which we find in *children*, or in the Dutch *kinderen*, may be represented by its terminating portion alone, as in *oxen*, in many such forms in the Teutonic languages, in the *um* of the Latin plural genitive, or the *un* of the plural third persons of verbs. Again, *er* the initiatory portion of *eren*, is the common plural termination in the Scandinavian dialects, and appears in the *es* of *boxes*, &c., as well as in the common forms of plurals in the classical tongues. Most modifications of the sort which produce varieties of inflection, arise from the circumstance that consonants combine with consonants, and vowels with vowels. The most normal forms will be found when the elements are such as to bring a consonant and a vowel into juxtaposition, so that no combination takes place. In treating such subjects in

grammar, therefore, sound philosophy would require that the best normal example be exhibited as the paradigm; and that the rules, under which variations, through combining of letters, take place, be expounded. By such a mode of proceeding mysteries are made to vanish, great laws of thought become the foundation of our proceedings, and the eminent advantage is gained, that the learner is habituated to precise logical analysis and correct classification.

Analysis correctly applied to the forms of human speech brings to light certain great laws, some of which are common to all of them, and others are peculiar to specific families of tongues.

Of those laws which are universal, that which offers itself most conspicuously, is the mental principle creating the arrangements called concords. To secure attention, or produce effect by means of speech, we *reiterate* expressions or signs of thought. When ideas are only accessory to others of a more prominent character, it may be requisite to repeat often the signs of such ideas, in order that the mind may note them with sufficient attention. These accessory ideas are expressed by terminations indicating varied relations among things, or between things and actions or qualities. The repetition of these signs of relation is the origin of grammatical concords. That such a sign be attached to a single term in a series, is all that is indispensably necessary. But precision or distinctness is sought by attaching them to several. Few instances of this practice occur in the English of our day. The indication of plurality is in fact the only one that is repeated, and this only in pronouns and a few verbs. We have for instance, *those books*, and *we are*, with a few such like, in which a plural character appears in both words. The practice prevails extensively in the classical tongues, signs of plurality being found in substantives, adjectives, and verbs. Signs of personality and of gender are similarly distributed to different orders of words. In the Semitic tongues the verb assumes a distinction of gender. There are evidently no marks of relation which may not be subjected to the same law. American dialects have extended it to the indication of objectiveness, having affixed the sign of it not only to the real or substantive object, as in the English *who-m*, or Latin *qu-em*, but having attached it to the verb also,

so as to give it an accusative form, in correspondence with that of the substantive. In the widely extended Zambezan language of Africa the practice of repetition impresses a very remarkable character on the constituents of a clause. The subject word is signalized by a sort of defining or individualizing prefix. This prefix influences verbs, adjectives, and words expressive of relation, so that their initial syllable assumes a conformity with that of the subject word so modified. There is thus produced an extensive, soft, and monotonous system of alliterations, which has given to these dialects the designation of Alliterative. Inasmuch as the prefix changes its form in correspondence with the initial sounds of different subject words, and these variations are copied in the other terms, it will happen that the substitution of a different subject word only, may alter the commencing syllables of every other in a clause. Verbal inflections of common forms are in these dialects peculiarly numerous. By this practice of bringing these inflections under the influence of the subject word, they are augmented in number about sevenfold. Hence the whole variations of a verb constitute a system of inflection extensive, complex, and regular to an unexampled degree.

It is not to be inferred from incidents of this kind that any deep far-reaching philosophy has presided over the formation of such languages, or that when possessed by a barbarous people, these tongues indicate their descent and subsequent degradation from a nation of higher civilization or intellectual rank. The principle involved in their arrangement is among the simplest and most easily applied of all ever put to use by man in speech. Repetition is a provision to meet dulness of apprehension. The extent to which it is carried will correspond to the apathy of mind which it has to overcome. To be systematic is rendered necessary by the same feeble character of understanding. High intelligence disdains such artifices; and the language of enlightened men tends to efface them as cumbrous and unnecessary. It is not complexity or systematic exuberance of inflection, but it is copiousness and variety of independent terms, expressive of multiplied ideas, which characterizes the speech of an enlightened and intelligent people.

Such has been the process followed in respect to those modern languages of ours, which Latham has termed *Aptotic*, from their having dismissed the case inflections of the Latin or older Teutonic, from which they have sprung. In respect, however, to the principle above enunciated, there has been a sort of oscillation, in correspondence with the intellectual condition of the nations using them. In the French language, for example, in substituting for the Latin expression *reginæ dedit*, the expression *il donna à la reine*, the latter must have had the form *ille donavit ad illam reginam*, indicating by its multiplied repetitions of idea, the apathetic mind of the barbarian.

To ascertain the meaning and influence of all such signs of relation is the proper foundation for syntax. To point them out as ascertained by analysis, to define their effect, and to require that they be used with a strict regard to congruity, is equivalent to the whole system of syntactic rules. This is much simpler, as well as more satisfactory, than those modes of proceeding which assign to certain words the power of *govern ing* other words. Definitions of forms express at once th rules and the reasons of the rules.

The laws of thought peculiar to specific forms of language, will offer us contrasts and not analogies. These laws present two points of peculiar interest, which serve readily to classify languages in virtue of contrasts easily ascertained. These two points are gender and tense.

Systems of gender as found in languages are based on two very different ideas. Gender *may* be the distinction of sex. This is its constituent idea in the Semitic tongues. All things whatsoever, expressed by names, have been considered as being subjects capable of action. As thus personified they fall, on account of analogies of character, into the two divisions of males and females. The form of gender in these languages is therefore *sexual.* Again: all things may be considered as composing the two classes of—1st. Living, subjective, and capable of action; 2d. Dead, objective, and incapable of action. This appears to have been the original constiuent idea of gender in the Japetian tongues. There the distinction is *logical*, and may be expressed by the terms *personal*, and *non-personal*

or *neuter*. This explains the reason why in such languages words of the personal class have both a nominative and an accusative, as *scrobs* and *scrobem*, while the neuter having been conceived incapable of being subjects, though in certain cases necessarily used as such, have no inflections of this kind, but in these two cases present the radical theme; as in *vās*, *rete*, &c. It has happened that in many examples of languages of this order, the personal class of words has been divided sexually. In regard to many of them an affix, marking the sex as feminine, has been attached to the theme in the form of *a* normally, but sometimes *e* or *i*, as in the themes *fama*, *fide*, *nutrīc*. A portion of the class bears on it the marks of personality alone, as in *avis avem*, or *ales alitem*. The whole of these have their sexual distinction of gender determined only by analogies, as in the Semitic tongues. These circumstances, along with the nature of the feminine affix, seem to indicate that the sexual distinction has been borrowed by the Japetian from the Semitic family of languages. That in French, and some other such tongues, the genders should appear to have relapsed exclusively to the sexual form, is due to merely vocal changes, and the consequent assimilation of forms. This was previously occurring in Latin, when *illus* became *ille*, and *illum* became *illud*, both in French assuming the form *le*. The mode of determining the genders of substantives in those derived languages thus becomes easy; the general rule being, that Latin feminines remain feminine, and all others are masculine. In applying the rule, however, care must be taken that corresponding terms are selected for comparison; thus *fontaine* does not correspond to *fons* in Latin, but to *fontana*, and so forth. Considerable allowance must also be made for the perversities of grammarians, who have been led astray by similarities of shape and sound.

Trusting to the principle already announced, that ultimate relationships among languages are to be traced by means of the great laws of thought engrossed in their variations we affiliate the Hottentot or Gaorepine tongues of South Africa, the Galla of the interior, and the Abyssinian dialects on the mountains with the old Coptic of the valley of the Nile. The form of gender is sexual and conspicuously so. In this respect

the links at the extremities of the chain offer the closest analogies. The affixes for distinction of gender in the Coptic are *f* masc. *s* fem. In the Namageva they are *b* masc. and *s* fem. The analogies are less close in those which are geographically intermediate. Two causes of very different character have acted to preserve this similarity; there being in the one case the treasuring up of an early normal form in the unread hieroglyphics of deserted temples, and in the other, the solitary wanderings of small hordes, throughout the deserts of South Africa. Closeness of resemblance will not always prove a sure guide as to the era at which dialects became disconnected from the main stem.

In the classical tongues *s* is the mark of personality. The use of it in Latin is confined to the nominative cases singular and plural. This, to a great extent, is the case in Greek also as far as respects the singular number. An exception to this as a general rule, occurs in that language by the extension of this mark of personality over all the cases of feminine participles. Taking *λεγοντ* as the theme, the feminine nominative would normally be *λεγοντσα*, now found in the form *λέγουσα* retained as a theme universally, so that the *σ* appears in all the cases. The participles of a corresponding order in Latin do not admit the sexual distinction at all. But in the perfect passive participles we have a feminine form constituted by means of the characteristic affix *a*. Inasmuch, however, as the idea of *female* includes that of personality or subjectiveness, the *s*, which is the characteristic sign of this idea, has been thought to be unnecessary, and is therefore absent from all such adjectives, and from substantives of an analogous form. In the perfect active participles in Greek, the *σ* has disappeared in form, but remains present in effect, *τετυπκοτσα* in the modified form *τετυφυῖα*, remaining permanently in all the feminine cases. An extensive class of Greek substantives such as *φιλία*, *γῆ*, &c., follows the analogy of similar words in Latin, by making the feminine *a* to include the idea of personality. The effect of *s*, the personal mark, having been present in Latin plural nominatives appears in the lengthening of the preceding vowel, as in *corbēs*, or in the older form *corbeis*.

The Greek in this, as in many other instances, is less observant of normal forms. A similar influence of the *s* in both languages accounts for the lengthened vowels in singular nominatives.

In these nominatives the influence of the *s* has given occasion to great variations of form. This case is, therefore, less than any other, suited for being the representative of the substantive. The empirical rules which make gender to be dependent on the form of this case, ought to be got rid of. The ideas on this subject offered above, afford the true solution of such difficulties. All things properly objective, i. e., such as are prepared for use, or are analogous to instruments requiring an agent, are neuter. The remainder become separable into two classes; one of which contains the feminine mark in the forms *a*, *e*, or *i*. The others are chiefly masculines. The feminines are separated from the mass of them, by analogies of character. No great trouble will be found in developing these positions correctly. We thus get insight also into the thoughts, practices, and arts, of early life. We learn that *siler*, *cicer*, *ador*, &c., being neuters, were put to use. This is the reason that *selino*, *aconito*, *ligno*, &c., are neuter, while *pino*, *trunco*, &c., are not neuter, and bear the personal *s* in the nominative. It may be conjectured that instruments which have a personal form, as *gladius*, *malleus*, *fibula*, &c., were introduced at a later date, or were first seen rendered effective by foreign hands, and so fell into the class of agents; while those of a more normal form, as *tribulo*, *poculo*, *rutro*, &c., having in the nominative the terminating accent *m*, are probably of older date, or were invented in the form they bore, by those who contrived names for them according to modes indicative of instrumentality.

Tense is only in a partial sense the distinction of time. Two ideas which are perfectly distinct have become, to a detrimental degree, jumbled together in our common dealings with this subject. One of these ideas is *time*, simply in its three modes of *present*, *future*, and *past*. As to this idea, no other than these three conditions can be admitted. All presumptions of subdivision, modification, or complexity in regard to them, or to their qualifications of action, are to be dismissed as

foreign to the simplicity of the idea. Action or condition, however, as expressed by the theme of a verb, is susceptible of modifications almost indefinite in number, and conceivable altogether independently of these modes of time, or as capable of occurring *in* any one of them. Of these modifications of action or condition, that which especially requires attention, is the difference between the continuous, prolonged, or repeated, and the completed or terminated. Both of these may occur under all the three modes of time. The ideas involved in these two modes of action or condition are therefore totally independent of the modes of time, as present, future and past. Without a clear understanding of this, no accurate conception can exist of the structure of the verb in the Japetian tongues.

There is a similarity in the ideas expressed by the terms "past as to time," and "finished as to continuance." But these ideas are not the same. An action past as to time admits of no other mode of time; but an action terminated in regard to continuance, admits of all the three modes of time. The terminating may be *at this time*, *after this time*, or *before this time*. Throughout the Japetian family of languages, action terminated is indicated by the introduction of a special element, which forms with the root of the verb, a new theme, common to a set of tenses formed by incorporating with this theme marks of the modes of time. This series is, as to some paradigms, complete in the Greek language. The tenses are there known by the fantastic names of *perfect*, *paulo post futurum*, and *pluperfect*. Had common sense had any sway in these matters, they would have been entitled *present perfect*, *future perfect*, and *past perfect*. The element employed for this purpose in Latin has been of the form *sver*, the *sv* having been represented by a single consonant, probably the digamma, and now modified into *s* in *carpser*, *u* in *coluer*, and *v* in *poliver*. The Latin is defective as to the future time of this order of tenses. In the other series of tenses, in which this element *sver* does not appear, the three modes of time are conspicuous. In the Indicative mode, the future time is marked by *ēb*, sometimes shortened into *ē*. The difficulty which the mind would have in expressing the idea of futurity as a constituent of action, appears in the very varied signification of the elements

which in different languages have been employed for forming such inflections, and the curious artifices by which they have been rendered suitable for the purpose. Inasmuch as the affix for the past time form, in the class of tenses now under consideration, is *ēba*, of which the *a* is the specific mark of past time elsewhere, the signification of *ēb* must have been such as could, without inconsistency, appear in both times. It may be conjectured that in the *ē* there is included a formative element of very extensive use in the language, of which the signification is variously, *do*, *make*, or *become*, and that the *b* is analogous to *υ* in the Greek terminations *υμι* and *ενα*, and may indicate prolongation or continuance. This suits the signification of *carpebat*, *monebat*, &c. That the simpler form *monebit* should have its characteristic meaning, would require an effort of the mind, not without example in other cases, in virtue of which a portion of a complex idea is thrown into obscurity or dismissed. That which needs to be eliminated in this instance is the idea of *commencement* to the continuance. Thus the idea of futurity becomes evolved from that of prolongation of action or condition. There appears to be a similar relation between *ες* and *εσα* of the Greek futures and aorists, the elements in both tongues being probably of the same origin.

This distinction between action continuing and action completed, as the origin of two series of verbal inflections, seems inherent in all the Japetian tongues, and has adhered steadfastly to them through all their variations. To its results there may be advisably given the designation, submode—the one series with its three times constituting the Imperfect submode, and the other the Perfect submode. *Have*, or an analogous word, corresponds in the modern languages of Europe, to *sver* in Latin. Instances similar to those more modern idioms were however not altogether unknown in that language in its classical form.

The influence which the meaning of the root of a verb, in itself, may have over these variations, is of great interest and importance. The distinction intended to be represented by these two submodes, may be found inherent in these roots, so as to separate them into two corresponding divisions. Some

actions are in their nature terminated, abrupt, and incapable of prolongation, as *knock*, *leap*, *throw*, &c. Others must occupy continuous time, as *sing*, *trust*, *run*, &c. Among the latter will be verbs indicating emotion, condition, and change of condition. In regard to the former class, or those which do not admit of prolongation, an idea may be introduced somewhat analogous, which is the notion of *repetition*. It thus must necessarily occur, that many expressions become synonymous, so that portions of one series disappear, as being replaced and excluded by portions of another series; while it may also have happened that some which might have been formed would be found to be superfluous, and therefore never appeared in use.

In the classical tongues, three elements are conspicuous for the effect they have had in originating such forms. One of these is *n*, or ν, which appears to indicate *continuance*. It may form a complete conjugation, as we have from the themes *jung*, *cing*, and a few others; or, from portions of such conjugations being found to be superfluous, it may appear only in the Imperfect submodes, as in *lin*, *age*, &c., and *cern*, from the roots *li* or *le*, and *cre* or *cere;* and so in others. Another element used with a similar effect, is *t* or τ. This occurs in a considerable number of Greek verbs, forming themes for the Imperfect submodes alone, as in τυπτ, &c. It is probably the origin of prolonged vowels in some Latin roots, as *scrīb*, *rēp*, &c. In that tongue it forms, with the addition of *a*, a set of conjugational forms, indicating generally repetition of action, such as come from the themes *tracta*, *agita*, and such like. One or other of these two elements probably gave origin to the numerous instances of prolonged syllables which occur in Imperfect submodes in Greek, such as στελλω, πειθω, &c. In this language it not unfrequently happens that both the radical and the prolonged forms of the past time remain in use, the more radical one getting the title of second aorist.

The third of these elements is compound, appearing under the form *sc*. This seems to have the sense of *becoming*, or *growing*. It occurs in both classical tongues. The sense includes in it necessarily the idea of *continuity*, or is opposed to that of *completion*. It is therefore excluded from tenses of the Perfect submode.

We see, therefore, that with the exception of *t*, when it assumes the form *ita*, these three elements are more appropriate to forms of the Imperfect submode, than to those of the other: *n* is the only one of them which we find with certainty extending over both submodes; and this will happen only when the verbal action is such, that the idea of prolongation is implied in it.

An easy and obvious development of these considerations accounts for the anomalies of classical conjugations; so as to substitute order for confusion, in respect to such instances as *cerno*, *posco*, *λαμβανω*, *θνησκω*, &c.

Traces of formations similar to some of those now noticed are found in the Teutonic branches of the Japetian language. We have instances in our own. *Bring* and *think* contain the element *n*, which is not found in the past time forms. The general occurrence of diphthongs and longer or more open vowels in the present time forms of our Saxon verbs, shows the influence of a similar source of modification to that exhibited by *βαλλω*, *φαινω*, *tollo*, *fido*, &c., in the classical languages. These effects are to be carefully distinguished from those ascribed to "internal developments" in the Semitic tongues.

If we examine the nature and relations of those verbal inflections which in tongues of the Semitic type have been denominated tenses, we shall find little or no analogy to the arrangements described above. The two forms known under this title have somewhat of the character of the Japetian submodes, inasmuch as their signification in no way involves the time-point of an action. They do not, however, as the others do, contain a reference to the character of the action in respect to its duration. We must, in considering them, dismiss the presumption that either can arbitrarily be changed in signification into the other, by the use of the connective conjunction. This is inconsistent with intelligibility in speech. The necessity of introducing such an idea to explain presumed anomalies, shows that there is in this inflection no reference to the modes of time in their relation to the narrator. The relation is evidently that of action to action, in respect of *order* or *succession*. The first action of a series, considered as existent simply, is announced by the radical form called the *perfect*. Other actions

of the same series are announced by the derivative form called the *future*, as being *subsequent* to the commencing one. The connective particle has, from its nature, an analogous signification; or *sequence* may have been the original idea whence its connective force arose. Thus, when prefixed to a *future* form, it reinforces the idea of the sequence of an action depending for its time-point on the initial one of the series, being an instance of the common principle of the repetition of signs. When attached to a *perfect* form, it may introduce the first of a new series, as the sequence of something in a series previously commenced, the time-point being determined by other words. It is easy to see how the notion of futurity simply might arise out of the idea of succession thus expressed by the form called the *future*. Attention to the relation of these two forms in the Hebrew, will determine more accurately the commencement and termination of narratives in the Old Testament.

All circumstances show that the Semitic form of speech is that of a people of high poetic and spiritual intelligence, while the Japetian is characterized by a more exact and logical character of mind. One result of this is the absence, in the older Hebrew, of the logical copula of an argumentative or descriptive clause. This is generally known in the Japetian tongues by the designation of the substantive verb. That which has been presumed to correspond to this verb, has in Hebrew the form הִיה. Attention to its effect in a clause will show, that it indicates a change of circumstances in regard to some preceding condition. Thus it is fairly enough represented by the terms "came to pass;" and is correctly rendered in the clause, "man *has become* as one of us." We ought therefore to have the renderings, "Now the serpent *became* more cunning than any beast of the field, &c." And after the magnificent announcement, "In the beginning, God created the heavens and the earth,"—which means that there was a material system created and existing, then follows the commencement of a different narrative as a sequel to this, in the words, "and the earth *became* without form, and void." The introduction of the substantive verb into language, as in the expression, "darkness *was* upon the face of the deep"—in which the Hebrew had to be satisfied with the mere juxtaposition of sub-

ject and attribute, without any copula, is perhaps the highest effort of logical generalization expressed in the elements of speech.

The great ideas by which the Semitic and Japetian tongues are distinguished, fit them for being a sort of poles, in regard to glossology, to which others may be referred. In respect to voices and conjugations, the mental efforts embodied in all languages appear to be nearly the same. In tongues of very barbarous people they are abundant and complex, conformably to principles already illustrated.

The considerations presented in the preceding pages are offered with something of a conviction that advantage may perhaps be derived from them, in disentangling the anomalies of language, in rendering classifications of them more precise, and in presenting, by their application to individual instances, a more interesting and instructive exhibition of their principles to those who deal with them as teachers or as pupils.

ART. IV.—*Lectures on Architecture and Painting*, delivered at Edinburgh, in November, 1853. By John Ruskin, Author of the "Stones of Venice," "Seven Lamps of Architecture," "Modern Painters," etc.

IT is very curious to observe the difference between the kind of architectural criticism which is now prevalent, and that of the school which it has displaced, the school of which Reynolds and Burke are the chief exponents for Englishmen. It is generally true, including all schools, that in no department of criticism has more useless speculation been indulged, and that no subject has had to bear so much from its friends, as that of architecture. In no part of the whole field of æsthetical criticism, is the mind so exposed to fanciful views, and to be carried away by special theories and particular hypotheses, as in that portion of the field in which the buildings stand. This is principally due to the circumstance that the building itself is a field so large that the attention is the more easily abstracted to particular parts, which are then taken for the whole. The reader has need to be more carefully on his guard

against a too ready acquiesence in the judgment of the last book, or the last article, on architecture, than upon any other of the fine arts. Then, again, this form of art labours under still another disadvantage, inasmuch as its productions are more obviously exposed to general remark, and to the foolish disposition in people to make smart speeches. Anybody in a company of sight-seers is competent to the immediate criticism of a building, when perhaps no one of them would dare to say a word concerning a new painting or a new poem. We venture to affirm, that a collection of the remarks which have been made, upon almost any given building in the world, would transcend, in absurdity and frivolousness, any collection that could be brought from any other quarter, if not from all other quarters put together. And yet the world is at least as full of bad painting and poetry, as of bad architecture. But it seems to be considered a special mark of perspicacity in the individual, if he shall be able to make a certain kind of disparaging remark about a building; a kind of remark which, by common consent, shows most talent when it takes on the specific form of detecting points of resemblance between the building and objects of common life. And it is plain enough that in the various and constantly changing aspects of its parts, a large building offers a fruitful field to a fancy of any ordinary brilliancy, in its search after such resemblances. Having thus made out that the building bears the appearance of a steam-tug, or a man-of-war, a giant or a giraffe, as to its general features, and in the next place, as it respects details, having fastened a cocked hat, or a demijohn upon some of its pinnacles, and traced the pompion or the dutch-oven in some of its interior forms, the building is criticised, and the critic looks for his reward. Nor is this kind of thing, foolish as it is, a matter of no moment to architecture. We have known the praiseworthy labours of excellent builders scandalized in the eyes and to the judgment of many persons, through the opprobrium brought about the building, in consequence of these undeserved speeches.

Works that have cost the degree of thought and toil which a large building costs, should meet with serious and manly treatment, however severely we may feel constrained to pass judgment upon the actual mistakes made in them. Every new

building becomes a proper subject of general criticism; but it will never operate to the encouragement of architects and workmen, nor help forward the improvement in style, nor mend the manners of the people, to make use of ridicule, where knowledge, good sense, and kindness can alone be of service. One good reason why a thing is wrong in a building, is worth more to the builder and more to society, than all the criticism in the way of wit and ridicule, with which modern books especially, and articles are so painfully loaded. It is, in itself considered, neither for nor against the forms of a building, to find resemblances to other objects in their contours, any more than it is for or against the lines of the human figure to find them copied in jugs and pitchers; on the contrary, seeing that the lines with which we are most familiar are the most beautiful, it ought decidedly to condemn any building, to have its forms altogether anomalous. The mind that is intent upon so doing, may as readily associate a carrot with the head of the Apollo, as a decanter with the finials of Henry VII. chapel.

A redeeming trait in Mr. Ruskin's writings on architecture is their benevolent consideration for the common workmen as it respects the moral influence of their work upon themselves; an aspect of the subject, little regarded heretofore, though plainly one of great importance; and yet at the same time, no writer with whom we are acquainted has suffered himself to injure the noble art he, in many respects, so ably discusses, or to defame the memories and labours of both architect and workman, to anything like the degree in which he indulges, as it respects the flippant and slashing sort of criticism of which we are complaining; and it is in this respect that the tone of the existing style of architectural criticism generally differs from that previously in vogue. The former school looked with a certain respectful consideration upon the labours of the architect, and found fault, when fault was to be found, in a temperate and reasonable manner. The present school is utterly wanting in reverence, is exceedingly self-conceited, and acts as if its single word were final; it will dismiss a building by a wave of the hand, or a sneer of the lip. It does not hesitate to condemn in such terms as "vile," "detestable," "wretched," and "base," examples, and even whole classes, of style, which

have been the admiration of men for many generations. Mr. Ruskin has fallen into this vice to a degree so perfectly outrageous, as to make it an unpleasant task to read through his books. As upon his individual judgment he has made out Turner not only to be the greatest painter in the world, but has made the greatest painters of the world to sink into contempt beside him, so, in the same unmeasured and foolishly audacious language, would he convict one, ten, or a hundred generations, of architectural misjudgment, and call up some outlandish stones of Venice, which he will make out to be the unrecognized master-piece of the world's architecture. Mr. Ruskin has spoken expressly, in the epithets just quoted, of the Grecian Ionic capital, and modestly asserts that the entire world, which has given its consent to the beauty contained in the right lines of columnar and horizontal architecture, has been most foolish. Assuredly, the foolishness belongs to the man, who, in the extremity of his fondness for one form of beauty, has ceased to be able to find anything attractive in any other; and who, in the indiscriminateness of his passion against all other forms, can find no terms in which to vent his feelings, except such as wise and dignified men have reserved for the depicting of moral derelictions. Could he but be prevailed with to endeavour to put himself in communion with the fine spirit of decorum and true dignity which the most gifted minds of the world have found in Greek art, it would at least make some improvement in his style of writing, if it did not effect some enfranchisement of his architectural bigotry.

It must, nevertheless, be admitted, that while the modern criticism is disfigured by the flippancy of its style, and its dogmatizing spirit, and suffers greatly in these respects, when compared with the reverential temper and manly simplicity of the elder schools, yet in most of the elements of philosophic criticism, the present school is far in advance of the criticism which it has displaced. These principles, however, and they are simply the principles of the modern æsthetics generally, have not as yet, to our knowledge, been applied by the hand of a master to the total subject of architecture. The modern school has thus far busied itself, frequently *ad nauseam*, in special criticism. It will analyze with painful prolixity, the composi-

tion of a piece of Gothic foliage, while in the meantime the great cathedral becomes lost to the view. So entirely has this microscopic passion got possession of Mr. Ruskin's critical method, to such a degree does it confine his attention to the minute enrichments of buildings, that we have looked in vain through such of his books as have fallen into our hands, for a single account of the general impression made upon his mind, by any one of those continental cathedrals, with the niches and tracery of which he is so familiar. His volumes are illustrated by his own sketches, and these sketches consist almost entirely of dormers, spandrils, portions of window-heads and door-ways, and in the same consists the scope of his criticism. It is not unjust to say that the practical sum of his discussions on the subject of architecture, is fully exhibited in his advice to the citizens of Edinburgh, to build, each man, at least one ornamental window or porch to his house, in order to the ultimate securing of real architecture for the city. It certainly would be unjust to say of such a man as Ruskin, that he is incapable of dealing with the real elements of style, or of the author of "Modern Painters," that he abstains from describing buildings for any other than a sufficient reason to his own mind, and therefore it is that we the more wonder, how such a man has come to imagine that in the mere act of delaying upon the particulars of style, he is making out the subject of architecture. His manœuvres strike us as those of a man who of set purpose has shrouded his eyes upon coming up to the exterior of the building, and opening them at the door-way, rushes into the interior, wilfully determined to resist every successive attempt of its actual architecture to secure him, and succeeds in doing so, until at last he fastens with avaricious eagerness upon some far off spot of tracery, and hurries forthwith to take it in pencil—it might as well be at once with a view to calico-work or marginal illuminations. The plain truth is, that this school does make about the same use of the cathedral, as the French carpet-makers are said to make of the kaleidoscope.

The artist that in the midst of the full thunder notes of cathedral art, shall not only be able to give his whole mind to the special fascination of some incidental reverberation from a distant corner, but never be able to do otherwise, must be under

the influence of some false view. When we see in other respects sensible men talking about Gothic cathedrals in terms of the flower-garden, we are perfectly certain that something is wrong in the case. It is not possible for one in a right state of mind, always to look at such things through a pricked paper. But this school always does so listen, always does so speak, and always does so look. They praise the subordinate tones, they never speak of the symphonies, or of the grand organ out of which they come. They tell us how to make a handsome eye, nose, and mouth; they never tell us what to do with them. On the contrary, it is their express theory, that beautiful parts make a beautiful whole; forgetting that there can be no parts in art till we have the whole, and that it is the whole which gives character to the parts. They pour unmeasured ridicule upon the previous criticism for its "senseless talk about proportion and harmony." At least so does the author of the Edinburgh Lectures. It is his favourite and oft-repeated maxim, "If you will take care of ornamentation in architecture, style and proportion will take care of themselves;" which is about as sensible a remark, as if one should say, "Give all heed to the mixing of your colours, and the composition will come of its own accord."

The truth is, that ornamentation, such as Mr. Ruskin seems ever to have in view, is the merest adjunct to style. What he means by ornamentation bears about the same relation to essential architecture, as the foreground pebbles and plants of which he discourses in "Modern Painters," bear to historical compotion. Not even, when we include statuary under that term, is it more than the addition of so much light, as it were, to the existing substrata and its proportions. Statuary, indeed, does for the Grecian building what the same school of art is so preposterously trying to make colour do for the statue; but assuredly, the architecture of the Parthenon is still upon the Acropolis, rather than in the British Museum. Far less, however, incomparably less, is foliage ornament to the Gothic, than sculpture to the Greek. Strip any one of the Norman or Italian Cathedrals of every whit of that which Ruskin means by ornamentation, of that which forms the continual illustrations of his pages, and the tiresome insistency of his observa

tions, and the essential power of the style would not be appreciably disturbed. It is not fair to say that actually, but it is fair to say that substantially, it would amount to no more than striking out some little leaflets and vine-sprigs, nestling in cusps or twined in arch-heads, which the architect may have struck in by way of play, after his imagination had been aching from the transcendental geometry of adjusting the final lines, and the finished mass and shadow groupings of the great pendentive sweeps. Incidents of this kind, in which the fancy of the builder, or it may be of the workman, has left some unexpected footprint of itself at a given moment, are unquestionably matters of interest: they certainly are no more than a few of the accidents of architecture. Take them as a class, and they do not by any means act the part to the building which Shakspeare makes his waiters' small-talk act for the tragedy. They are not intended as a relief to an intolerable continuance of acting power; they are, at the best, the *tolerabiles ineptiæ* of cathedral art; Ruskin's theory would make the cathedral to consist in them. Consider it but for a moment; here is a man who has passed beneath the shadows of a west front, entered the captived atmosphere of a heaven-aspiring nave, passed through the successive peals of arch upon arch, and pillar upon pillar of its long drawn aisle, walked across the broad transept, and stopped under the awful span of the choir-arches, apparently as unconcerned as the dog at his side, and at last we find the spirit of his sole admiration spending itself over the exquisite beauty of some clover-leaves or oak-tendrils, spied in a corner, or beneath a bracket-plate, which possibly no eye but his own and that of the man that cut them ever saw. Doubtless, a part of Mr. Ruskin's extravagancies is to be attributed to that common weakness of original minds, the passion for being singular; but the greater part of them, and the characteristic peculiarity of all of them, are due to the false theory which governs his views. It is the theory which looks upon architecture as an imitative art, instead of looking upon it as it is, a mental creation.

The extreme form of this theory is that which attributes the total result, as existing in the cathedral or the temple, to successive improvements upon an actual type, which type consisted at the outset in the forms and arrangements of the huts,

the excavations, and the lodges of wattled saplings, which nomades and troglodytes had adopted as their dwelling-places. Thus, the Rhamesseion is but a Nubian cave, turned inside out, Minerva Parthenon is a marble log-cabin, and York Minster is the final result of a multiplication of sheds and lodges formed of saplings and their interlocked branches. The Triglyph of the Doric, that superbly imagined perpendicular emanation which marries the Pediment through the column to the Stylobate, that wedding-ring, which is the pledge of one of the most perfect instances of the coalescence of ideal beauty with physical strength and utility, to be found in the world of art, is the channeled ends of the roof timbers, the flutings of the columns are canals cut for the rain, and the guttae of the mutule-plates are the drops that staid behind. Possibly, however, the flutings might have been for warriors to rest their spears within, and hence in the later orders it was found convenient to cut them a little deeper, also to place a fillet between them, lest the accidental interchange of spear heads should provoke challenges and lead to duels. Now, in addition to the perfectly incomprehensible childishness of this theory, and the continuance of it, it is directly in the face of facts. We are safe in challenging the production of so much as one instance of an ancient people whose original house-building can be shown to bear an appreciable resemblance to their temple-style. There was, in reality, no more connection between their house-building and their temple-building, or architecture, than there is among us, between the moulding of dough to make bread, and the moulding of the clay to make a statue. We are not aware of one instance in history, of a people's temples being made from the resemblance of their dwellings. No question, the contrary can be found, that is, of nations who copied their houses, to some extent, from their temples. But the previous law of procedure is so universally true, that the contrary process is a sure sign of national decadence and degradation. Thus the Greeks, in the days of their degeneracy, began to transfer certain parts of their sacred architecture to the decorating of their houses; scarcely more, however, at that, than the use of pilasters and blank entablatures. So, too, in the case of the Romans, as decisive a case as could be desired, it was not till

the period at which they made a deity of their emperor that they began to attach columns to their villas. Julius Cæsar was the first man whose house had a pediment, and even he dared not put it on, except by a solemn decree of the senate.

The word Architecture, to us necessarily and properly includes all kinds of beautiful buildings, and among these what was to the ancients their temples, is to us but a larger house, fashioned with a view to the accommodation of so many persons for purposes of worship. To the gentile, such an idea, as connected with his temple, was utterly strange, and would have been abhorrent. His temple was in no sense a house, as we take it; certainly not a house for himself, nor as it respects his deity, was it a house in the sense of a sheltering place of abode. It was a religious offering, which being completed, the particular deity for whom it was prepared, was supposed to become inresident within its forms and material. The ancient temple (and the ancient temple is the original source of all architecture) was simply the grandest and most beautiful image which the people were able to build up, as an offering to their gods; had it been possible to erect statues of the same size, it would have amounted to the same thing; as much, and no more, a house in the one case than in the other. Because it so happens that we can take a Grecian fane and turn it into a convenient church edifice, it does not follow that its originators had any thought of providing for the comfort of a congregation, as any part of its purpose or arrangements. They would have been puzzled by the thought. The idea of the church, other than as that of a priesthood, was manifestly an impossible conception to the gentile mind. It is a purely Christian process which has turned the temple into a church. The temple of Theseus could never have become a Christian church, had not the votaries of Theseus first turned it into a basilica, a treasury, a store-house.

The history of architecture everywhere shows that the adoption, on the part of a people, of the spoils of their temple-style for the decoration of their own houses, is among the invariable signs of a national upbreaking. The resemblance between house-building and temple-building is therefore rather the very last, than the very first, of national signs; and wherever found,

it is found to be the house which copies from the temple, and not the temple from the house. There can hardly exist a stronger ocular demonstration of the fact, that the old religions were departing, and the old nations breaking up, for the coming in of the true religion, and the universal church, than is furnished by the streets of Pompeii, and the villas of Rome. Assuredly, things have altered since the temple has been converted into the church; but they have not so altered as to leave it, either from the light of Christian history, philosophy, or religion, a good sign for any people, to be found using a secular style of architecture decidedly like that of their churches. To those who may be shocked at the thought of attributing any idea of sacredness to church architecture, we have only to say, that the modern tendency towards the abolition of that idea was begun expressly, and at a well known era, by the Roman Church. The first, and we believe the only historical instance of a church style drawn immediately from secular style, is that of St. Peter's at Rome, which is simply an Italian palace turned into a church. If, then, the only historical instances in which the practical denial of the distinction between sacred and secular architecture has been perpetrated, are those of degenerate heathen, who built their houses after their temples, and ethnicising Christians, who built their church after the style of their houses, surely no good Protestant ought to be afraid of the distinction of sacredness, as between the house and the church. Certainly, at least, it is not in good taste to break up that distinction. When men will turn churches into dwelling-houses, it must be esteemed a sign that they think too highly of themselves, and too poorly of their religion.

Our definition of architecture, going back to its real origin, is that it is the product, in its peculiar form, of the mind of man acting under the impulse of his religious nature. Man was at the first a "mighty builder," by reason and force of his religious constitution, not through the stimulus of his physical wants. The temple, in some form or another, preceded even the cave and the hut. Every man by nature builds his altar before he builds his house. Architecture is the result of man's innate propensity to build, and to build first and largest for his soul, for his deity; in other words, according to the sense of

inresidence adverted to, to provide a house for his gods. The idea of the palace-temple is contemporaneous with that of hero-worship, and does not alter the terms of the definition. The architecture of the ancients was to them, and remains to us, their temples, and nothing else. Civil, secular, domestic architecture, so called, knows no existence previous to the time of imperial Rome—a people to whom their bridges, aqueducts, and triumphal arches, their circus and their colosseum, were their deities, their religion, and their temples.

In addition to the manifest facts, and the *a priori* unlikelihood of the case, that the temple should have been copied after the dwelling, a very strong presumption against the entire imitative theory is the implied infidelity of it. In this respect the theory in question is but part and parcel of that whole unscriptural view of man, which supposes him to have come from the hands of his Maker in the savage state, and that being cast thus unprepared into the world, he went to burrowing in the ground, and afterwards proceeded to the fashioning of mud-huts, and then began to catch fish, and at last congregated, and formed a mumbling language, &c.; and that hence and so forth he took his full degree, and commenced man. The Bible teaches us that man came from the hands of his Maker gifted and endowed with religion, speech, government, and every other good and perfect gift, and among them the gift of being a builder, in virtue of his original constitution.

A single word, of frequent use in the introductory portion of Mr. Ruskin's first lecture in Edinburgh, will give us additional insight, from another point of the same false view, into the rationale of his critical blunders, and those of his school. It is the word "interesting." Now, of all the fine arts, architecture is that which is grand, and grandly beautiful. As correctly might we call Mont Blanc or Niagara, the forest or the oak, interesting, as to apply that term to the creations of architecture. In the necessary fact, that it is obliged to deal with large masses of space and material, as well as because it involves and is actually based upon a manifest utility of purpose in all its productions, it results that its beauty, when successful, must be of that kind which comes from the union of power and grace. It is always Achilles, it is never a Paris. The

beautiful Gothic monument in Trinity burying-ground is indeed an interesting object, but it is an architectural object only in that accommodated sense in which we speak of Biscay image work as statuary. It is architectural only as being a graceful and interesting toy, in the style of the grand temple at whose foot it is placed. It is the characteristic and indispensable effect of every real production of architecture to inspire a feeling of greatness and power. These are the foundation elements of its beauty. The feeling may not, in every instance, amount to that of sublimity, but it must always approach it, it must always be at least akin to that of greatness. Pile up a mass of uncut stone to the size of a building, and it has a power of its own; now, if architecture take hold of that mass and do not leave it still more powerful, as well as beautiful, it has failed of its peculiar function. Thus, there are many buildings which by the ravages of fire or of time, have been brought back to better architecture, than architecture ever did for them. Thus, in the Renaissance, where the frittering of parts through the heterogeneous mixture of the upright, horizontal, and circular line has destroyed all totality of impression, and so robbed the stones of their size; or, as in the Gothic of the florid period, where the stones are not only spoiled of their size, but robbed of their material also, through a profusion of foliage enrichment, architecture has plainly come short of its prerogative; in the one case producing mistaken building, in the other, meretricious decoration. The carrying out of Mr. Ruskin's views on architecture, must necessarily result in the latter. "Take care of ornament, and proportion will take care of itself," is the identical maxim upon which the simple grandeur of the Romanesque and the chastened sublimity of the Early Pointed, were flooded to death in a deluge of tracery and foliage ornamentation. If it should be objected, that the work of the architect is distinct from that of the builder, we deny the assertion; every builder is not an architect, but every architect is and must be a builder; it is at an appreciable point that architecture runs into spurious ornamentation; it is not easy to find the point at which building runs into architecture. The products of architecture are great-beautiful buildings.

But what a degradation and what an absurdity is the whole

of it! To talk of those grand minsters which for so many generations, as at Rheims, Cologne, York, have been discoursing bodily to men in the very greatest language of their actual conceptions, and beyond all other earthly objects of the hand of man, giving them visible assurance of a greatness not yet reached—to talk of such works as *interesting*, is too shameful! How much less an inversion, to speak of the forest oak as consisting in the leaves which qualify its grandeur, or the ivy that foils its strength? What is the work of producing an architectural object, such an object, for example, as Trinity Church or Girard College? It is by implication, a work of ages, of successive generations of thought, science, and skill. It is, then, a work of present reflection, of careful selection, of thoughtful adaptation, a work that ought always to call into counsel the assistance of those who possess gifts of wisdom and knowledge; for the question of deciding upon the design of a building which is possibly to stand before the eyes of men for many ages, is always a question of serious import. It is, in the next place, a work which calls for the exercise of the very highest mental powers on the part of the architect, a work in which are involved œconomics, science, and skill, on the very largest scale; and at last, and throughout, a work in which all these elements are to be articulated and set to the unvarying music of one pervading law, which is that of beauty. It then becomes a work of strong foundations, of digging and cutting, and toiling; of adjusting and building up a structure, fortified, in obedience to mechanical laws and practical foresight, against heat, cold, and tempest, arranged and ordered according to a specific object of use, and when finished, to be found a powerful witness to all who behold it, that there is reality and grace for the imagination of man in this world, as well as hard work for his hands. Whenever we visit the spot where such a work is going on, we are aware that a great work is going on. We experience that sense of expansion of heart which always accompanies the practical contemplation of the wonderful powers and resources of the mind of man. But what now, is the language in which the Edinburgh lectures speak of these works and labours? It is the language of the boudoir, the language of the print-shop and artificial flower-work; it is a language which shows no con-

sciousness of the greatness of the deed, which exhausts itself in speaking of the merest adjuncts. It knows nothing of the Hercules, nothing of the Apollo, and very little of the Graces, who have been about the building—very little of the Graces—not those portions upon which the Minervas have laboured, the Olympus-sublimity of pediments, the superbly chosen depths and appliances of channelings and curves, the noble sweep of arches, and well-directed array of mouldings—but it contents itself with speaking of the stolen chaplets, the stray peaks and playful touches with which the little Cupids have amused themselves, and which the greater gods have left remaining, with a smile at their childish pranks. According to this view, the church dressed with Christmas evergreens, should make better architecture than the piers and columns which they cover.

We remember how, in our early days, we were elated at the idea of having discovered a new style. The building was to represent an actual growth from the soil; engaged tree-trunks took the place of the buttresses, their branches in part to deploy under the cornice, and in part to creep up the eaves, and twine into a little forest of efflorescence along the ridge. The heavily recessed door-way was to show like a deep embosomed grove, and the interior was to display a ceiling with the avenue idea carried out to the full, not only its interlocked branches and clustering foliage, but with its fruitage of pine-apple and pomegranate depending. The thing looked well upon paper, and generally, at first sight, was pronounced original and beautiful. But a little reflection soon convinced us that it was a perfect monstrosity. The entire affair, like the theory upon which it and all such things proceed, convicted itself of meretriciousness and utter poverty of imagination. It was just as much, and no more, architecture as the huge hollow tree-trunk which used to be in Peale's Museum, and in which he set his Indians after they had gone through with the war-whoop.

That the lighter ornamentation of style should look to natural forms for assistance, is true enough; but it does not hence follow that the mass of a building should be cut into vegetable figures, or its interior fashioned like an arbour. As legitimately might we seek to sculpture a ceiling into the forms of clouds, or the swellings of the surf in its pavement. The oak

and the mountain ash, the elm and the poplar, are noble and beautiful as such; they are assuredly not noble or beautiful when hollowed into a building. No doubt the men who produced the Corinthian capital, had studied the forms of nature, but had they been under the guidance of the foolish hypothesis which attributes that capital to the accident of the tile-covered basket, and the acanthus plant, or which views the Gothic ceiling as a sculptured criss-cross of the arbour top, the Corinthian capital instead of being the exquisite fancy work that it is, a piece of foliage which has not its equal in the world of art, would have been what the Roman capital, under that identical baldness of fancy, did become, a mere conglomeration of literal leaves stuck fast upon an inverted cone. We are not running the theory to death; would that we could. We are but tracing the actual carrying out of that theory, as revealed in the debasement of the pure Greek, through the poverty-stricken rags and fig-leaf aprons of the ostentatious Roman, and in the debasement of the pure Gothic through the same process of nature imitation. What is it that has destroyed the fine window heads, and defaced the noble surfaces, and suffocated the grand ceilings of the sublime Romanesque? what, in a word, has turned the cathedral of the early Gothic into the bizarre confusedness of a Henry VII. Chapel, but a wretched incursion of foliage drawn in from the forest, because architects were no longer able to draw from their own minds? We need only compare the Roman Frieze with the Grecian Entablature, the Flamboyant Tracery with the Pointed Window, to see at once the work wrought, and the thing that led to it.

So also, at the present time, let this theory again prevail, let it be taken for granted that the best architecture is that which has its obvious type in the vegetable kingdom, and nothing but the hardness of stone, and the expensiveness of cutting, can save our buildings from becoming mere excresences of vegetable malformations. No longer will the architect go into the depths of his own mind, no longer tax his waking and sleeping imagination for ideal combinations, no longer fatigue his reason, his memory, his eyes, and his hands, in the prosecution of that most difficult of all his studies, the study of proportion; he will take his scrap-book and crayon, and any summer's day, in the

nearest wood, will suffice for the design in hand. The extreme opposite theory, that good architecture is wholly made up of rectilinear and geometric lines, may leave a building somewhat harsh and stiff, but it will at least leave it respectable, and leave it stone. The other will as inevitably spoil the design, destroy its architecture, and disfigure its material, the moment the builder is set free from the coercion of its mechanical laws. He will make his house a folly. It is this that has encumbered the finished pediments of the Doric with the Vitruvian nonsense of the acroteria; it is this that is putting to shame several otherwise correctly conceived Byzantine façades in our cities, by crowning and crushing the gable above its actual finish with huge misshapen masses of scroll and leaf, artificially bolstered from behind, for no assignable reason, unless it be this unfortunate notion of the indispensable necessity of some obvious imitation of nature about the building.

It will be seen that we are taking no unjust advantage of Mr. Ruskin's principles, when we mention the two following facts, from his Edinburgh Lectures. One is, his condemnation of the Greek chevron, an ornament which has, probably, more than any single ornament ever invented, gained the meed of every nation's admiration, on the express ground that he can find no actual type for its justification in nature. He says that he has gone through the vegetable world, he has gone through the animal world, he has examined the teeth and fins of fishes, and scrutinized the forms in crystallization, and not finding in any of them footsteps of the mind that traced the chevron, sufficiently clear to prove the copy, he must condemn it. It is, accordingly, like the Ionic capital and the geometric Greek in general, "base." The other instance referred to, is the fact that he has placed, as the frontispiece of the volume under review, a drawing of a lion's head from nature, and by way of contrast, a lion's head in abstract, such as that which forms the finial to the coronal echinus of the Parthenon fronts. And for what reason? Can it be believed that it is done for the purpose of actually proving that the Parthenon heads are really not right good lions' heads? Poor Phidias! He could make a Jupiter that looked somewhat like the real thing; he could fashion a goddess which commanded

the price of a city; he could fill the pediments and metopes of the Parthenon itself with figures that, in their looks, action, and bearing, have been thought to show no small knowledge of men, but he probably had never seen a real lion, and so was constrained to draw upon his imagination, and behold in the picture, what a fist he made of it! This is certainly one of those things which merit to be called shameful, and it speaks well for the citizens and the art of that beautiful town which is truly called the modern Athens, that they could exercise the degree of patience they did with such vain babbling. If Mr. Ruskin would have had the actual lion's head, with all its superior native vigour, upon which he so innocently discourses, in place of that most exquisite transcendent of a finish which is not a finish, and which forms but one of a thousand of the secret reaches of refined thought which every fresh examination of the Parthenon is bringing to light, then why not go still further? why not let a full formed lion be found emerging from the angles of that universal pediment, and why not have an acroterial lion rampant upon its sealed apex? Phidias would as soon have thought of sticking a literal chariot on those angles, as a literal lion's head.

Here now is a case at which we are at a perfect nonplus. To our view there is no more impressive architectural form than that of the Greek pediment. Precisely what makes it so, we cannot tell. It is a simple triangle, having its angles at a certain depression, made up of three principal lines and a recess. But we have seen this thing—we have met it suddenly in our cities, outstanding from beyond the house fronts, and we have ever felt the same impression of its unique grandeur, the same indefinable power of its haunted enclosure. So have we felt the power of a Phidian Jupiter's head, so have we felt the power of a forehead, and how like that of Daniel Webster! What makes it, we cannot tell, in the one case any more than in the other. We have seen foreheads as broad and high, and brows as deep and shadowy, as Webster's, but we have seen but one Webster. So have we seen pediments and gables of heavier material, and far greater breadth and height than the Doric, but we have seen but one Doric pediment, and whenever we do see it, it remains the same thing. Whether it be in the adjustment of the

angle, that the triangle has come to rest of its own accord, and thus settled at the exact point of æsthetic equilibrium, a point which qualifies the construction, either to be an Atlas to the heavens, or a Zephyr to float into them, and that hence it presents itself as the most satisfactory formula to the mental sense of equilibrium, we cannot tell; but there it is; the impression made by it is not a fancy or a mistake. Let any one compare the pediment of the New York Custom House with the gable of St. Paul's Church, or that of the Philadelphia Custom House (which, however, is wanting in breadth and boldness of cornice,) with the gable of the Girard Bank, and the reality of the thing of which we are speaking will be felt. Now, if nature had crystallized a pediment, we should find no fault with the theory that should attribute this particular to the natural type; but as nature has not so done in any explicit instance, we can but indicate the source of the construction by the analogy of its effect, and say that it is ideal. The cultivated imagination of the architect taught him with what feeling to adjust the angle, to deepen the recess, and to project the mass beyond the peristyle over which it so nobly impends.

At this point we may see more distinctly the reason why the lion's head, in abstract, is made to qualify its outer angles. The tympanum is full, to overflowing, of actual life within a sensible geometric horizon; it must relieve itself at the point of contact, and connect itself with the world around, through the intermediacy of the world of embryo. A literal, particular, or actual torso of animal nature at the point, would, like an actual sculptured plant, shield, or boss, have had the effect of throwing a literal impertinence into an ideal perfectness. Of course there remains no place for argument; we can do no more than assure the man who has succeeded in schooling his feelings against a form of art which the world has consented to own as beautiful, for no other reason than that it does not obviously copy nature, that he is labouring under a mistake.

Architecture is far less imitative than any other of the family of the arts. Perhaps it would be better to say, far less obviously imitative. There have been architects eminent for genius and skill in dealing with all the real elements of their art, and yet, who never could etch a flower or arrange a festoon; men who

could throw up buildings, original, noble, and great, according to the emergency, but who have been absolutely dependent on the limner for the putting in of their ornamentation. What folly to consider the limner-work architecture, and the original creation the subordinate. The gift which enables a man thus to originate, and thus to deal in the real elements of style, is the gift of the higher imagination, precisely the gift which enables him to produce with originality and power in other departments. It is born with the architect, it is not something which may be learned in the drawing-school. This architect will indeed copy from nature, inasmuch as nature is born in him. That is to say, as the sum of all beauty is contained or implied in nature, so his nature has been formed and cultivated to a more spontaneous feeling of the same; but it is also a characteristic of this, his feeling, that it shall act, in production, unconsciously; and by how much it acts with particular consciousness, by so much it is in danger of weakening its original power. Thus the Greek sculptor, whose ideas originated in the secret of his own imagination, would receive assistance, certainly, from the studies of the palaestra, while the modern sculptor, who has little or none of the originating idea in his mind, will go to the dissecting-room for his studies, and will, in all probability, produce a more correct piece of anatomy than the other. It is the prerogative of every piece of real art to have its full existence in the mind of the man. Many such an existence has been spoiled and made a mere critical homily, by the artist's slavish adherence to actual particular nature in the elaboration of his idea. The original architect has a mind which is ever open to nature's hints; his greatest buildings will have in them what he has seen and felt in the mountain and in the cloudy sky, in the deep shadows of caves and forests, in the power of sound, and in the noble grandeur of heroic deeds; in the magnificence of law and order, and in the gracefulness of beauty; but they will be there in incommensurable forms and arrangements, which are the resultant of his feelings and insight into nature. His building will not be made up of the cave of Staffa in its door-way, of stalactites, or of grape-vines for its ceiling, or of poplars or icebergs, or mountain peaks, for its towers and dome. To the real architect it belongs to force

his meditations into that region which lies between the actual and the possible, and which is more or less remotely indicated in the actual, which indication becomes to him the key-note of the forms which he embodies, even as the musician goes into the same region to draw thence the architecture of sweet sound. And this is the process, and the only process, wherein he copies nature in his building. Take the great architectural works of the world, and ask their authors how they made them, and the answer would be about as apposite and satisfactory as the Greek sculptor's explanation of his Elian Jove. Ask the man who first channeled the Doric column, how he came to do so, and his answer is, "I felt that it would be well to do so."

The case just mentioned is a case in hand. Everybody knows the exquisite effect of the Doric channelings, as contrasted with the smooth shaft, the prismatic shaft, the reeded shaft, or with the deeply cut channels of the other orders. We can see before our eyes what has been effected by the Doric channelings, but we question whether Callicrates could tell us why he made them elliptical rather than circular. The thing actually effected is, that the apparent strength, fulness, and power of the column are multiplied, without actually increasing its dimensions, an effect essential throughout to Doric art, whose ruling idea is that of a quiescent grandeur and sublimity, but a sublimity which is never dependent upon actual dimensions.

The Doric temple has the force of the far-off mountain within the boundaries of appreciable limits. The actual limit of the Doric building never shows itself, except in the crowning lines of the pediment, and at the angles so superlatively qualified by the embryonic artifice already described. At the four corners of the building, the limiting angle is formed by a column, actually heavy, pyramidal, perpetual on its base, channeled in such a way as to become in a sort aerial, so that a certain air of indefiniteness is cast over it which magnifies its fulness, and at the same time idealizes its material. The Doric fluting multiplies the column, the Ionic and Corinthian divides it, for a reason which we shall see. The column is thus charged with a swelling, we had almost said a sweltering fulness, which does not alter its nature as stone, but which yet (we can express it in no other way) gives ideality to its substance. And all this

is the direct result of its being cut into shallow elliptical flutings, rather than circular ones. What now if the entire building, what if the lines of the stylobate, what if the lines of the entasis, what if every part as well as the body of the edifice be included within the like transcendent curves; even the same as those which make up the distant mountain, upon which we look, and whose idea we feel at its utmost, only at such time as when, through continued looking, we come to see the mountain while we see it not. We believe it to be so. This is the way in which Greek art makes known its power, namely, through a revery which is excited by continued contemplation, and we believe that as it has the same effect as the distant mountain, it has the same method, the co-operation of the rectilinear line of vision with the curvilinear lines of its forms. We believe that every additional examination of the radical and bounding, as well as of the composition lines of the Doric temple, will be found, as the great lines of the entasis and stylobate have been found, to be portions of a vast ellipse, or other conic sections.

The circular line rules the actual and literal world; it is the line that we can touch, and copy, and describe with mathematical exactness. It is the ruling line of the Roman, and of the Debased Gothic architecture. It is the immediate result in building of the imitation theory. It will make an architect of any hand that can scribe a circle, and it will make a mere literalness of any architecture that falls under its rule. The curves which form the root and body of all ideal forms, are those revealed in the transverse sections of the cone. They can be drawn only by the hand of the man that feels them in his soul. They compose the invisible axis of the Doric building. The Greek architect did, therefore, for the column, what he felt that nature had done for the elm and not for the apple-tree, and gave the invisible entasis to its diminution for the purpose of keeping it strong and making it beautiful—did, what, in some way, we know not how, the real artist does, when he makes a forehead of limited dimensions speak a language which the more literal artist will in vain labour to effect, by heaping up the brain, and swelling out the protuberances. Here, then, is the point at which the real architect is a copyer of nature, not by particular imitation, for the things are not tangible, and

if so, would become preposterous when transferred, but by catching the harmonies of nature, and making them harmonious in building. Hence will it do him good to be in the frequent, and most earnest, and reverent study of nature, but by all means let him leave his port-folio at home. Let his succeeding labours be influenced by the results of his thoughts, moods, and reflections, not by the literal imprint of any particular.

If, with Mr. Ruskin, he come to the conclusion that the pointed arch is the only right way to bridge a space, because he finds its type in the oak leaf, and every other leaf of the forest, then ought he, with him, also to come to the conclusion that the oak leaf contains the whole of architecture, and with him and his school, should unite in justifying the only Gothic that does literally copy in form or in foliage—the Debased. For, singularly enough, the Gothic, which they sometimes seem to admire, and which assuredly we have a right to admire, is that which is remarkable for the simplicity of its ornamentation, and for having what it possesses almost universally in abstract. Its vines, its foliage, its fruitage, its saints and its angels, have come as they ought to have come, and for a reason identically analogous to that in the case of the Doric finial, directly out of the world of embryo.

If, however, instead of inverting the science of his art, and looking to those forms for construction, to which he may, with judiciousness, look for hints for ornamentation, he ask himself how nature actually does bridge her spaces, and finding she does so by supports of every variety and shape, in the air and in caves, and also in basaltic and stalagmite pillars, and by vast lintels in way of boulders cast athwart deep channels, and sustaining mountains above them, then may he know that the bridging of his spaces is an accident of style, which he is at liberty to effect as he may choose, by a triangle, an arch, or a lintel, only so that the way chosen be in keeping with the work he is about. And he may likewise repeat his elements, provided he do so without interruption, as far as his space and means will allow, notwithstanding the sophistical argument of the six hundred and odd similar square windows, which our author objected to the good citizens of Edinburgh. For if those six hundred windows were in contiguous fronts of adequate

height, and *not* broken into by separating intrusions of his arched and decorated windows, and he felt no sense of magnitude, of multitude, and of extent, and hence of something at least approaching a sense of magnificence, then was he void for the time being of the universal faculty of our feelings, in virtue of which the cathedral is to us more than the pyramid, the rolling ocean than the smooth pond, the cloud-involved sky than the mist-mingled air, the continuous cataract than the sluggish stream, the successive thunder than the single explosion, or the roaring surf than the sudden splash! We do not mean to say that the mere repetition of the same elements will of itself, apart from the law that guides their repetition, produce greatness of style, nor to assert that ornamented windows set in proper places and relations, will not help to make more beautiful architecture than the plain window; but we do mean to say, that the windows, and pinnacles, and niches must belong to something, that that something Mr. Ruskin's view leaves out of account, and that in so doing it leaves out the whole. The Greeks could make an architecture without a window, but all the world is not adequate to the work of making windows grow into architecture. The nearest to it are the Crystal Palaces of the day, which are, indeed, just as much architecture as so much glass. If Mr. Ruskin would but withdraw his eye for an instant from its fascinated spell upon the single spot of beauty, and send his glance down the long sweep of the nave, or along the continuous line of the wall mouldings, the dentils, the brackets, the cerbels, or even the baluster of the pulpit stair, he would see how his condemnation of the repeated peristyle and plain window, must put an end to architecture, and to our capacity for art at the same time.

It is too late, by several years, for writers to make the assertion that the Egyptians and Greeks bridged the spaces above their columns and door-ways with the horizontal lintel, only because they were not aware of the arch. They did so because they chose to do great things in their own way. The Gothic has, indeed, done great things with the arch, but has done so only by bringing in the control of the same law of the imagination. If a comparison is to be made, then we are constrained to think that the Greeks, in effecting an ideal product out of so

bald an element, have done an intellectually greater thing than did the Gothic builders. Ruskin's inference from the premises is the opposite. He makes it the criterion of the superiority of Gothic over Classic art, that it is a greater thing to arch a space than to bridge it with a lintel. Constructively it is, and possibly a Coliseum with plain arched windows, is even more beautiful than with plain square windows, though we doubt it. But when the Greeks laid hold of the necessity which they adopted, and produced a Parthenon redolent throughout with mental power and beauty, then we think they did as great a thing as ever builders accomplished.

We have denied, however, and do most strenuously deny, that Greek art is composed about the actual straight line. It has, indeed, the straight lines of nature in their places, even as the straight lines of light that co-operate to form the rainbow; but if it be the artistic universe we take it to be, then it has *in re* or *in posse* all the architectural lines which nature reveals, and in the way that nature uses them. These lines, these solar and lunar lines, these abstract and potential lines, these lines whose rays and echoes are also in the mind, and which, therefore, make the Doric building a grand embodiment of law and order, as well as of grace and beauty; these are the identical lines which Mr. Ruskin knows nothing about for architecture, because he has not *seen* them in his forests. One would suppose he might have seen them gleaming in the airs of some of Turner's sun-sets, or that he might have felt them at least in the spirit-like shadows of the grove, or heard them in the æolian sigh of the pine. He may see them, if he will, and find that nature is full of them, whenever at the rising, the setting, or the noon-day sun, he looks and listens for them, or whenever, in careful silence of the mind, he sends his revery toward the zenith, or towards the early east, what time the coming dawn may perchance touch their resounding echoes within the answering breast. And even as these, his much despised right lines, come to flood the effulgent east, or move on to give their unseen depths to the ever-deepening zenith, or move down to fire the glowing west, or marshal their proud ranks at other times in the grand array of the aurora, so, perchance, may he come to understand how the chief glory of the building wall, and the

enclosing peristyle receive their colour, and give forth their memnon-music through the same. And if the man is at heart as generous and noble as we take him to be, the process will set him to reflecting, that possibly there is a world of lines into which his imitation view can never penetrate, but only the mind that sits and muses, what time nature may touch their counterparts within, and so might there be reclaimed to the true behests of art, one of the most gifted pens that has been drawn in her service.

The comparison of Gothic art to frozen music has ever seemed to us a disagreeable one, and yet we believe it is given to the real architect to fix the note of the nightingale, and the tones of the æolian, the voice of the cataract, and the murmur of the sea, "the echo of the tempest, and the music of the spheres," and the articulate colours of the prism in solid forms of stone, which shall thus transfer the melodies of nature from the ear to the eye. The cathedral is an organ whose glorious music is seen and so heard, and the temple is a prism that needs no daub of actual tinting. But assuredly the architect does not effect this by sculpturing blowing winds and mimic waterfalls, and painting literal rainbows about the building. He will do it by exhibiting to the space-faculties of the mind, the atlantic surfaces and vistaed reaches of his edifice, by fitting its proportions to the waiting harmonies of the soul, by "digging fiercely into his enchasmed fronts," and by secretly training the radical life of the style through emerging oases on dead walls, that shall be as the floating mermaid on the distant sea; by the sudden effulgence of its whole power in some single condensation, and by its universal diffusion in every part, and in parts not apparently noticed, till found obedient to the master-spirit which has impressed itself throughout. He will do it by his talismanic power over space, and mass, and distance, light and shadow, solidity and freedom, sternness and happy play. He will do it, we know not how, through forms and through the absence of forms, and their arrangements, which shall arrest and take captive, and fill up the mind of the beholder, so that he shall, from surprise, incomprehensibility, and dread, at the last consent to muse and walk amid the forms around him, as his own mind's chosen home. It is certainly possible for architecture

to throw the mind into a state, which shall securely remind it of its very highest and deepest, and most tender and touching impressions, from whatever quarter received. There is a certain thing we see about the distant mountain, and we perceive the same about some of Raphael's heads; some have called it a "swimmingness," some a "floatability;"—neither expresses it, but it is a result which is effected by putting aeriality into matter. Doric art effects this result mechanically, by building beneath the universal influence of those lines in nature which are only seen in their being heard, and felt, and reflected.

It will now devolve upon us to endeavour to trace what we believe to be the actual genesis of the art of architecture. Its prime origin we have already found to be in man's religious nature, under the impulse of his artistic faculty; in the same way, for example, as sculpture had its first original. Man came a builder from the hand of his Maker, and his first buildings were erected for his Maker, even his Maker whom he had denied; and hence, his first buildings form the most signal exponents of the darkness and fear which his sin had brought over his faculties. Reeking with the airs of that region where Satan met sin and death on his passage to the primeval earth, do we find the earliest monuments of the architectural art. The very earliest monuments, 'tis true, are gone in the waters of the deluge; but, from the guilt-begotten and propitiatory images which the natural heart still goes on to build, though it be Juggernauts in air and Dagons in dreams, from the fearful forms which the later heathen have erected, and from the more than diabolic intimations in Hindoo caves, in Assyrian chambers of imagery, in the Typhon terror that still haunts the Egyptian temple, in the revolting forms of the Mexican sculptors, and in the intolerable terrors of Stonehenge circles, we may detect the presence of something like a Beelzebub in the inspiration as well as in the dedication of these early works, thus at once the glory and the shame of man's disordered greatness as a born builder. Take the Christian architecture of the middle ages, or what would be still more forcible, take the christianized architecture of the self-worshipping Greek—if that problem had been solved, and not impossibly the Protestant Church is yet to do it—take the art which is the historical pro-

duct of the true faith, or the art which was the product of the transition period from demon worship to the deification of mental beauty, take the Christian cathedral and the christianized Greek Church, and set them alongside a cavern of Ellora, and a temple of the Nile, and you have as significant a demonstration of what revealed religion has done for the race, as could well be exhibited to the sight.

Whoever has looked upon Stonehenge, or any other great instance of Celtic building, and whoever has been left alone with the frowning terribleness of some vast natural rock, has experienced the essence of the feeling which is peculiar to the finished Egyptian temple. The Pyramids are not usually discussed in the same category with the Temple-architecture of Egypt, but they are perfectly identical as to their sentiment; you pass without revulsion from Cheops to the hypostyle Hall of Karnac. The feeling excited by all Egyptian art is essentially the rock-feeling, only that in the pyramid it is more purely natural; in the temple it is enhanced by science, not by art. As compared with the Grecian or with the Gothic, there is little imagination in the Egyptian, while there is a world of knowledge and of mysticism. What is the Sphinx but a slowly living rock? What the imperturbable secresy, the brooding silence, and the supernatural dreadfulness of the entire style, but that the chaotic heart of flint, the very spirit of the lifeless granite, is made to come out from its abysmal depths, and to assume to itself an intelligence, not yet human, not yet divine, but earth-born, impersonal, pantheistic? It is the life of the quarry joined with the life of the lotus and the serpent. Whether their builders intended as consciously to represent this pantheistic image in their works, as we can read it in them, is little to the question. They were pantheists in theology, and they could not help being true to themselves, when speaking in architecture, any more than the builders of Greece, Rome, or Byzantium. We should say, then, that Egyptian architecture, like every other original architecture, adopted the forms it did, from a spontaneous internal necessity of the case, and because the use of large stones, immense surfaces, overhanging weight, indistinguishable light, and massive vegetable columns were exactly the elements at hand for embodying its idea. We say

vegetable columns, because every column in the Egyptian temple is but a rock endowed with the life of the Nile plant. The Grecian column, on the other hand, is the same historical rock, endowed with the life of independent beauty, a life precisely analogous to that with which they endowed the stones out of which they made their statues. They did it in the one case no more from the direct imitation of literal types, than in the other. The Egyptian column is a pillar in a temple whose god was nature, earth-born nature—the Grecian, a pillar in a temple, whose deity was man, deified man.

Our theory of the column is, that it has its origin as a purely religious image and symbol; that every Egyptian column means God the sustainer; every Grecian, man the sustainer; and that in every original instance of the carrying out of the idea, they were necessarily impelled to the rock, and not to the tree. In its earliest form, the column was a simple stone, raised, whether as a divine witness in the first place, or as a symbol of the deity, we cannot tell, but the pillar soon came to stand for the god himself. It needs no argument to prove thus much. The Cyclopean and Druidical remains throughout the known world, show that among the very earliest forms of idolatrous symbolism were those of the rock worship. Some nations went beneath the ground, some built above the ground, some took the actual rock mountain and hewed it into a temple, and some took huge boulders and built them into mountains. They built their cities around their tutelar acropolis of rock, and they marked out their consecrated limits with walls of the same, into the heart of which they resorted for worship and fled for refuge; they said literally to the rock, "Thou art my god." If asked why all primitive heathens thus expressed their religious feelings, the answer is, that an earth-born nature-worship is manifestly the earliest phase of idolatry, that the natural rock is the most obvious impersonation of the earth-spirit, and that the natural rock was always at hand, and that the disposition to build mightily for his gods, only the more actuated his perverted nature.

The primitive type of the column was the simple monolithic pillar. In the earliest Celtic remains we find this repeated, so as to form a complete circle. The next advance was that of

the bilithic arrangement, the single upright pillar being crossed with a huge rock on top, forming the shape of the letter T. The last improvement was that of the trilith, or two uprights with an architrave, in the form of the jambs of a door with their lintel. A continuous succession of triliths gives the finished Stonehenge. Changed from the circle to the square, they form the Egyptian quadrangle. At Ypsambul there is a quadrangle, which, in every respect except that of the circular plan, is an exact Stonehenge. This theory of the genesis of columnar architecture was first distinctly put forth by Hosking. In the plates accompanying his Essay, which we take to be the ablest work on architecture to be found in the English language, he gives an historical induction of examples, from the rude monolith to the fluted column, and traces step by step the actual progress of columnar architecture, from the Celtic pillar of stone to the classic peristyle. The detached monolith still remains, as in the Egyptian, Mexican, and other Druidical obelisks, in the pillars prefacing the temple of Solomon, and diverted from a religious to a monumental use, in the triumphal pillars used by nations to this day.

We know full well, that fanciful theorizing is a peculiar temptation in architectural studies, and would not knowingly add to the long catalogue, but from a careful testing of the theory of the purely religious symbolic origin of the column, we do not find it possible to resist the inference of its correctness. It is impressed upon the forms themselves, and corroborated by cotemporary usages and settled metaphors of speech. By the column with its architrave, the ancient builders meant their deity in his relation to the world as its Atlas-bearer. A single glance at the comparative table of Hosking, will show how the idea is elaborated from the single pillar of natural rock to the finished obelisk, from the Druid circle to the African quadrangle, from the quadrangle to the temple hall, with its Isis capitals, its Osiris Caryatic pillars, and its vast globe-sculptured architraves, and so on to the Olympus-bearing columns, and human caryatidae of the Athenian acropolis. At least it is quite as scientific to trace the perfect column to the monolith, as to find it in the sapling prop of a log hut, bandaged at the top and bottom with ropes, as if hut builders were in the habit of ornamenting

their cabins with peristyles! One of the most remarkable remains of Celtic architecture known to archæology, the Gate of the Lions at Mycenae, is capable of a possible solution upon the hypothesis of the religious meaning of the column, and remains a riddle without it. This view being admitted, that single construction represents a national power (the lion) triumphant over a subverted dynasty, (the inverted column and architrave.) That the construction has a symbolic meaning, no one can doubt who has seen a drawing of it.

The process through which the religious conventionalism which characterizes more or less all known architecture until the time of Pericles, gradually fell away so as to end in the revelation of the untrammelled beauty of the Doric temple, coincides with that through which the mind of man in other respects, in letters, government, and civilization, was led to its culmination towards the coming of Him who held the nations in his hand, for the preparation of his own ways. Take the true revealed religion and culture as a parallel, and the comparison of the New Testament form of that religion with the Sinaitic and Judaic generally, will find something not without significance in the comparison of the Grecian form of civilization with that of Egypt, as exhibited in their architecture. What the temple of Herod was to the original temple on Mount Moriah, that, as far forth as the case may go, was the Parthenon of Athens to the Amenophis Memnon of Thebes.

Between the Egyptian and the Grecian lies an undiscovered gap, which the restoration of Tyre and Sidon could alone fill up; but whoever will take the pains to construct in his mind an Egyptian temple, and then strip its sanctuary of its outworks, will, in the process, have done what was done in the historical progress which has been lost, and will find in that sanctuary the part upon which the Doric builders went to work. Grecian architecture started with the Portico and Sanctuary of Apollinopolis Magna; it ended in the Minerva Parthenon of Athens. The Grecian people had their one national art; it was the Doric. It was that of a stylobate, column, pediment, and naos, locked together in a perfect and indissoluble unity. And they had two art-plays, the Ionic and Corinthian, which were those of stylobate, column, pediment, and naos, purposely dissolved

by the introduction of slightly disorganizing elements, such as the base, the decorated capital, and the deeper channelling of the column; in a word, the more manifest perpendicularity of the shaft, and the more manifest horizontality of the entablature. In the one case, that of the Ionic, the object of the capital is to conceal the supporting point of the column, in the other, the Corinthian, it substitutes an object of beauty so exquisite in itself, as to abstract attention from the fact of the disunion or the need of support. Mr. Ruskin considers the Ionic capital a "base contrivance as a *supporting* member!"

Of the surface architecture of its prototype, the Greek retained but that of the unbroken temple walls, and around these walls, as a back-ground, it congregated the aurora prisms, or the enamelled light, or the ray-like halo of the columnar mass and line. The dark spirit of its conventional religionism is sent back to the desert; the Sphinx could not bear the free sunlight of Attica; the dread terrors of Ammon gave way to the more manly fear of Jove, the imperturbable Isis to the wisdom-loving Minerva. The dark rock has been turned into pure crystal, or the vast quarry has been condensed into the living diamond. We might say that the earthly or unearthly remoteness, the fearfulness and the indefiniteness, which form the secret of the power and terribleness of Egyptian art, has lost its terribleness, and found its power humanized and enhanced through the process of a Doric avatar. Grecian art is assuredly self-inclusive. The point that seals the temple is the apex of the pediment; whereas the pedimental point of the Egyptian broods far over and above the actual mass. We may not pursue the subject further, but we are well convinced that the adequate study of the comparative architecture of the great historic Gentile nations will show that there was a Gentile no less than a Hebrew preparation of the world for the coming of the Son of Man. The progressive elimination, and at the same time, real magnification of the elementary greatness of the art, whose fearfulness filled the valley of the Nile, as we find the process completed in the art whose perfect human beauty emanated from the hill-tops of Grecia, is as the Gentile shadow of the true progress which was going on in the education of the chosen nation.

Architecture is thus, in its origin and progress, as we have endeavoured to show, a mental phenomenon to be classed with analogous phenomena of the mind of man and nations; governed by a law in no respect differing from the law under which the human mind has expressed itself in literature, and the other elements of national culture and civilization. So far as architecture has been influenced by circumstances, it has been in the same way and to the same degree that the art of poetry has been influenced, and not otherwise. The school which attributes the origin of architecture to the mere physical wants of man, and finds accordingly the temple in the hut, is the same that finds the origin of poetry in the discovered fact, that heroes were fond of being flattered in verse. It is high time this atheistic materialism were utterly abolished, and the simple fact, which must ever form one of the foundation principles of all worthy æsthetics, be made an elementary axiom; the fact, namely, that man was created with artistic faculties, and hence, goes on to build. The practical bearing of the two views is palpable upon the slightest inspection of the history of architectural art. The almost perfect nobleness and beauty of the Doric, the chaste elegance of the Ionic and Corinthian, and the grand sublimity of the early Gothic, are witnesses for the true theory; the ostentatious rhodomontade of the Roman Corinthian, the paltry efflorescence of the Debased Gothic, and the low-lived fripperiness of the Revived Classic, stand as witnesses for the imitation theory.

It is to the last degree important, as it respects the enduring worthiness of the architecture which the general revival of the disposition to build shall produce, that our architects should understand, that by their profession as such, they are not copyists either of nature or of art, but poets and students—poets to appreciate and to originate; students both of nature and of art. If they are good master-builders, they will originate works of power and beauty; if they are poor ones, and especially, if made poor through the blinding influence of a false theory, they will show their poverty in their works, not by a poverty-stricken simplicity—would they might do no worse—but by a poverty-stricken meretriciousness and profusion of form and ornamentation, which will be to the disgrace and injury of the land.

Better is a dinner of herbs in a house where content is, than a feast in a palace which is full of confusion. Of few things is this more true, than of the architecture of the house and the palace. It will not hurt a man to worship in a plain church, or to live in a plain house; it will hurt him and shame him, and vex him, to worship or to live in the midst of vicious architecture, unless he consent for peace of mind's sake, to say it is good, and then will it hurt him still worse.

We say solemnly, then, because we believe the question of good art or poor art is a solemn question for the nation, may our land be preserved from the fruitage of such criticism, as that of the lectures, and of the school under review: a fruitage that must, sooner or later, as has ever been the case, reveal itself in an art which will turn its professors into mechanicians, and fill our streets with sickening daguerreotypes of blurred and misshapen nature-copies in wasted stone and mortar, far less cultivating to the people's sense of beauty, than it would be to plant our public parks with the actual nature of the vegetable garden: an art that will enrich our picture galleries with minutely elaborated imprints of veritable things, scenes, and places, whose crowning praise shall consist in fore-ground subordinates so done to nature as to deceive an infant: an art which will send down our Washingtons and Websters to the coming generations, in statuary which shall incontrovertibly fix the shape of the Continental General's cap, and the fashion of the clothes in 1850; an art, in fine, which ignobly degrades that which is among the highest and most spiritual of man's natural faculties, his imagination; the power by which the true artist is enabled to originate forms which shall invite his fellow-men to a recollection of a world of ideality, which is above and beyond this world of merchandize and toil.

ART. V.—*Intellect, the Emotions, and the Moral Nature.* By Rev. William Lyall, Free College, Halifax, Nova Scotia. Edinburgh: Thomas Constable & Co. London: Hamilton, Adams & Co. 1855.

OUR Scotch brethren, wherever they go, betray their characteristic instincts. They soon take rank for their industry and enterprise, their honesty and integrity, their consequent success in the various spheres of life, and importance as members of society. All this is largely due to the fact, that they are no less forward and emphatic in manifesting their quenchless love of Christianity, under the type commonly known as Calvinism in doctrine, and Presbyterianism in government. They evince the spirit and power of this sort of religion in the active interest they take in education, especially in such institutions as are requisite for the Christian instruction of their children, and the effective training of learned and able Christian ministers. Wherever the Scotch colonize, they carry these distinctive principles and institutions with them. Dr. Duff has afforded a stupendous exemplification of the *ingenium perfervidum Scotorum*, in these respects, on Missionary ground. And, aside from the monuments of their zeal in these things, which abound in our country, we find fresh indications of it in the colleges and other institutions for liberal culture and ministerial training, which they are rearing up in the British provinces, although, as yet, they form but a fragment of their population. Our knowledge of Knox College in Toronto, and of the Free College in Halifax, is derived solely from the published productions of their Professors. From each of these institutions disquisitions upon psychology and metaphysics have emanated, which show that this department is prosecuted in them with an earnestness and ability rarely surpassed, and that the Scotch mind loses none of its characteristic relish and keenness for these subtle and sublime investigations, by migrations to new abodes. This is happily and forcibly evinced in the volume of Mr. Lyall, now before us, which gives us our first and only knowledge of him.

This volume displays a freshness, vivacity, independence, together with a general justness and sanity of thinking on these

subjects, which adapt it, in an unusual degree, to general reading, while they indicate some of the most important requisites of the teacher. Indeed, he often expatiates with a fulness of illustration, and a scope of free discourse on the remoter bearings of the principles discussed, which, however interesting and instructive to the general reader, swell the volume to an inconvenient bulk, and make us feel a want of the precision and compactness so requisite in discussions on such subjects. With all its merits, it seems to us that the book would be greatly improved by condensation. Diffuseness is its greatest blemish, and we hope the author will take it as we mean it—not as an offence, but a kindness—if we add, that his style, notwithstanding many salient and pithy passages, which redeem it as a whole, betrays a certain looseness and negligence which not only tend to diffuseness, but even a slovenly obscurity, hardly excusable in such a volume on such a subject. We give an instance or two, to show our meaning:

"What may be desirable in one respect, may not be desirable in another; and if the non-desirableness in the one respect prevails over the desirableness in the other, even the desirableness itself is not really desirable. We prefer something on the ground of some other of the active principles of our nature; even while certain of our active principles would lead us to a different choice, makes something else really the object of our desire." P. 565.

"Taking beauty in its widest sense as inclusive of sublimity, the picturesque, or whatever appeals to the aesthetic emotion —that is, whatever may have more or less of the beautiful and the sublime, and the picturesque—be made up, more or less of each, or any two of them to the exclusion of the third." p. 576. We should, of course, refer such paragraphs to some freak of the types, were they not too frequent, and were there not so many other indications of a looseness in the structure of sentences, more tolerable in the freedom of extemporaneous oratory, that in an elaborate, heavy volume on metaphysics. We have signalized this point, because it needs only care for its correction. Such care, we are sure, would add to the reputation and usefulness of those future productions of which we trust the present is only the earnest.

As psychology is the science of the soul's phenomena, it holds an intimate relation to theology generally, which, although centring in God as its prime source, object, and end, concerns itself largely with the human soul as being made in the image of God, to the end that it may serve, glorify, and enjoy him for ever. This is eminently true of Christian theology, which relates distinctively to God's method of glorifying himself in the salvation of the human soul. From the necessity of the case, the views which men entertain of the faculties and operations of the soul, (i. e. questions in mental and moral philosophy,) must, as it always has done, give a strong bias to all their thinking in regard to theology in all its departments of anthropology and soterology. Our conceptions of the nature of the thing saved, must affect our views of the nature and method of its salvation. He who has fixed views of the "Intellect, Emotions and Moral Nature," as treated in this volume, has taken a long stride towards determining his whole system of theology.

So far as Metaphysics occupy any ground not strictly included in Psychology, and verge towards Ontology, i. e., so far as they deal with the necessary, possible, or contingent relations and grounds of phenomena, in short, with the metaphenomenal, whether in the realms of matter or mind, it is manifest that they are constantly touching the very fundamentals of all theology—all religious faith. This is evident enough, if we look at some of the most elementary questions in this science. Thus, if with the empirical school, we say that we can cognize nothing but phenomena, we are at once driven to the atheism of the Positive Philosophy; while, at the opposite pole, Pantheism developes itself in the fiction that God is the only substance of which all else are phenomena. The theory of Hume and Brown, which resolves cause into mere antecedence, by eliminating the element of power and dependence from the relation of cause and effect, is fatal to that great argument for the being of God, which ascends from the creation to the Creator, from dependent and final causes to the First Great Efficient. If all events are not due to some power which produces them, then it is impossible to deduce the existence of things not seen from the things which do appear.

So, if the true doctrine of personal identity be denied, we not only undermine the resurrection of the body, but all moral responsibility. If there be no true substance underlying, supporting, unifying the qualities of objects, then all existence becomes an unreality—only a grand phantasmagoria. If right be not an ultimate, irreducible fact, idea, or truth, we have nothing left but Epicureanism and Utilitarianism. If it be impossible that truth should be communicated to the mind from without, unless it have been already grasped by its own inward intuitions, then all increase of our knowledge by testimony is impossible, and the idea of an external authoritative revelation is chimerical. This is only a condensed statement of the theory of Morell and others of the Schleiermacher school, which has already found a wide and cordial welcome.

The turn which metaphysical science is taking for the time being, can never, therefore, be without the deepest interest to theologians and Christians. This must be all the more so, in proportion as the points agitated touch the fundamentals of natural and revealed religion, and of Christian experience. It is with special reference to this fact, that we propose to notice our author's resolution of some of the hinge-questions lying on the debatable border, where mental, moral, and metaphysical philosophy interblends with revealed religion. Hence, we shall give our attention chiefly to the third and last part of the book, which relates to the "moral nature." We will, however, first call attention to a few of the positions taken in the previous sections.

We fully agree with the author, that our consciousness is "the starting point of philosophy," and we think it deserves to be enunciated with all the emphasis belonging to an axiomatic truth. But when he pronounces consciousness "the only immediate object of cognition,"* we think he strains the doctrine too far. We know the existence and the externality of the table we touch, just as immediately as we know our own consciousness. We not only know that it is, but that it is a *non-ego*, a substance distinct and separate from ourselves. Says Mr. Lyall, "I have sensations, impressions, ideas; how do I know that

* See Table of Contents, p. 1.

these are anything more than sensations, impressions, ideas?" (p. 14.) Sure enough. But suppose that in addition to these subjective states, or modifications of self, I also cognize an external object, or an intuitive truth, (as that no two bodies can fill the same space at the same moment,) do I not know these things as immediately as I know my own consciousness? What is my consciousness here but a consciousness of immediately knowing these and other like things: and is it here a false witness? How, then, shall it be trusted for anything? *Falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus.* All our knowledge is obtained either by intuition or deduction. But it is so evident as to be universally conceded, that all deduction must depend ultimately on what we know by intuition, else it is like a chain without a staple. If consciousness then be "the only immediate object of cognition," how can we, by deduction or inference, ever get beyond it? We are reminded of the curt answer of Dr. Emmons to a young clergyman, who asked him why so many ministers had few or no inferences at the end of their sermons. He replied, "because they have nothing to infer from." If all that the author means is, that it is only in and through our consciousness as a condition of all our mental states, that we are aware of the immediate knowledge of other things, this is not only true, but a truism. And this would seem to be what he has in view, if we may judge from such passages as the following, in his argument. "Even those principles which are perceived by pure reason, and are first truths of the mind, are known only as they are the subjects of consciousness." (P. 15.) But it is none the less unwarrantable, notwithstanding, to say that they are not "objects of immediate cognition." The mind is conscious that it knows them immediately, and not by indirection; consciousness, indeed, is simply the knowledge that it so knows them. The author contends with good ground against Dr. Brown, that we perceive external objects by an intuition, i. e., by immediate knowledge. (P. 24.) This is the truth, and our only defence against the idealism of Hume and Berkeley. But we see not how we can hold it, without conceding that somewhat beside consciousness is the "immediate object of cognition."

We are glad to find Mr. Lyall strenuously contesting the theories of Brown, which eliminate the element of power from

the idea of cause, and corporate it into mere antecedence. And we are no less rejoiced to find that in doing this, he does not swing over to the opposite extreme—of late, the fashion of some theistic advocates—of resolving all power and causality into the immediate exercise of the divine efficiency. The following extract will show that the author comprehends the scope and reach of this question, while it affords a happy illustration of the general soundness and freedom from extravagance, of his thinking:

"Every subordinate agency holds of God, but it is an agency; it has an independent action, or there is no subordinate agency; and Spinozism or Pantheism are the true theories of the universe, making God to be all, or all to be God. In this view, then, subordinate agency is absolutely necessary in the universe; and there must be a consistency between independent subordinate agency, and yet a divine agency on which that subordinate and independent agency is still dependent. This looks like a contradiction to which our reasons must succumb. It is what we observe; it is the phenomenon exhibited in *creation*. Creation is the Creator calling into existence agencies besides himself; to give them independent action was not surely impossible, otherwise God is still all, and creation is, as Spinoza makes it, the effluence of God, and nothing apart from Him—but a mode of the divine action and not distinct from God." Pp. 590–1.

We quote this with the more satisfaction, as we have felt called upon to say substantially the same things in reference to the position taken on this subject by a recent school of theistic writers. We also notice with pleasure that he resists the Kantean theory, espoused also, as we are surprised to find, by Whewell, that space and time are purely subjective, mere forms of thought. For, although, with our limited faculties, it is hard to say whether they are either substances or mere attributes, yet it is simply absurd to say that the distance across the ocean, or the time passed over in the history of the world, are mere forms of our own thoughts, having no objective reality without ourselves. It is a mode of thinking which tends to, and has often issued in, sceptical idealism.

We cannot pass over the author's remark, that Sir William

Hamilton's resolution of the doctrine of causality into "our impotence to conceive the possibility of an absolute commencement," means merely the impossibility of conceiving an effect without a cause. P. 75.

The truth is, that every effect or event is a commencement or beginning of something new, which did not exist before, either in substance or in form. It is just this commencement or beginning to be of something that was not, that the mind undertakes to account for, when it postulates a cause, or asserts that every event must have had a cause. But the idea that there could have been no beginning, so far from accounting for the fact, simply denies it; so far from explaining the idea of causation, virtually annihilates both cause and effect. If this were like many other things of the sort, a mere ingenious speculative figment, having no further reach, we should not deem it worthy of even this casual notice. But it seems to us impossible, on this theory, to preserve any substantial distinction between Creator and creatures. Do not man and nature thus become mere forms, developments, phenomena of the one eternal God? How then shall we escape the Monism or Pantheism of Hegel. We have noticed that several writers have objected to Hamilton's theory of causation, as invalidating the great argument for the being of God, which ascends from the universe of effects to one great First Cause. We think that it is objectionable on this score; but we think it still more so, as tending to that Pantheism which is the worst form of Atheism—although the great metaphysician meant not so, and, doubtless, detested this philosophic abomination as heartily as we. Let the following passage, among others which occur in his discussion of this subject, show whether we have spoken in our haste.

"Now, we are unable to think, that the quantity of existence of which the universe is the conceived sum, can be either amplified or diminished. We are able to conceive, indeed, of the creation of a world; this, indeed, as easily as the creation of an atom. But what is our thought of creation? It is not a thought of the mere springing of nothing into something. On the contrary, creation is conceived, and is by us conceivable, only as the evolution of existence from possibility into actuality, by the fiat of the Deity. Let us place ourselves in imagination

at its very crisis. Now, can we construe it to thought, that the moment after the universe flashed into material reality, into manifested being, that there was a larger complement of existence in the universe and its Author together, than the moment before there existed in the Deity alone? This we are unable to imagine."* It may be due to our own obtuseness. But we are unable to see why this does not make the creation a mere emanation from God, and consubstantial with him.

We do not see that the author's analysis of the cognitive faculties, generally interesting and able, calls for further observations. Nor shall we stop to examine the sections on the emotions, although of course we might note some things that we do not endorse in a disquisition, which, as a whole, we heartily approve. What we wish to say in regard to our emotional faculties, will appear in our observations upon the last section relative to the moral nature, which reaches through the powers of intelligence, feeling, and will.

The first and most fundamental question in Moral Philosophy respects the nature of virtue, right, moral goodness, and moral obligation. If an author goes astray here, we take little interest in following him further. All the various theories on this subject may be distributed into two classes—those which make right an original, simple idea, or quality, irreducible to any elements more simple and original—and those which make it a derivative from, and dependent on, other things of which it is compounded, or to which it is a means. All attempts to analyze the idea of right into anything other, simpler or better than itself, be it happiness, individual or general, utility, the fitness of things, sympathy, conformity to truth, respect for our own excellency, must of necessity fail. They presuppose the very idea they are intended to explain. For, why am I obliged to pursue utility, or my own or other's happiness, unless because it is morally right? The feeling of obligation to conform to truth or fitness of things, presupposes the idea of right, and that the mind has already the knowledge of moral truth and moral fitness. Sympathy is worthless, unless it be sympathy with

* Discussions on Philosophy and Literature, by Sir William Hamilton. Harper's edition, pp. 582–3.

right, and deference to our own spirits; excellency supposes that we have already a standard of excellence. But the fault of these schemes, as mere speculations, is not the worst. Every such analysis vitiates the conception of virtue itself, and, to the full extent of its influence, becomes the bane of morals, theology, and piety. We are glad to see that Mr. Lyall strenuously and ably maintains this view, and insists that the moral idea or quality is "ultimate." A treatise is always welcome to us which makes any contribution to the support of this precious truth. The grosser forms of opposition to it, which were so rife in theological discussion a few years ago, have given way before earnest conflict, aided by the self-affirming intuitions of the soul. But, if we no longer encounter Epicurean or Utilitarian ethics, we find ourselves confronted with laboured efforts to build morality upon the fitness of things, or deference to our own excellency, put forth by distinguished metaphysical professors and speculatists. In these matters, the thing that has been, is the thing that shall be, and we can look for nothing less than ceaseless combat with exhumed errors in the guise of new discoveries.

There is an incidental question connected with this subject which our author seems to us to have treated less happily. In vindicating the truth that moral distinctions are intrinsic, immutable, and eternal, such as no mere will can make or unmake, he occasionally uses language which seems to us unnecessary and unsafe. He pronounces the distinction "independent of God himself." "Were it to depend even upon the nature of God, it would lose half its worth, might we not say all its worth?" P. 491. "It is not too much to put this law then, not above God, but in a place of authority, in which it can be regarded apart from Him, and as of eternal and immutable obligation." P. 493.

Now we think it will not answer thus to set up a standard "apart from" God, and which does not "depend upon the nature of God," by which he himself is to be tried, and to which he is thus subject. It is certainly unnecessary. Right is none the less uncreated, eternal, immutable, in its origin and nature, although the first norm and standard thereof be the moral perfection of the Divine Nature itself. Is not this

uncreated, eternal, and immutable, and so far from being contingent on mere will, the very standard to which God's will freely and unchangeably conforms? There is no necessity then, to go beyond God in order to find a standard of rectitude that is intrinsic, and independent of mere will or caprice. To have an origin superior to mere will, is by no means the same with being "independent of God." Wisdom and truth are independent of mere will. They are intrinsic. Are they, then, independent of God? Is there any wisdom, or truth, or standard thereof, which has not its source, model, law, in the eternal and infinite wisdom and truth of God? Must God take lessons of or bow to some standard of wisdom and truth without, and therefore above himself? And is there any more reason why he should pay obeisance to any standard of morality or other excellence "apart from" himself? We more than suspect not. And we more than suspect that reverent people, the longer they ponder the matter, will agree with us.

If there be any such eternal standard of truth, wisdom, or rectitude outside of God, where is it to be found? Is it in some other eternal mind? And are there thus more Gods than one—a God over the Supreme God? But if it be not in such an eternal mind, where or how in the universe can it exist, or be conceived to exist? Tell who can. There is no need that zeal in combatting one error, should urge us to the opposite and equally dangerous extreme. The fiction of a standard or law of right "apart from" God, logically tends to more Gods than one. And although there may be little danger of its running this extravagant length, yet it lends great countenance to those who would set up the useful, the fit, the pleasant, the true, the beautiful, the good, or some favourite ideal of their own minds, as the ultimate law of rectitude, by which they presume to govern themselves, and test the merits of the divine law itself. Those who think that the revealed law of God needs amendment in conformity to such fancied standards, and who thus refuse to take the yoke and learn of Christ, are not now, nor ever, few. Withal, it seems to us, that the doctrine that God's glory, or the manifestation of his perfections, is the proper ultimate end of his own acts, as well as of the acts of all intelligences, can hardly

stand before the principle that he is subject to a standard or law apart from or superior to himself. In short, this principle seems to us to lower God, and in various ways to work a degradation of theology and piety. For ourselves, we desire no higher source or standard of goodness, than God's infinite and eternal goodness; no better security that "What he does is ever best," than that he cannot deny Himself; no surer object of trust than Him for whom it is impossible to lie; no safer refuge than Him who, since he could swear by no greater, sware by Himself.

The quality of right, our author justly holds, is perceived by the moral faculty, or conscience, or understanding, judging in reference to moral objects—for all these terms denominate the same mental power. So far, this faculty is intelligent and rational. It is no mere blind instinct or sensibility, as some would have it. But the judgments of this faculty have this peculiarity, that they are attended with correspondent emotions, pleasing in reference to right actions, painful in reference to the opposite. But because emotions follow moral judgments, it does not hence follow that they are the essence or basis of those judgments to which they are consequent. This were to install a mere unintelligent impulse as the rightful sovereign to rule our conduct. As has been well observed, this faculty is quite analogous to that of taste, which first perceives beauty or deformity in objects, and is then followed by an emotion, pleasant or painful, occasioned by that perception.

This subject is important, not only because it behoves man, as a rational being, to be under the government of a rational faculty, but because it bears upon the whole question of the relation of the emotional to the cognitive powers. It is often said by mystics, and divines of the intuitional or transcendental school, that religious emotions and affections are the sources and conditions of our knowledge of religious truth; that this truth cannot be known otherwise than by Christian experience; that theology is only the systematic development of the results of that experience; that it cannot be derived from external revelation, since this can teach us only what we know by our experience of religious feelings and intuitions; that this inward experience is the true inspiration, which, therefore, all Chris-

tians have as really, if not as strongly, as the sacred writers; that hence the true standard of faith is subjective within us, not any objective revelation. These men are wont to speak with great emphasis of the "perceptive power of Christian love." It is easy to see, that on such a system, the normal authority of the word of God is a nullity. The only authoritative law to each man is his own feelings and preferences.*

Of the many things which might be said in refutation of this dangerous system, all the more dangerous because it so artfully simulates and perverts to its own interest, the great Christian fact of the necessity of spiritual illumination and Christian experience, we wish now simply to signalize one. It is this. Emotion follows and results from intellectual apprehension. It is not the cause or ground of such apprehension. Whenever the soul moves or is moved in the form of feeling, desire, inclination, or affection, it is in view of some object so apprehended that it thus moves, or is moved. The reverse process of first loving or hating an object, and then perceiving it, is simply an absurd contradiction of our own consciousness. Christian feelings, emotions, and affections are awakened and moulded by the perception and belief of Christian truth. They are Christian only in so far as they are actuated by and conformed to that truth. The "perceptive power of Christian love" is what is implied in the love of truth already perceived. So far from doing away with the necessity of an external standard, it is by its conformity to the Scriptures that we can determine this or any other affection to be Christian.

Many reason about the emotions, as if they were precisely like the bodily sensations or animal appetites—blind, unintelligent feelings or impulses. Sensation precedes and is conditional to the perception of external objects. In touch and vision, for example, the sensation felt precedes, and is requisite to the perception of the object causing it. But even here, the stronger and more obtrusive the sensation, the weaker is the perception, and *vice versa*. The one is inversely as the other, as Hamilton has acutely observed. In vision the sen-

* See Morell's Philosophy of Religion; also Dr. Bushnell's Discourse on Dogma and Spirit.

sation is seldom noticed. The object seen commands the entire attention. In taste and smell, the sensation is the obtrusive thing; in the latter case, the perception of the object causing the sensation is only indirect and inferential. Thus even if the resemblance between bodily sensation and mental emotion were closer than it is, it would furnish but a slender basis for the system which derives intelligence from feeling; since the intelligence would grow weak as the feeling grows strong. But in fact all mental emotion or feeling is consequent upon, and shaped by the intellectual view which excites it. It does not produce, it is dependent on the cognition.* This simple fact, to go no further, overturns this whole mystical and infidel theory, which exalts our own feelings above the written word. This latter view goes to derationalize man, by deriving his intelligence on the highest subjects from unintelligent emotion and shapeless impulse. In an equal degree, it compromises his proper dignity and responsibility.

There is another aspect of the emotions in regard to moral and spiritual objects, which bears strongly on this whole subject. We have said that the emotions are awakened by the perceptions of the intellect. There are many objects which may be known or apprehended in part, so that a certain order of emotions will arise toward them, while they are not apprehended in reference to those higher qualities which alone will call forth those higher and more appropriate emotions, of which these objects are every way worthy. This is especially true of the moral and æsthetic emotions. How many know all about Paradise Lost, the finest products of nature or art, except their exquisite beauty, or if they know this, know it only by the testimony of others, not by any personal discernment or appreciation? Of course, they have none of the corresponding emotions of love, delight, and admiration. Precisely the same thing occurs with regard to spiritual truths and divine objects. The unregenerate man often has a conviction of the truth and excellence

* Says our author, (p. 522) "The right is what is *worthy* of these emotions, not merely *what excites* them. The right is *an object of perception, not merely what produces an emotion;* it is an object of reason, not of feeling, but so an object of reason that it cannot be seen without feeling; it is perceived, but it cannot be perceived without emotion."

of the Scriptures, and of the consequent obligation to obey the gospel. But he discerns not the divine beauty, glory, and loveliness of it. He may have heard, and may believe, on testimony that these qualities are in it, but he does not discern them for himself. The difference is like that between knowing the sweetness of honey by hearing of it, and by tasting it, between knowing the beauties of a picturesque region by seeing them with an appreciative eye, and believing that they exist from competent testimony. Now, in regard to the spiritual objects and divine truths set forth in the Bible, it is doubtless true that the natural man may know everything, short of what is involved in the personal intuition of their transcendent beauty and loveliness, which alone can draw forth his heart in love, trust, delight, and admiration. That which is most important in them, he has no power to perceive, till the eyes of his understanding are enlightened, that he may know what is the hope of his calling, what the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints. There is no form nor comeliness in Christ to his view, that he should desire him. Hence the strict and literal truth of those strong representations in the Bible, of the impotence of the natural man to discern the things of the Spirit, and of his need of spiritual illumination. These passages are plausibly cited by the mystic and intuitional school of rationalists now prevalent, in proof that the gift of inspiration is still continued, and bestowed on all Christians, and that we must look to our own experience instead of the Bible for the truth; in short, that an authoritative external revelation is impossible. As well might it be said that the blind man, whose eyes are opened, is to look to himself and not to the landscape, to ascertain and determine its features and beauties. As well might we insist, that the cultured mind is to look to itself, not to the "Paradise Lost," or the "Excursion," to learn their sentiments and beauties; that the astronomer is to look *at* his telescope, and not *through* it to the stars, to find what they are; as that we are to look to ourselves, and not to the Scriptures to find what they teach, and what beauties they contain, when God opens our eyes to understand wondrous things out of his law.

The true inward light which God's Spirit sheds into the soul, leads it to search, to understand, to believe, love, and obey the

Scriptures as God's infallible truth, the rule of all faith, the guide of all feeling, the test of all doctrine. Where this effect is not produced, whatever else there may be, there is no divine light in the soul. "To the law and the testimony; if they speak not according to this word, it is because *there is no light in them.*" Isa. viii. 20.* On any other supposition, it is clear that there can be no objective standard, by which religious feeling is either to be moulded or tested. Enthusiasts have it all in their own way; and not only they; all infidels and free-thinkers have an authoritative standard of truth and duty within, which legitimates their revolt from Christianity. Their feelings of aversion to the truth as it is in Jesus, are *inspiration!* This will never do. It upturns all foundations, and obliterates all landmarks. If the foundations be destroyed, what shall the righteous do? There can be but one criterion in this matter. "He that knoweth God, heareth us. He that is not of God, heareth not us. Hereby know we the spirit of truth and the spirit of error." 1 John iv. 6.

It is worth observing, moreover, that our knowledge of the objects of taste, morality, or religion, may be sufficient to awaken just emotions of a certain kind, while it is insufficient to awaken those which are most essential. Many men, in reading Addison or Shakspeare, see enough to excite a certain high approbation, while they have not that insight into their peculiar beauties which produces positive delight, love, and admiration, and leads them to frequent communion with such authors, as a pleasure. So is it with different sorts of men in regard to the various objects of taste. This is eminently true of moral and spiritual objects. The conscience, unless seared into unnatural torpor, compels men in a sort to approve of, or at least, to sanc-

* The argument advanced by Morell and others, that there can be no intelligible revelations to the mind, of any truth which it has not already perceived intuitively, and hence, no external revelation, if good for anything, is good for a great deal.—How could the statutes of the state on this hypothesis, prohibit larceny, burglary, manslaughter, treason, or compel an answer to a writ of *quo warranto* or *scire facias*, in the case of those who are not schooled to know what these things are? How could any new treatise convey any information, or be any guide to those who do not already understand the matters of which it treats? Is it said that nothing but their own moral fault can hinder them from learning whatever they need to know in reference to such books? And is it not as true, that their own sin and moral blindness alone unfit them for apprehending the divine truth and beauty of the Bible?

tion and revere the good and holy—and to reprobate what is sinful and wicked. But this state is compatible with another, as all experience testifies, in which there is no such discernment and appreciation of the excellence and glory of God and things divine, as will allure the heart away from the pleasures of sin, and lead it to find its delight in loving and serving God, and in communing with him as the First Good and the First Fair, having none in heaven, and desiring none on earth besides him.*

Still further, it is of vital moment that we should not forget that this blindness to moral and spiritual excellence in God, his gospel, and people, is sinful and culpable. It is the fruit, or rather the essence of corruption. Deceitfulness is a radical element of sin, in its inception and continuance. Sin depraves all the moral faculties of the soul, cognitive, emotional and voluntary. Such is the constant representation of the Scriptures. Such is the spontaneous judgment of conscience. We cannot believe the man innocent who is blind to moral excellence and moral distinction, or who forms perverse moral judgments. We cannot but echo the denunciations of the Bible against those who call good evil, and evil good, who put light for darkness and darkness for light. An erratic conscience can never make wrong right. A good intention can never do it. The end cannot sanctify the means. Paul sinned in persecuting the church, although he verily thought that he ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus. It has been supposed that the opposite opinion would promote charity, and prevent persecution for opinion's sake. This is a great mistake. If a good intention justifies a wrong act, it will legitimate the hottest persecutions with which the people of God have been tortured. He who has persuaded himself that a wrong act is right, sins against his conscience if he does not commit it, against the law of righteousness if he does. He is in a sore dilemma, as

* Says Mr. Lyall, (page 510,) "There is a certain moral beauty as well as augustness, in the principle of right, and the one as necessarily inspires delight and love, as the other begets awe and reverence. This is not to destroy the rightness of the principle which awakens both, and awakens both equally.... It would seem to be necessary, in order to moral approbation being real, that there should be love as well as reverence for the law; it would be otherwise a distant reverence, not approval; there would be assent to the rightness of the law, not approbation. Distant reverence is at most a cold feeling, and it is not properly approbation till there is love."

has been well observed. His fault lies in neglecting to enlighten his conscience, his remedy in putting away his prejudice, his aversion to truth and goodness, and opening his eyes to the light. For "every one that doeth good, cometh to the light. He that doeth evil, hateth the light and refuseth to come to the light, because his deeds are evil." We have dwelt the longer on the moral æsthetics of our nature, because the topic is generally passed by, or but vaguely alluded to by ethical writers, and lies, we are deeply persuaded, near the roots of some of the most formidable errors of the present time.

We have read no part of this book with greater interest than the closing portions which treat of the will and desires, their relation to each other, and to moral responsibility. Some of the great questions in ethics and soterology hinge on these points, which are mainly reducible to the following: 1. In what sense the will is a dependent, and in what sense an independent faculty? 2. Whether the emotions and desires relative to moral subjects involve moral responsibility? 3. Whether this moral responsibility attaches to the moral affections, desires and emotions directly, on account of their very nature, or only indirectly, in so far as the will has contributed to their formation?

We are of opinion, that no small part of the interminable disputes relative to this whole subject is due to an ambiguity, or, at least, inconstancy in the meaning of the words will, voluntary, &c., as used by most writers, and in ordinary discourse. Will is sometimes used for the entire optative power of the soul, which shows itself in the form of desire, wish, and choice, and sometimes for the last of these alone, or the power thereof. It means, in this case, the resultant or executive of the predominating desires of the soul, by which it goes forth in act for their gratification. There are few writers, however able in other respects, who do not constantly employ the words in question, in each of these senses. Thus, Edwards, who seldom used language blindly or vaguely, gives for his formal definition of Will, "That by which the mind chooses anything . . . an act of will is the same as an act of choosing or choice."* Again, he speaks of "immanent acts of the *will itself, or of the affections,*

* Inquiry on the Will. Part I., Sec. 1.

which are only certain modes of the exercise of the will."* But still further, in defining his position that the will is determined by the strongest motive, or "greatest apparent good," he shows that "the state of mind," its particular "temper," natural, acquired, or casual, has much to do with making an object appear good to one and the reverse to another.† It is difficult to see what is meant by "temper" here, unless those affections or desires which are so various in different men, and excite them to a corresponding diversity of choice. But then, if these excite the exercises of the will, it would seem, according to a previous definition, that they excite themselves. It is probable, however, that he was here governed by a conscious or unconscious reference to that distinction which he elsewhere so clearly defines, between principles or dispositions, and acts; by state or temper of mind, meaning an affection in principle; by exercises of will, meaning that affection in act. His real meaning might, doubtless, be fairly put thus: The acts of the will are considerably determined by its states; the affections are a class of the acts of the will determined by corresponding states of it. According to this view, will denotes the whole optative power of the soul, or what are often called the active and moral powers as distinguished from the cognitive. And this accords with the old distribution of the mind into intellect and will; by the former of which it knows, while by the latter it acts; by the former it apprehends things as true, by the latter, views them as good, and inclines to, or embraces them as such. Accordingly, Edwards says, that "whatever is perceived or apprehended by an intelligent and voluntary agent, which has the nature and influence of a motive to volition or choice, is considered or viewed as *good;* nor has it any tendency to engage the election of the soul in any further degree than it appears such."‡ Yet, if will be simply and merely the power of choosing, according to his first and formal definition, it is something more than the power of desire and affection. However these may be requisite to choice and determinant of it, they are not all we mean by it. They are antecedent and

* Inquiry on the Will. Part III. Sec. 4. † Ibid. Part I. Sec. 2.
‡ Ibid. Part I., Sec. 2.

lower exercises of the optative power, the whole of which is often denoted by the term will, both in philosophic and popular use. It is so difficult for those who attempt it, to avoid this usage, that there seems to be some foundation for it in the consciousness of our race. All the exercises of the soul, beyond and consequent on mere intellection, by which it tends towards objects viewed as pleasant and agreeable, in the form of inclination, affection, or choice, are in their nature free. They are the free motions of the soul towards some object. Volition is but desire developed and executed. Desire is but inchoate volition. Hence, all those acts, whether of the body (as in the circulation of the blood, or from outward coercion,) or of the intellect (as in discerning a mathematical demonstration,) which involve no free motion of the soul towards any object viewed as good, pleasant, or from it as the reverse, are justly pronounced involuntary and irresponsible, in all those forms of expression in all languages, by which the race utters its universal and unavoidable convictions. On the other hand, all acts proceeding from the desires and inclinations of the intelligent soul, *including such desires and inclinations themselves*, are pronounced free and voluntary, and, if related to moral objects, moral and responsible. To say that an act is morally good or evil, well or ill-deserving, because it is voluntary, is, in all languages, just the same as to say, it is so, because it is an act done of one's own free-will, or desire, or inclination, or pleasure, or that it is his desire, choice, or pleasure. These phrases, whatever else they express, convey to every mind an idea involving the elements of freedom and responsibility.

While will is thus often, and for good reasons, used to denote the whole optative power of the soul, it is, of course, used *eminenter* to denote that condition or exercise of this power, in which its highest collected energy is exerted, i. e., in which it directly chooses some object or course of action, at the bidding and in gratification of desire.

Still further it is to be observed, that there is often a conflict of desires, and that choice is the outgoing of the preponderant desire in acts for its own gratification, and in denial of its competitors. Thus it is the acting of the will's intensest energy. And this brings to view the point at which the action

of the optative faculty becomes deliberative and elective instead of spontaneous, as in the case of the emotions and desires. As there are competing desires urging their own gratification, so deliberation and inquiry arise with reference to them and the comparative claims of the objects on which they severally fix. As we have already seen, the whole emotional and volitional power depends upon the intellect for light and guidance. As emotion and desire arise only with reference to objects as seen and apprehended by the mind, so they arise spontaneously on the mere presentation of such objects, without consideration or inquiry. But since the mind obtains light by inquiry and argument, as well as by intuition, so it employs either method in forming its judgments as to what is good or desirable. And when it comes to decide between given objects or courses of action, it inquires, compares, and deliberates for the purpose of determining which will best further the end it has most at heart. Thus the mind decides between various objects equally put at its election, and which awaken its desires, in nearly all volitions or exercises of will which immediately impel the man to any form of action for the gratification of his desires. As here then is a higher energy of will than in mere unreflective, though not unintelligent, spontaneity, so, on this ground, it has often been discriminated, by classing the exercises of the former as voluntary in distinction from the latter which are spontaneous. Thus the will is not unfrequently by the best writers put in contrast with its own feebler and more elementary exercises, just as the intelligence, as evinced in deduction and discourse, is often contrasted with its own more rudimentary exercises in intuition, perception, and especially sensation.

It is at this highest point of optative energy, as shown in executive determinations, or choices of different objects within reach, that questions have arisen and been controverted interminably as to the power which the will possesses over these determinations, and all the springs and motives in which they originate. Without adverting to the extravaganzas of ultraists on either side, it is enough to say that the question here is not whether the will is free in choosing, or has an alternative object offered to its election; but whether it is of the essence

of liberty and responsible choice, 1. That there should be an ability, under precisely the same motives of external inducement and inward inclination, which prompt it freely to make a given choice, to make the contrary choice: 2. Whether the will is thus a power capable of contravening reason, desire, all internal and external motives, and acting from a state of pure indifference to the objects chosen. The statement of these questions is their answer to all who consult their own consciousness, or would not degrade the will from a rational and responsible to a senseless and hap-hazard agent; and, at the same time, put blind contingence in place of Infinite Wisdom on the throne of the universe. But it becomes all the more clear and incontestable, if we view desire and volition as different stages of the same movement of the soul after its object.

In reference to this subject, Mr. Lyall says, "We never act without a motive; and a motive is just a state of desire, along with a judgment, producing preference and leading to volition. . . It is the strongest desire upon the whole that leads to action. The prevailing desire may not have very much the aspect of a desire; it may seem rather a judgment merely, that a certain course of action is best; but a desire follows that judgment, and the reason that it may be less lively than the other is, that it is the desire, perhaps, of advantage, of worth, something valuable in the estimate of the mind—the desire of value, not of happiness." Pp. 554—556.

While this is undeniable, we think it entirely consistent with certain qualifying or explanatory views which the author offers, and which are requisite to a rounded view of the subject. When these are overlooked, as they often are, by zealous Necessarians, they leave man's free and responsible activity too near the borders of fatalism or passive causation. He says, "the will follows reasons, inducements, but it is not *caused*. It cannot in any proper sense be said to be so. It obeys, or it acts under inducement, but it does so sovereignly." P. 581. "It exhibits the phenomenon of activity in relation to the very motive it obeys. It obeys it rather than another. It determines in reference to it, that it is the very motive which it will obey. There is, undoubtedly, this phenomenon exhibited, the will obeying but elective, active in its obedience. If it be asked,

how this is possible, how the will can be under the influence of motive, and yet possess an intellectual activity, we reply, that this is one of those ultimate phenomena which must be admitted, while they cannot be explained." P. 592.

We deem this view, not indeed every word of the author, but his substantial meaning, important, and fully borne out by consciousness. We are conscious of being active and free in choice, and yet of not being independent of motive. It is important to shun the quicksands of indifference. It is no less important to shun the hidden rock of fatalism which lies in close neighbourhood. It is far safer and more rational to admit both facts, whether we can explicate them into logical harmony or not, than to deny either. Every man knows that his choice is his own free act. No man can conceive of himself as making a choice without any reason or motive for doing it.

When our author contrasts the acts of the will with the emotions and desires, in this respect, as if the mind were passive in the latter, and they were effects wrought in it otherwise than by its free activity, we think him less felicitous. We think this mistake arises from his overlooking the fact, that all these are diversified exercises of one and the same radical faculty, and is the source of some of the perplexities which he encounters in treating of the desires. He says, "Is this action then, the peculiar action of the will to be resolved into an effect merely? Is it an effect just as the emotion is an effect—the desire is an effect —and the whole motive is an effect of circumstances determined by causes? It cannot be said so." P. 592. Now here, we apprehend, is a great though common misconception. The emotions and desires, [except animal appetites and the like] are indeed effects. So also, are volitions. But effects of what? Of the soul's free, intelligent activity. In this case, the passivity is in the objects of desire or choice. The activity is in the mind choosing or desiring. In the spontaneous inclinations there may be a lower form or degree of this activity than in volition—but they are none the less, as Edwards says, "certain modes of the exercise of the will."* They are none the less,

* Mr. Lyall seems to recognize the truth on this subject, when speaking of the first rising of sinful emotion in our first parents. "Here is a volition which it would be difficult to trace to any previous motive, the previous state of the moral

in their measure, exercises of freedom. The love of God, the desire of fame, the thirst for wealth, are free, intelligent outgoings of the soul, totally distinct from involuntary animal appetites, the circulative and respiratory motions of the body, or the mere cognition of facts which excite no emotion.

This view relieves us of all difficulty in ascribing to the desires and emotions of the soul on moral subjects, that moral responsibility which conscience compels us to fasten upon them, despite all logical and speculative objections. So our author constantly maintains, that "while it is to action (volition) that morality belongs, the morality of action depends upon the motive; it is in motive that morality resides. The purpose, intention, feeling, with which an action is done, gives its character to an action." P. 599. This view seems to require that the moral emotions and desires should involve, and be the first subjects of moral character and responsibility; and that so far from deriving these from volition, which is prompted by them, they have them in themselves, and impart them to volition. This our author seems to hold. He says, "a moral emotion without a moral character, seems a contradiction. What can a volition do to that emotion in itself considered? The volition is but the consent to the emotion; the emotion is moral in itself, whether good or bad, virtuous or vicious. If the will could render an emotion good or bad, it would have a transmuting power." P. 601. Again: "it is essential that in the moral emotions there be morality. They are moral in themselves, and an act of the will is not needed to make them so." P. 603. Accordingly, he strenuously and justly impugns the favourite theory of Chalmers, which that great man would proclaim "with the pomp and circumstance of a first principle," that no emotion is "moral or immoral which is not voluntary," i. e., in some way produced or adopted by a volition as distinguished from an emotion. Few maxims are more plausi-

agent being one of perfect moral rectitude. A wrong emotion first will hardly account for the phenomenon in this case. *There must have been consent in the very emotion which first sprung up in the now fallen nature. . . . There would be consent to the emotion, for the very admission of the emotion would be consent.*" P. 603. Thus the very admission of an emotion involves the free consent or activity of the soul. Again he says, speaking of benevolence, "the emotion will be the regent principle, the will, the ancillary and executive. The emotion must will." P. 604.

ble, groundless, or dangerous than this. Its plausibility arises from the ambiguity of the word "voluntary," as already shown. It is proved groundless as soon as that ambiguity is evinced. Its danger lies in ruling out of the domain of moral responsibility, the deepest moral qualities and exercises of the soul. Says Mr. Lyall, "Let covetousness, or improper desire, be the emotion in the mind, is there no blameworthiness till the will has put its stamp upon the emotion, or followed it into action? . . . . There was immorality in the first motion in the direction of covetousness or impure desire. The simplest state of the emotion was wrong, must be wrong. If it was inconsistent with the right, then it must be wrong; if it has an improper direction when the will has taken effect, it had the same direction from the first. There is no new direction, and therefore there can be no new character derivable from the will. The state decides the emotion, and if depraved, the emotion must be depraved; and does depravity infer no morality? Does morally depraved nature infer no punishment? All this seems like repeating a truism." Pp. 605, 6.

This is another among the many instances, which illustrate the sound and healthy tone of Mr. Lyall's thinking, in the great results upon which he settles, even when there is some confusion in the speculative and logical processes by which he supports them. Taking for granted the principle which has been current with many ethicists, especially since the time of Chalmers, that the will is simply the executive of the optative faculty, the source of volitions and not of desires and emotions; and that the latter are passive effects, produced otherwise than by the free internal power of the soul, he finds himself compelled to face the formidable puzzle, how these passive effects can involve that moral responsibility which confessedly attaches to them. A large class, with Chalmers, derive this responsibility from their alleged dependence on volition, and deny its existence beyond the sphere of such dependence. But this solution, so far from relieving, only complicates the difficulty. For it is a first principle, that choice is prompted by desire, and derives its character from that desire. So says con-

sciousness. So says Mr. Lyall. So says Chalmers * So say all, when pressed clearly to define their position. If, then, volition itself depends for its moral character on the emotions which prompt it, how do these get their morality from the volition? There is no such process. Moral character is inherent in the moral emotions from their very nature, as our author well maintains. This is so true, that even where there is a volition antagonistic to an evil desire, arising from the preponderance of conflicting desires, the conscience charges guilt for the presence of such wrong emotion. If, at the bidding of conscience, or a due regard to my well-being, I resolutely strive to subdue the feeling of envy to which I am prone, I still feel guilty for its uprisings. So the Apostle mourns, and all Christians with him, that when they "*would* do good, evil is present with them." Doubtless there is a guilt in allowing and cherishing such passions, which he escapes who repents of and wrestles against them. But this does not destroy the guilt of the motions of sins themselves. This can only be taken away by the blood of atonement. Here lies the Christian conflict, which all Christians know, as a dire reality, but which is too often evaporated into thin air by a false philosophy.

But yet, although our author is with us thus far, this theory of the passivity of the emotions requires him to bring in the will, (in the narrow sense as distinguished from the emotional faculty,) somewhere, in order to legitimate our moral responsibility for them. We have already seen that he holds that "the emotions are moral in themselves, and an act of the will is not needed to make them so." For what then is it necessary? "*An act of the will only makes them ours*," says the author. "The relation of will to morality is only in making *the act* or *the state* our own." But by what volition are they made ours? He answers, "our emotions are our own in virtue of that primordial volition that occasioned the first apostacy." Pp.

* "A determination of the will may be viewed, not merely as the prior term to the act which flows from it, but also as the posterior term to the influence which gave it birth; or, in other words, either as the forthgoing of a power, or as the result of a susceptibility." (Chalmers's Moral Philosophy, Chap. 4.) "It is quite indispensable, then, that the beneficence should be originated, not by the hope of return, but by a proper impulse of its own—by a genuine principle of well-doing." *Ib.* Chap. 9.

602, 3. "If Dr. Chalmers had taken into account the primordial volition from which our depraved nature took effect; and if his remarks had regarded that volition—all our emotions characterized by that volition, or connected with the guilt of that one act of the will—the principle he announces might have been admitted; for undoubtedly guilt is attached to our depraved nature as springing out of that one volition. How otherwise could there have been *depravity?* And how can *depravity* be separated from guilt? A mere *pathological state* in which there is evil, is impossible." P. 606. "Now was man the cause of his own evil nature? In one sense, he was, in another, he was not. He was, *through federal representation; he was not, directly himself by his own immediate act.* The question comes to be then, how far does federal representation make the act his own? And here it must be unequivocally admitted that such a constitution does make the act truly his own, and that for his state man is now responsible; that even for evil in his very nature he must be held guilty. . . . But this very view of the matter shows that volition, will, is necessary in order to moral culpability; for it is *will*, that makes any state our own; without volition, any state would be as little our own as the state of any other being." P. 500. "It is not the will that makes the emotion moral, but a moral emotion supposes the possibility of volition. The two states are the complements of each other. The mind consenting to the emotion, is will in relation to the emotion. . . . The emotion must will." P. 604. "The very admission of the emotion would be consent." P. 603.

We have quoted thus largely, italics and all, that the author's views might be fairly exhibited. We think that our readers will feel with us, that there is some confusion in these views, and that this confusion arises from the clear conviction of the writer that our moral emotions involve responsibility in their very nature, on the one hand; and on the other, from the theory that without an act of volition added to them, they are mere "pathological states," out of the sphere of freedom and responsibility. The first of these propositions is unquestionable. The second is the cause of all the embarrassment. Is it true? Is it consistent with many of the author's own statements? Who could af-

firm more abundantly or decisively that it is not the will that makes the emotion moral, and that it has moral character in itself? For what purpose, then, is the volition needed? To make the emotion our own, it seems. Is this so? Is not the emotion of love, hatred, or envy in any soul, that soul's "own," be there any additional act of the will or not? We think this can hardly be denied. Besides, is there, or can there be, any act or quality having moral character, that does not belong to a rational soul? Never. "Emotion must will." "The very admission of it would be consent," to adopt our author's phrase, so far as to make it fully that soul's "own," in which it arises. On his own showing, therefore, we see no occasion to look further than the emotion itself, to fasten responsibility upon it.

This is all the more evident, when we consider where he is at length obliged to find the guilty volition. It is the choice by which Adam fell, that makes our sinful emotions properly our own, and so properly culpable. We need not here declare our belief in the federal headship of Adam; his representative character in his first sin, the consequent imputation of that sin to his posterity; their condemnation and abandonment to sin and death, as the punishment of that first transgression when the race was tried and fell with him. We believe this doctrine scriptural, a far more rational solution of the present condition of our race, than any that has been offered to supplant it; the key to a sound theology. Yet we do not think it has anything to do with each man's personal propriety in his own affections, emotions, and volitions, or his proper responsibility therefore. It has much to do with accounting for the fact that men are so far forsaken of God, as to be given up to corruption, to evil dispositions, emotions, affections. It shows this sad state of men to be a judicial visitation for their sin in the person of their representative. But it has nothing to do with making each man's corrupt state and exercises really his. They would be just as truly his, if they were in no wise traceable to Adam's sin. They are culpable in themselves, and we are guilty for what they are in themselves. If they are innocent in themselves, they are not made otherwise by any relation to Adam. If they are wrong and blamable in

themselves, they need no "primordial volition" of Adam to make them so. Accordingly, original sin is held to consist of two elements in the great body of evangelical confessions—1. The guilt of Adam's first sin by imputation. 2. As consequent upon that, the want of original righteousness and the corruption of his whole nature from which flow all acts of transgression. Inherent sin is doubtless the consequence of imputed sin. But being inherent from whatever cause, it is doubtless sin and our own sin, and like all moral acts and states has its character of merit or demerit in its nature, not in its origin. This we are sure is the testimony of conscience. Who ever thought of envy, malice, covetousness, being at all the more or less guilty—more or less his own, on account of Adam's fall or any other influence which may have fostered them?

But even if this theory would stand, a further perplexity arises in regard to this "primordial volition" of Adam, which thus makes our emotions and desires our own. If that, like other volitions, was prompted by desires, and derived its character from them, whence did these in turn acquire their moral character and responsibility? To meet this, Mr. Lyall suggests modestly whether "there may not be in the will a *power apart from motive*, and may not this very power, in the degree in which it exists, have been the cause of evil, evil in the will itself?" We rather suspect, it will be difficult to conceive of the will's making a choice, except for reasons, or with some end in view; and that, if this were possible, such an act would not be intelligent or responsible. The following proposition, we apprehend, exhausts our wisdom on the subject, without mastering all the metaphysical grounds of the mutability asserted. "Man, in his state of innocency, had freedom and power to will and to do that which is well-pleasing to God; but yet mutably, so that he might fall from it." That man was thus mutable, is past all doubt. That he is now mutable in many of his emotions and choices, is shown by all experience. That he is capable, under a due change of his internal state, wrought by the Spirit of God, of even loving and choosing the God he has forsaken, we rejoice to know. But that he is

capable of choosing, "irrespective of motive," i. e., of outward inducement, and inward inclination, is what no man can prove, and every man's consciousness disproves. Such a property is no requisite to freedom. It would be destructive of it. We are intimately conscious of our free and responsible agency. We are no less conscious that, in every free choice, we choose something rather than the opposite, and from motives and reasons which prevent the contrary choice. We know that we, not God, are the authors of sin. We may not be able to explain all this to the logical understanding. But we know it with a certainty superior to all logical deductions. We escape no difficulty, we only plunge into a thicket of new ones, by resorting to this figment of a power of motiveless choice from mere indifference. If such a power be essential to free-agency, what security have we that saints or angels will abide faithful another day—that almighty contingence will not usurp the throne of Almighty God in the kingdoms of providence and grace?

We have noticed, that among Christian and theistic apologists, quite a disposition has of late been shown to revive this Pelagian theory of the will, as affording the most facile solution of the origin and prevalence of evil in the universe. Mr. Thompson, in his Prize Essay on Theism, after conceding that "God is unalterably determined by the perfection of his will to do what is best upon the whole," p. 117, and that "the feelings, emotions, or dispositions which are the mind's motives to action, are not altogether uncaused [motiveless] efforts of the mind," p. 156, seems to set forth "an ability to act without cause," or a "power of choice without an adequate cause," as the only alternative to dogmatic fatalism, or semi-pantheism. P. 158. We are not surprised, therefore, that he inveighs against those who, he says, "think they can exalt the Grace and Sovereignty of God by taking away the free-agency of man;" who state the "doctrine of human depravity in such unqualified terms, that one might think man were in that desperate condition which would have befallen him, if no Saviour had been revealed." Pp. 450, 1. There may be a few ultraists who deserve these vague denunciations. But they are uttered as being widely applicable to current Christian teach-

ing. In this aspect, their extravagance and their animus are too evident to need comment.

Mr. Tulloch, in a competing prize essay on the same subject, not merely clears God, as he should do, of the authorship of sin, by referring its origin to human freedom; but in meeting the question, why God suffers it, or the present degree of it, and does not recover the whole of our race from it, by the power of the gospel, says, "the idea of a forcible and compulsory advance of the gospel is not for a moment tenable, even as a supposition. For in the very statement of this idea there is already implied the annihilation of the moral quality in man. . . . Unless man were truly possessed of a will, the gospel would lose all meaning," &c. This implies, if it implies anything, that the true vindication of God for suffering the sin that exists in the world, is, that it could not be prevented without a forcible annihilation of man's moral agency. Our readers need no refutation of a theory which our Church has long since confronted and banished from her pale; which sustains God's benevolence at the expense of his sovereignty; which renders it uncertain whether another sinner will ever be converted, and whether the saints on earth and in heaven will be kept from falling; which makes the pillars in heaven tremble, and unsettles the moral universe. We simply note it, for the purpose of calling attention to those renewed, though modest and tentative efforts to put life into this *caput mortuum* of a scheme of theology, already effete, if not extinct, on this side of the Atlantic.

ART. VI.—*New Testament Millennarianism: or, the Kingdom and Coming of Christ, as taught by himself and his Apostles;* set forth in eight sermons preached before the University of Oxford, in the year 1854: at the Lecture founded by the late Rev. John Bampton. By the Hon. and Rev. Samuel Waldegrave, M. A., Rector of Basford, St. Martin, Wilts, and late Fellow of All Souls College. London, Hamilton, Adams & Co. 1855. 8vo. pp. 686.

To the Bampton Lectures the religious world is accustomed to look for discussions of the greatest topics of the day by leading scholars of the English Church. The series already forms a little library of itself, restricted however, by the will of the founder, to the Evidences of the Christian Religion, the authority and teaching of the Primitive Fathers, the Divinity of our Lord and of the Holy Spirit, and the articles of the Faith, as contained in the Creeds. It is further provided, that no one shall ever preach the Divinity Lecture Sermons twice, and that after being preached, they shall always be published. All these circumstances confer a special dignity and importance upon the University appointment, and afford a strong reason why the lecturer should choose a subject of high interest. The author of the work which we have named, has, in our opinion, not deviated from the intention of the venerable founder, in selecting Millennarianism as his theme; as there is perhaps no one theological subject on which there has recently appeared so much in print, or so much that is unscriptural, contradictory and absurd. As opposites cannot be true, this must be admitted by sober persons on both sides, or rather on all sides, inasmuch as it is difficult to find any Millennarian writer who fully agrees with any other.

The author of this work is a son of the Earl of Waldegrave, and a late Fellow of All Souls College. From his other publications, as well as from this one, we discern him to be of the pure Evangelical school of the Venns, Milners and Scotts; a branch of Christ's family which we hold in distinguished love and honour, praying that the Lord would increase them more and more, them and their children.*

* Mr. Waldegrave has given several publications to the Christian world, and all in this spirit. We earnestly wish to see the first of them reprinted here. Among

The Lectures evince an extensive acquaintance with the copious literature of this most extensive subject. Indeed, if we except works existing only in the German language, there seem to be no sources, old or new, upon which the diligent and learned author does not draw. We know the importance of ample collection and accurate citation in matters so delicate and so vexed, but we own ourselves to have been sometimes impatient under the extreme load of reference and authority, especially when presented in the indigested mass which is so much in favour with English scholars. Oral delivery, of course, rejects such array of authorities, and hence, no doubt, the peculiarity of such annotation in the present instance; but we frequently look in vain for any good reason why such and such materials should be in the text rather than in the margin. Our strictures have a general bearing upon this whole class of elegant and often elaborate works, in which the notes and the appendix are swollen with every afterthought, even though this ought to have been part and parcel of the original argument. At any rate, the distraction of mind caused by looking two ways at once through a whole volume should be reduced to a minimum. Before we leave the external arrangements of a work which has interested us so much, we must take leave to notice a certain peculiarity of a school which in all great respects has our sympathy and admiration; we allude here to the excess with which chapter and verse are noted. Far be it from us to complain of the frequency of biblical quotation: we only marvel at the disposition to refer every scrap, and often single words, to their particular site in the canon. If so Masoretic a deference to the letter of the text were really necessary to high views of scriptural inspiration and authority, we should rejoice to follow Mr. Bridges and Mr. Waldegrave in this chronicling of every sacred syllable, but we perceive no such benefit to set off against the perpetual ripple and interruption of the pleasing current. Where an authority is cited, we wish to know chapter and verse; but such minuteness is scarcely de-

them are "The Way of Peace, or the Teachings of Scripture, concerning Justification, Sanctification and Assurance, set forth in four sermons, preached before the University of Oxford, in 1847, 1848." "Grieve not the Holy Spirit;" and "Christ Crucified;" sermons before the University.

manded by every illustrative or pertinent phrase which happens to be in the Bible. But we gladly leave a point which is little more than typographical.

Mr. Waldegrave informs us in the Preface, that the present labour had its origin chiefly in his solicitude, concerning the young ministry of his church. As he was led about ten years ago, when select preacher, to bring before the University, in his "Way of Peace," the great and neglected doctrines of man's depravity and ruin, justification by faith alone, sanctification by the Spirit, and assurance of God's love, so in the present instance he is led to his investigations by the affectionate interest in young theologians and preachers, which was caused in him by long residence at Oxford. And how sincerely do we bless God, for providing such antidotes at the very spot where Pusey and Newman brewed their poison. Although we see, as yet, no signs in America of any prevalent morbid thirst for the imaginative schemes which tempt many warm and evangelical minds among the clergy of Great Britain, we know not what a day may bring forth, and therefore, welcome most heartily these contributions of a sound and learned theologian to the stock of prophetic lucubrations. The great questions are well put at the opening: "Shall this earth and this dispensation pass away when he returns? shall sin, the world, and Satan, from that hour, for ever cease from troubling? Shall the redeemed then at once enter upon the perfect and eternal fruition of their glorious rest? Or shall the earth continue? and shall generations of men continue? and shall sin, the world, and Satan be merely placed in abeyance, but not yet be utterly vanquished? In short, shall 'the glorious appearing of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ' be 'the end' and consummation 'of all things,' or shall it not? These are the questions involved in the Millennarian controversy."

The lectures are eight, and treat of the subjects following: The Right Order of Scriptural Inquiry concerning the Millennium; The Kingdom of Heaven as now existing, the proper Kingdom of Christ; The Kingdom of Christ, as now existing, the true Kingdom of his father, David; The Ingathering and Glorification of the Church; The Judgment of Quick and Dead at the coming of the Lord; The Recompense of Reward to be

conferred upon the Saints at the second coming of their Lord; The Thousand Years, and the Little Season; The true Burden of the Old Testament Prophecy.

A careful inspection of these titles will of itself indicate the method of the author and some of his leading opinions. That these are not of the Pre-Millennial type is sufficiently obvious. It is our intention, not so much to discuss the points raised, as to give our readers some glimpse of the argument, especially as the Lectures have not been reprinted among us.

The First Lecture treats of the Right Order of Scriptural Inquiry concerning the Millennium. The very title speaks volumes. If we must proceed in all sound investigation and exegesis from the less obscure to the more obscure, and from things known to things unknown, then is it of great moment that we should not go about prophetic inquiry in a way that is preposterous. The true method is indicated in the following axiomatic propositions or canons of interpretation:

First: In the settling of controversy, those passages of God's Word which are literal, dogmatic, and clear, take precedence of those which are figurative, mysterious, and obscure.

Secondly: In all points upon which the New Testament gives us instruction, it is, as concerning the full, the clear, and the final manifestation of the Divine Will, our rightful guide in the interpretation of the Old.

Great attention is due to these grave sentences. Upon these hinge all the author's system. To our minds they seem countersigned and accredited as much by strict logic as by common sense. "Simple though these principles are, they will exercise a very material influence upon our present discussion. For they will direct our investigations into a course the very reverse of that which is usually followed by Pre-Millennarians. For it is a fact, more or less perceptible in all their works, that they lay the foundation of their argument and erect their superstructure with materials taken almost exclusively from the Apocalyptic and Prophetic domains of figure and imagery. The unfigurative portions of the divine word are not indeed left unnoticed; but I am guilty of no injustice, when I say, that reference is generally made to them, with the view rather of accommodating their statements to the conclusions thus

established, than of testing those conclusions by their unambiguous teaching." It is a very clear deduction from the first of these maxims, that our inquiries must be directed first to the strictly doctrinal portions of the sacred volume. Since symbol and allegory are the obscurest forms of Divine communication, we must not begin with these; or, as our author happily says, even if the controversy originate, as the Millennarian controversy certainly does, in the Apocalypse, it cannot be decided by it. And such positions concerning the order of inquiry touch not the authority nor the inspiration of the books intended, but only their perspicuity.

We are exceedingly well pleased with the strong good sense of the author in treating the vaunt of Literalism which is continually in the mouths of sundry extravagant zealots, as if no interpretation could be sound which is not literal. This fallacy has come to an end in the places where it began, but is perpetually taken up by new inquirers. There is a time when one must interpret literally, and there is a time when one must interpret figuratively; such is the dictate of common reason, in every language and literature under heaven. No man can proceed an hour in any branch of Scripture without finding it simply impossible to be either uniformly literal, or uniformly spiritual, in expounding prophecy. And the determination of the question, when one method and when the other method shall be employed, is referred to the second of the canons cited above; which is, that "in all points upon which the New Testament gives us instruction, it is our rightful guide in the interpretation of the Old." The basis of this rule is the grand truth that the New Testament is the inspired record of the words of that Great Prophet, of whom it was said, "Him shall ye hear in all things whatsoever he shall say unto you." The four Gospels were only the beginnings of his instruction. He himself declared the instruction given before his passion to be but part of his doctrine, and promised a fuller manifestation of his truth. Under the guidance and power of the Paraclete, the Apostles more clearly opened the truth, and thus carried out the teaching of the Great Prophet, to whom implicit deference is due. The remarkable truth which gives us the key to prophecy is, that

the Lord Jesus, in at least a hundred places, actually expounds the Old Testament: we have the direct quotation, we have express mention of fufilment.

In cases where there seems to be a conflict between Christ and the old prophets, a difficulty arises. Here our author justly warns us to beware of "difficulties of our own creating." "Take the case of the ritual Law for a first example. You remember what Moses said of the place in which the Lord should choose to put his name there. There and only there were sacrifices to be offered. Thither were all the males of Israel to repair thrice every year. Hearken now to the words of Jesus: 'The hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father.' And this is but one example of many. What shall be done? The type must disappear before the Antitype—the shadow must vanish before the substance—the servant of the house must yield to its master and builder. For 'to him shall ye hearken in all things whatsoever he shall say unto you;'—and that, even though he speak of 'the middle wall of partition' being 'broken down;'—even though he tell how 'in his flesh he hath abolished the law of commandments contained in ordinances.' Nor is the lawgiver one whit dishonoured thereby. It is his greatest glory, that, under the plenary inspiration of the Holy Ghost, he wrote of Christ. And I render far worthier homage to that inspiration when I penetrate beyond the veil of a richly varied ceremonial, and discover within the whole gospel of the grace of God, than when, still tarrying without, I gaze with untaught eye upon what are, after all, but 'weak and beggarly elements' which 'perish with the using.' Nor is the case materially altered when it is the Prophets who are seemingly at variance with Christ. For there are, unquestionably, times in which the teaching of Christ appears, directly or by implication, to militate with the announcements of Old Testament prophecy, when at least those announcements are understood in their plain and literal sense. What shall be done? Another meaning of the Prophets' language must be sought for—a meaning which shall leave intact the unequivocal declarations of the Lord Jesus. For, 'him shall ye hear in all

things whatsoever he shall say unto you.' Nor are the Old Testament seers brought into disrepute thereby. To them the words of imagery are no reproach. On the contrary, figure is their natural style. And is it not their greatest honour also, that moved by the fullest inspiration of the Holy Ghost, they bare witness beforehand to Christ? He therefore shows the most true appreciation of their high dignity—yes, and he manifests the most true reverence to Scripture as a whole—who surrenders many a pleasant phantasy, rather than consent that the Prophets should even seem, where no imperative necessity exists, to contradict their Lord."

We consider Mr. Waldegrave as having set forth unanswerable reasons for the proposition, that whenever in matters of biblical interpretation an umpire is needed, the prophetic supremacy is vested in Christ and his Apostles. In so doing he has in no degree taken away the authority of the Old Testament, as constituting with the New, our rule of faith and life, but has only established a principle in the expounding of both. It is scarcely possible to exaggerate the importance of these maxims in the interpretation of prophecy. So difficult is it to gainsay them as premises, that we anticipate battle chiefly in regard to their application. Hence we proceed with interest to what follows.

The second lecture is upon the Kingdom of Heaven, which our author asserts to be now existing. Pre-Millennarians generally deny this, and project the kingdom forward into the great sabbatine and Personal Reign. In approaching the controversy, Mr. Waldegrave makes some important remarks. It may be questioned whether the mediatorial offices of the Lord Jesus are, in operation, separable from each other. He who is now Prophet and who is now Priest, is at the same time God's anointed King. The present kingship of Christ is clearly established by scriptural teaching, first of our Lord himself, and then of his Apostles. Our Lord himself spake much of a kingdom which he claimed as his own; so that the populace accused him of making himself a king. He further taught, that this kingdom was near at hand. It was, moreover, a kingdom widely differing from all that the Jews expected. "My kingdom is not of this world." "The kingdom of God cometh

not with observation." "The kingdom of God is not meat and drink; but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost." It was a kingdom which should be taken away from the Jews, and "given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof." Whatever this kingdom is, our Lord taught that it was gradually and widely to extend its bounds by the preaching of the gospel. To which must be added, that our Saviour describes it as continuing, mixed in its character, until the "end of the world." "Is it possible," asks the author, "that, after all, Christ did not intend his people to recognize in that kingdom, when it should be set up, the very kingdom of Messiah? Is it possible, that, after all, that kingdom was not to come for eighteen centuries, at least?"

The Apostles, in like manner, make this a frequent subject, but with this notable difference, that the kingdom which was before announced as at hand, is now spoken of as having been established. The kingdom of Christ is the Visible Church. They tell of the solemn enthroning of Christ and of his universal dominion, and indicate the connection between the King in heaven and his kingdom on earth. He is Head. All power is given unto him in heaven and on earth; and, therefore, evangelists go forth to disciple all nations. The preaching of the word with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven is a dispensation of his royal bounty. Everywhere it is the doctrine of the Apostles, that Jesus has, from the moment that he sat down on the right hand of God, been as the Christ of God possessed of a kingdom which ruleth over all. This reign must continue till the last trumpet sounds, till the dead are raised, till the living are changed. It is most forcibly urged, that if, as Pre-Millennarians affirm, the kingdom can be introduced only by a personal manifestation of the King himself, it is unaccountable that our Lord gives no indication of a change so abrupt in the manner of his operations. "The sower sows; the leaven works; the mustard plant grows; until the 'end of the world.'" This 'end of the age," indeed, Pre-Millennarians affirm to be the termination of the pre-millennial economy. But this proves too much for their hypothesis, since this advent is to be followed, not by a mixed, short-lived kingdom, but by

a kingdom of eternal heavenly glory. The scene of these pure joys is heaven itself.

We have followed the masterly argument very closely, but with an almost total omission of that rich array of Scripture proofs by which the whole is defended, but which could not be spread out in a review. The pious reader feels at every step the preciousness of the good old healthful doctrine, that Jesus is our present King, sitting on the throne of heaven. This is the consolation of his Church, that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.

The Third Lecture investigates the true meaning of prophecies which are claimed as proving that Jesus of Nazareth is yet to be manifested as King of the Jews; and concludes that the kingdom previously shown to be now in existence, is Christ's true kingdom of his father David. It is founded on the text, Acts xiii. 32, 33. If the personal reign were Christ's own doctrine, where should we expect it to be more explicitly declared than in Christ's own discourses? Preaching amidst the nationality of Israel, what stumbling-stone would he and his Apostles have been more prompt to take out of the way, than their objection to a spiritual reign? If Israel's ancient glory was yet to be revived under a personal reign, it would have been both pertinent and gracious to have said so, to a generation who were fatally offended at the Cross. If the doctrine was sound. the early teachers would have been forward to apply it in their missionary approaches to the children of Israel. They did not so approach them. Christ and the Apostles, indeed, spoke much of the kingdom. By parables, by discourses, by a triumphal entry, he made the kingdom prominent. The Apostles proved his lineal descent and title. But in regard to the nature of his throne, they taught that the earthly throne of his father David had found its intended antitype in that heavenly throne on which Jesus was now seated at the right hand of God, ruling in the midst of his enemies, and making his people willing in the day of his power.

The New Testament writers teach the perfect equality between Jew and Gentile. The believing Gentile, though uncircumcised, is much more really a child of Abraham than the circumcised Jew, who does not believe. In the Epistle to

the Hebrews, and elsewhere, we see all distinction done away, and the priesthood, sacrifice, and tabernacle of Aaron superseded, so that, both spiritually and ecclesiastically, "there is no difference; for the same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon him." Nor shall any such distinction exist in time to come. No intimation reaches us, of any departure, at a coming epoch, from the gracious uniformity of that spiritual process by which the true Israel is saved. The ritual wall of partition between Jew and Gentile is broken down for ever. The ritual service shall never be restored. It has done its work and fled for ever. The analogy of Biblical interpretation, and the examples of inspired exposition force us to take figuratively those very obscure predictions which seem to bear another meaning on their surface. The monstrous tenet of restored bloody sacrifice is utterly irreconcilable with the plain teaching of the New Testament. To tamper with whole trains of argument such as Paul employs on this head, is to weaken the foundations of our evangelical system. The Epistle to the Hebrews contains such a train of argument, which, as ably unfolded by Mr. Waldegrave, not only shows the incompatibility of the Mosaic worship with the present gospel ordinances, but forbids the expectation of any future economy with which the Levitical rites may not be incongruous. To this exegesis and consequent reasoning, which place the matter beyond all debate, we would ask special attention; as also to the subsidiary paragraphs, in which the learned and dexterous author disarms his opponents, first in regard to Paul's occasional conformity to rites, and secondly as to the pretext that future sacrifices may be eucharistic rather than piacular. The sum of this part is, that there is, in the kingdom of God, equality between Jew and Gentile to the very end. Of any pre-eminence of the literal Israel, spiritual or ecclesiastical, present or future, we have not the faintest trace, either in the writings of the Apostles, or in the records of their public ministry. Both are, and both shall be for ever, one in Christ Jesus.

Having thus disposed of the subjects, Mr. Waldegrave goes on in the march of his inexorable logic, to identify Messiah's throne, or the kingdom of his father David, with that very

kingdom of heaven which was ascertained in the second lecture. The Apostles, in announcing the exaltation of Jesus, declare it to be completory of the promise, that Messiah should occupy the throne of David. There is no secular pre-eminence in store for the literal Israel, for even now doth Jesus sit on the throne of his father David as a spiritual Prince. This is largely evinced from the Pentecostal sermon. The Apostles continually represent the Son of David as now enthroned, and bestowing salvation upon all the Israel of God. The prophetic kingdom of David is identical with the present kingdom of the Son of David. It is not two stages of one dynasty; the kingdom of David and the kingdom of heaven are one and the same in every respect. Here it is shown, that as both are spiritual, so both begin, and both shall end—so far at least as they end at all—at the same time; and the Apostles are cited as defining with careful exactness both the commencement and the close of this reign, which in both respects precisely coincides with the "kingdom of heaven."

"Nor can the accomplishment be deemed unworthy of the prediction. The prophetic David is a far more exalted personage than David the son of Jesse; nobler far the triumphs he hath won. It is then but meet that his throne should be exalted in proportion. It is but meet that the blessings of his government should, in their nature and in the extent of their application, far exceed those of the kingdom of his earthly progenitor. No marvel then that when we search for the counterpart of that throne upon the literal Sion from which David, the son of Jesse, after God had delivered him out of the hands of all his enemies, and out of the hand of Saul, governed the literal Israel, we discover it in that heavenly throne from which God's incarnate Son, having spoiled principalities and powers, and made a show of them openly, dispenses to the nations of the world, Jew and Gentile alike, not the poor, the ephemeral benefits of an earthly sovereignty; but the matchless bounties of a spiritual, an eternal kingdom. Such then was the line of conduct actually adopted by the apostles in their missionary approaches to the house of Israel. Instead of soothing their irritation by the

promise of national glory at the coming of the Lord,—they scrupled not to declare, on the one hand, with regard to the subjects of the kingdom, that in the Church of Christ the distinction between Jew and Gentile is for ever abolished,—and on the other hand, with regard to the King himself, that in Jesus of Nazareth, now reigning over the united company of all his disciples, is to be recognized the fulfilment of the oath which God sware unto David in his truth. My text is a faithful summary of their preaching: 'We declare unto you glad tidings, how that the promise which was made unto the fathers, God hath fulfilled the same'—ἐκπεπλήρωκε—fulfilled out and out—'to us their children, in that he hath raised up Jesus again; as it is also written in the second psalm, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.' And now what shall we say? Shall we affirm that the apostles have practised a reserve in the record of their ministry? Shall we allege that we have more light than they enjoyed? No! The only conclusion to which we can rightly come is this: that we are not warranted in expecting a future personal reign of Jesus as the King of the Jews. Truly the kingdom of Messiah is already in being. In the overthrow of Zedekiah the tabernacle of David fell from its local, its temporal glory: in the exaltation of Jesus it has been reared again with the greater dignity of an universal, a spiritual majesty. And that the Jews see it not is to be ascribed now, as then, not to partial acquaintance with the prophets—but to a blindness, wilful and total, to the true meaning of them all. 'They that dwell at Jerusalem, and their rulers, ... knew him not, nor yet the voices of the prophets which are read every Sabbath-day.' 'Their minds were blinded: for until this day remaineth the same vail untaken away in the reading of the Old Testament.'"

The Fourth Lecture, on the Ingathering and Glorification of the Church, is founded on that bright and comprehensive passage, Ephesians v. 25, 26, 27; "Christ . . . loved the Church," etc. It may be warmly and confidently recommended to sundry smaller minds among American Episcopalianism, that they may be taught how an honoured son of that Anglican Church which they are continually citing rises above their miserable and grovelling adherence to an earthly organism, in

which they place their covenant hope. Mr. Waldegrave holds forth to us, the Church, not of the ritualist and hierarchist, but of the Articles. Thus he teaches on this head: "Christ loved the Church,—Christ gave himself for it,—Christ sanctifies its members by the word. When their number is complete,—when the Word has done its work,—then, and not till then, will he personally come;—for then, and not till then, can he present her to himself a glorious Church; then, and not till then, can there be a 'manifestation of the Sons of God;'—then, and not till then, can 'the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father;'—then, and not till then, can the bride, the Lamb's wife, have made herself ready;—then, and not till then, can that heavenly vision receive its accomplishment, 'I John saw the holy city, New Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.'" We wish our readers to ponder on these pregnant words, which moreover contain the sum of the argument on this part of the subject. And we quote—because Mr. Waldegrave quotes—the language of Mr. Brown's admirable work, already noticed in our pages by the hand of one whose venerable wisdom no longer dignifies and graces this journal.* "Dr. Brown, after discussing 1 Cor. xv. 23; Eph. v. 25—27: 2 Thess. i. 10: Jude 24: Col. i. 21, 22: 1 Thess. iii. 13: thus winds up his short but beautiful remarks:—'And now, I think it impossible to resist the combined force of these passages. One broad magnificent conception pervades them all—The absolute *completeness* of the Church at Christ's coming.—The spotless *purity* in which it will then be presented, "as a chaste virgin," to Christ,—The resplendent *glory* in which, as "the Bride, the Lamb's wife," she shall then be "adorned for her husband,"—The *praise* which will redound from such a spectacle to the Redeemer himself,—The rapturous *admiration* of Him which it will kindle, and,—The ineffable *complacency* with which the whole will be regarded by 'God, even our Father.'"

The Fifth Lecture is on the great and difficult topic of the judgment; 2 Cor. v. 10, 11. Here he is brought at once

* See Princeton Review, 1847, pp. 564—579.

to face and overthrow the first resurrection. The lecture goes even more deeply than those which precede it, into the various and incompatible hypotheses of the Literalists, and is peculiarly valuable to American students for its indication of sources. Pre-Millennarians insist upon a personal advent and first resurrection, which may hourly be expected, and which must certainly take place before the reign of blessedness begins. Our author undertakes to show, that this tenet despoils the judgment of its legitimate terrors. All agree that when Christ comes, a "judgment of assize" will begin. He dwells on the awful circumstances which the Scriptures proclaim as attendant on its opening. He shows that all mankind shall be immediately arraigned at that bar; the dead and the living; with minute and searching scrutiny of individual cases; and he identifies this with the Great White Throne of the Apocalypse. He further settles the doctrine, that the just and the unjust shall be judged simultaneously, with an immediate retribution to both. Such is the awful view of the grand tribunal, which is opened to us by Scripture.

This is, however, introductory to showing that the Pre-Millennial tenet of a first resurrection and a personal reign utterly invalidates this the terror of the Lord. The statement which follows, and which is manifestly founded on a most sober and faithful induction of authorities, presents a mortifying and humbling spectacle of the shifts to which even learned Protestant and devout upholders of evangelical truth may be driven, by the assumption of false principles. Between the sober and the wild upholders of literal resurrection, there is a great distance; specimens of all the varieties may be found in the notes and appendix. Almost all are agreed in holding, first, that the day of judgment is a period of centuries; secondly, that the great assize has two parts; one the judgment of part of mankind in the morning dawn, the other, the judgment of the remainder in the evening shades of that great day of the Lord; thirdly, that while the righteous enter upon their recompense at the beginning, the wicked do not receive their doom till the close of this grand period. These views, in our author's judgment, are inconsistent with the scriptural terrors of judgment. In reference to 2 Peter iii. 7, 10, he says: "These awfully

simple words would seem to warn the ungodly of their own perdition at the coming of the Lord, and of the concomitant destruction of that earth on which all their affections are centered. But no! On the Pre-Millennial hypothesis the saints have all, without one single exception, been caught up to meet the Lord in the air:—and yet men must be found for the double purpose of replenishing the earth during the thousand years, and supplying materials for the great Antichristian confederacy when those years shall have run their course. Moreover, the earth of the Millennium must in all its essential features be identical with the earth that now is, else shall the letter of prophecy in general, as it minutely describes the scenes of that abounding blessedness, remain, after all, unaccomplished; yea, and the promise itself to Abraham shall be, after all, unfulfilled, which said that he was to inherit that very land for ever, in which he was, of yore, but a pilgrim and a sojourner. What was to be done? Some are for postponing the predicted conflagration till the close of the thousand years: others, acknowledging that that conflagration cannot be severed from the Lord's return, are disposed to treat it as an allegory:—others, confessing that there is no metaphor here, and that the time is that of the Lord's second advent, are forward to assert, that 'the heavens and the earth that are now,' mean merely Palestine, or Italy, or 'the prophetic earth,' that is, the Old Roman Empire, or the other hemisphere of our globe:—others again, unable thus to limit the extent of the conflagration, would notwithstanding forbid us to understand the words 'burned up' of destruction;—no! say they, these words point to a process of fiery purification,—divided in its action as some think,—by which the fertility of the crust of this our earth shall be increased an hundred fold."*

It is made to appear that some consider the final conflagration symbolical, while some make it partial, and some hold, as above, that it will renovate and improve; further, in regard to

* "Thus Mr. Brooks, Elements, p. 239, note 1,—'Unfruitful land is now often pared and burned to produce a soil: and the soil formed by triturated *lava* is excellent!' Similarly Mr. Elliott, Horæ Apocalypticæ, vol. iv. p 195. 'It has been said, for example, of the Great African Zahara, or desert, that nothing more than fire of this (volcanic) kind is needed to turn it into fertility.'"

the sheep and the goats, that some held them to be all within, and some hold them to be all without, the pale of Christendom; nay, that there are found those who maintain a "prophetic perspective" of such sort, that the sheep take their station at the right hand, and enter upon their reward, at least a thousand years before the goats are summoned to the bar to receive their doom. In recounting and exposing these startling and often disgusting results of false interpretation, Mr. Waldegrave is in nothing more admirable than in his serious earnestness: he does not conceal his grief and horror, but neither here nor elsewhere, is there a smile of contempt, still less an approach to *persiflage*.

The Sixth Lecture treats of the Recompense of Reward which is to be conferred upon the saints at the Second Coming of the Lord. Here the last two chapters of the Apocalypse come in for full exposition, as furnishing the principal continuous representation of the glory which is to be revealed. These are held to represent the reward in the richest imagery; to show that Christ will be present with his people in heaven. Mr. Waldegrave does not assent to the doctrine of a repristinated earth, as taught by Chalmers and others. The earth that now is shall be burned up; and this we are told in terms which import not refinement, but destruction. The inheritance of the saints is "incorruptible and undefiled," without mixture of evil, death the last enemy having been swallowed up in victory; a dignity proportioned to that of joint-heirs, an everlasting triumph of the palm-bearing multitude; an inheritance which, if Scripture can be made intelligible, shall commence immediately upon the appearing of the Lord. Such is the biblical account.

Over against this are placed the varying accounts of Pre-Millennarians, in regard to the circumstances which shall attend upon that happy presence of the Lord with his people. The tabernacle of God is with men, not in heaven, say they, but on earth: this is an integral part of the doctrine of the personal reign, and as such is here formally discussed. The promise of the land to Abraham comes under review, and is held to have been in due time amply fulfilled. Next are considered the "everlasting possession," and the "twelve thrones," the "meek" inheriting "the earth," and the "expectation of

the creature." All students of prophecy recognize the arguments founded on these passages.

Common readers have for ages gathered from the Bible that a period of unmingled purity and peace is to ensue upon the Advent. But here we are met by those Pre-Millennarians who teach that the Millennial state shall be vexed by individual corruption, sin, and death, and also by national sin and punishment. For while these writers assert a consummate glory in Christ's presence, they admit a terrible residuum of evil elements in the heritage of the Saints. Men of depraved natures shall still increase and multiply. The hosts of Gog and Magog shall come forth to battle, after the thousand years, out of some origin which Pre-Millennarians have been much puzzled to point out. Some have limited the Millennial territory, and—dreadful to relate—have brought these rebellious forces from America! Some have confined Millennial perfection to the beginning of the reign. Some have raised the wicked dead, to take arms against the King of kings. Some have espoused the dogma of Adamic innocency. Some have resorted to a waning of gracious influence among the Millennial races. Each of these hypotheses our author maintains to be a confession that the actual presence of evil after the Lord's return is incompatible with what revelation promises concerning the reward of the saints. He also discusses the expedient of those who maintain two departments of the world to come, a "Jerusalem which is above," and a "Jerusalem which is beneath." He grapples also with the much more important and much more general declaration, that 'the Lord is at hand' in such a sense that any moment may witness his appearing. This declaration he rejects as unsound, holding that Scripture has foreshown certain events which must be interposed before the coming of the end. The gospel must be preached for a witness unto all nations; Israel must be restored at least in part; the anti-Christian hosts must meet at Armageddon. The Apostles, indeed, taught believers to fix their eyes upon the Lord's return, as upon the consummation of all their hopes. But they not less certainly declared, that great events and long periods of time must first intervene. When some of Thessalonica were misled into be-

lieving that the "day of Christ" in the very sense contended for, was "near at hand," Paul hastened to dispel the error, 2 Thess. ii. 1, 3. In concluding this lecture, the author charges, that the Pre-Millennial doctrine reduces eternity itself to the level of time, nor can it even exclude corruption and sin. This contravenes the scriptural expectation of good things to come. The Scriptures everywhere designate this future glory by the word "eternal;" the other hypothesis, to be consistent, much exchange this for the word "millennial," a word which the Scriptures do not contain. Not that they ignore all that is eternal, but that their view of Scripture confines us to a temporal prospect. On the contrary a sound interpretation assures us that even now the souls of them that depart hence in the Lord are in joy and felicity, but that at the day of his appearing shall be revealed the full excellency of their glory. This their promised reward is their being "for ever with the Lord," in heavenly mansions, to which no evil can ever approach. No foe shall emerge from unknown quarters to mar this tranquillity. As soon as the Lord appears, his Church, now for a time militant here on earth, is to become the Church everlastingly triumphant in heaven. Such is the clear, tried, ancient catholic holding of God's people, in all ages, which is to be superseded by the sensuous imagery of an earthly kingdom.

The Seventh Lecture is in some respects the most critical, characteristic and important of the series, being that which treats professedly of the MILLENNIUM, and the "Little Season" of the Apocalypse. If in other parts of the work the author has done a negative work, here he becomes affirmative; here he sets forth his own doctrine of Millennarianism, though modestly and alternatively; here therefore we find our handling of his argument most delicate and difficult. If our abstract and summary should awaken animadversion, it will be due to the candid and able author that recourse should be had to his very words as they lie in this discourse. It is perhaps the more important for us to speak thus, because it is just here that we follow our skilful guide with most hesitation. In all that has preceded—particular expositions being excepted—he has carried our judgment, as having utterly and irreparably demolished the main pillars of his opponents: as to this hypo-

thesis of exposition, respecting a passage of nine verses, we crave time for reflection, comparison, and counsel. By which, moreover, we are reminded of a truth which singularly escapes notice, amidst the heated debate and emulous authorship of this exciting topic; namely, that while doctrines, and classes of opinion, derive their style and title from the Millennium, or Thousand Years, as if this were almost as frequent a topic as the 'CHURCH' or the 'CHRIST,' the phrase itself occurs in Scripture seldom and in passing. Of coming glory and the celestial reign we read much; of a Millennary period we read little. And this we hold to be suggestive, in respect to the symmetry of doctrine, and "the proportion of faith."

Mr. Waldegrave begins his exposition of the twentieth chapter with three postulates; first, that in the Apocalypse, many of the symbols which express Christian events are of Jewish origin; secondly, that as to time the book ranges over a period neither wholly past, nor wholly future; and thirdly, as to method, that it does not observe a continuous order. "Chapter twenty may, or may not, chronologically follow chapter nineteen." But chapter twenty exhibits by symbol two successive periods; of which periods, the second is immediately followed by judgment and eternity. Of these two periods, the first lasts a thousand years, and comprehends a binding of Satan, a reign of martyrs and a first resurrection;—the second lasts for 'a little season,' and comprehends a loosing of Satan, a deceiving of the nations, and the assault of Gog and Magog. Here then is the problem of exposition; what is meant by this binding, this reign, this resurrection? When we spoke of our author as presenting his solution alternatively, we meant that he exhibits two different answers to this question, both being opposed to Pre-Millennarianism. The first answer regards the thousand years as yet to come, the second regards them as already past.

First, then, in regard to the thousand years as yet to come. This is sometimes called the "spiritual view." Here chapter twenty follows chapter nineteen in order of time. Chapters seventeen, eighteen and nineteen foretell the doom of Rome, which is yet future. On this doom follows the Advent;—but in what sense? The symbol of chapter xix. 11—15, clearly denotes a potential coming of the Lord by the triumph of his

Gospel; and this is made good by Scripture precedent, especially from Psalm xlv. 2—5, and Rev. vi. 1, 2: "I beheld Satan fall from heaven." Luke x. 18; 1 Peter v. 8. The usage of the Apocalypse itself shows that the symbolic binding of Satan by no means implies his personal banishment or the total cessation of his agency. It rather denotes, that he is forbidden to gather a dominant party, or a dominant influence among the nations of the earth. Such is the exposition which this school gives of Satan's binding.

Next they consider the First Resurrection, which they deny to be a resurrection of persons, and maintain it to be a resurrection of principles; of such principles as those persons once held. The resurrection of the witnesses is a triumphant establishment, in the persons of their successors, of the truths which they witnessed. This view leads to such an interpretation of the second period, or ensuing "little season," as is confirmatory of the hypothesis. In this second period Satan is to be loosed. That is to say, Satan is once more to have a dominant party, and to make head for a last, desperate struggle with Christ and his Church. At the end of the first period—not at the end of the "little season"—there will be a resurrection. "The rest of the dead lived not again, till the thousand years were finished." On the principle of a homogeneous interpretation, this indicates a resurrection of those defunct parties and powers of evil which were in full activity before the Millennial age began. Of this resuscitation the consequences will be momentous. The arch-enemy will make his grand assault, but the Lord himself shall appear as Judge of quick and dead. Such is, in shadow and outline, the first of the two expositions which oppose a Pre-Millennial advent and personal reign on earth. In reply to certain objections founded on Christ's great prophecy delivered on the Mount of Olives, it is maintained, that this prophecy relates to the destruction of Jerusalem; likewise, that the predicted destruction of the Man of Sin does not necessarily require a personal advent of the Lord. From the passage which relates to this, in connection with the parable of the tares and wheat, Mr. Waldegrave infers that Popery, among other delusions, will probably survive till the coming of the Lord.

But, secondly, in regard to the alternative method, the thousand years may be regarded as even now in progress, if not entirely past. Here the author deprecates the impatience of those, who, with or without reason, have learnt to consider the word "Millennium" as a convertible term for a latter day glory on earth. It is the precise meaning of this term, which we are calmly trying to discover. Chapter twenty does not follow chapter nineteen in order of time. It conains a new vision, in which the history of the dragon, (broken off at the end of the second verse of the thirteenth chapter,) is resumed for the purpose of accounting for several phenomena which the Apocalyptic history has, since that interpretation, brought before us.

We now have to re-investigate the binding of Satan. Taking along with us all that is common to this with the former hypothesis, the "deceiving" of the nations may signify the invention and propagation among them of religious imposture; and the binding of Satan may signify, his being restrained from inventing and propagating any new religious imposture among nominal Christians. The thousand years would then denote a period, in which the old fundamental errors continue to prevail. The little season would denote a period, in which new fundamental errors and religious deceits will emerge. Rising and reigning with Christ are not the only characteristics of the millennial saints; they are a'so sufferers, and martyrs, and this at the hands of the powers that be. Mr. Waldegrave here prefers the more exact rendering of Dr. Wordsworth: "And I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them: and I saw the souls of them that had been beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and of them who worshipped not the beast, neither his image, neither received his mark in their foreheads, or in their hands: and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years." On this supposition the thousand years will prove to be a period in which Christ's witnesses are witnesses even unto death—a period, in short, of martyrdom, not of triumph —a period in which Satan, (being precluded indeed from the invention of fresh delusions,) is able notwithstanding to wield those already in existence with such effect, as to make the

church of God to prophesy in sackcloth and ashes. The "resurrection of the rest of the dead" imports, that although there should never be wanting, during the thousand years, faithful witnesses, who should prove themselves to be indeed the blessed and holy partakers of a spiritual resurrection; yet it should not be till after the thousand years were over, and the little season had commenced, that the great body of truly living souls should be brought to God. "If I am right in thus understanding the words in question, the shorter period will prove to be a period marked indeed, as we have already seen, by the abounding of religious error among nominal Christians all over the world—*τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἐν ταῖς τέσσαρσι γωνίαις τῆς γῆς*—for Christianity shall now have extended its sway far and wide; but marked also by a far greater outpouring of the life-giving Spirit than has yet occurred among men.

"This then is the interpretation which I am inclined to give to this remarkable passage of God's word. I believe that it sets before us the working of Satan, for it is his working especially which is here exhibited to view, during two distinct periods in the history of Christendom.

"The first, the longer period, said to last a thousand years, is one in which Satan, forbidden to launch forth into the world any fresh impostures, does notwithstanding prevail with the aid of the civil power to persecute even unto death those faithful souls, who, being risen with Christ, are made by him kings and priests unto God and his Father.

"The second, the shorter period, said to last but a little season, is one in which the number of God's living saints being marvellously increased, and martyrdom being no longer the rule, Satan attempts by other means, even by the multiplication of religious delusions, to compass the destruction of the Church.

"The final issue of all will be the separating off and isolation, each in his own place, of the loyal servants of our God; a fierce and perhaps unprecedented persecution;—and, when Satan seems most likely to triumph, the appearing of the Lord, to deliver his saints and to punish his foes."

We desire here to renew our earnest request that this meager sketch of Mr. Waldegrave's argument may not be substituted, with any controversial intent, for his own full and

guarded dissertation; the rather as this is the most intricate portion of his labours, and that in which he arrives at the most startling results. Of matter pertinent to the subject of this seventh Lecture some is dispersed among the notes near the end of the volume. We ask special attention to all these notes which sum up the literature of Chiliasm, and here more particularly to that which indicates celebrated writers who have treated the passage just under review as figuring a millennary period now past. Among such writers we number Augustine, who dates the binding of Satan from the personal triumphs of the Incarnate Word; Dr. Wordsworth, who reproduces the Augustinian millennium, in his Hulsean Lectures; Brightman, Grotius and Cocceius, who date the binding from the overthrow of paganism in the fourth century; and Hengstenberg, from whom the following sentences are cited: "Strange truly is the prejudice against the view we have propounded of the thousand years' reign, as if it took from us somewhat of our consolation! as if it were fitted to overthrow our hope! .... On the contrary, it is very consolatory for us to know, that we have the thousand years already behind us; therefore, before us not the mere glimmering, but the clear day;—not the preliminary victory, which is again to be succeeded by a heavy reverse, but the final conquest. If the old earth is always to get more corrupt and full of wickedness, it is a great consolation, that we have got so far over the pilgrimage to the new earth on which righteousness dwells."

The Eighth and last Lecture defines the true burden of Old Testament Prophecy. To this topic the author is led by the assertion of the other side, that the Old Testament predictions constrain us to the expectation of an approaching period of unmingled righteousness and peace, such as the Lord's coming will usher in. The author derives his partition from the two-fold arrangement of counter arguments, which relate first to the matter and secondly to the tone of those ancient prophecies. First, as to their matter, Millennarians assume a reference almost exclusive to the literal Israel; and secondly as to their tone, Millennarians maintain that nothing has yet happened, answerable to their glory, for the counterpart of which we must look to the Great Sabbatism.

Mr. Waldegrave leads off the debate, by inquiring whether Old Testament Prophecy, under New Testament hermeneutics, favours the Millennarian hope. He goes to the Old Testament itself for laws of interpretation, and shows how extensively and how undeniably passages of oriental glow and poetic imagery, when collated with their declared fulfilment, establish another rule. The Law, the Psalms, and the Prophets are unequivocally cited by the Apostles and Evangelists about two hundred times; of these, more than one-half are predictions which are accompanied by express declarations concerning their accomplishment. "And in this manner," he strikingly avers, "we have keys, so to speak, by which to open at least thirteen out of those twenty-seven later chapters of Isaiah, with the true interpretation of which our present controversy is mainly concerned." He accordingly undertakes to show, that the language of the Old Testament prophets does not imperatively require that, in spite of all the plain statements of Christ and his Apostles, we should still harbour the expectation of a Millennarian Sabbatism and a Personal Reign.

In the order already noted he considers, first, the subject of these Prophecies. Here occurs a masterly examination of the pretence of literalism in interpretation; it costs us regret to pass this by. But as the main strength of Pre-Millennarianism lies not in the rule of a universal literalism extending even to details, but in the law of a modified literalism applicable only to the more prominent features of sacred prophecy, he proceeds to show that even when so qualified, the principle in question is not one to which, judging by scriptural precedent, the Old Testament prophets adhere. This he establishes by considering how the terms Israel, Zion, Jerusalem, and the like, are applied not in the New Testament, but in the Old Testament. By this induction he arrives at the clear hermeneutical ground, that we may lawfully give another than the strictly literal interpretation to that proper name of the ancient people of God, which most frequently occurs in prophecy. It is scripturally possible that these great proper names are part of a system of metaphors, by which the Holy Ghost did, in Old Testament times, picture beforehand the dealings of God with his Church of Gospel days. Nor could the case be otherwise, if figure

was to be employed at all in foretelling the Christian dispensation, a state of things differing in so many essential points from the economy then existing.

Another position which Mr. Waldegrave defends very ably is, that Israel after the flesh is not the exclusive nor even the main subject of the glowing predictions in question. He sets out from the distinction which always existed between the nation of the Jews and the holy seed which was the substance thereof. Both are sometimes called Israel. To both the prophets spake. "As the voice of warning to Israel after the flesh waxed sterner and yet more stern, so did the promise to Israel after the Spirit speak in tones of increasingly abundant and rich consolation." Of that consolation the theme was Gospel blessings. So that threatening and promise are concurrently fulfilled. "The warnings truly," says our author, "to Israel have been fulfilled, or are still fulfilling: and with equal certainty the promises to the Church have been accomplished, or are still accomplishing." That promise is not to the carnal Jew, "which is one outwardly," and who by certain modern Chiliasts is regarded with a preposterous veneration, but is the heritage of the entire mystical church, the one grand object of God's peculiar love. "He chose its members," says our author, "every one of them, in Christ, before time was. He purposes to glorify them all with Christ when time shall be no more. Nor have they ever been absent from his mind since time began to run its course." And he expresses there his conclusions in the language of Peter, which are also the words of his text, "Yea, and all the prophets from Samuel and those that follow after, as many as have spoken, have likewise foretold of these days."

Secondly, in regard to the tone of Old Testament Prophecy, it is alleged that nothing in gospel times, and nothing short of Millennarian glory can satisfy the conditions of those exalted predictions. As to pictures of the Church, the Holy Ghost, according to our author's opinion, often depicts a normal rather than an actual condition; and this when speaking of the present and also of the future. Again, there is a distributive plan in communicating instruction through the written Word. That which is partial in one statement, is complete in another.

That which is outline in one age is filled up in another. Add to this the truth, that the most glowing pictures contain some indications of an admixture of evil. Here certain passages are discussed, which are held to require the personal coming and presence of the Incarnate Word, and to foretell that the whole human race shall at some future time be converted to God. On this head, we frankly own that Mr. Waldegrave strikes the prophetic chord too lightly to educe its grand consistent harmonies, nor can we be fully satisfied with a concession so slender as that "it is quite possible, nay, rather probable, that the Gospel may yet achieve greater victories far, both among Jews and Gentiles, than it yet hath won." He does indeed make an admission, which is too seldom made on either side of this controversy, namely, that there are prophetic enigmas of which no solution is yet possible. The conclusion of the whole is impressive and elevating: "And now—men, brethren, and fathers,—I thank you all for the great patience with which you have heard me. It is not to be expected that we shall all meet again, till we stand together at the bar of eternal judgment. It has been my continued effort to make these discourses practical. Will you not second that effort with your prayers? Will you not plead, that it may be proved in that day that I have not laboured altogether in vain? For this you know, my brethren, that except Christ come unto us now in all his quickening, pardoning, purifying might, his second coming must be to us a day of unutterable woe. 'O blessed Saviour'—says one who loved the Lord and his appearing, and yet was no Millennarian—'how busy are the tongues of men,—how are their brains taken up with the indeterminable construction of this ænigmatical truth, when, in the mean time, the care of thy spiritual reign in their hearts is neglected! O my Saviour, while others weary themselves with the disquisition of thy personal reign here upon earth for a thousand years, let it be the whole bent and study of my soul to make sure of my personal reign with thee in heaven to all eternity.'

"Now unto the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God, be honour and glory for ever and ever. Amen."

In reflecting on what we have read in this learned, pious and

every way admirable volume, we find that it is not equal in all its parts, and that a few of its subordinate discussions do not attain the measure of the author's ability in this sort of argument. Supposing Mr. Waldegrave to be not yet forty years of age, we augur for him yet greater things, when he shall have worked the rich mine into which he has fearlessly gone down. The first six lectures we esteem truly golden. Not only do they rescue the scriptural doctrine of the kingdom from the hands of judaizing teachers, but in every part they breathe the spirit of genuine evangelical piety. Each step of the progress advances us almost as much in edification as in knowledge, and the harmony of gracious experience is evinced by the very arguments which dispel doctrinal chimeras. The argument upon the Millennium, strictly so called, is ingenious and able, disposed in lucid order and corroborated by various erudition; yet, we are obliged to own, it reaches us less powerfully. One reason of this no doubt is the libration of the author's own mind between two alluring hypotheses. But a deeper reason lies in the nature of the subject itself. On the clear, dogmatic ground, our author made solid discoveries; on the sea of millennary speculation, he is one among many adventurous vessels, seeking the great passage, and doubtless approaching many indications of it, but not yet fully authorized to triumph as a discoverer. The late Dr. Archibald Alexander, who was deeply read in this subject, and who was as humble, sober and patient in his inquiries as he was sagacious and sound in the resulting judgments, thus left his testimony concerning this matter: "To what period the thousand years in the Apocalypse refer, we profess that we do not know; and therefore, we cannot be sure whether it is past or future. We are, therefore, neither Millennarians nor Pre-Millennarians. But we believe that before the second advent of our Saviour, there will be a far more glorious state of the Church than has yet been witnessed, when the Jews shall all be converted to Christianity, and when the fulness of the Gentiles shall be brought in. And we believe that this blessed state of the Church will be brought about by the faithful preaching of the Gospel and the circulation of the Holy Scriptures in the languages of the nations."*

* Princeton Review, *ubi supra.*

These words express the spirit which prevails in the work of Mr. Waldegrave, whose sober and consistent theology and love for the Reformed Latin writings of the seventeenth century have continually reminded us of our late honoured father and fellow-worker, just cited. We are among the books of a library most familiar to the studious Presbyterian clergy of America, when as in these pages we alight upon citations from such men as Lampe and Witsius. There are tokens of our author's acquaintance with American interpretation, and this we hail as one of the many and increasing earnests, that Divine Providence intends to bind the two countries together for ever, for the glory of Messiah's name. It is true a very small portion of Biblical learning in the United States as yet has proceeded from the Episcopalian clergy, and almost nothing from their Bishops. Yet the names of half a dozen American interpreters are as well known in England as are those of any equal number of British scholars in America. We accept it as a token for good, and welcome every such recognition as an olive branch borne across the waters. May the God of peace grant to these two great families of mankind, who after all are one people, an everlasting exemption from the curse of mutual war! It is a comfort to us to know, in regard to our side of the ocean, that this is, without any known exception, the fervent prayer of all our ministry, of every name, of all our colleges and seminaries of learning, of all our men of science and letters, and of all our authors, and of all our evangelical Christians. Amen and Amen.

Erratum.—Page 530, line thirteen from foot, for great sabbatine, read Great Sabbatism.

ART. VII.—*The General Assembly of* 1856.

THE General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, met May 15, 1856, in the First Presbyterian Church in the city of New York, and was opened with a sermon by the Rev. Nathan L. Rice, D. D., Moderator of the last Assembly, from 2 Tim. iv. 1.

This discourse was received with great approbation, and a copy was by the Assembly requested for publication.

After the completion of the roll, the Assemby proceeded to the choice of a Moderator. Dr. Francis McFarland, of Virginia, received 119 votes, and Dr. John M. Campbell of New York, 113; whereupon Dr. McFarland was declared duly elected.

Princeton Seminary.

The Thirty-first Report of the Trustees of this Institution was read, at the request of Mr. M. Newkirk, by the Permanent Clerk.

From this report it appears that there is at present in the hands of the Treasurer, James S. Green, Esq., the sum of $12,010.05, of which a

Balance on	Permanent Fund,	$1254.35
"	Contingent Fund,	2648.86
"	Education Fund,	3742.29
"	John Hoff's Legacy,	4364.55
		$12,010.05

A new scholarship had been formed, to be called the John Hoff Scholarship, from the legacy of that gentleman, amounting to the sum of $2500, and from the same legacy $1000 had been appropriated to print the annual address contemplated by the testator.

The balance of the legacy of Miss Catharine Naglee had been paid in, and from this sum, as the necessity of a new Professor's house had been obviated, $1000 were added to the Perma-

nent Fund, and the residue not appropriated continues in the Contingent Fund.

The Library had received valuable donations of 195 volumes, and by purchase two volumes. The present number of volumes is 14,057.

John Donaldson, Esq., the financial agent of the Trustees since 1845, had resigned on account of impaired health, and John C. Green, Esq., had been appointed in his place. The mortgages were reported by Mr. Donaldson as all yielding 7 per cent., and the interest punctually paid.

The Forty-second Report of the Directors of the Princeton Theological Seminary was also read, from which it appears that forty-one new students have been admitted during the year. The whole number present during the year was one hundred and one. One death had occurred. The religious character and studious deportment of the students were commended. Seven students had been licensed by various Presbyteries. The Faculty earnestly repeat their conviction of the injustice done to the Seminary and to the students themselves by their being licensed in the early part of their course, and refer the Board to their early and continued remonstrances on this subject. Twenty-four young men had received certificates of having finished the whole course of study prescribed. The Board request the Assembly to alter the Article II., Sect. 13, so as to read, "During the annual examination, or at its close, a sermon shall be preached before the Seminary by a member of the Board of Directors."

The report was put into the hands of the appropriate Committee.

Danville Seminary.

The Rev. Dr. Humphrey presented the reports of the Trustees and Directors of the Theological Seminary at Danville, Kentucky.

A motion was made to omit the reading of the remaining reports of the Theological Seminaries, and that they be at once put into the hands of their appropriate Committees.

Objections were made from several members on the ground that this would appear invidious. The mover stated that his

object was only to gain time. After some further discussion leave was granted to the mover, and he withdrew his motion.

The Rev. Dr. Humphrey then proceeded to read the reports of Danville Seminary.

From the reports of the Trustees it appears that the whole amount of funds under the control of the Trustees of the Synod of Kentucky, turned over to the use of the Seminary, under the action and pledges of 1853, is	$22,507.94
Present amount of funds under the control of the Trustees of Centre College of Kentucky, turned over in like manner,	5,343.00
	$27,850.94
Total real estate held by the Board for this Seminary,	9,000.00
Cash, notes, stocks, &c.,	40,484.18
Total,	$77,335.11

This sum is considerably larger than was originally pledged for Kentucky to the General Assembly. Some difficulty and delay is necessarily anticipated, however, in making a clear collection and permanent investment of so large a sum. The real estate is at present wholly unproductive, and much expense is necessarily incurred in collecting the interest on stocks, &c. with regularity. On these accounts only about $4000 yearly income can be relied upon for some time to come.

The Report calls attention to the fact, that the pledges given by the Presbyteries of Kentucky for raising funds for the Seminary had been nobly redeemed, and that the time had fully come for making application to other parts of the Church beyond the bounds of the Synod of Kentucky. The Trustees of the Seminary had, during the past year, industriously made such application, and now report to the Assembly that they *had signally failed.* This failure had, however, led to the good result, that on a renewed application to the churches of Kentucky, the Presbyteries of that State had again cheerfully secured a further sum for the temporary support of a third Professor. In the view of the present need of the Seminary, the Trustees make an earnest appeal to the Assembly to take some definite action, in order to open the way for an appeal in the different pulpits throughout the bounds of the Church in behalf of the Seminary.

The Directors of the Seminary report that twenty-two new students had been admitted during the year. The whole

number present during the year is forty-five. Sixty-six students have entered since the origin of the Institution, and twenty-seven of these have been licensed. The plans of instruction have been perfected and fairly set in operation. The labour of four Professors has been wholly borne by two. The Directors urge the appointment of an additional Professor. The Presbyteries of Kentucky are very decidedly convinced of its necessity. One of the present Professors is so enfeebled in health as, in his own judgment, to make his resignation actually necessary. The Report closes with an encouraging statement of the success that has attended the youthful Institution from its beginning, and of the signal favour of God by which pressing difficulties have been met and overcome, and the way opened for its advancement.

The Report was placed in the hands of the appropriate Committee. This Committee subsequently recommended the following resolutions, which were adopted, viz.

In view of the history of this Seminary, and of the previous action of the Assembly constituting it a first class Institution of the whole Church, the following resolutions were submitted:

1. *Resolved*, That this Seminary be commended to the prayers and affectionate regards of the whole Church, and receive the same cordial attention which has been granted to the older Seminaries.

2. *Resolved*, As the Presbyteries of the Synod of Kentucky and the Directors, together with the present Professors, ask the Assembly to elect at its present sessions, a Professor of Pastoral Theology and Church Government, that the request be complied with.

3. *Resolved*, That this Assembly, with thanks to the Great Head of the Church, congratulates the more immediate patrons of this Seminary for the evident smiles of his Providence on their wise and persevering efforts in founding and advancing it to its present prosperous and hopeful condition.

Rev. Dr. Humphrey offered the following as supplementary to the resolutions as to Danville Seminary.

The General Assembly now re-affirms its purpose in conformity with its action in 1853 and its stipulations in 1854, to

proceed in good faith, and with the least practicable delay, to take measures to endow and establish this Seminary as of the first class. To this end it is earnestly recommended to all the congregations under our care, especially those in the West and South-west, to aid by liberal contributions its complete endowment; and the Board of Trustees, as the agents of the Assembly, are renewedly invested with ample powers to institute the means necessary to the collection of funds under this action of the Assembly.

Nominations for the vacant Professorship in Danville being in order, the Rev. Dr. McMullen nominated the Rev. Stuart Robinson as Professor of Pastoral Theology and Church Government.

Dr. Robinson was duly elected. The vote stood, for Dr. Robinson 130; blank 50; scattering 6.

Western Theological Seminary.

The Rev. Dr. Marshall presented the Annual Report of the Board of Trustees of Allegheny Seminary which was referred to the Committee on Theological Seminaries.

The whole number of students during the year has been seventy-nine; *eighteen* have completed the course of study. One has died during the year. The examinations before the Board were reported as very satisfactory, and the conduct of the students exemplary. Two had devoted themselves to the foreign field.

The Report represents the Seminary as in a very flourishing condition. A new Seminary building has been completed together with houses for two Professors. Large additions have been made to the library. Many rooms have been furnished for the use of the students. Receipts of the year, $22,772.15.

The appointment of a fourth Professor in this Seminary having been proposed, the Rev. Dr. Phillips nominated the Rev. Richard W. Dickinson, D. D.; the Rev. Mr. Beattie nominated Rev. Luther Halsey, D. D. Dr. Dickinson was chosen. The vote stood, for Dr. Dickinson 176; for Dr. Halsey 32; blank 5.

Union Theological Seminary.

The Report of this Seminary was read by Dr. Campbell. It shows a list of twenty eight students. Six graduated during the year. The Faculty of this Seminary is composed of three Professors. The health of the students has been good.

The Report was put into the hands of the appropriate Committee.

Professor Dabney rose to give a reason why another Report of the Union Theological Seminary than that given yesterday was presented. The Report read yesterday, owing to the time of meeting of the Board of Directors, was eleven months old. The present report is up to May 12, 1856. The report states that during the year nine students had been matriculated. The whole number present during the year has been twenty-three.

The increase of the Seminary has been recently very gratifying, and this new impulse has been cotemporary with the efforts of the Synods to endow it more perfectly. The whole amount of funds is now 75,000 dollars, of which 10,000 dollars are at five per cent., and 65,000 dollars at six per cent. This Institution has been much tried by repeated bereavements—four Professors have died in a few years, and two of these within the last five years. The report repeats the conviction of its friends of the necessity of this Seminary, in order to meet the wants of that particular section of the country. A new Professorship had been established—that of *Biblical Instruction*. The library contains 4370 volumes, of which thirty-nine have been received during the year. The Rev. William J. Hoge of Baltimore, has been elected to fill the fourth Professorship. The Seminary has four scholarships available for the support of needy students. The Trustees have pledged themselves besides, that no necessitous student shall lack the means to get a theological education at this Seminary. The assent of the Assembly was asked to the various organic changes detailed in the report.

The action of the Directors of this Institution in erecting a new Professorship, to be entitled the Professorship of *Biblical*

Interpretation, and their election of the Rev. William J. Hoge of the Baltimore Presbytery to this Professorship, were confirmed.

On motion, the resolution of the Committee to give the choice of two Directors of this Seminary (one minister and one ruling elder) to the Presbytery of Winchester, was approved.

It was stated, that to effect this arrangement the Synod of Virginia had agreed to deduct an equal number from the list which it now has the right to elect.

Board of Domestic Missions, 1856.

The Assembly then proceeded to the next order of the day, which was hearing the Report of the Board of Domestic Missions.

Dr. Musgrave, the Corresponding Secretary of the Board, read the Report, of which the following is an abstract.

There has been an increase in the number of missionaries employed during the year; an augmentation of the receipts, both from the churches, and in individual donations and legacies; an increase in the aggregate appropriations; a larger average salary paid to our missionaries, and an increase in the balance on hand at the close of the fiscal year. In every department there has been an encouraging progress; calling for thankfulness and praise to God for his unmerited goodness and mercy.

Operations of the Year.—Of Missions—Statistical Details.—The number of missionaries in commission, April 1, 1855, was 346, to which have been added to March 1, 1856 (11 months) 220, making the whole number 566, and more by 41 than the year previous.

The number of churches and missionary stations, wholly or in part supplied, (as far as reported,) by our missionaries, is 943. The number of newly organized churches is 42.

The number of admissions on examinations is 1832, and on certificate 1836, making a total of admissions of 3668.

The number in communion with churches connected with the Board, is 22,916.

The number of Sabbath-schools is 332; of teachers, 2443, and of scholars, 15,887.

The number of baptisms is 2217.

Of the 566 missionaries who have been in commission during the year, 187 have sent in no special report for the Assembly, very nearly one-third of the whole number; consequently we must increase all the returns very nearly one-third, to make them correct.

Appropriations.—The appropriations made to our missionaries, from April 1, 1855, to March 1, 1856, (11 months) have been at the office in Philadelphia, $50,103.34, and at the office in Louisville, $32,475.83; making a total of $82,579.17.

Adding the appropriations made during the month of March 1856, to the above, for the sake of comparison with the other years, the figures would stand thus: Appropriations made from April 1, 1855, to April 1, 1856, at the office in Philadelphia, $51,703.34, and at the office in Louisville, $33,425.83; making a total of $85,129,17.

The appropriations made to our missionaries, from April 1, 1854, to April 1, 1855, were, at the office in Philadelphia, $48,735.42, and at the office in Louisville, $25,759; making a total of $74,494.42.

From this statement it appears that the appropriations made at the office in Philadelphia, exceeded those made the year before $2967.92, and at the office in Louisville, they were more by $7,666.83; thus making the total appropriations this year more than the year preceding, by $10,634.75.

Receipts.—The total amount of receipts from all sources, from April 1, 1855, to March 1, 1856, (11 months) is $85,747.73, to which add balances on hand in the different treasuries, April 1, 1855, (less $320.95, withdrawn by Flint River Presbytery,) $15,223.34; making the available resources of the Board during the year, $100,971.07.

Adding the receipts at the offices in Philadelphia and Louisville during the month of March, 1856, for the purpose of comparison with other years, the total amount of receipts from April 1, 1855, to April 1, 1856, is $94,848.87; to which add balances on hand in the different treasuries, April 1, 1855, as above $15,223.34; thus making the available resources of the

Board during the year, from April 1, 1855, to April 1, 1856, $110,072.21.

The amount paid out at the different treasuries from April 1, 1855, to March 1, 1856, (11 months) is $79,837.90, leaving an available balance in all the treasuries on the 1st of March, 1856, of $21,133.17. The amount due the missionaries at the same date, was $13,226.54; leaving an unexpended balance of $7,906.63.

The aggregate receipts from April 1, 1855, to April 1, 1856, have been larger as compared with the receipts from April 1, 1854, to April 1, 1855, $23,014.40. The excess has been in individual or special donations and legacies, $16,958,95, and in the contributions of the churches, $6055.45. The receipts at the office in Philadelphia, including the Presbyterial treasuries, were larger by $14,067.95, and the receipts at the office in Louisville, $8,946.45.

The amount due the missionaries at the close of the fiscal year, as previously stated, was $13,226.54, leaving an unexpended balance of $7,906.63. The unexpended balance on April 1st, 1855, was $5,539.70. From this statement it will be observed, that the unexpended balance in the treasury on the 1st of March, 1856, is only $2,366.93 more than the amount which was reported on the 1st of April, 1855.

Re-Enforcements and Enlargement of the Church.—During the year, the Board have established new missions in various sections of our country. Three additional missionaries have been sent to California, two to Wisconsin, and one to Minnesota, and one in addition to those already there has been employed in Oregon. We have also sent one to Nebraska, and one to Kansas. Arrangements have likewise been made to send an additional one to Minnesota, and two to Kansas. Thirty-nine missionaries have been either wholly or almost entirely employed as itinerants.

Clothing.—Clothing valued at $7,837.14 has been received during the eleven months, from April 1, 1855, to March 1, 1856, and distributed among the missionaries who needed it.

Salaries of Missionaries.—During the past year, the Board have increased their *average* appropriation to the missionaries $11.35.

During the last *three* years, the Board have increased their average appropriations to the missionaries $41.90, which is a little over 31¾ per cent. By this advance, the *annual* liabilities of the Board, with the present number of missionaries, have been augmented nearly $24,000.

Need of Funds.—Although the available balance on hand at the close of the fiscal year is considerable, and somewhat larger than that of the year preceding, yet it is no more than is needed. It ought to be distinctly understood by all, that the amount on hand at the period of the year when our balance is reported, is always larger than at any other time. From the month of March the receipts begin to fall off, and during the latter part of the spring, the entire summer, and the early part of the fall, the receipts are comparatively small; so that unless our available balance at the commencement of the fiscal year is comparatively large, it would be impracticable to carry on the operations of the Board during the year. For example, at the beginning of the fiscal year, April 1, 1855, we reported an available balance of more than $15,000; and yet by the 1st of November ensuing, we had only about $2,000 in hand! —not enough to meet the usual payments for a single fortnight!—and but for the prompt and generous responses to our appeals for aid by many of the friends of the cause, our operations must have been seriously embarrassed.

The receipts *from the churches* from April 1, 1855, to April 1, 1856, *fell short* of the payments, during the same period, *upwards of eighteen thousand dollars*, and but for the balance on hand at the commencement of the fiscal year, and the unusually large amount received from individuals, donations, and legacies, we would have been in debt to our missionaries at the close of the year!

With an increased number of missionaries, and a higher scale of appropriations, the expenditures of the Board have been very largely augmented; so that during the year upon which we have entered, we shall need much larger receipts from the churches.

Moreover, it is very important that the Board should not be hampered or embarrassed in undertaking the establishment of *new* missions.

As there will, probably, be no collecting agents in the field assigned to the Executive Committee in Philadelphia, and probably none in the larger portion of the field assigned to the Western Executive Committee, the Board must rely mainly upon the pastors and sessions to see that collections are taken up for Domestic Missions during the year.

The usual resolutions expressing the approbation of the Assembly were passed. Dr. Hewit said:—Forty years ago he was a member of the Assembly. He is now enabled to cry out, What hath God wrought? Then we had 10 Synods, now 30; then 43 Presbyteries, now 148; then 511 ministers, now 2261; then 881 churches, now 3079; then 37,208 members, now 231,404. According to Scripture, the branch bringing forth fruit shall be purged; this has been verified in the history of the Church. We are two bands. Had we gone on together we should this day number 54 Synods, 256 Presbyteries, 3778 ministers, 4738 churches, and 374,433 members.

He hoped many here would live to see forty years hence, and if so, with what emotion they would repeat the words used to-day—"What hath God wrought?" THEN, with the same ratio of increase, they would see 270 Synods, 1280 Presbyteries, 18,890 ministers, 23,690 churches, and 1,872,165 members. "Hear then the trumpet—Onward, onward—God is with you—fear not!"

Foreign Missions.

On motion of Rev. Mr. Williams, the Rev. Dr. Thornwell was thanked for his able and eloquent sermon on Foreign Missions, preached last evening, and he was requested to furnish a copy to the Board of Foreign Missions.

Rev. Dr. Gibson, from the Committee on the Board of Foreign Missions, reported, recommending that the Report of the Board be approved, and ordered for publication. They also offered the following resolutions, which were adopted:

1. *Resolved*, That this Assembly finds occasion for the devoutest gratitude to God for the success which has attended its missionary operations during the past year, as appears in the extension of missionary operations, and the blessing of God upon the labours of our missionaries, unexampled

by any former year—no part of the missionary field remaining without some special token of the Divine favour, and the admissions to the communion of the missionary churches being more numerous than in any former year.

2. *Resolved*, That this Assembly desires to express its cordial approval of the manner in which the Church's Foreign Missionary operations have been conducted during the past year by the Executive Committee and officers of the Board, and would render adoring praise to God for the success which he has been pleased to vouchsafe.

3. *Resolved*, That this Assembly express special satisfaction in the increased liberality of the churches towards the Foreign Missionary Board, showing the unabated interest of God's people in this great cause so immediately connected in its final success with the glory of the Church's Head.

4. *Resolved*, That this Assembly render special gratitude to God, in that our Board of Foreign Missions has been enabled so much to enlarge its operations during the past year, and for the increased number of missionaries sent into the foreign field, with sufficient means contributed by the Church for their support; and especially for the unusual indications of the presence of the Holy Spirit in almost all our missionary stations and churches.

5. *Resolved*, That it is the indispensable duty of every member of the Church to contribute, according to his or her ability, to the various schemes of benevolence conducted by the Church; and this Assembly express their regret that so many of our churches have failed to contribute anything to Foreign Missions during the past year; and would hereby urge upon the pastors and sessions of those delinquent churches to see to it that the cause be remembered in their prayers and contributions in time to come.

6. *Resolved*, That the General Assembly feel greatly encouraged to go forward in the missionary enterprise, from the fact that from a comparative recent origin, our Board now takes its place alongside sister associations which have done so nobly in this cause, and would urge upon the churches increased and still more vigorous efforts to occupy the fields which are being opened by the providence of God for the

introduction of the glorious gospel of our ever blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

7. *Resolved*, That the Assembly approve of the course pursued by the Board in regard to the setting apart a special fund for the education of children of foreign missionaries, and because it is due to these men of God that their children be educated in Christian lands, the Committee recommend increased contributions on the part of the wealthy members of the Church to the above fund.

Also, in connection with the above resolutions, the Committee would direct the attention of the Assembly to the fact, that notwithstanding the recommendation of the last General Assembly, the fund of $20,000, devoted to the endowment of Professorships in the Theological Seminary of the Waldensian Church, is still incomplete by about $7000, very little having been contributed for that object during the past year.

Rev. J. Leighton Wilson, one of the Secretaries of the Board of Foreign Missions, then addressed the Assembly. Mr. Wilson said, these are times of scrutiny and agitation in reference to our Boards, and he would say that if in the Annual Report presented to the Assembly, there is not as much minuteness as may be desired by some, he knew not in what the deficiency was to be found. Would that there might be as much care in reading it, as there has been labour in preparing it. There has been no period in the history of our missionary work where it has worn so encouraging an aspect; and this whether as regards the steadiness with which the missionaries have been able to prosecute their work, the influence of the truth among the heathen, or the readiness of labourers to engage in the noble cause. Much of the work hitherto has been preparatory; now we are beginning to reap rich fruits. Few of the stations have been without special tokens of God's presence. Additions have been made to one church of 30; to another 26; to another 14; to another 12; and to two others 10 each. In all, something like one hundred and fifty precious souls have been gathered in. There never have been so many doors open, or calls for labourers, as during the last year. Every assault which succeeds must be followed up. For instance: at the Choctaw station something

like one hundred and twenty-five have been added to the Church during the last year, and this chiefly through the labours of one brother, who was occupied with a school. Now should not a man be sent out to take the pastoral charge of this flock? Again: among the Seminoles about twenty-five or thirty were brought in. Hitherto that has been one of the most hopeless of the Indian tribes. Should we not take advantage of these favourable indications to strengthen the hands of those who are there?

From the Pagan world beyond the seas almost every mail brings hopeful news. In Northern India, until within a few years, the doors were locked and barred against the gospel. But what a mighty change has occurred! Those mighty despotisms that opposed the gospel have been smitten to the dust, and the old pagan superstitions are shaking and tottering. Western Africa, twenty-five years since, was the most hopeless of all portions of the earth. There were not at that time more than twenty missionaries—now there are one hundred and fifty; there were but three churches, and these had barely an existence; now there are one hundred and fifty, and the converts are more numerous than those of both branches of the Presbyterian Church in this great city of New York. Is it nothing that these great changes are occurring? Is not the Church called on for efforts proportioned to such an era?

There has been no previous period when our Board has gone more extensively into its work than during last year. Nearly sixty labourers have gone out this year, being nearly double as many as were ever sent before, and more probably than by any other missionary institution in the world in the same time.

Missionaries are also to be sent to various new stations. This extraordinary extension of the missionary work demands, of course, a large increase of means. But no step has been taken in this work except in obedience to a plain call of Providence. The calls could not be resisted. The Indian tribes in Kansas and Nebraska were instances in case. Missions among them were urgently demanded; and just when the Board were striving to find the means required, our Government voluntarily offered a considerable sum for the support of schools,

which at once removed the difficulty. Mr. Wilson mentioned remarkable providential openings and calls from South America, New Grenada, and the Affghans. The Affghans, with a population of 5,000,000, have not yet learned the first rudiments of the gospel. A young man had offered himself for this work; and just when he was on his way, an Englishman and another offered the Board $7500 for this very object. This munificent sum will found the mission and support it for two years.

In view of the extent and wants of the field, the Board are sometimes almost overwhelmed with the responsibility which rests upon them. O, that the Church would come up to her full responsibility in this glorious work! A larger liberality is demanded.

Board of Education.

An outline of the Annual Report was presented by Dr. Van Renssellaer, who said:—The number of *new* candidates received this year is 102. The *total* number on the roll is 382, being 18 more than the preceding year. 1. This whole subject is eminently connected with God's sovereignty. 2. Our operations call for gratitude to God. 3. The statistics indicate the inadequate impression of the Church in regard to her responsibilities and duties.

The Board next present a plea for educational operations on the *basis of Scripture*, and maintain the following propositions: 1. The perpetuation of the ministry is made by the word of God an object of special concern to the Church. 2. The Church is required to use means for the attainment of the great end in view. 3. The Scriptures authorize the belief that many of the Church's ministers will always be from among the poor. 4. The ministry should be an educated as well as a pious ministry, called of God to their work. 5. It is a Scriptural principle, that pecuniary aid should be granted to those candidates whose condition requires it.

Agencies.—The whole work of the Board has been performed by the Secretaries, with the single exception of a few weeks' voluntary service, and at a less cost than for any year during the last eleven.

State of the Treasury.—The total receipts for the ministerial

fund were $40,679.78, being an increase of about $5000. Of this fund, one-fifth, or $8000, has been contributed by two churches in New York. The amount raised for this fund is the largest that has been raised since the division of the Assembly. The sum received into the fund for schools and colleges is $6,833.17, being somewhat less than last year. The aggregate receipts for all the funds were $48,169.52, and the expenditures were $48,071.47, leaving a balance, including that of last year, of $2032.96.

Primary or Parochial Schools.—The number of these schools is about 100, of which 34 have received aid from the Board, and seven more have lately applied. One of the elders of a church in New York city has continued his offer of $5000 per annum to the object.

Presbyterial Academies.—The number of Presbyterial Academies is 58. These are located in every section of the north, south, east, and west. They contain on an average 70 or 80 students each, and are doing a great work in the cause of thorough Christian education.

Colleges.—The colleges directly under the care of the Church are 18, which, with four others indirectly under our immediate control, make a total of 22 institutions. The number of students, regular and irregular, connected with these institutions is 2100; of these, about 500 are communicants of the Church, and 350 are candidates for the ministry. During the year upwards of 100 students have been hopefully converted to God. Revivals of religion have occurred at Princeton College, Washington College, Pennsylvania, and Oglethorpe University, Georgia.

The Board offer the following remarks on the collegiate policy of the Church:

1. It ought to be the universal aim to incorporate thorough religious instruction into the course of studies. 2. The Church ought to cultivate the harmony, now happily prevalent among our institutions. 3. Our colleges ought to increase in number from time to time; but not too fast, or too near each other. 4. Ample endowments ought to be provided for all our colleges, and chiefly from the districts of country where they are located. 5. A large number of young men ought to be encouraged to

seek the advantages of a liberal education It may be added, that, whilst our colleges are struggling to secure an endowment, especially during their infancy, it is good policy to assist them with a portion of the funds which the liberality of the churches may supply for the general object.

In conclusion, on the whole, the operations of the Board, in both departments, are in an encouraging state; and with the blessing of God upon the faithful efforts of his people, a constant advance in our work is to be expected.

The only resolution of special interest adopted by the Assembly in reference to this Board is the following, viz.

Resolved, That while the Assembly continues to approve of the course of the Board in establishing schools, academies, and colleges on a definite religious basis, a sound discretion is necessary as to their number and location; and lest the operations of the Board in this relation should be exposed to invidious misconstruction, it should be distinctly understood that the Church does not undervalue the importance of any institution of learning, which though not subjected to ecclesiastical supervision, recognizes the authority, and inculcates the principles of God's written word; much less disparage the common school system, as adapted to useful ends, so long as the Bible is not excluded.

An interesting debate followed the presentation of the Report, in the course of which Dr. Dabney remarked:—This Board does not receive equal regard with the other Boards. There is a great disparity between them in the number of contributing churches. It is asserted that we have already many unemployed ministers hanging about our cities. But it is a fact that the proportion of those educated by our Board of this sort is far, far less than of those educated by their own means.

Again, while the ministry requires a greater number of qualifications, mental and bodily, than any other calling, yet it is a fact that there are fewer failures than in any other profession. Where one has failed here, ten have failed in other professions. But suppose some few have not been worth the cost employed in their education, is there not a loss expected in every enterprise? Does every seed planted come to perfection? Does not every merchant expect that some of his ventures shall turn

out unproductive? Some, at least, fail to stand the severe test of the actual ministry, and that after all the efforts made to test them at every step. He referred to the armory at Springfield. There every sword-blade is subjected to an increasingly severe test at each point of its manufacture. Everything is thus done to secure a good blade. But at last a more severe test than any former one is applied, and there a number fail. What is the result? Are these all lost? Not at all; for those that fail for swords make excellent carving-knives. So, many that, after preparation, fail as ministers, make capital teachers. He thought, also, that a chief means of preventing mistakes was to raise the grade of acquirements necessary. He appealed here to the Presbyteries. They were the proper ones to elevate the standard of qualification. The Board could not go beyond them. The truth was, that our theology, instead of being the strong meat formerly required, is evaporating into diluted potions administered all over the land in small muslin covered volumes, that require no thought or labour to fathom.

This elevation of the requirements of our candidates would increase the number as well as quality of our ministers. We do not get the best sort of men, because we do not demand the best. The true plan to elevate the ministry is to make it hard to be licensed. The opposite course gives the world the best men, and leaves the infirm sort for the ministry. He inveighed against the loose way in which Presbyteries deal with their young men. The ease with which they are allowed to go through their trials, tends to lower their views of ministerial excellence. That which every man may easily get soon, becomes, in every man's esteem, not worth the having, and men cease to seek it. This plan, then, will necessarily lessen the ranks of the ministry.

Rev. Dr. Thornwell wished only to indicate two principles embodied in the resolutions, for which he could not conscientiously vote:—1. That the Board extends its influence over institutions of learning. From this view he must entirely dissent. It was purely an eleemosynary institution for the education of a ministry. It had no part in these collegiate institutions. 2. The second principle was this:—That education

belongs exclusively to the Church. This also he must dissent from. It belongs to the parent, to the Church, and to the State. This was no place to discuss the subject. He would, therefore, only express his dissent. As the Scotch Presbyterians say in their Presbyteries, he had exonerated his conscience, and would stop there.

If the Board has adopted the principle that education belongs exclusively to the Church, it is not only something new, but in direct contradiction to its most explicit official declarations, and to the constant representations and arguments of Dr. Van Rensselaer its distinguished Secretary. We are persuaded that Dr. Thornwell is entirely mistaken as to that point. The position occupied by the Board is that secular education does not belong exclusively to the family or to the State. It has stood on the defensive against those who denied the right of the Church to establish schools and colleges. It has ever asserted the very principle affirmed by Dr. Thornwell, that the education of the young, as the care of the sick and of the poor, is the common duty of the family, of the Church, and of the State. When either of the other agencies fully accomplishes the work, the Church is satisfied; but if parents are incompetent or negligent, and if the State refuses to do any thing, or insists on giving an infidel education, under the plea of excluding religion, then the Board asserts the right and duty of the Church to provide a mode of culture in accordance with the word of God. This is the principle which the Assembly has repeatedly sanctioned by an almost unanimous vote, and which is embodied in the resolution quoted above. That resolution expressly disclaims all disposition to interfere with schools, academies, or colleges under other than ecclesiastical supervision, provided they are religiously conducted. We believe all opposition to the principles or action of the Board on this point has originated in misapprehension. As the Board agrees with Dr. Thornwell, it is to be presumed that Dr. Thornwell agrees with the Board.

Board of Publication.

The order of the day was then taken up, and the Report of the Board of Publication was presented by the Corresponding Secretary, the Rev. William E. Schenck.

Abstract of the Eighteenth Annual Report.—The limits of the financial year of the Board have recently been changed, so that it will hereafter commence annually on the 1st of March, instead of the 1st of April. Owing to this change, the portion of time under review comprehends this year only *eleven months.*

The operations of the Board were presented under the three following heads:

I. Production. II. Distribution. III. Sustentation.

I. *Production.*—The Publishing Agent reports that there have been issued 37 *new* works, viz. 16 new volumes, and 23 smaller publications. Of these new works there have been published 111,000 copies. The *reprints* of former publications have been 485,250 copies. Thus the *total publications* of the year have been 596,250 copies.

The total number of copies published since the organization of the Board to March 1, 1856, has been 5,546,688.

There has been an *increase* in the number of copies of all kinds printed during the past year, of 125,250 copies over the year preceding.

The largest work issued last year has been the "*Assembly's Digest*," by the Rev. Samuel J. Baird, a volume of 856 pages, which has received much commendation. The Board has also issued an edition of the "*Life of Dr. A. Alexander*," by Dr. J. W. Alexander. Several additions have also been made to the Board's list of German tracts.

Much attention has been given to the judicious increase of its *Sabbath-School Library.* An anxious desire is expressed for its enlargement, and suitable manuscripts are invited from ministers and laymen in every part of the Church.

Periodicals.—Circulation of the *Home and Foreign Record*, 17,500 copies, being an increase within the year of 500 copies. *Sabbath-School Visitor*, 43,000 copies—increase, 2,000.

II. *Distribution.*—There are three distinct channels through which the publications of the Board reach the hands of the people.

1. Distribution by sales from the publishing-house to private individuals and booksellers. These have amounted during the

eleven months now reported on, to 171,516 volumes, besides tracts, pamphlets, and periodicals. The value of these sales, (including the *Sabbath-School Visitor*, but not the *Record*,) has been $70,702.28.

2. *Distribution by Colportage.*—In this department, there has been great enlargement and encouragement during the past year.

The number of colporteurs commissioned within these eleven months has been 210, an *increase* of 37 over those of the preceding twelvemonth. These have been distributed throughout 28 States and Territories, as well as through all the British Provinces, from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Lake Superior. They have also begun to occupy Oregon, California, Kansas, Nebraska, the Lake Superior mining region, and hitherto unoccupied portions of Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, Michigan, and Florida.

These colporteurs have *sold* 125,700 volumes, an increase of 27,940 volumes sold. They have *gratuitously distributed* 13,913 volumes, an increase of 3133 volumes. They have also distributed gratuitously 1,046,964 pages of tracts. And they have visited 91,734 families, an increase of 12,642 families visited.

There is much evidence that the colporteurs have also increased in qualifications and efficiency during the past year, and that the Spirit of God has largely attended and blessed their labours.

3.—*Distribution by donation of Executive Committee.* This has amounted to 3269 volumes and 111,873 pages of tracts, which have been chiefly given to Sabbath-schools, feeble churches, needy ministers, and to individuals for gratuitous distribution.

The *total distribution* of the eleven months has been as follows:—

By sales at Publishing-house,	171,516 vols.
" " by Colporteurs,	125,790 "
" grants of Colporteurs,	13,913 "
" " of Executive Committee,	3,269 "
Total of volumes distributed,	313,488

besides tracts, pamphlets, and periodicals.

III.—*Sustentation.*—There has been so gratifying an increase in the receipts of the Board from every source this year, that for eleven months only, they exceed those of the preceding twelve months. They have been as follows:

Total receipts of eleven months,	$88,596 20
" payments " "	86,039 03
Total receipts from sales of books, tracts, and Sabbath-School Visitor,	70,702 28
Total receipts for Colportage,	14,497 28
Balance in Treasury of Board,	17,033 96
Balance of deficiency against Colportage Fund,	2,352 67

Agencies.—Not a single collecting agent has been commissioned during the past year. There is an evidently growing disposition on the part of pastors themselves to instruct and train their people in habits of benevolence, a tendency in which the Board greatly rejoices. During the past year the income of the Board has been derived from a larger number of Presbyteries and churches than ever before, although there has been no collecting agent in the field.

The whole aspect of the work committed to this Board is one of progress and encouragement, such as it rejoices to be able to spread before the General Assembly, and as encourages it to new and enlarged exertions for the time to come.

Church Extension.

The Report of the Church Extension Committee was made by the Rev. Mr. Coe, the Corresponding Secretary, of which the following is an abstract.

This new enterprise was organized in the city of St. Louis, Missouri, on the 3d July, 1855, under the appointment of the last General Assembly. The Committee elected Rev. N. L. Rice, D. D., Chairman; Archibald Gamble, Esq., Treasurer; and David H. Bishop, Esq., Recording Secretary. On the fourth day of September, 1855, the Rev. H. I. Coe, of Galena, Illinois, was unanimously chosen Corresponding Secretary, and entered upon the discharge of the duties of the office on the twentieth day of the same month. His salary was fixed at $1500 per annum. The services of the other officers, all

valuable, but especially those of the Treasurer, have, during the past year, been rendered gratuitously.

In carrying on the work entrusted to them by the General Assembly, the Church Extension Committee have, as far as practicable, acted upon the following principles, viz.

1. To make no appropriation to any Church under the care of a Presbytery, without the recommendation of that Presbytery, or its Church Extension Committee.

2. To be guided in determining the amount to be appropriated in each case by the carefully ascertained necessities of that case, and the state of the Treasury.

3. To diffuse appropriations as widely and equitably as possible over the whole country.

4. To require, as the ordinary pre-requisite of the payment of every appropriation from the general fund, a certificate from the Trustees of the Church aided, that the Church lot is fully secured to the Old School Presbyterian Church, and that the amount granted by the Church Extension Committee will complete their house of worship, and leave the whole property free from debt.

5. To withdraw every appropriation not properly called for within two years of its date.

6. To recognize the right of donors to designate the recipients of their donations.

7. Inasmuch as it is frequently of the highest importance to a Church to know definitely the amount of aid upon which it may rely, for a considerable time before the money can be drawn, the Church Extension Committee have felt at liberty to make, in anticipation of the incoming of funds, several appropriations, payable as soon after a fixed time in the future, as the churches aided shall comply with the conditions on which the appropriations are made.

These principles are chiefly deductions from the eleven years' experience of the Church Extension Committee of the Board of Missions, and the past has only added to the evidences of their wisdom.

The number of *new* applications for aid in erecting churches, received from April 1st, 1855, to April 1st, 1856 (including thirteen applications acted upon by the late Church Extension

Committee of the Board of Missions, previous to the transfer of their books, papers, and funds to the present Committee of the General Assembly,) is one hundred and five. These one hundred and five new applications come from churches in the bounds of twenty-six of our thirty Synods, and fifty-three of our one hundred and forty-eight Presbyteries. The amount of aid asked for in these one hundred and five applications is over $27,000.

Besides these, forty-one *old* applications, amounting to nearly $7000 (action upon which was deferred by the Committee of the Board of Missions for want of funds,) remain on file, awaiting later information.

In addition to all these, forty-two unpaid appropriations of the Church Extension Committee of the Board of Missions, amounting to $5090, have been assumed by the General Assembly's Church Extension Committee, and may properly be regarded in the light of applications. The whole number of requests for aid during the year just closed, that may be ranged under the general head of applications, is, therefore, 188, amounting to over $39,000.

During the year ending April 1, 1856, appropriations have been made to seventy-one churches, to the amount of $12,785.99.

Appropriations to twelve churches, amounting to $1525, have been withdrawn.

The balance in the treasury of the Church Extension Committee of the Board of Missions, April 1st, 1855, was $4173.10. The receipts from April 1st, 1855, to April 1st, 1856, were—from churches, $8059.72; from other sources, $1697.59, making in all $9757.31. This, with the balance on hand, April 1st, 1855, gives for the available resources of the year ending April 1, 1856, $13,930.41.

The receipts of this year are $4510.83, or more than 85 per cent. in advance of the receipts of the last year.

The number of churches that have contributed this year is nearly two and a half times as great as the number that contributed last year, and the amount received from churches is considerably more than double the amount received from churches in any previous year.

The number of churches which this year for the first time have sent in donations, is at least one and a half times greater than the whole number of different churches which have contributed in any former year.

The expenditures of the year closing April 1st, 1856, were $11,083.51, including a temporary loan of $700 to the Church Extension Committee of the city of St. Louis, out of the contributions of the Second Presbyterian Church of St. Louis, made in accordance with the desire of that Church.

The balance on hand in the different treasuries, April 1, 1856, was $2,846.90, to meet appropriations made to the amount of $8,575. The liabilities, therefore, of the Committee exceeded its resources, April 1, 1856, $5728.10.

Ministerial Support.

Dr. Junkin introduced a resolution for appointing a committee to report to the Assembly on the insufficiency of the support of the ministry, and to draft a pastoral letter to the churches on this subject. Dr. Junkin argued to show the need of some efficient measures being adopted to correct the evil contemplated in the resolution. Rev. Mr. Cater complained of the inequality in the salaries of ministers, and stated that in a Presbytery to which he once belonged, the average salary of the ministers was $180. The Rev. Mr. Phillips said that the first two years he was a minister he received all told $225. He walked over a territory seven miles in extent and laboured with all his might. He had been eight years in the ministry and had never yet received $400 per annum. Dr. Junkin's resolution was adopted. Dr. Dabney, as Chairman of the Committee appointed by the Chair, subsequently reported a pastoral letter on this subject, which was adopted.

It contained a summary of the arguments used in the debate, setting forth the trials and exigencies to which the ministry is reduced by its present inadequate support, and urging upon the churches the need of their immediate and increased liberality in this duty. It dwelt upon the fact of the greatly increased wealth of the Church, the comparatively great increase in the price of the necessaries of life, and the conse-

quently increasing inadequacy of the stationary salaries of ministers which have been graduated in past time to meet a very different state of things. It calls upon the churches to take immediate measures to raise an adequate sum, by subscription or otherwise, and to institute efficient means for collecting the same.

There can be no doubt that the ministry in general in our Church is very inadequately supported, and that this is a great injustice and a great evil. The only question is, how can this evil be abated? It certainly does not arise from the poverty of the Church. Nor does it arise, altogether or in chief part, from the penuriousness of the people. We apprehend that the evil in question arises mainly from two sources; first, from the denial or failure to recognize the true principles of ministerial support; secondly, from the want of any suitable organization for carrying those principles into operation.

As to the former of these points, it is, in our judgment, the clear doctrine of the word of God, and the faith of nine-tenths of the Christian world—first, that every minister of the gospel, devoted to his work, is entitled to an adequate support; and, secondly, that the obligation to provide that support rests on the Church as a whole, and not exclusively on the particular congregation of which the minister is the pastor. The first of these principles our Church has always recognized; the second it has in a great measure ignored. The general rule has been to let every congregation provide for its own pastor. If the congregation is rich, the salary is abundant; if the congregation is poor, the salary is inadequate. Our Board of Missions in a measure meets this difficulty, but only in a very small measure. First, because it has always been conducted on the principle that its aid was temporary, designed to sustain churches in their forming period—and secondly, because its contributions are only sufficient and only intended to keep the minister above the starvation point. The Church has required it to act on the assumption that congregations must be self-sustaining; that the duty to support the pastor is a congregational, as distinguished from a church duty. We support our foreign missionaries, but we leave our domestic missionaries to shift for themselves, with the minimum of aid from abroad. The true principle, as

we believe, is that adopted by the Free Church of Scotland. The Church guaranties an adequate support to every minister devoted to his work; as much as possible of that support is derived from the congregation to which he ministers; the deficiency is made up by general contribution. We do not believe that it is possible that the crying injustice of such inequality and inadequacy in the support of the ministry can ever be abated, until a similar principle is carried out in our Church. No one supposes that a minister living in New York should have no higher salary than one living in a western village. This would be absurd. But the western missionary is entitled to a salary suited to his necessities, and he has the same claim to such a salary that our city ministers have to an income suited to the greater demands to which they are subject.

Supposing this principle should ever be recognized, of which we have little hope, how can it be carried out? We see no necessity for any new organization for this purpose. Every object would be answered by enlarging the operations of the Board of Missions, and enabling them so to increase their appropriations as to put every faithful minister above the necessity of either starving, or of devoting his time to some secular pursuit. When we said above, that we had no organization for carrying out the Scottish principle of ministerial support, all we intended was that we have no organization intended for that purpose. We have one adapted to it, if the Church would only give it the requisite authority and resources. All that is required is, that we should act towards our ministers who labour among the poor and the unbelieving at home, on the same principles which guide our action towards our ministers among the heathen. Mere exhortation will not meet the difficulty. There must be some plan to equalize the burden of ministerial support.

Fund for Relief of Indigent Clergymen.

Rev. Dr. Rogers made a report from the Trustees for the relief of indigent and disabled ministers, and the families of such. The report stated that they had given aid to 20 persons, of whom 11 were widows, 8 were clergymen, one an orphan daughter. The reasons which justified the bestowal of this

relief were various. Some of the beneficiaries were unable to labour by reason of advanced age, and others by chronic disease. The whole amount of funds at the disposal of the Trustees during the year was $1580, which sum, divided among 20 persons, would give an average of $79 to each. The moneys, however, have been divided in different proportions: the largest amount paid to any one person was $200, and the smallest $35. The Trustees expressed deep regret that in the distribution of funds they were restricted to so small an amount. The sums appropriated have been necessarily small, from the smallness of the funds placed at their disposal. Had the amount at their disposal been larger they would gladly have awarded, in many cases, sums twice, or even three times as large as those which were actually paid.

The resolutions of the Assembly on the subject had met but little attention. Two of the wealthiest Synods had drawn more than they had paid in during the year. The appeals of the orphans and widows to the Committee had been very touching.

This subject was referred to a committee, consisting of Dr. Rogers, Rev. W. Cater, Judge Porter, Dr. Marshall, and Matthew Newkirk, Esq. This committee reported, recommending, 1. The establishment of a permanent fund for the relief of aged or disabled ministers, and of their widows and orphans. 2. That this fund should be raised by an annual contribution of five dollars from each minister and of ten dollars from each congregation. 3. That the benefit of the fund be confined to the contributors. 4. That the Trustees should apportion the income of the fund according to the recommendation of the Presbyteries, through whom all applications for relief were to be made. These recommendations were severally adopted, but when the motion came to be put for the adoption of the whole paper, a motion as made to recommit it. This was carried. When the subject was again brought up, it was found that great diversity of opinion and feeling existed among the members. Some were opposed to a permanent fund; others thought there was no need of action in the premises, inasmuch as ministers were well enough taken care of. One man said a minister ought to preach as long as he was able to stand, and then lie

down and die; another, that he had no idea of preaching to a people who would not support him; that the oldest ministers were the richest; or they might get their lives insured, or be supported by their children. Another argued that the whole thing ought to be left to the spontaneous action of the Church. The result was that the subject was referred to a committee consisting of Judge Leavitt, of Cincinnati; Dr. Rogers, of Philadelphia; Daniel Lord, Esq., of New York; Thomas C. Perrin, Esq., Abbeville Court-house, S. C.; and Isaac D. Jones, Esq., Princess Anne, Maryland, to report to the next Assembly.

It has been frequently remarked that the laymen in our General Assemblies uniformly manifest greater interest and more liberality of feeling on the whole subject of ministerial support than the ministers themselves. All the remarks deprecating action, or bearing with severity on the feelings of the brethren, came from ministers. This may be natural. They may revolt at the idea of being considered necessitous or dependent, and disposed to resist any plan which seems to hold up the ministry as objects of charity. All this, however, seems to us very mistaken. Is it a matter of charity that the English government gives a retiring pension to all public servants from the Lord Chancellor downward? Are the widows and orphans of our military and naval officers paupers because they receive pensions? It is a simple principle of justice, that when a man devotes himself to the service either of the Church or State, he should be sustained while able to work, and provided for when disabled. It is not only a matter of justice but a divine command, and as Dr. Thornwell said, (though opposed to the report,) the curse of God would rest on the Church if she did not perform her duty in this matter.

There can be little doubt that there is a necessity for some provision for the support of aged or disabled ministers; and that it is the duty of the Church to make such provision. But how shall it be done? One plan is to leave the matter to each congregation, or Presbytery to provide for their own cases of this kind. This amounts to doing nothing more than is now done. Another plan is to raise a permanent fund the interest of which shall be applied to the contemplated object. To this it is objected that all permanent funds are precarious;

that it is inexpedient to put a burden on this generation which properly belongs to the Church at all times; that if this fund is to be raised from ministers, and its benefits confined to contributors, it is after all making the ministers support themselves; that no fund which the churches would raise would yield an income adequate to the object. Another method proposes a modification of the plan of life annuities. There are institutions established for the sake of profit, which secure to contributors in consideration of a sum paid at once, or of an annual contribution, a certain annuity payable either when the party attains a certain age, or in case he should at any time be disabled. It has been suggested that the Church should form such an institution—not such as has already been established, to which ministers contribute annually, and the contributors alone are benefitted—but one to which the Church shall annually contribute as she does to other objects, and her disabled ministers, whether contributors or not, should receive the benefit. If an individual minister may be a subscriber to such an institution, or if a particular congregation may subscribe for its pastor, why may not the Church as a whole do the same thing? We are glad that this subject is committed to men of business, and especially to legal gentlemen, who are familiar with the whole business of life insurance and of annuities. This is a subject very imperfectly understood by those who have not made it a matter of special attention. This was made abundantly evident by the discussion on the floor of the General Assembly. The suggestion was made and insisted upon, that the corporation for the relief of the widows and children of clergymen, should restrict their operations to the ministers of our Church. This sounds very much as if a flour or cotton merchant should refuse to sell to any but Presbyterians. The more he sells the better, and the more subscribers to the widows' fund the better. It is the very principle on which such institutions are founded that in the aggregate more must be paid in than is drawn out. One man in a long life will pay in twice or thrice as much as his family can be entitled to draw; while in another case the family may draw ten times as much as the parent paid. On the whole, however, the payments to the fund must exceed the payments

from it, or it would soon become bankrupt. It is for the good, therefore, of all concerned that the subscribers to the widows' fund should be increased as much as possible.

Judicial Cases.

Some eight or ten cases of this kind were presented to the Judicial Committee, but by the skill and wisdom of that body matters were so managed that all but three were arranged without being brought before the house. No. 1 was the complaint of the church of Stillwater against the Synod of New Jersey.

The session of the Stillwater church suspended one of their ruling elders. The ruling elder appealed to the Presbytery, and the Presbytery directed the session to restore him to office; the session then complained to Synod, and the Synod sustained the Presbytery. It was against the action of the Synod the session now complains.

After a great deal of discussion, extending over parts of six days, Dr. Thornwell said he thought the whole question was one of technicalities, and moved that the complaint be sustained *pro forma*, and the session be directed to give Mr. Shafer (the suspended elder) a new trial. This motion was carried almost unanimously.

This is another lesson teaching what the Church seems slow to learn; that a body consisting of upwards of two hundred members is not a very suitable court of appeal. Lawyers tell us that the apparently anomalous plan of making the upper house of the Legislature the ultimate court of appeal in civil matters answered very well, because the house uniformly deferred to the judicial members, except in cases where those members differed among themselves, and then the instinct of the lay members generally inclined them to take part with the right side. Such is not the constitution of our Assembly. It would be more of a parallel case if the appeal in civil matters were from the bench to the whole bar of a state assembled as a court, or if the House of Representatives of the United States were the supreme court of the Union. We believe the necessity for the appointment of a commission is forcing itself more and more on the conviction of the leading minds of our Church.

Another infelicity in our mode of conducting judicial cases was made very manifest on this occasion. This case was introduced on the fourth day of the sessions of the Assembly and decided on the tenth. When the case had been partly heard, other matters were taken up, and the whole subject driven from the minds of the members, and then it was resumed. This was done over and over again. It is obvious the case would have occupied much less time and been much better understood, could it have been heard continuously.

There is another point worthy of remark. It is impossible for any reader of the minutes of the Assembly, or of the debates, to have the least idea of the merits of the case. The complaint is not given, neither the action of the Presbytery nor of the Synod is so stated that the reader can understand either the grounds or the justice of their decision. The only insight he can get is from the conflicting statements of the debaters.

We will venture still further to urge the necessity of the revision of our book of discipline. It is unintelligible, inconsistent, and in some of its parts unreasonable. This is proved beyond dispute from the fact that so much diversity of opinion exists as to its interpretation. We never knew of a judicial case brought before the Assembly where the mode of procedure did not create debate and confusion. Who are the original parties is the question almost certain to be started, and just as certain to receive conflicting answers. In the present case, the Moderator decided the Session and the Synod were the original parties.

But what can the word *original* then mean? The original parties must mean the parties concerned in the origin of the dispute; which in this case, were the elder and the session—another difficulty is, that in the great majority of cases there are no parties, in the sense of plaintiff and defendant. It seems unreasonable and anomalous to make the lower court a party. In civil matters, a lower tribunal does not appear at the bar of a higher, as a party to be tried. Its decision is reviewed—but the original litigants are the only parties, no matter how many steps there may be before the ultimate tribunal is reached. Would it not simplify matters if we adopted the same course?

Our plan is first to try the Synod as a culprit, then the Presbytery, then the session, and at last we get down to the original offender. No wonder we never fail to get into confusion. The simple and natural course, when a case is brought from a lower to a higher court, is to try the cause, and not the court. The thing to be done is to administer justice, that is, for example, to decide whether a member has been rightfully suspended. Why not do this directly, instead of indirectly? Why must we get at the ultimate point by first having the Synod arraigned, accused by one party and defended by another, and then turned out of the house as a culprit, and when all is done, we have to see how the Presbytery acted, and at last we get to the Session. In the State, if a man brings a cause before a lower court and it goes against him, he appeals to the superior court; if not satisfied, he takes it up to the Supreme Court, and if still aggrieved, he goes to the Court of Errors. In every step he takes simply his cause, he does not drag all the courts with him. The case is re-heard at every step, and if injustice was done in the original decision, or in any of the subsequent ones, the matter is set right. The cause goes up with all the records in the case, and is decided on its merits. We cannot see why we should not adopt the same course. If a man is suspended unjustly in his judgment by a session, let him take the case to the Presbytery, and have the case (not the Session) tried over again. If not satisfied with the decision, let him go to the Synod, and have the case (not the Presbytery and Session) re-heard; and if still aggrieved, let him take the case to the Assembly and have it (and not the Synod, the Presbytery and Session,) tried again. This, we are persuaded, would save a great deal of time and trouble, and deliver us from that labyrinth in which our higher courts never fail to get bewildered. It is a natural consequence of making inferior courts parties, to put them out of the house, and deny them any voice in the ultimate decision of the case. What justice is there in this? If it is a question of fact or morals, or of doctrine, or of constitutional interpretation, they have as much right to be heard in the last resort as others. Suppose a Synod consists of three Presbyteries, one with fifty members, another with twenty, and the third with ten, and that the first should unan-

imously pronounce a given doctrine heretical, then, in case of an appeal, sixteen members might set aside the judgment of fifty. Is there any sense or reason in this? Is it a personal matter with the Presbytery any more than with the Synod? Is a circuit judge excluded from his seat in the Supreme Court when his judgment is appealed from? This making lower courts parties, and denying them a voice in the final judgment, and, to cap the climax, turning them literally out of the house, does appear to us a monstrous perversion of judicial principles.

There are several other points in which the obscurity of our Book was manifested. What is meant by the Synod, as a party, being fully heard? Dr. Rice said, it means hearing all that the members appointed by the Synod to defend its judgment had to say. The Moderator decided it means hearing all that any member of the Synod, present at the Synodical decision, might wish to say. Again, it was disputed whether the complaint brought up the merits of the case; some said it did, others, with the Moderator, said it did not; and yet it was so impossible to get on without bringing up the merits, that the Moderator was forced to admit that "it seemed necessary that some little reference to the history of the case should be made!" Is not this pitiable? We do not blame our excellent Moderator, whom everybody respects and loves; we blame the system. The whole process is disreputable. The session suspended an elder, no one knows why; no one knows whether it was done justly or unjustly, regularly or irregularly. The Presbytery ordered the elder restored to office—no one knows why. The Synod confirms the action of the Presbytery, and the Session complains to the Assembly—of what? we have not the slightest idea, and no one else can have from the record. If the proceedings of a civil court or of a court martial were so conducted and so reported, what would the public think? Instead of being behind and below all other tribunals in the mode of administering justice, the Church courts should present a model for all other courts. This can never be done until we have a complete revision of our system.

Case No. 2. Rev. Dr. Campbell of the Judicial Committee reported the complaint of the Rev. H. G. Gardiner against the Synod of Wisconsin, reversing the proceedings of the Presby-

tery of Dane, which recognized the election and ordination of J. G. Clark and others, as elders and deacons of the church at Madison, and also a complaint of the said J. G. Clark against the same decision of the said Synod, and also against their decision reversing the action of the Presbytery of Dane in putting a call from the said church of Madison in the hands of the said H. B. Gardiner to become their pastor. The parties in this case having agreed upon a statement which was laid before the Judicial Committee, the Judicial Committee recommended the following action in the case, which was agreed to.

1. That the complaint be sustained *pro forma*, and the decision of the Synod be reversed so far as it pronounces the election and ordination of the elders and deacons invalid; the Assembly being of opinion that the informality in the call of the congregational meeting was not so serious as to vitiate the election and ordination.

2. That the Synod was right in pronouncing the call of the congregational meeting irregular.

3. That although the Assembly thus recognizes the validity of the election and ordination of the said elders and deacons, they yet recommend, the said elders having assented thereto by their representatives, that in view of the past and existing difficulties the said elders cease to act, according to our Form of Government, until such time as in the estimation of the Presbytery of Dane the church can be reasonably harmonious in receiving them in their official capacity.

It was moved that the report of the Judicial Committee be adopted.

Dr. Junkin stated that this decision would satisfy all parties.

The question on the adoption of the report of the Committee was put and carried.

Case No. 3. In this case it appears that the session of the church of Muncy arraigned General William A. Petriken on three charges. On two of these he was condemned; but on the first charge, the ruling elders of the church being interested, the case was referred to the Presbytery of Northumberland, who tried and condemned him on the first charge. The Synod of Philadelphia afterwards, on the alleged grounds that one of the ruling elders had not been installed, and also that the ses-

sion were interested personally in the case, declared the whole proceedings null and void. The Rev. Messrs. Waller and Gibson now complain of the said action of Synod; and Mr. Smalley appeals.

The only point of general interest involved in this case is, whether installation is essential to constitute a man a ruling elder in any congregation. The affirmative was strenuously asserted by several members of the Synod. The negative was as strongly affirmed by several members of the Assembly. Judge Leavitt stated, "that if installation were necessary, he himself was not a ruling elder, and had no right to a seat in the Assembly." Mr. Hendricks, of Indiana, made the same statement respecting his own position. "He had never heard, indeed, the word installation applied to ruling elders until yesterday." Similar statements were made by others. Mr. Waller stated that "there were five uninstalled ruling elders at his Presbytery last fall. Did that destroy the Presbytery?" The Assembly refused to sustain the appeal and complaint. The vote stood—sustain, 52: not sustain, 100; sustain in part, 14. This might seem to imply that the Assembly intended to sanction the doctrine of the necessity of installation. To avoid that inference, the Rev. Mr. Shotwell moved that a committee be appointed to bring in a minute expressing the judgment of the Assembly in the case. Dr. Humphrey "thought this important, inasmuch as the vote of the morning had placed many members in a very equivocal position. Are these men," he asked, "no longer ruling elders?" The motion was carried. The committee subsequently reported the following minute, which was adopted, viz.

The Committee appointed to prepare a minute in relation to the action of the Assembly in Judicial case No. 4, respectfully recommend the passage of the following resolutions, to prevent on the one hand the bad effects of former irregularities in the installation of ruling elders, and on the other hand to avoid such irregularities in future.

1. *Resolved*, That any ruling elder, regularly ordained or installed in one church, and subsequently elected to the sacred office in another church, and who has heretofore, pursuant to such election, served as a ruling elder in such other church,

without objection, shall be presumed to have been duly installed therein, and his right to act shall not be now questioned.

2. *Resolved*, That when a ruling elder shall hereafter be elected to the same office in a church other than that in which he has been ordained, the minister and session are hereby enjoined formally to install him.

3. *Resolved*, That the Assembly hereby declare that the existing law of the Church as to the mode of installation is as follows:—After sermon, the minister shall speak of the office of ruling elders, as in case of ordination, and shall then propose to the ruling elder elect, in the presence of the congregation, the following questions: "Do you accept the office of ruling elder in this congregation, and promise faithfully to perform all the duties thereof?" "Do you promise to study the peace, unity, and purity of the Church?" The ruling elder elect having answered these questions in the affirmative, the minister shall ask the members of the church whether they accept him, as in cases of ordination. The members of the church having answered in the affirmative, by holding up their right hands, the minister shall declare him a ruling elder of the church; and accompany this act by an exhortation, prayer, and other proceedings, as he may deem suitable and expedient.

Turrettin remarks, that in reference to ordination and the appointment of church officers, we must distinguish between "essentials and accidentals." To make forms essential is the essence of formalistic ritualism, and utterly subversive of God's law, and of the best interests of the State and of the Church. What is marriage but the covenant between one man and one woman to live together as man and wife, according to God's ordinance? Wherever this covenant is made, there, in the sight of God, and *in fero conscientiæ*, is marriage. Different States have enacted different laws prescribing the forms or circumstances which should attend this contract, and the modes in which it shall be attested; and it is the duty of all living under such laws, to conform to them. But suppose that from ignorance or recklessness any of them are neglected, is the contract null and void? To answer in the affirmative is to trample the law of God under foot. For a long time the laws of England required that all marriages should be solemnized in church, by

an episcopally ordained minister, and within canonical hours. While these laws were in force, it was the duty of all Englishmen to obey them. But suppose any man was married by a Presbyterian minister, after twelve o'clock, noon, would his marriage in the sight of God be void, and would it be pronounced void by the civil courts, without doing violence to the divine law? In like manner, ordination is the declaration of the judgment of the Church, through its appointed agents, that a certain man is called to the ministry. The Church directs that this judgment shall be signified in a certain way, and with certain prescribed solemnities, such as laying on of the hands of the Presbytery. Suppose any of these prescribed formalities are neglected; suppose the Presbytery omit the laying on of hands, (as we have known very recently to be done,) is the ordination void? No man but a Papist or Puseyite would answer, Yes. In the case of a ruling elder, the choice of the church, and the consent of the person chosen, is all that is essential. The rest is ceremonial. Prescribed forms should be observed; the neglect of them should be censured. But to make them essential, is, in our view, to abandon the fundamental principle of Protestantism and of common sense. It would invalidate the acts of half the sessions in the country.

This matter of installation of elders is very much a novelty. We believe it is unknown in the Scottish and Continental Churches. We have no objection to it. We are perfectly willing it should be "enjoined," and we think the injunction ought to be complied with, but we must renounce our Protestantism before we can believe that an uninstalled elder is no elder. Some years since, an Episcopalian in Ireland was married to a Presbyterian woman, the rite being solemnized by a Presbyterian minister, whereas the law at that time required that when either party belonged to the Episcopal Church, the officiating clergyman should be an Episcopalian. The man repudiated his wife and made her children bastards. In some of our States the law requires a marriage license. A young girl, ignorant of that fact, is married without a license, and her marriage is pronounced void. Is this right? Certainly it is, if the neglect of prescribed forms be allowed to vitiate solemn contracts. Mr. Waller asserted "that Mr. Smalley, the ruling

elder in question, was unanimously elected, after due and sufficient notice," and was immediately invited to take his seat in the session, and did so. This was almost a month before the trial. Any principle which would invalidate his official acts, would justify the repudiation of a wife under the circumstances just stated. If a man sells an estate, and receives the money for it, and then refuses to recognize it because of technical defect in the papers, it would be universally considered an outrage, because everything essential to a sale had been done, and the failure was in unessential and variable formalities. However, therefore, we may be disposed to insist on certain forms attending induction into Church offices, do not let us do as Romanists do, exalt forms into substance.

The New Digest.

The following resolutions were offered and adopted:

Resolved, That the thanks of this General Assembly are due to the Rev. Samuel J. Baird for the labour incurred by him in the preparation of the "Assembly's Digest," recently published by the Board of Publication.

Resolved, That the Digest is earnestly commended to the attention and patronage of all in our connection, and that any person having suggestions to make in reference to any proposed improvement in the work are invited to make them to the author thereof before the issue of a new edition.

The next Assembly is appointed to meet at Lexington, Kentucky.

SHORT NOTICES.

Discourses and Essays; By William G. T. Shedd. Andover: W. F. Draper. 1856. Pp. 271.

This is a reprint of several discourses and essays previously published from the pen of the distinguished Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Andover. They are all marked by profound thought and perspicuity of statement. There is a strain of what we know not how to express more intelligibly than by the word "Transcendentalism" running through the whole volume. The results are perhaps in the general sound, the principles involved, we fear will unavoidably work mischief. We do not believe in the consistency of scriptural orthodoxy, according to the standards of the Reformation, with the new Philosophy. This is not the place to enter either on exposition or discussion. We wish simply to express our high sense of the ability of Professor Shedd, and of the importance of his influence as counteracting the rationalistic school of New England, while we avow our dissent from the characteristic or distinguishing principles of these Essays. Perhaps we may have the opportunity of examining at greater length this suggestive volume.

A Critical Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews. By Francis S. Sampson, D. D., Professor of Oriental Literature in the Union Theological Seminary, Prince Edward, Va., edited from the manuscript notes of the author, by Robert L. Dabney, D. D. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, Broadway. 1856. Pp. 475.

This work exhibits abundant evidence of the learning, ability, piety, and orthodoxy of its lamented author. He bid fair to become one of the most distinguished and useful of American scholars. His early death was an irreparable loss to our Church. Professor Dabney has performed an important service in erecting this lasting monument to the memory of his friend. The work will be an acceptable contribution to the rapidly increasing stock of American and English exegetical works. Until of late the student of the Scriptures has been forced to look almost exclusively to Germany for critical commentaries. But the English press is every year issuing works of this class from thoroughly educated men, which, like this work of Professor Sampson's, have the learning and exegetical skill of German authors without their infidelity.

A Commentary, Expository and Practical, on the Epistle to the Hebrews. By Alexander S. Patterson, minister of the Hutchesontown Free Church, Glasgow. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. London: Hamilton, Adams & Co. 1856. Pp. 564.

This elegantly printed volume is designed for the edification of readers of the English Bible. It abounds in references and scriptural citations, and is pervaded by a devout spirit. It does not enter at much length either into critical or theological questions, but gives the sense in a clear and simple manner.

Reformers before the Reformation, principally in Germany and the Netherlands, depicted by D. C. Ullmann. The translation by the Rev. Robert Menzies. Vol. II. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1855. Pp. 636.

This important work, the first volume of which has been before announced, is the eighth volume of Clark's Foreign Theological Library, which we have frequently commended to the attention of our readers.

A Glance backward at Fifteen Years of Missionary Life in Northern India. By the Rev. Joseph Warren, D. D. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication. 1856. Pp. 256.

The important service rendered by Dr. Warren, to the cause of Missions in India, renders it a matter of deep regret that providential circumstances have necessitated his giving up his chosen field of labour. This retrospect of his missionary life is well adapted not only to give a clear idea of the methods adopted to promote the gospel in India, but also of the character and manners of the people.

The Prophecies of Daniel and the Revelations of St. John, viewed in their mutual relation. With an exposition of the principal passages. By Carl August Auberlen, Dr. Phil., Licentiate and Professor extraordinarius of Theology in Basil. With an Appendix. By M. Fr. Roos. Translated by Rev. Adolf Saphir. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1856. Pp. 452.

As our knowledge of this book is confined to its title-page, we must content ourselves by announcing its publication to the students of prophecy. Want of time has prevented our examination of the work.

A Treatise on the right use of the Fathers, in the decision of Controversies existing at this day in Religion. By John Daillé, Minister of the Reformed Church of Paris. Second American edition revised and corrected by the Editor of the Board. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication. Pp. 416.

The Wedge of Gold: or Achan in El Dorado. By Rev. W. A. Scott, D. D. San Francisco: Whitton, Towne & Co. 1855. Pp. 182.

Dr. Scott occupies one of the most important positions in our Church, for which his great energy of character, as well

as his zeal and abilities, render him remarkably well qualified. This volume contains a series of discourses on the history of Achan, specially designed for the peculiar character of the people among whom the author is called to labour, imbued with his characteristic force and fervour.

The Bible History of Prayer. With Practical Reflections. By Charles A. Goodrich. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. Cleveland: Jewett, Proctor & Worthington. New York: Shelden, Lamport & Blakeman. 1856. Pp. 384.

This is not a treatise on prayer. The writer takes up in chronological order the prayers recorded in the Scriptures, unfolds the circumstances under which they were uttered, and makes them the ground of instruction and edification.

The Words of the Lord Jesus. By Rudolph Stier. Translated from the German. By Rev. W. B. Pope, London, and Rev. John Fulton, Gavald. Vol. II. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. 439.

Our readers are acquainted with the series of translations of German Theological works published by the Messrs. Clark of Edinburgh. This volume from Dr. Stier forms one of that series.

The Protestant Theological and Ecclesiastical Encyclopedia: being a condensed Translation of Herzog's Real Encyclopedia, with additions from other sources. By J. H. A. Bomberger, D. D., Pastor of the First German Reformed Church, Philadelphia, assisted by distinguished theologians of various denominations. Part I. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1856.

This is a very important enterprise. The work, of which the first part is now published, proposes to "embrace all the subjects belonging properly to the literature of the Protestant Catholic Religion and Church, and will furnish the most reliable results of recent study, research, and discoveries in the various departments of science in its relation to Christianity, including the several branches," of Biblical Literature, Systematic Literature, Historical Literature, and Historical Symbolism. The contributors to Herzog's work are among the most distinguished men of Germany, representing, in its different phases, what is there regarded as the orthodox party. The names of Baumgarten, Delitzsch, Dorner, Ebrard, Güricke, Kurtz, Lange, Nitzsch, Lepsius, Müller, Tholuck, Twesten, Ullmann, Umbreit, are perhaps the best known in this country. There are no higher names in theology than these among the men of our generation. Most of them are strict Lutherans, or followers of Schleiermacher. The work coming substantially from Germany will of course be German. We must take the good and the bad together. The work promises

to furnish a storehouse of learning to our ministers, which they can find nowhere else.

The Internal Evidence of Divine Authorship in Nature and Revelation: an Address, by Rev. A. G. Orton, D. D., of Lisle, N. Y. Cincinnati: C. F. Bradley & Co. 1855. Pp. 54.

We recognise in this address the originality and vigour which distinguished Dr. Orton when we were fellow-students many years ago. Some of the discourses which he delivered as a student in the Theological Seminary are remembered by his associates to this day. We wish that necessity had oftener been laid upon him to appear before the public in the exposition and defence of the truth. He is not too old yet to do the Church good service by his pen.

Summer Vacation Abroad; or Notes of a Visit to England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Italy, and Belgium. By Rev. F. de W. Ward. Rochester: Erastus Darrow & Brother. 1856. Pp. 287.

Every new book of travels either contains something new, or conveys what is old to new readers. This volume of Mr. Ward will be found both entertaining and instructive.

The Communion Sabbath. By Nehemiah Adams, D. D., Pastor of the Essex Street Church, Boston. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1856. Pp. 208.

This elegantly printed volume contains thirteen discourses on topics connected with the sufferings and death of Christ. They are designed expressly, or mainly, for communicants; but are intended to present the subjects which are naturally connected with the celebration of the Lord's Supper in a manner adapted to impress all classes of readers. We need not say they are distinguished by ease, elegance of style, and by a devout spirit. They are properly doctrinal, and aim at being edifying rather than instructive.

Spring-Time of Life; or, Advice to Youth. By Rev. David Magie, D. D., Elizabethtown, N. J. American Tract Society. Pp. 348.

Dr. Magie is known to all our readers as one of the wisest and best ministers of our Church. He has given in this volume a body of sound scriptural counsel to the young on the most important points of moral and social duty.

The Trial of the Witnesses to the Resurrection of Jesus. By Thomas Sherlock, D. D., Bishop of London. To which is added, *The Sequel to the Trial.* Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication. Pp. 214.

A clear and satisfactory harmony of the apparently conflicting accounts of the resurrection of our Lord, rendering the

authenticity of the evangelical narrative the more conspicuous from these seeming contrarieties.

Life Sketches from Scottish History; or, Brief Biographies of the Scottish Presbyterian Worthies. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication. Pp. 144.

The world will never want zealous Presbyterians as long as Scottish blood flows in the veins of any of its inhabitants, or as long as Scottish history is known. Every right principle of our nature sympathizes with the suffering worthies of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland, and it is threefold healthful that the memory of those men should be cherished in all lands. We are always glad to see such books as this on the list of the publications of our Board.

Internal History of German Protestantism from the middle of the last Century. By C. F. A. Kahnis, D. D., Professor of Theology in the University of Leipzig. Translated by Rev. Theodore Mayer, Hebrew Tutor in the New College. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1856. Pp. 328.

This is an instructive history of German Theology during the last hundred years, written from the stand-point of a strict Lutheran.

Lectures upon the Philosophy of History. By William G. T. Shedd, Brown Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. Andover: Published by W. F. Draper. 1856.

Professor Shedd has already achieved a high reputation for the union of philosophic insight with genuine scholarship, of depth and clearness of thought, with force and elegance of style, and for profound views of sin and grace, cherished not merely on theoretical, but still more on moral, and experimental grounds. These characteristics attracted attention as shown in an article published by him in the *Christian Review* a few years back, on the subject of Original Sin. Certain speculative theories which he gives forth as his philosophy of the Fall, and of inherent sinfulness in men before and beneath conscious sinful acts, have been criticised in New England journals, as being a Revived Realism, which asserts either the existence of an entity called the human race, over and above its constituent members; or else makes those members in some mystic sense, physically and numerically one. These views are set forth in the present volume. We do not deem it necessary here to repeat what we have often said in reference to this theory, as connected with the Fall and Incarnation. We rather turn with pleasure to those declarations in behalf of important but contested truths, which constitute the most important feature of the volume.

He most strenuously asserts the bondage of the human will to sin; that man can be delivered therefrom only by supernatural, creative power; that "it is only on the side of moral evil that the will of the creature can act without influence and assistance from the Creator;" that as the development of fallen human nature is the true idea of secular history, the development of regenerate human nature, i. e., of the Church, is the proper matter of ecclesiastical history; that in estimating this development, the proper standard is objective Christian doctrine; that this is in substance known to Christians, and declared in the symbols of the Church—yet the living word of God must be the supreme and infallible standard for judging even these. Of Nicean Christianity he says: "Its determined opposition to heretical conceptions, and its comparatively vigorous missionary spirit, are two characteristics of this period that deserve to be reproduced in all coming time. The Church, in this pantheistic and rationalistic age, should keep fast hold of those statements of the doctrine of the Trinity, and the person of Christ, which had their origin at this period. The Church in this and every age should retain the substance of those profound anthropological views, which were the result of the great controversy between Augustine and Pelagius." He also signifies that the best views of Soterology are to be found in the Reformation era. He strongly reprobates the excessive subjectivity of the Schleiermacher school.

With the ability and earnestness which he manifests in the inculcation of these and other affiliated truths, we cannot but hope that, in his present high position, he will be honoured of God to render signal service to the cause of God and truth.

An Introduction to the Study of Aesthetics. By James C. Moffat, Professor of Greek in the College of New Jersey, Princeton. Cincinnati: Moore, Wilstach, Keys & Co.

While we do not adopt in full the author's ingenious analysis of the idea of Beauty given in the first chapters of this volume, yet it contains much that is not only true, but fresh and suggestive. This portion of it, though valuable, is less so than the subsequent parts, in which he discusses Taste in its relations to the various departments, intellectual and artistic, which call it into exercise. In this respect it supplies a void in our literature. The varied knowledge and lively style of the author render his treatment of these topics pleasing and instructive. The volume contains much suited to the wants of the youthful student, which cannot be found in the same compass anywhere else.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

The fourth volume of L. Reinke's Contributions to the Explanation of the Old Testament, 8vo. pp. 497, contains twelve treatises upon the various Messianic passages of the Pentateuch and of the historical books, as well as of the Apocrypha. (The author is a Roman Catholic.)

L. von Essen, Ecclesiastes (Prediger Salomos.) 8vo. pp. 107.

P. Schegg, the Roman Catholic Commentator upon the Psalms, Isaiah, and the Minor Prophets, has published an exposition and translation of the Gospel by Matthew, 8vo. pp. 496, as the first part of a Commentary upon the Gospels generally.

An Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans, on the basis of the Old Testament, has appeared from the pen of Umbreit, pp. 360. This volume aims less at the direct exposition of this epistle than at the illustration of the Apostle's doctrine and forms of expression from the Old Testament.

E. Boehmer, On the author and date of the Revelation of John. 8vo. pp. 78.

J. H. Kurtz, Manual of Universal Church History. Vol. II. Part I. Containing from the fourth to the ninth century. 8vo. pp. 564.

K. R. Hagenbach, Lectures upon the more Ancient Church History. Part II. From the fourth to the sixth century. pp. 398.

Hofmann's Scripture Proof has been completed by the publication of the last part of the second volume.

Ewald's Seventh Annual of Biblical Science, pp. 260. The main design of this annual is to present a review from the author's stand-point, of all works relating to Biblical subjects published in the preceding year. Besides this and some subsidiary matters, he takes occasion in the present number to exhibit his critical skill upon the history of the Deluge, and the writings of Isaiah.

O. Strauss, Nineveh and the Word of God. 8vo. pp. 39. The commentator upon Nahum has brought together in this

little pamphlet such illustrations of Scripture as are furnished by the recent explorations at Nineveh.

J. Brandis, On the historical gain from the deciphering of the Assyrian Inscriptions, with the outlines of the system of the Assyrio-Babylonian arrow-headed writings. Pp. 126.

M. Uhlemann, The Israelites and the Hyksos in Egypt, pp. 95. The ground is taken that Manetho's account of the Hyksos is a sheer fable.

C. Cavedoni, Biblical Numismatics. Part II. Appendix and Supplements. pp. xxxi. and 76. This additional matter is chiefly suggested by De Saulcy's recent researches in Jewish Numismatics. Paris. 4to. pp. 192, and 20 plates.

K. Maurer, The Conversion of the Norwegian Race to Christianity. Vol. I. pp. 660.

A. Schweizer, The Protestant Central Dogmas, in their development within the Reformed Church. Part 2. The 17th and 18th centuries, pp. 834.

Lieut. Van de Velde, Travels through Syria and Palestine in 1851 and 1852. Part 1, pp. 337.

C. Bartholomess, Critical History of the Religious Doctrines of Modern Philosophy. Paris, 2 Vols. pp. 414 and 590.

E. Renan, General History and Comparative System of the Semitic Languages. Part I. pp. 449. Paris. This volume treats of the first part of the subject, the general history of the Semitic tongues.

Hermæ Pastor Græce, Primum edidit Rudolphus Anger. Vol. I., containing the Greek text. Pp. xxxii. and 116. This early Christian production has hitherto been supposed to be extant only in an obscure Latin translation. The original Greek is here edited from a MS. recently found in a monastery on Mt. Athos.

Spicilegium Solesmense, embracing hitherto unpublished works of holy Fathers and Ecclesiastical Writers. Vols. 2 and 3. Chiefly De re symbolica. Pp. 1181. Paris. These volumes present, among other things, the complete works of Melito, bishop of Sardis, including his Key, which had been regarded as lost, but of which the Editor has found and used 8 MSS.

F. Dietrich, Codicum Syriacorum Specimina. 4to. pp. 29. These selections from Syriac MSS. of the British Museum, relate chiefly to the doctrine of the Lord's supper, and to the history of the Scriptures in that language. The fac-similes from MSS. of different ages are intended as contributions to Syriac palæography.

F. Hitzig, the Epitaph (Grabschrift) of Eshmunazar, pp. 55.

Explanation of the great Phœnician inscription of Sidon and of an Egypto-Aramæic Inscription, with accurate copies of both. 4to. pp. 68. These are attempts by two more scholars to explain the legend upon the royal sarcophagus found in January of last year, and which is the largest and best preserved Phœnician inscription known.

E. Huschke, The Oscan and Sabellian Monuments, with an explanation, grammar and glossary. Pp. 421. The execution of this work is far inferior to its pretensions.

W. Wachsmuth, History of the Political Parties of Ancient and Modern times. Vol. III. Part I. Parties of Modern times to the Middle of the 17th century. Pp. 324.

S. Davidson, Revision of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament from critical sources; being an attempt to present a purer and more correct text by the aid of the best existing materials; with the principal various readings found in MSS., ancient versions, Jewish books, etc. London.