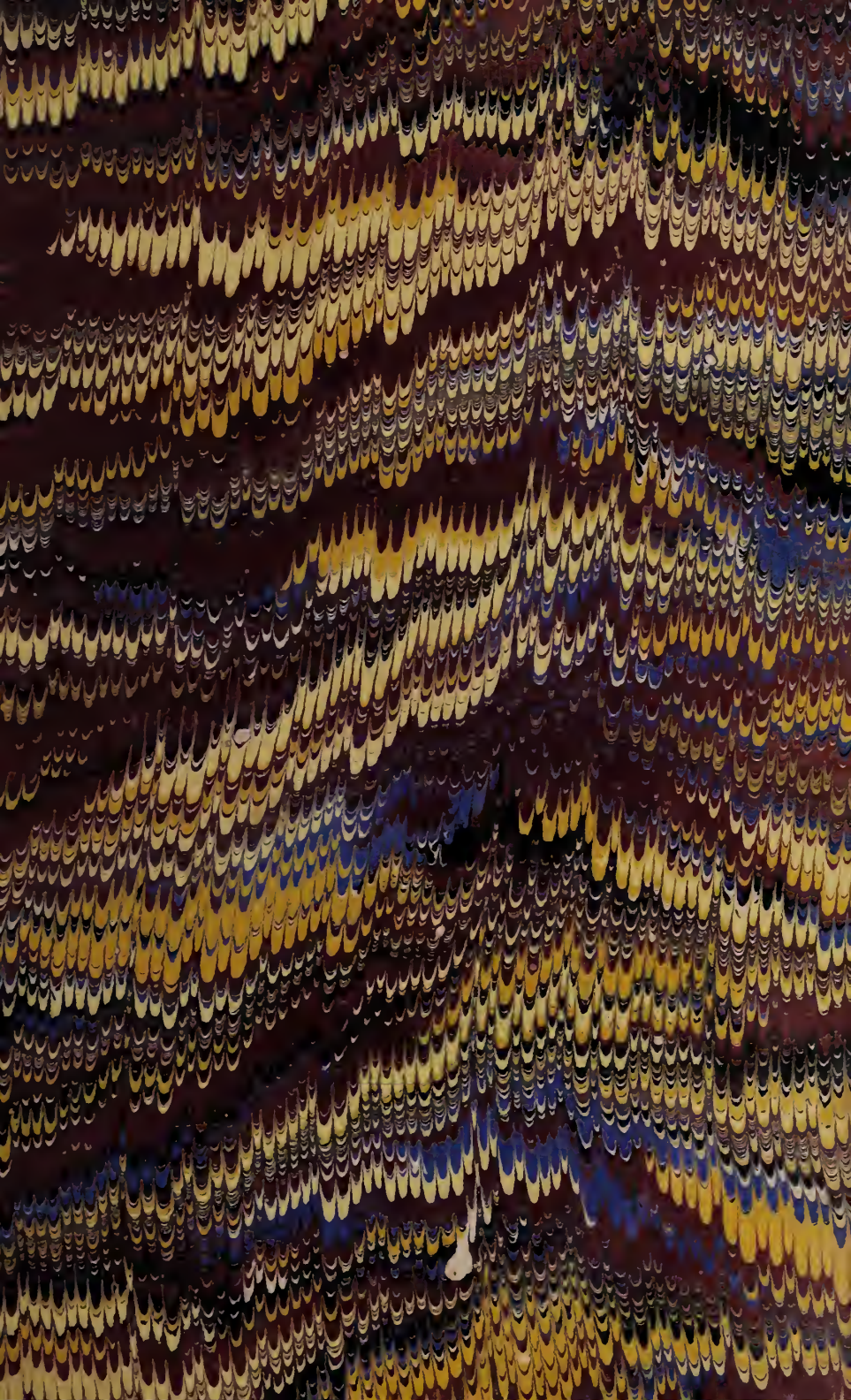

THE

BIBLICAL REPERTORY

AND

PRINCETON REVIEW

FOR THE YEAR

1858.

EDITED BY THE

REV. CHARLES HODGE, D. D.

VOL. XXX.

PHILADELPHIA:

PUBLISHED BY

PETER WALKER, 821 CHESTNUT STREET;

AND SOLD BY

CROCKER & BREWSTER, Boston; R. CARTER & BROTHERS, New York;

WILLIAM S. & ALFRED MARTIEN, Philadelphia;

AND TRÜBNER & CO., London.

CONTENTS OF VOL. XXX.

No. I.

No. II.

No. III.

No. IV.

THE

PRINCETON REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1858.

No. I.

Article I.—*The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte.*

The recent decease of Auguste Comte, founder of the Positive Philosophy, suggests a fit occasion for reviewing his labours as a declared reformer in science, politics, and religion. That he has left upon his age the impress of an original and acute mind, need not be questioned; but that his speculations should have excited so much attention and even apprehension in some quarters, is probably owing to certain attractive qualities which they present to the superficial thinker, rather than to much thorough examination of the system itself. The extraordinary pretensions it couches under a modest bearing, its imposing summation of the existing results of human research, the apparent scientific rigour of its method, together with its daring assault upon all preceding and contemporaneous systems of religion and philosophy, have conspired to give it a prominence in public regard, quite beyond its real merits. Certainly any candid and patient reasoner who will trace its principles to their legitimate conclusions, or indeed to the conclusions which Comte himself finally deduced, cannot but be surprised at the meagerness of its accomplishment as contrasted with the fulness of its promise. He will breathe more freely when he finds that

after all its loud pretence of eschewing idle metaphysics, and limiting itself to the slow, cautious, and safe method of induction, its whole portentous fabric is but a specious and dazzling generalization, without basis in reason or fact; and he will be at a loss to understand how such abhorrent deductions could ever have been drawn from premises he may have been so indisposed to question. It is not the first time, however, in the history of human speculation, that a little leaven of truth has availed to give apparent consistency to a formidable mass of error, nor will it, we believe, prove any exception to that retributive law by which falsehood has ever been made not only to refute itself, but in the end to serve as a foil to truth.

In the present strictures, it is our object simply to pursue an argument which, if not new, has by no means been exhausted, and may possibly reward us with some contrasted views of theological and natural science, that are both interesting and instructive.

But let it be premised, that we are not about to assail this system on mere *theological* grounds. Such an argument might indeed be constructed, and one that would prove both valid and conclusive. The Positive Philosophy is notoriously open to the charges of atheism and infidelity. It not only makes no provision for a supernatural religion, but avowedly regards Christianity as only a remnant of the mythological era of history. It merely accords to Catholicism the merit of having served as a provisional institute in the process of its own development; while for Protestantism it reserves a studied denunciation. It would certainly be easy to accumulate objections of a religious character against a system so opposed to all the holier instincts of our nature, and so reckless of the entire evidence of divine revelation. There have not been wanting dissents of the kind even from those who could be suspected of no special interest in the theological profession. But the reasoning, sound as it is, can have no effect upon the disciples of Positivism, or upon any inclined to adopt its fundamental principle. According to that principle, theology itself, considered as a science of revealed truth, has been inductively demonstrated to be an effete superstition, no more worthy of scientific regard than mythology, of which indeed it is to be taken as only the last

and highest development. Any argument, therefore, based upon strictly theological premises, would be due, in the estimation of the Positive philosopher, to mere partizan adherence to a waning interest, and coolly accepted by him as an unconscious tribute to his own intellectual superiority.

For a similar reason, we do not now venture upon *metaphysical* premises, as defined by this system. Metaphysics, we are assured, must share the fate of theology. It is the peculiar boast of the Positive Philosophy that it subsists by a refutation of all other philosophies on strictly scientific grounds. It professes to have assailed and overthrown them with the hard facts of universal history and human nature, and to be already leaving them far behind it, in the wake of progress, as mere brilliant dreams of the childhood of science. The great body of the philosophers are thus to find themselves in the same category with the theologians. It will be to no purpose that the spiritualist or the mystic should object to the materialistic and sceptical tendencies of the system, and demonstrate its utter incompetency to solve any of the great ontological problems of nature and humanity. The Positivist, in becoming a Positivist, has reasoned down all such inquiries as vain and puerile, and scorning to tread in any other path than that of solid facts, pretends to have mounted by the sure steps of induction to an eminence from whence he can proudly contemplate all the objections of reason and of faith, of religion and of philosophy, as mere vagaries of decaying superstition and prejudice.

In the present argument, therefore, we accept the only alternative which the disciples of this school seem disposed to leave us. We descend from the aerial regions of theology and metaphysics, upon the narrow arena of the Positive Philosophy itself, and take the weapons it would force into our hands. It need not be imagined that we are only about to exemplify those "theological and metaphysical prejudices," which its admirers complacently dream it is destined to supplant, nor even that the merit of originality must belong to any one who attempts its refutation. Our apprehension is rather, that if Positivism could be made its own judge, it would pronounce its own sentence. In a word, we believe it possible to show that it pro-

ceeds upon the abuse of a sound method, and that the little truth it has gathered up into itself will alone suffice to refute its remaining error.

But what is the Positive Philosophy? In the main, it is that which is familiarly known among us as the inductive philosophy. Comte himself frequently declares his system to be only the extension and completion of the Baconian method. His admirers are fond of styling him "the Bacon of the Nineteenth Century;" and in particular point with pride to his classification of the sciences as a second *Novum Organum*. We are not insensible either to the merits or to the defects of this portion of his labours. As a simple construction of the intellect, if not as a direct contribution to the philosophy of physical research, it has been pronounced by Morell "a masterpiece of scientific thinking." We cannot perceive, however, that what is true and valuable in it of necessity arises out of the accompanying speculations, or indeed that it constitutes the distinguishing feature of the system.

On the contrary, that distinguishing feature undoubtedly is, its attempted application of the inductive method to the phenomena of human intelligence, as displayed in history, with the view of discovering a law by means of which the natural process of science shall be ascertained and regulated. In other words, it aspires to be a philosophy of science based upon the history of science. It would apply the accumulated experience of the race to the great problem of determining what are the true limits, the method, and the goal of human knowledge. With this design, it enters upon a survey of the course of man's speculative or intellectual convictions throughout all time, the result of which is the announcement of a grand law of scientific development, which all the most advanced sciences are declared to have observed in their progress toward exact, real knowledge, and which all the remainder must therefore, sooner or later, illustrate.

Now, before proceeding any further, we might here raise an objection of no little consequence. This proposed "law of the intellectual evolution of humanity," Comte would constitute the summary law of universal history, by means of which all its complex phenomena are to be explained. The entire social

development, whether material, political, or religious, he would make to depend upon the development of science. He would thus not only render science the paramount interest, but actually involve every other interest, art, politics, and even religion, in the process of its evolution; so that, as Mr. Mill expresses it, "Speculation, intellectual activity, the pursuit of truth, is the main determining cause of the social progress."* But to this it might be objected, not simply that the speculative propensity is too inoperative, and restricted to too small a portion of mankind, to admit of such a predominance being assigned to it, but that, with all the potency which can be justly claimed for it, it is itself subordinate to other social agencies utterly beyond its control. In a word, we believe it could be shown, and that by strictly positive reasoning, that while the material progress of society does indeed depend upon its intellectual progress, yet its intellectual depends upon its religious progress, and its religious progress upon Providence. The effect of such an argument would be to conserve whatever of truth may be found embodied in Comte's "law of the *intellectual* evolution," and yet preclude the destructive errors which have resulted from his exaggerated estimate and perverse application of that law. To mention only a single example, religion, and in particular, revealed religion, would then be made to appear as itself "the main determining cause," and not a mere accompanying effect of civilization. Without venturing, however, upon such inquiries, we now return to the consideration of the law itself.

The human mind, according to this law, invariably adopts three successive modes of explaining phenomena; first, by referring them to supernatural agents; then, to metaphysical entities; and at last to mere natural laws. These three stages of intellectual development, in the order named, logically and practically ensue upon each other, both in the race and in the individual, and are to be termed respectively, the theological, the metaphysical, and the positive stage. Let each be briefly characterized.

In the *theological* stage, it is the spontaneous tendency of

* Mill's System of Logic, p. 585, Harper's edition.

mankind to attribute all phenomena to the arbitrary wills of supernatural beings. Such is the necessary point of departure for the human intellect; and three phases mark its development. At first, external objects in nature are conceived of by the wondering savage as animated with a life analogous to his own, and having a mysterious power over him for good or evil. This is *fetichism*, which is the grossest form of the theological instinct, and is illustrated by such of the human tribes as are still but slightly removed from animality.* By degrees, however, through the generalizing and social faculties, these individual and domestic fetiches become grouped together under some more powerful fetich of the particular tribe, or department of nature to which they belong, and the mythical creature is endowed with attributes in keeping with the elements over which he is imagined to preside, or the interests he is supposed to subserve. This is the era of *polytheism*, when the woods are peopled with dryads, and the waters with naiads, and the heavens with the passions and graces, and all nature is alive with gods and goddesses. But at last the propensity to transfer human personality into outward objects, having mounted from one degree of generality to another with the increasing spirit of nationality and speculation, reaches its climax in *monotheism*, the doctrine of one supreme fetich or myth, by which all others are to be subordinated and rendered obsolete. The gods now disappear before the idea of Jehovah; the strife of contending powers in nature is harmonized in the notion of one absolute Will; and prayer aspires after the prize of universal control. This is the perfection of the theological spirit, and it is admitted to be an immense advance upon the gross materialistic pantheism in which it originated. Yet, with all its unity and consist-

* The author of the Positive Philosophy has broken down the standard definition, that "man is a religious animal," and by this means theoretically extended the sentiment of philanthropy into new spheres of activity. "Several species of animals afford clear evidence of speculative activity; and those which are endowed with it certainly attain a kind of gross fetichism as man does. The difference in the case is, that man has ability to raise himself out of this primitive darkness, and that the brutes have not; *except some few select animals, in which a beginning to polytheism may be observed, obtained no doubt by association with man.*" (Vol. ii. p. 187.) Alas! will not the disciples of M. Comte send his gospel to them, and convert them from their heathenism?

ency, it must be regarded as a mere system of speculative opinions, by which society is for a time held together in the process of unfolding its own intellective capacity, and no more destined to permanence than either of the preceding phases of the same tendency. The god, in whose single will all phenomena have thus been colligated, is a mere product of human speculation, spontaneously exercising and developing itself through long ages, and by a combination of innumerable minds, from its first feeble glimmerings in the half-animal savage, up to its most brilliant surmises in the cultured sage or saint. And now the very agencies concerned in the elaboration of this august Abstraction, which men have learned to adore and love, must turn against it and effect its dissolution. For, of necessity it soon begins to be discovered, at first by the speculative class, and then through them by the masses, that there are vast bodies of phenomena not under the regulation of a divine will, but simply of natural laws; and as this empire of natural laws is extended from one class of facts to another, that of a divine will, both in science and in practice, proportionably diminishes. Thus a new system of opinions is destined to gradually take the place of the old as the basis of a new social organization. But in the mean time, there must exist some scheme of provisional conceptions by means of which the transition shall be effected; and it is this which constitutes the intermediate or second great state of the intellectual evolution.

In the *metaphysical* stage, the primitive tendency to explain phenomena by supernatural agencies, is being supplanted by means of a tendency to explain them by metaphysical abstractions. Such a revolution is necessitated by the advance of speculation; and it involves the two-fold process of decomposing the old theological system, and preparing the elements of the new Positive system. Considered in its relations to the preceding and succeeding stage, it is, therefore, either a destructive or constructive agency. As a destructive agency, the metaphysical spirit exhibits three phases. At first, that freedom of individual inquiry, provoked and fostered by monotheism as distinguished from polytheism, gives rise to heresy and dissension, and the myth of a supreme Being is consequently espoused by rival claimants. This is *Protestantism*, by which theology

is driven to war with itself. Then, the critical spirit advances from heresy to infidelity, and for a divine person is now substituted a personification called Nature; for a divine will, the notion of a Providence submitting itself to rules; and for divine purposes in particular objects or events, the entities of causes, first and final. This is *deism*, by which theology is banished to the pulpit and the cloister. At last, a logical and systematic scepticism sweeps away all vestiges of supernaturalism, extirpates even the remaining abstraction of a great First Cause, reduces the notion of force or substance in phenomena to a mere scientific fiction, and leaves them wholly to the regulation of their own laws of co-existence and succession. This is *atheism*, by which theology is consigned to history as an extinct interest. As a constructive agency, the metaphysical spirit, while in the act of disorganizing the old theological regime, is providing for the new Positive regime, by liberating those various industrial and speculative movements essential to such a reorganization. Thus is at length opened the way for the third and final stage of the great development.

In the *Positive* stage, the tendency to refer phenomena to supernatural wills, having been supplanted by a tendency to refer them to metaphysical causes, is now succeeded by a tendency to refer them to natural laws. Such is the inevitable terminus of the whole evolution, and herein must be sought its legitimate consummation. As it is necessary for humanity to begin with a supernatural explanation of the facts with which it has to deal, and proceed by a metaphysical explanation, so must it at last end with a purely natural explanation, wherein it shall be concerned solely with the facts themselves, as spontaneously displayed under their laws, and for ever abandon all inquiry into their origin or causes as vain and puerile. But since the different kinds of facts vary in simplicity and generality, the different kinds of knowledge corresponding to them must proceed at unequal rates through the three stages, arriving at the final stage in the order of their relative freedom from complexity and specialness. Accordingly mathematics, having to deal with facts the most abstract and universal, and least exposed to theological or metaphysical perversion, was the first of the sciences to assume a character of Positivity. Astronomy,

in consequence of its mathematical simplicity and generality, was the next to reach the Positive stage, having groped through the two preceding stages in the form of astrolatry and astrology. Terrestrial physics, the simplest of the sciences after astronomy, is already emerging into a Positive form, though still hampered with some remnants of the earlier periods. Biology, however, being concerned with the more complex phenomena of organization, is as yet involved in metaphysical confusion, particularly in its psychological department; while sociology is totally enveloped in the primitive theological darkness; the most advanced thinkers still dreaming that the action of associated human beings is regulated by Providence or legislation rather than by natural laws. But the sciences scale the summit of truth in linked series, each being helped forward by its predecessor, and bringing with it the pledge of its successor. The day must therefore come when even sociology, the last of the train, shall be planted on the same Positive eminence with mathematics and astronomy, and so enable us to resolve political questions with the same certainty as problems in mechanics, or predict the career of societies, in given circumstances, with the same precision that we now describe the orbits of the heavenly bodies. This will be the millennium of the Positive philosopher, wherein science shall take the reins of politics, shall teach art to subjugate nature, and idealize the triumph in creations of more than classic glory, and shall even regenerate religion itself, by rendering it the intelligent worship of that Humanity, whose wondrous knowledge, power, and goodness, were once embodied in the myth of an *Etre Suprême.*

Such is an outline of Comte's law of the intellectual development of humanity, together with the tremendous conclusions pendent upon it. No one at all acquainted with it will deny that we have done it all the justice possible in so brief a statement. But, before we admit its scientific pretensions, what we have now a right to demand upon the grounds of Positivism itself is, that it be sustained by the "combined evidence of human history and human nature." These are the conditions of such a law, as prescribed by Mr. Mill, (one of the warmest English admirers of the system;)* they are, moreover, the con-

* Mill's System of Logic, p. 584.

ditions to which Comte himself submits;* and we see no particular reason to question their justness. Certainly if man does observe any such uniformity in his intellectual development as is supposed, it will not only be displayed by his actual history, but also appear to be involved in his very nature. Were either species of evidence wanting, the phenomena of his being could not be made the subject of Positive science. We might show, from the *history* of humanity, that it has always pursued a certain career; but will this be its career in the future? Or we might show, from the *nature* of humanity, that it is necessitated to pursue a certain career; but has this been its career in the past? Should there be, however, a convergence of these inductions to the same purport; could we demonstrate that human history has always been what might be expected from our survey of human nature, and that human nature actually is what might be expected from our survey of human history, we might then be in a fair way of attaining a true scientific law, by means of which to account for the past, and foresee the future career of society. Whether such a law actually obtains and is ascertainable, we do not now inquire, but simply proceed to show that Comte has fulfilled neither its empirical nor theoretical conditions.

Of the former class of proofs, the first and most accessible would be afforded by individual experience. We should expect to find the alleged law of intellection actually illustrated in the development of the most scientific minds. Comte distinctly asserts this to be the case. "The point of departure of the individual and of the race being the same, the phases of the mind of a man will correspond to the epochs of the race. Now, each of us is aware, if he looks back upon his own history, that he was a theologian in his childhood, a metaphysician in his youth, and a natural philosopher in his manhood. All men who are up to their age can verify this for themselves." p. 3, vol. i. The only proper answer to such an argument is obvious. The

* "From the study of the development of human intelligence, in all directions, and through all times, the discovery arises of a great fundamental law, to which it is necessarily subject, and which has a solid foundation of proof, both in the facts of our organization, and in our historical experience," p. 1. *Miss Martineau's Translation, London and New York,* 1856.

author of the Positive Philosophy may certainly be allowed to speak for himself, but not necessarily for the rest of mankind, nor even for the whole of that party who are unwilling to acknowledge themselves entirely behind the age. It is believed there are still extant many eminent persons, in whom the theological and metaphysical spirit has not only survived the period of adolescence, but even the most mature attacks of Positivism itself.

The next source of empirical proof would be that afforded by the experience of the race. To establish this law, it would be necessary to show that the three periods have been successively displayed in the actual history of humanity. The propriety of this test is recognized by Comte when he characterizes the ancient world as theological, the mediæval as metaphysical, and the modern as Positive. But it surely requires no great amount of historical erudition, to expose the fallacy of such a generalization. If we have reference either to quality or quantity, the theology and metaphysics of the present age will certainly compare with those of any primitive era. Who will pretend that the religious and philosophic instincts of humanity are on the decline, in presence of such gigantic systems as now prevail in modern Europe? On the contrary, it is indisputable that there never was a time when the speculative energies of the race were more absorbed in theological and metaphysical inquiries, or when theology and metaphysics were exalted to so high a rank in the scale of the sciences, or when they were so generally admitted to be among the legitimate pursuits of the human intellect. He must simply shut his eyes to the great mass of facts around him, who goes into history expecting to find it exhibiting this law of the three tendencies succeeding and exhausting each other. It is patent to the whole world that they all survive among us, and that their most violent collisions have not as yet resulted in the extinction of any one of the series.

How comes it then, that our modern Bacon should have run so blindly in the face of universal experience? Simply by culling the facts to suit his theory. There is no hypothesis which might not thus be established. The literature of historical science is replete with examples of such hasty and

unfounded generalization. This of Comte is simply the last and most imposing of the train. His historical review, in support of his law of the triple evolution, even if it could be pronounced accurate as far as it goes, actually proves nothing as to the chief points in controversy, but is open to a valid and unanswerable objection from each class of his opponents.

On the one hand, the theologian may fairly object to it, that it is restricted to that very series of nations whose career is alleged to have been determined by a divine revelation and a supernatural Providence. It is observable that Comte does not pretend to look for any full illustration of his great law of history beyond the boundaries of Christendom. The reason given for this limitation is, that oriental countries must be regarded as the seat of a kind of sporadic civilization, which, having been early detached from the more compact and continuous civilization of the West, was arrested in its development, and has ever since been left to run in the vicious circles of the primitive theological tendency. If we inquire how it happened that such a suspension of the law should have occurred only in heathen nations, while Christian nations have gone forward from the theological, through the metaphysical, toward the Positive state, we are answered with some imposing generalities about the effect of European climate and Caucasian organization on social development, together with a confession that the whole "question of the scene and agent of the chief progression of our race" is insolvable, because premature or radically inaccessible. But this, even if it could satisfy a strict Positivist, will not satisfy a theologian. What would be his explanation we are relieved by the terms of the present argument from inquiring. Yet, the simple fact that he professes to have his own explanation, obviously imposes upon his Positive antagonist the alternative of driving him from the field with some counter explanation, or himself retiring into less debatable territory for the historical evidence of his theory. If humanity, independent of divine revelation, obeys his pretended law of human development, let him leave "the little Jewish theocracy, derived in an accidental way from Egypt," and go out into the broad field of universal history and there gather up the facts to verify it. Let him take some other form of fetichism or polytheism

than that which came in contact with Christianity; for example, Asiatic or American mythology, and exhibit it to us as spontaneously developing into monotheism, and thence declining, through the metaphysical transit, into Positivism. Until this has been accomplished, the supernatural explanation must be allowed to hold precedence of the natural, and the whole argument from history, so far as theology is concerned, remain simply irrelevant.

Then, on the other hand, the metaphysician may pronounce it equally irrelevant as regards his position. It is to be remarked that Comte, not content with excluding all but Christian civilization from his estimate, also refuses to include in it any but physical subjects, or at least such as are in no sense metaphysical or supra-physical. His reason for this restriction of course is, that, according to his philosophy, the physical or inductive sciences alone are feasible. He maintains that no phenomena exist but such as can be subjected to the inductive method, and that no other method is legitimate. All supernatural or super-sensuous phenomena, such as would be displayed by a divine or human spirit, are fictitious; and all inquiry into the causes or essences of any phenomena, whether by revelation or intuition, is fatuitous, and to be stigmatized as mere infantine curiosity. Consequently the only sciences which can be allowed to enter into his review are those of mathematics, astronomy, physics, physiology, (including phrenology as the science of mind,) and sociology, (considered as the extension of physiology.) As for the various revealed and speculative sciences which have so long pretended to exist, they are to be accounted for by being ignored. In short, we are to look for nothing in all the history of human intelligence but the Positive sciences. This is certainly very convenient for the Positivist; but might not the metaphysician, if allowed thus to choose his facts, rebut the argument. It will be observed, that we are not now inquiring into the legitimacy or feasibility of any of the exscinded sciences, but are simply maintaining that, in view of their notorious existence in the most civilized nations, for anything that Comte's own argument could prove to the contrary, they may continue to exist, each in its own domain of facts, and with its own method of dealing with those facts.

And now, when we unite the two abatements which must thus be made of the historical evidence adduced in proof of this law, into what a meagre compass do we find its voluminous pretensions have shrunken? It is neither proved to be the law of the development of the whole human race, nor the law of the development of the whole human intelligence, since there are confessedly vast portions of mankind and various bodies of knowledge which have never to any extent exhibited its operation. The very utmost that could be conceded to it, would be that it is the law of the development of the Positive sciences, or to speak more accurately, of the natural sciences, since they alone can pretend to have become Positive, Comte himself admitting that what are commonly regarded as the mental and moral sciences "have nowhere risen to Postivity except in this book."

But even that meagre concession cannot be made. Even that last slender foothold must be contested. The theory is actually unable to maintain itself on the ground of its own chosen facts. We deny that the natural sciences themselves have ever properly observed this law. Their history does not show that they have emerged into the final stage only by extinguishing the two preceding stages. It is not a matter of fact that the Positive spirit, in those fields of research where it has most predominated, has actually extirpated the theological or metaphysical spirit. We may take for our example the most Positive of all the natural sciences. As it respects the phenomena of astronomy, will it be maintained, that the tendency to refer them to mechanical laws has ever generally and permanently supplanted the tendency to refer them also to a Divine will, or to second causes. Individual exceptions indeed there always are; but have astronomers, as a class, been atheists and materialists, or have their most mathematical predictions had the actual effect either in the scientific or the popular mind, of dissipating all religious belief in a Divine Maker of suns and systems, or suppressing all speculative inquiry into the mode of their production and development? Did Newton in the act of discovering the law of gravitation cease to be a theologian? Did Laplace in the act of propounding the nebular hypothesis cease to be a metaphysician? Or have theologians and meta-

physicians themselves actually surrendered astronomy to Positive science? Has not astronomy become the very poetry of religion and philosophy? We are not concerned as yet to account for the fact, but the fact itself, who will deny that even amid the rigid geometry and mechanics of the heavenly bodies, where inflexible laws reign supreme, theology as of old still comes to adore, and metaphysics to speculate?

And the argument only cumulates as we descend to the less Positive sciences of physics and physiology. However much such a result may have been apprehended, yet who will pretend it is actually the case that atheism and materialism have taken exclusive possession of the votaries of physical science? Have they not as a body set up the notion of nature as a kind of "Unknown God," whom they are willing that theology should declare unto them? And do they not proceed in their researches by methods and upon hypotheses, which they confess that metaphysics alone can furnish them? What are their various theories of heat, light, electricity, organization, and life, but the existing metaphysics of physical science? and what is their enthusiastic admiration of nature, but a kind of blind adoration of nature's God? We do not now explain this, but is it not the case, that there are often found among them as much practical religion and sound philosophy as among professional theologians or trained metaphysicians?

To all this may be added the conclusive fact, that in those nations and ages by which the Positive tendency has been most cultivated, the other two tendencies are still found flourishing unimpaired and unmolested. Where the natural sciences have reached the greatest perfection, there may also be seen, not simply in juxtaposition, but in logical combination with them, the theological and the metaphysical sciences. Is theology on the decline in inductive England and America? Are metaphysics in their decadence in Positive France? Do the Germans show themselves to be the least theological because the most metaphysical of modern nations? Or will it be asserted that because the present age is distinguishable for a predominance of the scientific spirit, it is also distinguishable for a decline of the religious and philosophic spirit? If it is remarkable for its marvels of physical research and material civilization, is it not

equally remarkable for its expanded schemes of Christian philanthropy, and the formidable grandeur of its metaphysical speculations? And were we to ascend into that community of thinkers, who are said to express the foremost mind of the race, might we not find, that so far from its being the paramount tendency of the human intellect to install Positive science as the sum of truth, it is rather in danger of careering off with the Phaëthon of transcendental metaphysics, toward the abysses of a kind of crude and all-involving theology? Must not even Comte admit rivals in Hegel and Cousin?

We need not, however, pursue these inquiries. It is already sufficiently apparent what is the value of the historical argument for the system. It miserably fails in the very societies where it should be most conspicuously established; it arbitrarily ignores the very sciences it proposes to supplant; and, thus retiring into a mere corner of the vast domain of truth, there falls impaled upon the very facts it had gathered for its support. If "the evidence of human history" shows anything in regard to the question, it shows that the three tendencies, instead of opposing and destroying one another, have actually proceeded together in their development, over every field of research they entered, and are now to be found harmoniously coexisting in the most advanced nations, and the most accomplished minds.

But as yet we have considered only one branch of the reasoning by which, according to the terms of Positivism, this law must be verified. Even if we had found that member of the argument irrefutable, it would of itself prove insufficient until corroborated by the other member. The law must be upheld by their mutual support, or fall as the keystone with the arch into ruin. Though it had been shown that humanity has hitherto, in some societies, and in some sciences, exhibited the great triple evolution, this would not prove that humanity will hereafter, in all other sciences, and in all other societies, pursue the same course, unless it could also be shown that such a course is necessitated by its very constitution, and involved in its very procedure. Theology and metaphysics might have become universally extinct, and Positivism universally predominant, yet it would still be a question whether those extinct tendencies would not revive, and either suspend, reverse, or radically

change the whole social evolution. Before the argument can be considered complete, it must be made to appear resultant from the actual principles of human nature, or from the actual process of human intelligence, that the three stages should successively arise, surmount and destroy each its predecessor. When "the facts of our organization" thus concur with "the facts of our historical experience," to show that it is the inevitable course of the race to proceed from a supernatural, by a metaphysical, toward a natural explanation of all phenomena, we may then regard the law as fully verified. But this concurrence is precisely what cannot be established. If we found the historical argument unsupported, we shall now find the theoretical or *a priori* argument a still more signal failure.

The position which must be maintained in such an argument is, that the three tendencies are antagonistic and irreconcilable. If the human intellect is necessitated to proceed from one to the other, it must be because they are mutually repulsive, and cannot in any form and to any extent be made to combine or coexist.

This position is taken by Comte when he defines them as "three methods of philosophizing, the character of which is essentially different, and even radically opposed;" and throughout his analysis, he represents them as involved in a threefold antagonism, intellectual, moral, and social, destined to issue in the utter extinction of theology, and the entire supremacy of Positivism, through the intervention of metaphysics.

Let us first consider the *intellectual* antagonism of theology and Positive science. This is alleged to arise out of the necessity for observing and explaining facts by means of theories, in order to attain real knowledge. During the infancy of reason and of society, mankind spontaneously resort to the hypothesis of a god, as a mode of accounting for all phenomena. But this hypothesis, so inevitable and useful for a time, ceases to be either necessary or tenable, when it is found that some phenomena can only be explained by means of natural laws which exclude the action of a divine will; and since other phenomena, still attributed to the divine will, may be presumed to observe similar laws yet to be ascertained, we are to conclude that the whole theory of a Deity and a supernatural world must ulti-

mately be abandoned and rendered obsolete, like any other crude hypothesis which science has outgrown and exploded.

But, if we should admit that the Baconian method is thus to be taken as the spontaneous procedure of the whole human intelligence, and the only source of real knowledge, what evidence have we that the theological theory of the universe, so to call it, either is or can be assailed by any amount of Positive science? Wherein consists the incompatibility of referring the very same phenomena both to natural laws and to the divine will? or of referring to the divine will, not the phenomena only, but the laws themselves? What are natural laws but mere uniformities which mark the action of the divine will? Because the Deity, in his voluntary determination of the coexistences and successions of certain phenomena, does not act capriciously but with an inflexible regularity, are we to conclude that such regularity inheres in the phenomena themselves by sheer chance or spontaneity, and that his continuous volition is not required for its maintenance? Or because we have ascertained that certain phenomena, once attributed to his direct agency, observe a fixed order in their occurrence, are we to infer that he has less to do with these than with others not thus orderly in their occurrence? Has he abdicated his empire wherever he has set up laws for its regulation? and must we take the existence of such laws to be demonstrative of his non-existence? The very contrary of this is demanded by our intellectual constitution. Natural laws cannot but be regarded as the most conspicuous evidences possible of the reality and presence of a divine will; and every advance of Positive science, so far from being an invasion of theology, is only a fresh demonstration of its validity; an additional proof that the intelligence displayed on the face of nature does not belong to nature itself, but shines through and from beyond it, out of that one Eternal Mind by which it is upheld and directed.

> "Calm, He veils his will in everlasting laws,
> Which, and not Him, the skeptic seeing, exclaims,
> 'Wherefore a God? The world itself is God:'
> And never did a Christian's adoration
> So praise Him as this skeptic's blasphemy."

The most Positive of the sciences may be cited in illustration.

Are astronomy and theology, as embraced in one view, logically inconsistent or repellent? That some exceptional minds might take the discovery of such a law as gravitation to be proof that the hypothesis of a God is no longer necessary, may be admitted; but that this is the natural, or rational inference, can be shown by nothing that appears in a sound mental organization. On the contrary, since every law presupposes an intelligent lawgiver, we are obliged to conceive of gravitation itself as nothing less than the strenuous exertion of the Almighty will among the planetary masses, and the ultimate and simplest expression of eternal purpose in respect to their movements. Astronomy, so far from assailing theological convictions, actually upholds them with all the force of mathematical demonstration, by inviting us to reverently conceive of God himself as that sublime Mechanician, who, on the theatre of immensity, and in view of all intelligent creatures, is solving the most stupendous problems of motion and matter that could be imagined; and every new planet or star gathered within its expanding horizon, is but a fresh accession to the evidence whereby "the heavens declare the glory of God."

Nor would the argument be weakened should we imagine other more complex phenomena, such as even the phenomena of society, becoming, as predicted by Comte, the subject of Positive science. The laws of social development, supposing such laws to exist, might be so well ascertained and defined as to enable us to project the course of civilization, in given circumstances, with scientific accuracy; yet this would not invalidate the hypothesis of a divine will as the source and animus of those social laws. It would rather demonstrate its existence where as yet it is scarcely more than presumed. It would simply show that the course of human history is not at the mercy of caprice or necessity, but that in Providence as well as in nature, throughout the spiritual no less than the material universe, the Infinite Will is everywhere guided by the Infinite Reason.

In short, it may be taken as an axiom, that Positive science, to whatever limit extended, could never impair the validity of theology, but must ever only strengthen its foundations and enlarge its domain. Though the process of referring facts to laws had been carried to the extreme of some one summary law, by

means of which the entire aggregate of phenomena could be explained, a divine will would not even then have become hypothetically unnecessary, but remain as that scientific postulate or ultimate fact upon which the whole fabric of human knowledge reposes, and without which it could have neither rational basis nor consistency. Still would it be the instinctive tendency of the human intellect to look up to God as that Infinite Lawgiver, whose potent volition pervades and conducts the mighty mechanism of the universe, and but for whose immutable purpose it would fall into chaos, or vanish like a dream.

In like manner, it may be shown that there is no *moral* antagonism of the two tendencies. It is asserted, that the sentiments inspired by theology, partaking of its own illusory and transient nature, are repugnant to other more rational and permanent sentiments evoked by Positive science. While the hypothesis of a God prevails, man draws courage and consolation from imagined access to a divine will, and believes himself capable of modifying the universe by means of his prayers. But this hope, so inspiring and salutary in an infantile stage of his development, he readily relinquishes for the more animating and reasonable prospect of modifying the universe by means of his own personal resources. "We find ourselves able," says Comte, "to dispense with supernatural aid in our difficulties and sufferings, in proportion as we obtain a gradual control over nature by a knowledge of her laws." He even intimates that the devotional spirit already languishes in scientific minds; and it is not too much for him to anticipate a period when the throne of grace shall have become as mythical as the oracle or the augury.

The shortest answer to all this is, that such a state of the moral constitution of man is simply impracticable, if not inconceivable. We may give imagination the wildest license; we may suppose all science and art carried to their utmost perfection; yet what would be the result? Our astronomy could not remedy the planetary disturbance it might predict; our meteorology could not improve the weather it might prognosticate; our physiology could not avert the death it might explain; and even our sociology could not regenerate the civilization it might project. The acquisition of omniscience itself could not invest

mankind with absolute "control over nature," or destroy their instinctive dependence upon God, but, if left without adequate religious support, would either whelm them in helpless bewilderment, or leave them, as conscious children of fate, to yield to death and danger like dumb cattle or crushed machines.

We may go even a step further, and maintain, that the theological spirit, instead of being supplanted, is actually invigorated by the Positive spirit. Not only does it assert itself in presence of nature's most inflexible laws, as when the Atheist cries to God in shipwreck, or the Christian prays for his daily bread; but it may draw new courage from its knowledge of those laws, and from the spectacle of that human prowess acquired through such knowledge. When we behold what interventions in the fixed course of nature our weak, blind will can accomplish, shall we doubt that, in the event of an adequate spiritual emergency, any intervention would be too great for that Will which, not only itself lives in all natural laws, but is ever swayed by omnipotent and omniscient love? Shall we deem the possible with man impossible with God? Shall we not rather deem the possible with God impossible with man, and all the more readily believe, that the very "modifications of the universe," just declared impracticable to human science and art, were once actually effected by divine knowledge and power, when the sun and moon stood still in the vale of Ajalon; when it rained out of the brazen sky of Carmel; when death was dragged in triumph after the fiery chariot of Elijah; and when Messiah came to regenerate by his Church the whole social development of mankind? The limited power of man over the universe only helps us to conceive of the unlimited power of God, and may but impel us to resort to him in all the more confidence and joy. And though our spiritual exigencies do not require the miracles incident to less favoured eras, yet may we still aspire after whatsoever things are in accordance with his will, and into that lofty region where his spirit communes with ours, ascend out of the rigid mechanism of nature, for such assurances and conviction as shall enable us to return and triumphantly withstand her most appalling terrors, or placidly yield to her most inevitable disasters.

Not even the supposed laws of history could oppose any

barrier against such access of the finite to the Infinite Spirit. We may imagine the course of Providence, in the direction of individual or social development, to observe uniformities as inflexible as those of mechanics; yet this need not shake our faith in the freedom either of human or divine volition. It would only convince us that the law of holiness is at least as fixed as the law of gravitation, and that spiritual death as inevitably ensues upon the infraction of the one, as physical death upon the infraction of the other. We should but be the better able to conceive of that God, with whom we have to do, as not less uniform in his determination of moral than of material phenomena, and find in his promises and provisions all the more rational basis for our prayers and hopes, whether for individual or social regeneration.

As Positive science could never invalidate the ideas of theology, so it could never eradicate the instincts of piety. The spectacle of an entire universe under the regulation of laws, would not only be logically inconsistent, but morally appalling, without the notion of a Beneficent Lawgiver; and were it presented to the pious soul, instead of beholding in it a mere iron mechanism of fate, he would only regard it as an exquisite system of divine volitions, susceptible of being made to work together for his good, and of all its anomalies pronounce none so monstrous as would be that of a single legitimate prayer left unanswered, worse even than the skeptic's notion of a miracle, as appearing not simply a suspension of the laws of nature, but even of the will of God.

It would seem scarcely necessary now to argue that there can be no *social* antagonism of the two tendencies. This is admitted to be a mere consequence of their intellectual and moral antagonism. The war between them, in any society where it is waged, it is asserted, must issue in political revolution. So long as a theological theory prevails, and the consequent moral sentiments abound, the mass of individuals spontaneously concur upon a basis of common opinions with some degree of stability, order, and peace. But no sooner do these fundamental opinions begin to be assailed by heresy, infidelity, and schism, than ancient institutions become unsettled, and society is at the alternative of continuing in anarchy, or

assuming a new organization. According to Comte, the most civilized societies are now passing through this anarchical condition, consequent upon a decline of theological, and rise of Positive opinions, effected by the critical spirit of modern metaphysics; but it is his expectation that Positivism will ultimately so predominate over Monotheism, as to place Christianity on a par with Mohammedanism, and at length consign the Church to antiquity, as a mere worn chrysalis, out of which civilization shall have struggled forth into new life and glory.

An argument which begins in absurdity, can only accumulate absurdity. This notion of substituting Positive for theological opinions in the social organism, is even more chimerical than that of substituting the scientific for the devotional spirit in the moral constitution. As yet, Positive opinions do not exist in the form of any such received body of doctrine, as could afford a nucleus for social concurrence; and were such opinions ever to predominate, they would prove, if not utterly fatuitous, yet thoroughly disorganizing. The picture, which Comte elaborates, of a new social organization resulting from such opinions, and composed of a race of virtual atheists, absorbed in the worship of their own humanity as a deity, cannot exist even in imagination without instantly dissolving into anarchy, or relapsing to barbarism.

Indeed, so far from admitting that theological opinions could ever be extirpated from the social constitution by Positive science, we might rather maintain that it is ultimately destined to strengthen and extend them. Truth, from whatever source it emanates, must yet be found consistent with all other truth; and were human knowledge thoroughly consummated and diffused, it would but demonstrate the God of nature and of history to be the God of revelation, with such universal and conspicuous illustration that all should "know the Lord, from the least even unto the greatest."

The foregoing argument in respect to the relations of theology and Positive science has virtually secured that in respect to the relations of both to metaphysics. It is only on the supposition that the two extremes of the series are antagonistic, that the intermediate term could acquire any hostile bearing. That supposition having been disproved, we must regard the

abstractions of metaphysics as comparatively harmless and inoperative. The mere theoretical substitution of the entity of "Nature" for the Deity, of "phenomena" for divine manifestations, of "cause" or "force" for the divine will, and of "laws" for the uniformities of divine action, instead of marking the deterioration of theology, is only to be taken as the convenient technicality of science; and heresy, infidelity, and schism, so far from decomposing the theological system of society, are but so many purgative processes, by which it is being cleansed and perfected. While, as respects the relation of metaphysics to Positive science, it would not be difficult to show that the progress of the latter actually depends upon the progress of the former; and that were both completed, they could acquire rational support and consistency only by means of theology; or, in other words, that the normal order of the three pursuits is the exact reverse of the order alleged, and that science, in escaping from the pupilage of theology, and passing under the discipline of metaphysics, does not then recoil with parricidal and suicidal blow upon the parent that nurtured her, and the master by whom she is trained; but is rather destined to return, though after long estrangement, and by a circuitous route, under the guidance of a sound metaphysic, back to the feet of that ancient theology from whose loins she sprang, and there unite in rendering the knowledge of man coincident with the knowledge of God and the truth as it is in nature, everywhere congruous with "the truth as it is in Jesus."

Upon such profound inquiries, however, we need not venture. We have now sufficiently examined both species of testimony adduced in support of this supposed law of intellectual development. It fulfils neither of the prescribed conditions of such a law. It is as wholly unsustained by the evidence of human nature, as we found it to be by the evidence of human history. The facts of our mental, moral, and social constitution, concur with the facts of our historical experience, in showing that the three pursuits, instead of waging exterminating warfare, are but so many allied interests of truth, equally spontaneous, legitimate, and permanent.

And now, were any illustration needed to confirm such an argument, where could we find a better than this very system

itself? What is the "Positive Philosophy" but a product of the metaphysical tendency? What is the "Positive Religion" but a product of the theological tendency? And can we conceive of any abstractionism more wild than that which would construct the entire fabric of human knowledge out of an empty generalization of history? or of any fetichism more gross than that which, having studiously invested the notion of humanity with the attributes of Deity, would then invite mankind to love and serve it as their god? Thus, by a recoil of truth from beneath the foot of error, wherein something of the sublimity of retribution is joined to the rigour of demonstration, does this system not only fail on its own premises, but remain a conspicuous monument of the failure. Professing to deride theology and metaphysics, it stands forth as itself, in its own perverted sense of the words, the most metaphysical of all metaphysics, and the most theological of all theologies.

We ought not now to be charged with any undue theological or metaphysical prejudice in concluding these remarks with a single practical lesson to be learned by each of the two obnoxious professions from this system.

The metaphysician may find in it new evidence of the insufficiency of any one method of research as pursued to the exclusion of every other. If there is any one method, upon which it might seem safe to place such entire reliance, it is, perhaps, that inductive procedure which is the characteristic and the pride of the English mind. We have been wont to boast of the healthy appetite for facts, which it has fostered among us, and to congratulate ourselves on our consequent happy seclusion from the devastating career of foreign transcendentalism. All that was needed to undeceive us is a system like the one before us, avowedly proceeding on our own favourite Baconian method toward the very worst results of German speculation. The simple truth is, that while revelation, intuition, and induction, are equally legitimate, within their own appropriate spheres, yet, in the existing fragmentary and schismatic condition of human knowledge, neither can be pushed beyond the limits imposed upon it by the others, except at its own peril. Theology may not safely invade such a question as the antiquity of

the globe, since that is a legitimate problem of Positive science; and Positive science may not safely invade such a question as the regeneration of society, since that is a legitimate problem of theology; and neither may safely invade such questions as the modes or relations of matter and spirit, since those are legitimate problems of metaphysics. Only when they shall have together accomplished their respective missions will the world be in possession of one homogeneous body of truth.

The theologian, in like manner, may only find in this system a fresh illustration of the tendency of depraved reason to dispense with the idea of God. Such is the perversity of man's intellect, that if able to account for the creation on any other theory than that of a Creator, he will disregard even the evidence of intuition and revelation. Hence we have that glorious idea, without which history were a blank and the world a wreck, represented to us as a mere product of the speculative propensity, to be traced back to its origin in savage superstition, and even in a supposed nascent theologizing among "some select animals," and then, in its mature form, to be treated as a mere tentative hypothesis, which the race is already in haste to abandon. But we need not fear that any amount of science and art could ever enable man, either in theory or in practice, to do without a God. The Deity is not so meagre in his resources, nor has he constructed the existing universe on such a diminutive scale, that his creatures can ever get beyond the necessity of admitting their ignorance and helplessness. Science after science may push its adventurous way into the arcana of nature, but it will only be to return with tidings of still unexplored regions of truth which it has not dared to invade even with the footstep of a conjecture. Every earthly branch of knowledge might be carried to perfection, until the whole problem of the planet should be solved; but there would still remain innumerable other orbs, of whose genesis and apocalypse we could not form so much as a conception. Philosophy might have dived down toward the eldest secrets of creation, and mounted up toward a solution of its whole complex enigma; but there would still remain even then the Creator himself, capable of making and unmaking universe after universe to all eternity. Never, while man is man and God is God, shall mystery cease

to hover between them, as at once a stimulus to the curiosity, and a barrier to the pride of human reason. Before the Infinite Intelligence, the seraph, the sage, and the child, must together confess that "it is the glory of God to conceal a thing."

ART. II.—*The Friend of India.* Serampore, 1857.
The Mofussilite. Agra, 1857.

THE year 1857 will be henceforth known as the year of the Sepoy Revolt. It was the most striking event of the year in the eastern world, and no event of the year in any part of the world has been of deeper interest in the eyes of thoughtful men. This revolt, therefore, with its kindred topics, may well receive our consideration in this Review.

A detailed narrative of this remarkable mutiny will not be expected in our pages. The distressing particulars have filled our newspapers, and though presented in a fragmentary form, have doubtless conveyed a correct general idea of what has taken place. The journals whose titles are given above, may be consulted by those who wish to see how these events appeared to intelligent observers on the ground. *The Friend of India* will be found to contain a weekly record of these events, the more satisfactory, because this journal has the highest reputation for its spirited summaries of news, and its able discussions of all Indian questions.

The British have held their possessions in India by the power of four separate armies: the European, numbering some 30,000 soldiers, who are stationed in detachments in all parts of the country; the Madras army, and the Bombay army, composed of native soldiers under European officers from the ensign upwards, and occupying posts in the south and west of India, in the Presidencies or civil divisions of the country bearing the names respectively of these cities; and the Bengal army that was, having now almost melted away, not before the face of an

enemy, but in revolt from its too confiding friends. This army was composed of native soldiers and English officers, like the armies of Madras and Bombay, but enrolled as many men as both the others; all three numbering some 250,000. The Bengal army, though chiefly recruited from two districts, and from but a few classes, was stationed in regiments at many places, from Burmah to the borders of Afghanistan, thus occupying the immense country known as north and north-west India. A large portion of this army has risen in open revolt against their officers and the government; nearly as large a portion has been disarmed, through fear of their following the bad example of their comrades; leaving but a few regiments still on duty, and most of these were looked upon with distrust. So vast a revolt of well organized troops has not before occurred in any part of the world.

On the terrible deeds of the Sepoys—their treachery, their murder of their officers, their savage cruelty to helpless women and children, their brutal licentiousness, their setting free the inmates of the prisons—criminals of the deepest dye, their plundering of private property, both of Europeans and their own countrymen—on all this we have no heart to dwell. It makes one of the darkest pages in the history of our race. The mere reading of the details in the newspapers has made men sick at heart and chilled their blood. Alas! the agony of those who had to face this demon-like outbreak, and who fell before its wrath! The awful horrors of this revolt show us the real character of heathenism and Mohammedanism, when the restraints of Providence are taken off. These are the legitimate fruits of a religion, which ranks an unmentionable emblem of lust and a patroness of murder among the deities to be daily worshipped, and of a still fiercer religion which accounts the sword as the best argument.

Before proceeding to consider some of the causes of this revolt, we may advert to the conflicting opinions expressed by different writers concerning its origin and its extent. These opinions are often quite irreconcilable, and they are not seldom set forth with a positive tone that admits of but one reply. Writers, supposed from their position to be competent judges, are to be found on both sides of every question. Undoubtedly

this is owing in many cases to simple ignorance, and its presumption is astounding. In cases not a few, it is owing to a reliance being placed on a vague general idea, rather than on thorough study and knowledge of the subject. Let us cite two or three examples, taken from respectable publications. One of our leading daily journals of commerce, in an elaborate argument to prove that the British would have great difficulty in subduing the revolted soldiers, alleged that these soldiers were under the leadership of a commanding mind, and gave as a proof, their having taken possession of some places on the Jumna, in order to have the best advantages for the transmission of troops and military stores; which is about the same thing as to argue that General Jackson would have seized some towns on the Susquehannah for similar purposes, while a navigable river like the Hudson or the Ohio was equally or more within his reach. And a weekly "journal of civilization," published by one of our best known houses, gravely tells its readers of missionaries having bought up native children at two or three rupees apiece, as one of the causes of the insurrection; as if the benevolent labours of tract distributors in the Five Points, in providing homes for a few orphans, could stir up the soldiers on Governor's Island to murder their officers, and then march to Washington to demolish the government. The same journal contains a striking map of India, which places Cawnpore at the junction of the Ganges and Jumna, and Calcutta on a grand island! Still graver mistakes might be pointed out in some of our religious journals, some of which will be corrected in the sequel of this article.

It is really a difficult matter to acquire a thorough knowledge of the internal state of any country, and especially of a country far distant and Asiatic. Patient and continued study is indispensable. Foreigners seldom learn to appreciate the real state of the case until after many years' observation. These truisms need to be remembered. How justly do we complain of the erroneous representations of many foreign writers concerning our own country, even when we cannot bring against them the charge of prejudice or misrepresentation. Concerning matters in India, as in our own country, there are unhappily too many writers who have published their opinions to the

world after a most superficial acquaintance with the subject. Others, especially in England, have expressed their opinions in the heat of party conflicts, or under the bias of personal prejudice. There have been Europeans in India who were wedded to some theory—very often to the idea, which these Sepoy outrages have for ever exploded, that the Hindus are a mild and nearly perfect people, whose gentle manners ought not to be disturbed by fanatical Christians, and whose venerable institutions ought not to be touched by the profane hand of European rulers. These "Old Indians" are often indignant at the oppression of the Hindus by the British; one of them, a judge of high grade, resigned the service and went home in disgust, because he was not allowed officially to patronize idolatrous processions and kindred abominations. Widely differing from this class is found a host of agitators, who declaim with equal warmth against the oppression of the poor Hindus, because they are not permitted to enjoy all the privileges of their fellow subjects in England, including, we suppose, the right of suffrage and of voting by ballot. Thus extremes ever meet. Some of the foreigners in India personally would in any community be called bad men, and their opinions are after their own image. Others still are weak men, incapable of forming a just or discriminating opinion on any subject; and yet because they have lived in the country, they feel called upon to express oracular opinions, like an old Bombay correspondent of the *Times*, who saw the missionaries at the bottom of all the Sepoy troubles. Letters have been written by others, which were penned under a degree of excitement little short of panic, and the worst side of every incident would naturally be seized by them as true. We can well sympathize with the gloomy feelings of men writing under the shadow of such colossal disasters. Leaving India and landing in England, we find party strife as violent and unscrupulous as in our own country; the misrule of India is a topic as much dwelt upon, and as little understood by many, as our own question of slavery. The *Outs* hope to succeed the *Ins*, by pathetic declamation about the wrongs of the Hindus. An Ellenborough can misuse his seat in Parliament, to do injury to the party in power, with as little scruple as he used his high office in India to show respect to Hinduism, and

to degrade his own religion. Religious newspapers, so called, are sometimes marked by the violence that characterizes political discussions; it is easy to prove from their columns that the government of India by the British has been all wrong and bad from the beginning, and that it never was worse than at the present time. Have we not the same thing nearer home? Who could speak with confidence, a year ago, of the state of things in Kansas? Taking some even of the religious newspapers as authorities, what must foreigners have thought of the character of our government, our people, or our Christianity? It would be an easy but thankless task to quote long columns of apparent facts and forcible arguments, to show that there never was such a misgoverned, oppression-inflicting and oppression-enduring people as ourselves—though we knew it not!

All this notwithstanding, there is ample testimony that is trustworthy concerning India and its vexed questions. Some of the questions in the relations between the Hindus and the British are of a profound nature, and deserve long and earnest study. The expediency of changing the tenure of real estate, so as to vest it in personal ownership, among a people who have from time beyond memory or history looked upon the government as the great proprietor; the collection of government revenue among a people skilful in all the arts of concealment and fraud; the administration of justice among a people radically corrupt, in a country where oaths are without virtue, and human life is of little value—these are subjects not to be disposed of in a few flippant paragraphs of a newspaper leader; and we shall certainly not venture to express an opinion concerning them in this place, though they require to be understood by those who would rightly appreciate the character of the British rule in India. There are other and numerous topics, however, which are directly connected with the Sepoy revolt, concerning which it is quite practicable to form a correct opinion; to some of these we shall now invite the attention of our readers.

We meet at the outset the theory of the Sepoy mutiny which regards its proportions as national and not military. It is a revolution, we have been told, or at the very least an insurrection which embraces large numbers of the people as well as of the soldiers. This opinion has been expressed by persons to

whose judgment, if formed in the view of all the facts, much weight should be given. Some of the missionaries in that country, and among them one of the most eminent, have spoken in this way.

The merits of this "national" theory of the revolt may be summarily tested. Suppose it to be true, how long could the few thousands of Europeans stand before all the millions of India? One of the missionaries has well remarked, that the people of India have but to throw their shoes on the foreigners, in order to bury them out of sight! But as this view of the revolt has been earnestly advocated by respectable men, it is entitled to receive a more extended examination.

The common proofs of this opinion, indeed the only proofs of much weight, are two—first, that the people of India have no affection for the British; and next, certain instances of hostile treatment of fugitive Europeans by the natives within the last few months. The latter we esteem as of but little importance. There are villagers enough in India, as in any heathen country, who would plunder defenceless travellers if they dared, and would kill them too, to prevent their telling tales. There are many bad men in most Hindu towns, as in our own large cities, who are ready to hail a time of disturbance as a harvest season to themselves. In the absence of the strong arm of government, the wonder is not that some outrages have been perpetrated by the common people; rather, we have been surprised that the essentially depraved nature of the Hindus has not been displayed in acts of violence more numerous and appalling. We account for the disorder and crime which have been committed by classes distinct from the Sepoys and their rabble followers, on the simple but broad ground of their heathenism.

The main question here concerns the general state of feeling among the natives of India towards their foreign rulers. It must be conceded, we believe, that there is little affection for the British among their eastern subjects. It seems to be impossible that there should be, until Christianity prevails. The difference of race, of social customs, and of religion, is nowhere more strongly marked than between the white and the coloured inhabitants of this country. The two peoples never meet as families, the tender sympathies of woman in social or pure domestic ties do not

bind them together. Not that any repugnance between them exists, as between the white and the coloured inhabitants of our own land; but the causes of separation are general, and such as are not likely to give way until the spirit of the Gospel fuses their hearts in a common mould. Then, we see no reason to suppose that the most intimate relations may not subsist between the native and the European, without loss of social position on either side. There has been, moreover, in far too many instances, an ill-considered, overbearing, and sometimes unmanly treatment of the natives, which has borne its legitimate fruit. There are, besides, certain families and their adherents, connected with former reigning houses, who cherish their "grievance," though they find little sympathy from the masses. And there is the Mohammedan element of the population, sighing for the restoration of Islamism. There are also many whose interests have been injured by serious errors in the legislative or the administrative measures of the government. And there are the poor villagers, who are at times wasted by the march of an army, or the progress of the Governor-General's camp, of whose sufferings Sir Charles Napier takes such just notice; though the cause of their sufferings is not the one which he leaves his correspondent to infer—the oppression of the English powers that be, but the iniquity of the native officials. These native agents refuse to pay over to the villager the price of his grass and barley without large reduction, and at the same time contrive to make it impossible for the poor man to carry his complaint to the "Sahib." This enumeration will nearly exhibit the strength of anti-British feeling in India. And it is worthy of note that in some of these cases, the natives themselves would not expect to gain anything by a change of rulers. The poor villager would fare worse than he does under the "Company Sahib," as to receiving a just compensation for his services.

On the other side, there are commanding reasons and facts to be considered. The Hindus are a shrewd, sagacious people in all things affecting their personal and pecuniary interests. They can very well appreciate the advantage of living under law, as compared with living under lawless despotism. They are keenly alive to the chances of accumulating property and

of its safe possession. It is said the Jews cannot compete with the bazar dealers of Calcutta, though here in Yankee-land they take possession of Chatham street. No people, moreover, are more sensitive than the Hindus to the honour of their families, keeping their females in the strictest seclusion. How could it be otherwise than that such a people would prefer a settled, and in the main an equitable government like that of the British, to the state of things which always exists under native or Musalman rulers? The last old king of the Punjab had in his harem hundreds of the most beautiful women in his country, and their number was increased by the forcible addition of every young woman of superior beauty within his reach. If one of his subjects, by industry, skill, or enterprise, acquired some property, he soon learned that his gains must be shared by his rulers, petty and great, until all that remained was not worth contending for. The illustrations are numberless. Now, law reigns in the Punjab, as elsewhere, to the infinite advantage of nine-tenths of the people. The law is imperfectly administered, indeed, and thereby many cases of oppression occur, and many criminals escape deserved punishment. Of this, the people bitterly complain, oftentimes; but they see, what English and American declaimers against the oppressions of the present government do not seem to be aware of, that these cases of abuse of power are nearly always to be laid to the charge of the native officials, or of the state of society where any number of witnesses can be hired in the next bazar for sixpence each, to swear the most solemn oaths. But law imperfectly administered is nevertheless to be preferred to no law, and this the Hindus well understand. We might easily infer, therefore, that if the Hindus do not like the British, they are at least far enough from hating them to such a degree as to wish for their expulsion from the country.

Signal examples can be given to show the true state of native feeling, one of which we will here relate. At one of the missionary stations of our Church in Upper India, a native chief was in power when the missionary first visited his city, which then contained a population of sixteen thousand souls. Soon afterwards the old chief died, and left no heirs. His principality, according to native usage, escheated to the British; if

his town had been on the other side of the Sutlej, it would have fallen in like manner to the miserable old king referred to above. British rule was set up, the reign of law commenced, people from neighbouring districts still under native rulers removed to this town, and in a few years its population was numbered at nearly eighty thousand souls. Facts like this confute whole pages of declamation. We shall not pursue the argument as to this matter, but may simply state our conviction, formed after carefully examining the accounts of the recent disturbances, that the Hindus generally have taken but little part in them. The farmers, mechanics, shopkeepers, the industrial classes generally, with Mohammedan exceptions, are not found in the train of the Sepoys. On the contrary, these classes have been plundered in many instances by the revolted troops; and in still more, their daily occupations, and especially the labours of the field, have been so much interrupted, that extreme suffering is to be apprehended as one of the results of the mutiny. It is sad to think that this will be a matter of indifference to these heathen and Mohammedan soldiers; they will care nothing at all for the distress which impending famine will bring on scores of thousands of their countrymen. We trust their Christian rulers may be able to devise some measures for their relief.

Adopting the theory which the foregoing remarks refute, some of the newspapers, both in Ireland and this country, have set the atrocities and brutalities of the revolted soldiers to the account of national hatred, repaying in kind the wrongs inflicted on the Hindus by their present rulers. The theory on which this atrocious charge is made having no truth to rest upon, the charge itself might be summarily dismissed from court. But it has been made too boldly, to be ignored. It will soon appear that we do not blindly approve of everything in the policy of the British government in the East; nor do we doubt that examples of personal iniquity and wrong-doing in the intercourse of Europeans with the Hindus can be brought forward. But if there is anything in the history of British proceedings in India that gives even a pretext for the allegation in question, it has altogether escaped our reading. Whatever individual cases of license or of violence may be cited—and it would be strange

indeed if none should occur among so many thousand Europeans, living in a country where moral restraints are few and weak; (have we not reason to blush for many such in our own land?) it is nevertheless true beyond question, that for nearly a generation past, the policy of the British government in India has been liberal and humane; while the character and conduct of its official agents, in the civil and military services, will bear a very favourable comparison with that of our own countrymen in the same walks of life. We have no sympathy with the tone of disparagement which some have chosen to employ towards a noble people in the time of their reverses; and we repudiate as groundless, nay, as violating one of the holy commandments, the allegation that the Hindus have been merely paying off their debts to the British in their own coin. This charge is in the first place false; and in the next, it is without reason. It assumes that the Sepoys have acted from a sense of national grievance, whereas *they* were never oppressed, never ill-treated, but on the contrary, always dealt with as a favoured and even a petted class; and it is further without reason, because it ignores the real cause of these dreadful atrocities. These have their reason in the unfathomable depths of human depravity, when unrestrained by Divine Providence, and unenlightened by the gospel. It is pure heathenism and pure Islamism that we behold with horror in these Sepoy outrages.

We leave this painful topic, after adding, that many of the mistakes which are made by those who treat of the causes of the Indian revolt, are made in this same way—by forgetting the real character of the Hindus. They are an ignorant, depraved, and heathen people; and yet both English and American writers speak of them as if they could be governed on the same principles and in the same way as British subjects or American citizens. A greater mistake it would be difficult to make; and our meaning will be clearer to most of our readers, when we say that the coloured people of this country, free and bond, are a hundred-fold better prepared for self-government than are the great mass of the Hindus.

We have dwelt somewhat long on this subject, because of prevalent mistakes concerning it, and chiefly because the measures to be pursued hereafter in India depend on a right view

of this point. The statesmen of Great Britain, and the Christian people of every land, must seek to know with reasonable certainty what is the disposition of the natives of India towards their present rulers. The British could not long remain in that country, neither could the work of Christian missions be carried on there much longer, if the masses of the people shared in the spirit which has actuated the revolted Sepoys.

In the earlier days of the mutiny, it was a frequent charge, that the labours of the missionaries were its immediate, if not its main cause. By their proselyting efforts, and their exposure of the native religious systems, we were told, they had awakened a vindictive feeling among the people, which now sought to quench its rage in blood. Facts and proofs abundant have exploded this theory of the outbreak; and have shown besides, that the missionaries enjoy more of the confidence of the Hindu part of the population, the seven-eighths of the whole, than any other class of foreigners. The natives give them the credit of being sincere and good men. As in the days of Schwartz, so it has occurred again, within a few months, that a missionary was able to render essential service to his countrymen in procuring needful supplies, when the officers of government were unable to obtain them. Few of the missionary stations were molested as *missionary;* a native ordained missionary of our Church, and the native teacher, with their church and school, all well known to the dwellers at Jalandar, were allowed to remain in peace, when three regiments at that place broke into mutiny. Similar examples occurred at other places. A serious loss of property has befallen the missions of our own and other Churches, and a lamentable loss of missionary lives, as our readers know; but it was as *foreign*, not as missionary, that these calamities overtook them; with some exceptions, particularly as to native Christians who fell into the hands of rebels, among their Mohammedan countrymen. In the parts of the country where missionaries have been longest at work, and most successful, there have been no disturbances; while the Sepoys, of all the Hindus, knew least about missionary instruction. In the ranks, or in cantonments, they were no more accessible to itinerant missionaries, than are the soldiers of our own army to

the labours of a street preacher. But no one, we believe, now ascribes this revolt to the missionaries.

The evidence of a Mohammedan conspiracy is supposed by some to be beyond question; and the fears of Hindu high caste people, lest they should violate their peculiar institution by the touch or taste of certain cartridges, are the cause assigned by others. We believe that both of these have been at work. There are large numbers of Mohammedans, who possess sufficient ability, and are swayed by a spirit sufficiently malignant, to devise all that has taken place. But as this sect forms but a fraction of the population, it was only by securing the coöperation of non-Musalman people that anything could be effected. This was to be done in but one way, by exciting their fears of losing caste. The serving out of cartridges for the Minnie rifle, which were made of a new kind of paper, or sized with some suspicious looking substance, became the occasion of the outbreak; so far as the Hindus were concerned, it was to a large extent the cause of their revolt. Trifling as such a cause must seem to us, and therefore by many ridiculed as incredible, to the devout Hindu, especially to a man of high caste, it was a serious cause of alarm; nothing more serious, indeed, could have been presented to his mind. These are the now commonly received theories of the revolt. They both turn on the native army as their hinge of movement. But for this army, embodying large numbers of Mohammedans and high caste Hindus, thoroughly armed, well disciplined, stationed at commanding points, ready, inflammable, and needing but the right torch, no such outburst of fury and ruin could have been produced.

Accessory causes were not wanting. The Bengal army was largely composed of men from classes priding themselves on their high caste and personal dignity; its Ghoorkha and Sikh regiments mostly stood firm in their allegiance to the government, as did the Madras and Bombay armies, which enrolled men of all castes. Not only was the Bengal army chiefly formed from the classes most difficult to be governed, it was also recruited mainly from one part of the country, the provinces of Rohilcund and Oude. This army seems to have been without sufficient discipline, in part owing to the custom which has grown up, of taking the officers of greatest ability and

knowledge of the native language for extra-regimental service, leaving the men under the charge of less competent officers. The blunder of strongly fortifying Delhi, and then leaving it in the charge of native troops, and allowing the titular Moghul emperor still to remain in the palace, must be enumerated, and can be accounted for only by calling to remembrance the profound feeling of security which prevailed among all classes of Europeans. Of all places in India, this city is preëminently the seat of royalty; it ought probably to be the political capital of the British; its possession is the visible emblem of sovereignty in the eyes of the people. For many centuries, under successive dynasties, the country was governed at Delhi. Hence the conspirators at once set up the titular emperor as the ostensible head of their movement, and the Sepoys flocked to that city as by some peculiar instinct. Nor can we pass by the grave fault of keeping this native army out of the reach of Christian influences. We refer not as proof of this to the recent censure inflicted on an officer for his missionary zeal. While no one can doubt the excellence of this gentleman, his peculiar religious views may perhaps have prompted to his engaging in methods of evangelization which few among ourselves would deem proper in an officer of our army. It is certain that other officers, among them the noble Havelock, have been equally zealous and not less publicly known as missionary Christian men, without having met with official rebuke. Our censure falls on the policy that has kept native Christians out of the army, and which even dismissed from active service a respectable man, whose only fault was his becoming a sincere convert to the Christian religion. This occurred forty years ago, but the policy of the government has not yet become more liberal. The dismissal of the Sepoy was a wretched truckling to the prejudices of caste among the soldiers, and it was equally degrading to Europeans, as a practical acknowledgment that their religion was unworthy of respect. This irreligious, or not Christianly religious, policy has resulted in placing the chief defence of all British interests in the hands of those classes of natives who are the most prejudiced, the most proud, the most scornful, alike of their own countrymen and their foreign rulers; and it now seems wonderful that the evil could have

been so long tolerated. No considerations of fine stature and bearing in the men, no hope of conciliating such a class of influential people, no mistaken ideas of non-interference with the religions of the country, should have been allowed to have a feather's weight against the sin and the risks of this line of policy. All Christian people will feel thankful that this system has received its death blow in this mutiny.

This native army was the magazine, filled with combustible materials, and ready for explosion either by a Mohammedan or a Brahman torch; why then keep up this magazine? Thus reasons a correspondent of the *Times;* and the question is often asked, on both sides of the Atlantic, How and why is India held in subjection by its own sons? Is it not better to dispense with the Sepoys? Is it practicable to recruit another native army? These questions may all be answered by simply considering the facts of the case. The Hindus have no feeling, nor any principle, that would prevent their taking service as soldiers for anybody, provided certain personal and caste matters are respected; no idea of patriotism is violated thereby; indeed the idea has little or no existence among them. The reasons for enlisting as soldiers are obvious. It has been customary, under all dynasties, foreign as well as native, for certain classes to be employed in this kind of life, and custom is all powerful with Hindus. The land, moreover, is full of people, so that it is extremely difficult for vast multitudes to obtain the slenderest means of subsistence. A hard-working boatman or a field-hand can rarely earn two dollars a month, and must find his food and clothing out of that pittance; a house-servant seldom receives more than two or three dollars a month, and "finds himself;" and these labouring classes are hired by the month or day, with no expectation of support from their employers beyond their time of actual work. The Sepoys, besides their military dress and quarters in cantonments, have their four dollars a month, or twice as much as the same men could earn in any other employment; and at the end of a certain term of service they are sure of a pension, which enables them to spend the rest of life like "private gentlemen" amongst their friends. As a class, they are the best conditioned people in India; of all others, they have fared best under the present

government—having ample and sure pay and pensions, which were often scanty and ill-paid under native or Moghul rulers.

Almost equally strong are the reasons which induce the British to employ these mercenaries. The climate of the country is extremely injurious to most persons who have been brought up in northern latitudes, and particularly to the common European soldiers, who are too little governed by laws of reason or temperance. Hence a large pecuniary outlay is necessary to provide suitable quarters for the men, besides the great expense of their conveyance to India—making every English soldier cost as much as would support a dozen of Sepoys; and, after all, he is incapable of much service during a large part of the year. This mutiny commenced at the beginning of the hot season, the time being well chosen, and for three months it was at the risk of health and life for English troops to be moved in order to suppress it. A European regiment cannot be expected to serve long; broken health, numerous casualties, and more than all, the weariness and disgust of a foreigner's life, whose only reason for staying in the country is a pecuniary one, combine to shorten the time of service of English troops, and make it almost a matter of necessity to employ native soldiers, provided they can be taken into service with safety.

On this point little doubt need be felt. With the lessons of the last few months in view, it will be easy to guard against the real dangers of a Sepoy force. Soldiers will hereafter be enlisted from several classes, and fewer from the ranks of the Brahmans and Mohammedans. Native Christians will be welcomed. Discipline will be rigidly maintained. A stronger European force will occupy the commanding positions. And thenceforth we may anticipate little trouble from the native army. Eventually the native troops, like their countrymen of all classes, will be a Christian people, and their relations to their officers, as well as those of India to England, will at some future day be adjusted on the principles and in the spirit of Christianity. May that day be not far distant!

This mutiny has turned public attention to India, and the relations between that country and Great Britain are now the general study of the western world. It is perceived that the

army must be reconstructed, and many believe that the government itself should undergo the same process. There are obviously points of the deepest moment to be considered, if any general change is to be made; and the danger of needless or injurious innovation is very serious. It is quite common for English writers to complain of the present government, because the natives of the country are not admitted to a larger share in its administration; some theorizers and some partizans would go so far as to resign the government altogether into native hands, and would have the British to withdraw from the country. To any one acquainted with the state of things, the latter measure will appear as simply a proposal to hand the Hindus over to the evils of anarchy. There is neither virtue nor intelligence among them for self-government, in any proper sense of that word. The government must remain in British hands, and must for a long time be based on the idea of a conquest and not of a colony. As to admitting Europeans to reside in India, they could freely do so at any time in the last five and twenty years; but the fierce sun and the drenching rains, the intense tropical climate, added to the already overcrowded condition of every avenue and lane of business in a land teeming with inhabitants, will always stand in the way of European colonization. The idea of colonial government for India will never be practicable. As a conquest, the British must continue to govern the country, if they govern it at at all, until, under the transforming power and genial influence of Christianity, the Hindus are prepared to govern themselves. In the mean time, their being subject to an enlightened Protestant power is of the greatest advantage to them. The interests of humanity and of civilization in India, and the door open for the spread of the gospel, alike depend on the connection which has been so strangely ordained by Providence between the British and the Hindus.

The continuance of this relationship we regard as of the highest moment to the people of India; but whether the East India Company should continue to be the organ of British power, is a question not settled. The Board of Control makes this Company in some sense a part of the English home government; but we believe that most matters of administration are left to the Company. Through the Board of Control, the

public sentiment of the British people has been brought to bear on important subjects in the East. The Company itself, being composed of Englishmen, feels the impulse of the national life; and its general course of policy bears witness to the same influences for good, which have governed the councils of its Directors. The abolition of the rite of the Suttee, and of the sacrifice of infant children to the Ganges, the relinquishment to so great an extent of the patronage of heathen temples—a matter sometimes of difficulty because involving questions of vested and personal rights, the impulse given to education, the construction of railroads now in progress, and of telegraph lines now complete, may be cited as examples of progress in the right direction, and of progress under the guidance of public opinion at home. But if we do not misjudge, the original sin of the Company remains. It is no longer a trading Company, but it is still a stockholder's Company; the mercantile spirit still pervades its councils; and its directors would be more than men, if they did not often look rather to the value of their vested property than to the questions of statesmanship involved in the government of such a vast country. We intend to imply no injurious reflection on the directors or stockholders of the Company; they are undoubtedly a body of most respectable persons—probably none are better worthy of confidence; but their Company relationship itself embodies the principle of our objection to them as a governing power. In such hands, the government is likely to be influenced by an English home-class policy, rather than by an anglo-Indian national one; and a narrow view of public events is likely to be taken. The welfare of the Hindu millions is in danger of being overlooked, if a broad consideration of their interests should involve great pecuniary expenditure. How else can we account for the limited force of European soldiers at the beginning of this revolt? The number was but little greater, we believe, than it was when the rule of the Company did not extend beyond the Sutlej, and did not include the kingdom of Oude. To the same category must be reduced, at least in some degree, the half-and-half-measure of employing the officers of the army on non-military service. The vast cultivation of opium, fostered and extended by a peculiar government monopoly, is a still

more signal example of the mercantile spirit of the Company. This great evil could hardly have grown up, if the country had been governed directly by the British people. The crown of England would not in that case have been stained with the fumes of opium smoking in the land of Sinim. Apart from these things, the Company seems to us a complicated piece of the machinery of government, one in which evils or errors of administration can easily be committed, while they cannot be readily corrected, and one that promises no advantage over a simpler form of government, amenable directly to the British crown, like that of the island of Ceylon.

The great question remains to be considered—What place should be given to Christianity in the policy of the government? One thing that all must hope to see is, that the attitude of the government shall hereafter be friendly, and not hostile, to our holy religion. For long years the East India Company threw its vast influence against the Christian religion. A striking example of this has been given already in the removal of the Christian Sepoy from his regiment. The obstacles interposed in the way of missionary efforts were most serious, so that the first English missionaries had to seek refuge in the Danish possessions at Serampore, and the first American missionaries were expelled from the country. The countenance given to some of the idolatrous festivals, the support of certain heathen temples, the presents bestowed on the hideous idol of Juggernath, the enforced attendance of Christian officers and troops to salute pagan gods on some occasions, were all positive offences against the God of heaven, which no considerations of worldly policy can justify. The exclusion of the word of God from government schools rests on a somewhat different footing, not unlike that which tends to the same result in too many of our own public schools. Yet Christian men must contend, that both here and everywhere the first and best of all books should occupy a chief place in the instruction of youth; and at the least, that it should not be excluded by the authority of Christian governors, while the Koran and the Shaster are freely admitted. The practical result of education without Christian influence is shown in lurid colours in the progress of the Sepoy revolt. In this country there can hardly be such education;

religion may be formally excluded from the school-room, but, like the atmosphere, its influence is felt in all places, and direct religious instruction is given in other ways to supply the great defect of our public school teaching. It is otherwise in a heathen country, and Nana Sahib and the Nawab of Furrukhabad are the monsters born of a false religion and nurtured in schools where everything is taught but that which it most concerns the scholar to learn. We have thus stated this matter as it must be viewed by those who are advocates of our own common school system. On the higher and true theory of education we do not here enter. The intervention of government in the education of a heathen people is a difficult subject; neither is the difficulty materially lessened on the "Church and State" theory of education.

It has given us no pleasure to enumerate these errors and grave offences of the government; and we are happy to believe that the worst is over; a more liberal and Christian course would have been followed, even if the great argument of this mutiny had not been thrown into the scale. Hereafter Christian views of duty will not be ignored as to these things. Indeed for years past, the friends of missions have had little cause of complaint, and many reasons for gratitude for the general course of conduct adopted by the government. But the question remains—What shall be done with Christianity itself? To read the discussions of not a few among ourselves, one might suppose that we had become advocates of enforcing the claims of religion by the authority of the State. The government should be a Christian government, we are told; it should break down caste; it should destroy the Mohammedan mosques. As well might we require our own government to destroy the Romanist churches, or to break up the religious fooleries of the Shakers. The most we can ask the British government to do as a government, is, not to encourage Heathenism or Mohammedanism, much less to discourage Christianity; to afford equal protection to all; to tolerate no offences against property or life in any; and then, with a fair field before the Church, we have no misgiving as to her success—the Hindus shall become Christians.

This doctrine is not strong enough for our Covenanter friends here at home, nor will it satisfy our Church and State brethren

in Great Britain. This is not the time to discuss its truth; but, adverting to the tone of a large part of the public press, it is timely and important for us to lift up a friendly voice of warning against any attempt to make Christianity a part of the government in India, in any such sense as to lead to the employment or the support by the authorities of agencies for the Christian instruction and conversion of the natives. The sure result of doing so would be to promote a mercenary profession of our holy faith by multitudes who would still be heathens at heart. Let the example of the State support of Christianity in Ceylon by the Dutch be well weighed: the Christian profession of almost all the numerous converts disappeared as soon as the Dutch government was withdrawn, and the large churches were entirely deserted by their former crowds of worshippers. It will be a sad event for the cause of Christ in India, when the government shall take our religion into union with the State, for the native population. On the British theory of this subject, no objection ought to be made to the support of bishops and chaplains for British born people living in India; but it is by no means obvious that the ecclesiastical establishment ought to be much enlarged. There are already three bishops for a population of some fifty thousand, very many of whom are not Episcopalians. It is simply fallacious to speak of the diocese of the Bishop of Calcutta as including all the inhabitants of the Bengal Presidency. The venerable Bishop Wilson has in fact the spiritual oversight of a much smaller number of souls, ministers, and congregations, than are under the supervision of Bishop Potter, of New York. This, however, is ground that we do not wish to travel over.

On the momentous subject of the relations of government to the Christian religion among the natives, we wish to guard against the adoption of *ultra* views. Allowance must be made for the peculiar state of things. Some of the exceptionable relations of the authorities to heathen customs, for instance, result from the fact that the great mass of the people are not Christians. There are certain heathen and Mohammedan festivals universally observed, when it is customary to close the public offices; and it would seem to be useless to keep them open—indeed, impracticable often, because the clerks and

labourers would not stay, and to compel them to remain, would be to violate their convictions of duty. Other examples might be given. What we have asked of the government, however, would not fall under the censure of going too far, and would lead to the correction of some great evils. We accord great praise to the British for what they have already done in this matter, in the suppression of thuggism and murders in the name of religion, in the protection of converts from violence and the loss of property, in maintaining the right of widows to remarry, and in other things of like kind; but it deserves to be considered whether further progress cannot be made in the same direction, so as to render the immoralities and crimes of heathenism more fully amenable to the law. The influence of the government, moreover, can no doubt be so wielded as to discourage caste; and this would greatly benefit all classes. Christianity should be placed on at least an equal footing with other religions in the schools, and native Christians should be eligible equally with others for employment in the public service. The Lord's day should be observed by all Christian officers of government, high and low. Modest as are these requirements of the State, their concession would exert a mighty influence on the people of India. The rest we would leave to the Missionary Church. The Gospel must be the great Reformer of the Hindus.

It is of comparatively little moment what form of organization may be adopted for the army or for the government; neither is it essential to the progress of the gospel in what way the relations of the government to religion may be framed together. We must not rely on human government for the conversion of souls; nor make too much of its protection in the missionary work, as the last few months have shown. We should remember that more depends on the men who administer public affairs, than on the government itself. In this respect the Hindus have reason to be thankful for so many of the best men of England among their present judges, and other civil and military rulers. If the greater number do not themselves act under the solemn impression of religious things, this is but what we complain of in our own country. Who expects the assembling of our members of Congress to do much for the promotion of evangelical religion in the federal city, or in the

country at large? It is truly a cause of thankfulness that so many of the English in India are God-fearing men, and that the number of such men, and especially of like-minded women, is on the increase.

In no country in the world is there a nobler sphere for the exercise of all benevolent influences than is set before our English friends in India—we refer to them now as Christians, and not as servants of the government. Elevated far above the Hindus by their position, and still more by their religion and its blessed civilization, they have daily opportunities of exemplifying the gospel, and of showing that its Author is worthy of universal praise. It is here that the most serious shortcomings of Europeans in India are to be witnessed. The holy life is too often wanting. The licentious natives too often fail to learn lessons of purity. The worth of the soul is too seldom appreciated, the sin of idolatry too rarely set forth. Without specifying particulars, however, we wish to advert to the too common tone of feeling manifested by Europeans towards the natives—it is, we fear, far too commonly that of contempt. In saying this we remember our own sin, and it furnishes the best illustration of our meaning when we say, that the contemptuous feeling which prevails in this country, and especially in our northern States, towards the coloured people, is too much the feeling of Europeans towards the natives. With us, this feeling may be indulged with safety, so far as the vengeance of man is concerned, and this only makes it the more unmanly; but in India nothing could well be more impolitic, as it tends to alienate the multitude from the few, and to hinder the growth of kindly feelings—everywhere so important in the intercourse of life.* Our main objection to this contemptuous spirit, whether shown towards Negroes or Hindus, is that it is unchristian. From this point of view, the hauteur, distance, superciliousness, or even indifference, to say nothing of rude treatment sometimes, which are shown towards the natives, are all censurable as wrong in themselves, and as standing in the way of the great benefits which the governing classes might confer on the people. If animated by some measure of the mind that was in

* See Notes on India, by the Hon. F. J. Shore: London, 1837.

Christ Jesus, a noble destiny is before every European in India. He may hold forth the word of life, and confer both temporal and spiritual good on those who are poor indeed, and thus gain the blessing of them that are ready to perish.

We take leave of these things, and return to the Sepoy Revolt, in order to finish this paper in the view of its solemn lessons. The fall of Delhi has been announced, and with this must fall the vain hopes of the Sepoys. There may be local conflicts, and perhaps a scattered or guerilla warfare for a few months, but no general war can be maintained, nor any serious opposition to the re-establishment of the British power. With the exception of Oude, which may remain unsettled for some time, the disturbed districts of the country will soon enjoy repose; the mutiny of the troops will probably subside as rapidly as it burst forth. When the smoke of its fires is cleared away, lamentable losses will be seen, but there will also be found much reason for thanksgiving to the Almighty. These events have had their commission to fulfil, of judgment now, and of mercy in the end. We do not view them as the first incidents in the great conflict between Christianity and Paganism or Mohammedanism, for the possession of India. We do not see in the rage of the Sepoys a general and matured design to expel the Christian religion from the country. Most of the common soldiers were probably governed by their fears of losing caste, by their hopes of gain from plunder, and by the offer of higher wages in the service of "the King of Delhi"—the latter inducements prevailing in the more recent cases of mutiny. The leading spirits in the movement were governed by the purpose of expelling foreigners from the country; and the Mohammedans, among both leaders and others, would no doubt have the further purpose of expelling Christianity at the same time. To this extent the insurrection was anti-Christian, and, of course, also anti-missionary; in its main and great design, it was on the part of its leaders a political movement, having for its object the restoration of the government to a Mohammedan dynasty.

If we do not see the beginning of the great conflict between Christianity and Hinduism, so far as men are concerned, we do nevertheless see that conflict, commenced long ago, and now going with fearful earnestness to its end. We recognize in these

wonderful and terrible events a deeper and a darker agency than that of man. We see the presence of the Great Adversary, permitted in the wise purposes of God, to triumph, though but for a short time. He succeeded once in making enemies to act as friends when the Lord of life was to be crucified; he has again persuaded those who were enemies to act together; Brahmans and Maulavis have acted in concert, not seeing in their blind passion that their success would lead but to the clashing of irreconcilable elements. In the event of their success, the Evil One doubtless rejoiced in hoping that it would not be long before the land would again mourn over its slaughtered inhabitants as in ancient days; he no doubt believed that the Hindu myriads, remembering the 70,000 lives that were sacrificed on a single day by a Moghul emperor, when the Broadway of Delhi was deep in human blood, would rise in their might and sweep away the followers of the False Prophet. All this was foreseen by the great enemy, and his policy looked to the triumph of Paganism. We see then in these events the great conflict between the Prince of Darkness and Immanuel, the issue publicly joined for supremacy among the millions of the East. Already is the Evil One put to the worst, and the triumphs of the gospel will henceforth be peaceful and assured.

The Christian Church should humbly accept the severe discipline of these events. How have they rebuked her apathy to the conversion of this vast body of heathens! Her martyred sons and daughters now plead with her to arise in her Saviour's spirit and strength, to lean no longer on any arm of flesh—not even on the power of a noble Protestant government, and to enter with true earnestness on the work set before her. It is for larger efforts, for a holier service, for greater success than ever before, that the Sepoy Revolt speaks to the Missionary Church. The land was open before, but there were great obstacles to be overcome. The land is still open, and the obstacles are to be soon taken out of the way. Soon will Islamism and Brahmanism be seen lying like Dagon before the ark of God; these two main native barriers will be prostrated. The foreign barrier, the irreligious policy of the government, must also give way before the public opinion of Christian England. And a field more inviting than ever before will be spread before

our Missionary Boards; a louder call than ever before will be heard for labourers to be sent into the harvest.

A few months ago the Hindu Sepoys were almost unknown to many of the members of our churches; but God has employed them, and overruled their awful crimes, to call forth an extraordinary interest in the Missions of our Church in India. Those missions were all in the provinces that have been desolated by this revolt. They were larger in extent than the missions of sister Churches. They were the first missions in those regions that were formed on a somewhat extended scale. They have been marked by signal providences from the beginning. They have received the special seal of the approval of God in the work of the Holy Spirit—in souls converted, sanctified, and received into glory; in converts still living, some of whom have been tried, and have kept the faith in the midst of awful perils; and in the grace given to our missionary brethren in the terrible scenes through which God has called them to pass. We call to mind the noble testimony of Mrs. Freeman, one of our Christian sisters, as one worthy of the best age of the martyrs; and we trust it was the feeling of all the missionaries of our Church. In immediate sight of appalling danger, she was enabled to write these ever memorable words: "Our little church and ourselves will be the first attacked; but we are in God's hands, and we know that he reigns. We have no place to flee to for shelter, but under the covert of his wings, and there we are safe. Not but he may suffer our bodies to be slain; and if he does, we know he has wise reasons for it. I sometimes think our deaths may do more good than we could do in all our lives; if so, his will be done. Should I be called to lay down my life, do not grieve, dear sisters, that I came here; for most joyfully will I die for him who laid down his life for me." God be praised for this testimony! Let the same spirit pervade not only the missionary body, but the churches at home, and these missions, restored and enlarged, will become like fountains of living water in a desert land. Our English brethren have under consideration the proposal to erect Memorial Churches at Delhi and Cawnpore, and all Christians in every land will sympathize with the object. We could fervently wish to see also a Memorial Mission Station founded by our Church at Bithoor. It

would be a memorial of our beloved brethren, a witness to the forgiving and benevolent spirit of our religion, and a sacred means of making known its blessings to them that sit in darkness and the shadow of death.

ART. III.—*English Hymnology.*

No literature except the German has so large and rich a collection of hymns as the English. This distinction is owing partly to the sincere and fervent piety which for the last four centuries has generally existed in Protestant England, and partly to the facilities for versification the English language affords, even to those possessed of little metrical skill. Protestantism acknowledging but one Mediator with God, the man Christ Jesus, and seeking the most direct and intimate communion with the Deity, prompts the worshipper not only himself to pray in ever appropriate and intelligible words, but also, both in public and in private to utter his devout emotions in fitting songs of praise. Hence, ever since the Reformation, in Protestant Great Britain, private Christians have expressed their reverence, their penitence, their faith, their hope, their gratitude, and their joy, in sacred lyrics couched in the vernacular tongue. Thus has been formed the voluminous Hymnology of England.

As may be inferred from the facilities for English versification, and from the general prevalence of piety in Great Britain, the contributors to this precious stock of devotional lyrics are very numerous, and not always near related to one another. Names from both the clergy and the laity, of men and of women, of nearly all the denominations of British Christians, find a place on this long roll of hymn writers. Many of them, however, are not found elsewhere in the records of literature. As Montgomery has observed, "our good poets have seldom been good Christians, and our good Christians have seldom been

good poets." The greatest of dramatists, who could unlock and reveal the secrets of other hearts, never intrusted the emotions of his own to sacred verse. The "sage and serious" bard of chivalry, though he sang the Legend of Holiness, breathed forth no aspirations for its attainment, which others might adopt as the fitting expression of their own desires. The great satirist of the Restoration, in succession a Protestant and a Papist, contributed to English Hymnology only a version of the Latin hymn, "Veni, Creator Spiritus;" and his most elegant and successful imitator, in his unique hymn, "Vital spark of heavenly flame," has but paraphrased a poem of the pagan emperor Hadrian. The Christian epic poet, who, instructed by that

> "Spirit that doth prefer
> Before all temples the upright heart and pure,"

might have been expected to contribute largely to the stock of English hymns, is known in this department of literature, only as the paraphrast of a few of the Psalms; while the placid meditative author of "The Excursion," who has embalmed a hundred sacred themes in the precious spicery of his verse, has not left among his voluminous writings, a single lyric for the use of the Christian Church.

Sublime imagination, philosophic discernment, perfect command of language, and exquisite skill in versification, even when hallowed by fervent piety, do not alone qualify one to write a hymn. It is not the greatest names in our literary annals, who have excelled in this really difficult style of composition. It is rather simple, devout men, mostly ministers of the Christian Church, and pious women, familiar with the discipline of bodily and mental suffering, who have enriched our Hymnology. It was not theirs to trace the outline, to invent the plot, to conceive the personages, and to grasp into unity the manifold details, of an Epic or a Drama, but possessed of a truly poetic spirit, familiar by personal experience with the development and vicissitudes of the Christian life, imbued with the truths of the Gospel, they have uttered their varied emotions in metrical form with an intense fervour, a compressed energy, an unerring

directness, and an all-pervading sympathy, which awaken a response in every Christian heart. Although not equally successful in all their productions, they have, in the best of them, attained that unity of theme, that depth and warmth of feeling, that freedom from mere didactic statement, and from extreme individuality of sentiment, with that liveliness, simplicity, and terseness of expression, which together realize the ideal of a good hymn. They have really secured sublimity, tenderness, beauty, and elegance, without calling our attention to the fact; they produce the proper effect, without making us conscious of it, and well establish their claim to be true lyrists, by causing us to love and use their productions, without reflecting why it is that we so love and use them.

The collections of hymns in common use have been compiled from the works of numerous authors. One of their excellencies consists in the variety of theme, spirit, and style, secured by this wide range of selection. Our limits will not allow us to discuss the characteristic merits of all our sacred lyrists. We shall confine ourselves to those whose hymns are in most frequent and general use, and whose superiority and popularity may be inferred from the large space given to their productions in all our manuals of Psalmody.

No notice of our Hymnology would be at all complete without a reference to those venerable paraphrases of David's Psalms, which were one of the earliest products of the English Reformation, and long preceded any of our present hymns. Before the time of Henry VIII., the public praises of the sanctuary had been uttered in the sublime chorals of the Latin Church, and the inspired Scripture hymns, the "Benedictus," the "Magnificat," and the "Nunc Dimittis." The merry courtiers of that luxurious monarch, far from observing the apostolic injunction to sing psalms, were wont to indulge themselves in ballads whose purity was not above reproach. With a view to supply a want in the Reformed Liturgy, and to offer a substitute to his companions for their licentious sonnets, Thomas Sternhold, groom of the robes to Henry, attempted a metrical version of the Psalter. Both his intention and his procedure resembled those of Clement Marot, a brother courtier

of the household of Francis I. Their success was in some respects similar, in others quite unlike. Marot's fifty psalms were at once adopted by Calvin's congregation at Geneva, and Sternhold's fifty-one were welcomed by the English Church; but at the courts at which the two poets respectively resided, these sacred lyrics were very differently received. Quaint old Anthony Wood says, that Sternhold thought "the courtiers would sing them instead of their sonnets, but they did not, only some few excepted." Yet this rejection was perhaps preferable to the unfeeling and even profane reception of Marot's at the French court. A psalm was chosen by each of the royal family and of the nobility, and, fitted to some favourite ballad tune, was sung in circumstances the most incongruous. So that the Dauphin sallied forth to the chase, trolling out, "As the hart panteth after the water-brooks," and his sweetheart, Mde. de Valentinois, welcomed him back with, "Out of the depths have I cried unto thee."

Sternhold died in 1549, the year after his fifty-one psalms were printed, and royal permission was given to sing them in public. The work, which he had left incomplete, was carried on by a younger contemporary, John Hopkins, a clergyman and schoolmaster, assisted by Thomas Norton, one of the authors of the first English tragedy, William Whittingham, Calvin's brother-in-law, a translator of the Geneva version of the Bible, Robert Wisdom, described as "an arch botcher of a psalm or prayer," and a few others whose initials appear in the collection. This poetical version "conferred with the Ebrue," "with apt notes to sing withal," was in 1562 published in connection with the Book of Common Prayer, and was for many years after the only metrical Psalter used in the Church of England. It is generally known as Sternhold and Hopkins's version, sometimes as "the old version," to distinguish it from a later one to be hereafter mentioned. Extremely literal, with a ruggedness of diction which pays little regard to elegance or harmony, with halting measures and forced and imperfect rhymes, this venerable translation often exhibits the spirit of the original with a power and a success unattained by its more graceful successors. Like all other versions and paraphrases it suffers by comparison with the simple sublimity of the prose of the Psalter, and unfor-

tunately it is sometimes deformed by an undignified and too familiar expression, like the following from Psalm lxxiv.

"Why dost withdraw thy hand aback
And hide it in thy lappe?
O pluck it out, and be not slack
To give thy foes a rappe."

Successive editors have taken considerable liberties with this work, and have pruned it of many of these objectionable lines. In the whole of this version there is nothing equal to the two stanzas from Psalm xviii.

"The Lord descended from above,
And bowde the heavens hie;
And underneath His feet He cast
The darknesse of the skie.

On cherubs and on cherubims
Full roiallie He rode;
And on the winges of all the windes,
Came flying all abroade."

Such is the sublimity of the original passage, that no imitation or version of it can be very tame. The only representative of this old translation which still survives among us in frequent use, is Hopkins's version of the one-hundredth Psalm, "All people that on earth do dwell."

To this day there is in use in the Presbyterian churches of Scotland, and among some of the Scotch churches which preserve their individuality in this country, a version which was originally prepared to supersede the version of Sternhold and Hopkins, sanctioned and employed by the English Church. Its author was Francis Rouse, or Rous, a zealous English Puritan, who was at one time Provost of Eton. His religious fervour and political sentiments gained him a seat in Praise-God Barebones' Parliament, and in the Westminster Assembly, the speakership of the House of Commons, a place at the Protector's council-board, and finally, an entrance into the House of Lords. Either of his own accord, or by the direction of the anti-prelatical House of Commons, he made a translation of the Psalms, which adhering more closely to the original than Sternhold and Hopkins's, is perhaps less rugged in its diction, equally

simple and unambitious in its style, but by no means more harmonious and correct in its versification. That pious and learned Assembly of Divines, whose Catechisms, Confession, and Book of Discipline have become the Standards of the Presbyterian Church, approved this version made by one of its lay members. The House of Commons in 1645 ordered it to be printed. The Scotch Church adopted it, and, unwilling to employ uninspired words in its worship, still clings to it with a tenacity which astonishes those who cannot find its explanation in any peculiar beauty or felicity of expression. But to the true Scotch heart it is endeared by a thousand stirring memories and sacred associations. In lonely glens and secret hiding-places its simple verses have been sung by little bands, whose voices have been hushed at the sound of the distant tramp of Claverhouse's dragoons, or by solitary captives whose dungeon doors would open only to usher them to the scaffold. Its words have died away upon the air when a hundred hearts have been touched and bowed by the Spirit of God, as at the kirk of Shotts, or wedded to "Dundee's wild warbling measures," or "plaintive Martyrs, worthy of the name," have ascended from the altar of many a cottar's home. If it has its glaring defects, it has also its striking beauties; and if we sometimes meet with a verse as harsh and prosaic as the following from Psalm lxxiv;

> "A man was famous, and was had
> In estimation
> According as he lifted up
> His axe thick trees upon,"

we as often find them as sweet and simple as this from the twenty-third Psalm:

> "The Lord's my Shepherd, I'll not want,
> He makes me down to lie
> In pastures green: He leadeth me
> The quiet waters by."

In the year 1696, the "old version" of Sternhold and Hopkins was forced to give place to the "new version" of Messrs. Tate and Brady. These authors were not unknown to the British public. In 1691 the laurel crown which had been transferred from the head of the illustrious Dryden to that of

his antagonist and satirical victim, Shadwell, was conferred on Nahum Tate, Esq. The new laureate had had the honour of completing, with the great satirist's assistance, the famous "Absalom and Achitophel," and publicly professed to have had "the good fortune to light upon an expedient to rectify Shakspeare's King Lear." A less enviable notoriety has since then been given him by some of his brother bards. Pope has perpetuated in the Dunciad the memory of his "poor page," and Dr. Young, in one of his Satires, says:

> "If at his title T—— had dropped his quill,
> T—— might have passed for a great genius still."

Without either secular or ecclesiastical direction, Tate associated with himself in the work of poetical translation, the Rev. Nicholas Brady, D. D., a popular preacher of the English Church, a fellow-Irishman, and a fellow-graduate of the University of Dublin. Although a poet, Brady probably did little more than secure biblical accuracy in the version. It is interesting to know that at the time of his death he was vicar of the church in Stratford-on-Avon, where Shakspeare was buried.

It was not without a struggle that the simple and rugged, but not unpoetical, "old version" yielded to the "new." In those days of pamphlet controversy, the merits of the two were fully and ably canvassed. No one more stoutly maintained that the "old was better," than Beveridge, afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph's. He condemned what he called its "new phrases," its "romantic expressions taken up by present poets, well enough in their places, but by no means suited to a divine poem, much less one inspired by God." In reply, Tate complained that the least air of poetry was by prejudiced judgments censured as a crime, that what was lively was called "light and airy," and that "barbarity and botching had the veritable appellation of grave and solid." Strange arguments were enlisted in the service of the opposition. In reply to an exhibition of the superior grace and liveliness of the new version, Archbishop Secker pleaded that "the heavier the psalms, the easier could the common people keep pace with them." Personal feeling must have dictated the criticism of one of these contemporary pamphleteers, when he charged Tate and Brady

with "rebelling against King David, breaking his lute, and murdering his Psalms."

But the smoother numbers of the more modern version, its license by William III., high ecclesiastical approval, and its publication with the Prayer Book, by the Stationers' Company, their common proprietors, soon gave it precedence. First adopted by the churches of London, it soon became popular with the whole Church. In 1703, Queen Anne permitted the translators to add to it a supplement containing Hymns, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Church Tunes. In 1789, the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States selected one hundred and twenty-four of the Psalms for its public worship; and other Churches have borrowed some of the best of them for their collections.

Harsh or halting measures are not to be expected in the productions of a pupil and former fellow-labourer of Dryden. The measures of Tate and Brady's version are generally easy and musical, and in many instances the translation is highly felicitous. It has furnished us with the words ever associated in our note-books with the tune, "Old Hundred," "Be thou, O God, exalted high." In its stanzas we tell that

> "'T was a joyful sound to hear
> Our tribes devoutly say,
> Up Israel, to the temple haste,
> And keep your festal day;"

and when

> "Thro' all the changing scenes of life,
> In trouble and in joy,"

the praises of God employ our hearts and tongues, the language of its thirty-fourth Psalm gives fitting utterance to our gratitude.

It however not seldom secures smoothness at the expense of strength; and in its frequent expletives, its oft recurring "do" and "did," betrays the restraints under which it was composed. Our modern taste looks in vain for the "romantic," the "light and airy" expressions condemned by the critics of an earlier age. It too often preserves the meaning of the original without its poetry, and, while reminding us of the matchless prose of the English Bible, makes us feel its own inferiority. We have

reason to be thankful for the livelier and more poetical paraphrase of Dr. Watts.

This name, the next in chronological order, introduces us to one of the largest and richest contributions to our Hymnology. From his day to our own, the Psalms and Hymns of Isaac Watts have been more highly valued, and more extensively used, than those of any other uninspired sacred poet. The spirit of catholicity which led him to decorate the walls of his study with the portraits of eminent men of every Christian name, which hung side by side the pictures of Luther and Bellarmine, of Calvin and Arminius, of Leighton and of Bunyan, and which prompted him to desire that the devout men who carried him to his burial should represent the Independent, the Baptist, and the Presbyterian faiths, has been reciprocated by believers of almost every sect. Though often strongly marked by doctrinal peculiarities, his lyrical compositions have commended themselves to all true Christians. Selections from them are sung alike by Episcopalians, who, as Dr. Johnson says, will be happy if they "imitate him in all but his non-conformity;" by Presbyterians, who have no sympathy with his Independency; by Baptists, who reject his views on infant church-membership; by Methodists, to whom his doctrine of decrees is an offence; by Unitarians, who, although his Psalms and Hymns prove him to have been an humble worshipper of Christ, claim him as an adherent; and by Independents, who number his gifts and his usefulness among their peculiar glories. There are no Hymns so early and so long associated with our experience as his. Our childish memories gather around them. The cradles of most of us were rocked to the rhythm of his cradle hymn, "Hush, my dear, lie still and slumber;" and probably few of us had advanced far beyond the age at which he lay in his mother's lap, at the prison door of his non-conforming father, ere we could lisp, "'Tis the voice of the sluggard," "Let dogs delight to bark and bite," and, "How doth the little busy bee improve each shining hour." The strong emotions of our manhood take hold upon them. In their language, penitence sings, "Show pity, Lord, O Lord, forgive;" self-reproach exclaims, "Alas, and did my Saviour bleed." Faith lays her hand, not "on beasts on Jewish altars slain," but on that "Heavenly

Lamb," which "takes all our guilt away." Christian fortitude nerves itself for the conflict with the question, "Am I a soldier of the cross?" and goes home to its reward with the triumphant assertion that

> "Jesus can make a dying bed
> Feel soft as downy pillows are."

Surviving affection disciplines itself with the thought, "Why do we mourn departing friends?" and in unfaltering trust reflects,

> "So Jesus slept; God's dying Son
> Passed through the grave, and blessed the bed."

Rarely does a man's fame rest mainly on his earlier efforts. But the Psalms, and many of the Hymns of Dr. Watts—the most celebrated of his works—were the productions of his youth. Some of them were composed while he was still beneath the paternal roof, a pupil in his father's boarding-school at Southampton. The young poet's ear and taste were offended by the miserable psalmody of his native place. He prepared his Hymns as a substitute for the inharmonious and prosaic strains which hindered rather than helped his devotion. His first offering is said to have been the hymn beginning "Behold the glories of the Lamb." A collection of his hymns was printed in 1707. In 1719 he published his Psalms, in which he professed to have imitated the Psalms of David in the language of the New Testament. The latter received no additions, but the former were multiplied during his long, retired and studious, but painful and laborious, life. Few, if any of them can be connected with the incidents of his ministry; few, if any, are waymarks along the peaceful path of his history. We long in vain to associate some of them with his six years' tutorship in Sir John Hartopp's family, at Stoke Newington: his Logic is its only memorial. We endeavour to no purpose to read in some of those penitent, confiding or joyful strains, the record of nervous hours spent in bed in a darkened chamber, after a fatiguing service in the Independent congregation in Mark Lane, London. It is but a few of them which we can connect with that visit of his to the hospitable roof of Sir Thomas

Abney, at Theobalds, which, intended to last a few days, extended through thirty-six years, and terminated only when in 1748 the mourners bore him to his final resting-place in the hallowed ground of Bunhill Fields. It was for the children of this kind entertainer, who had welcomed him when an invalid, that he composed many of his Divine and Moral Songs; and some of the friends of this Lord Mayor's family may be supposed to have been consoled with the funeral strains,

"Unveil thy bosom, faithful tomb."

It is pleasant to see how the fame of this Christian poet has survived the ridicule which once sought to lessen it, and how the merits of his productions have triumphed over all the opposition which they awakened. It is to the praise of Pope, that in later editions of "The Dunciad," he substituted some inferior name in the place which that of Dr. Watts had held in his merciless satire; and it is no less to the reproach of the insincere author of the "Night Thoughts," that in his "Universal Passion," he allowed himself to stigmatize Watts as

"Isaac, a brother of the canting strain."

One of the most amusing and harmless exhibitions of feeling provoked by his innocent lyrics, was that called forth from the Rev. Thomas Bradbury, who, when his unlucky clerk had stumbled upon one of the Doctor's Hymns, rose, and cried out, "Let us have none of Mr. Watts's whines."

It is difficult, in criticising compositions on a variety of subjects so great as that presented by Watts's Psalms and Hymns, and written with a corresponding diversity of style, to point out an author's prominent characteristics; and it is still more difficult to assign him his proper place among his brother lyrists, and at the same time to justify such an assignment. It is not much to say that the Psalms of Dr. Watts far surpass any previous paraphrases, in sublimity, poetical and devotional fervour, strength and elegance of diction, and correctness of versification—the essential characteristics of a Psalm. It may also be said, that as a whole, they have not been surpassed by any subsequent ones. They are not so much versions, or paraphrases,

as close imitations. They are to the inspired Hebrew what Dryden's and Pope's translations are to the Greek and Latin classics. They preserve the spirit, without the express language of the original, and, without claiming inspiration, awaken and express emotions similar to those of the sweet singer of Israel. The Hymns, though published before the Psalms, and being therefore less mature and finished productions, display the same qualities which constitute their excellence. Their original form was never altered or improved by their author. In later life he would fain have amended them; but having parted with the copyright for ten pounds, he no longer had them under his control.

Their spirit and style must of course vary with the varying emotions of the Christian life. Many of them are perhaps too didactic to become the fitting expression of ardent feeling; they teach rather than move. They have a dignity, and often a majesty peculiarly their own. Their first lines, in particular, almost always have a sublime outburst of emotion, so characteristic, that it has been asserted that their authorship can be instantaneously detected. Lines like the following will at once suggest themselves as illustrations of this: "Awake our souls, away our fears!" "Before Jehovah's awful throne;" "Come, let us join our cheerful songs;" "Great God, how infinite art thou!" When his muse has thus soared aloft, and borne our souls upward on the wings of fervent devotion, she does not often slacken her flight, and subject us to as sudden a descent. The manifold topics presented in these Hymns, whether suggested by Scripture or by Christian experience, are all fused by the ardent Christian feeling of their author, and thoroughly pervaded by his personal faith. This gives them that great spirituality which makes them most welcome in seasons of religious revival, and most unattractive in periods of spiritual declension. With all his gentleness and liberality, Watts not seldom manifests a predilection for the sterner and even the more fearful features of the Gospel. The minuteness with which he pursues metaphors descriptive of eternal perdition, makes us appreciate the skill and power with which inspiration awakens terror, by vagueness rather than by specialty, by outline rather than by detail. Our Hymn books have certainly not suffered either

in dignity or in truth, by the omission of stanzas like the following:

> "There Satan, the first sinner, lies,
> And roars, and bites his iron bands;
> In vain the rebel strives to rise,
> Crushed by the weight of both thy hands."

Impartial criticism must acknowledge that some other stanzas, and even whole hymns, are equally objectionable on the score of prosaic ideas and expressions, undue familiarity, and unwise ingenuity. In modern editions, many of these have, without injustice to the author, been judiciously omitted. The wheat has been winnowed from the chaff. Nothing now hinders the conviction that Isaac Watts has made the most valued contribution to our Hymnology, and that, though the compositions of many others are exceedingly precious, we would part with all of theirs rather than with all of his.

The early experience of Dr. Watts's Psalms and Hymns among the American Churches deserves a passing notice. Our Puritan fathers brought with them to Plymouth a version of the Psalms, made by one Henry Ainsworth, an eminent Brownist, and published at Amsterdam in 1612. In 1639, this was superseded by the Bay Psalm Book, a work produced, as Cotton Mather tells us, by "the chief divines in the country." Their poetical ability, and the corresponding excellence of their translation, may be best inferred from the humorous counsel given some of them by the Rev. Thomas Shepard, of Cambridge, the place of publication:

> "You Roxbury poets, keep clear of the crime
> Of missing to give us a very good rhyme;
> And you of Dorchester, your verses lengthen,
> And with the text's own word you will them strengthen."

This version, more faithful than elegant, became the manual of almost all the New England churches. In 1750, it had passed through twenty-seven editions.

The year before the publication of his Psalms, Dr. Watts had sent specimens of them to Cotton Mather, and had received his approval. In 1741, both the Psalms and Hymns were printed in Boston. They did not however come into very general use for more than forty years after that date. In

1785, the Connecticut Association entrusted them to the editorial care of Joel Barlow, then a lawyer, but already notorious as a sort of Tyrtæan revolutionary chaplain, manufactured after a six weeks' course in Theology, and destined to be notorious in the literary world as the author of "The Columbiad" and of "Hasty Pudding;" in the political world as an extreme radical and revolutionist. He added twelve psalms which Watts had omitted, and altered some of the others. In 1800, the same Association, desirous of connecting a more reputable name with their Psalmody, and wishing to secure for it still further improvement, requested Dr. Timothy Dwight, the President of Yale College, to revise Barlow's revision. This he did, supplying by translations of his own, gaps which still existed in the series of Psalms, and adding a selection of Hymns. The best and most popular of his versions is that of the one hundred and thirty-seventh Psalm: "I love thy kingdom, Lord." Dwight's edition of Watts was adopted by the Presbyterian Church of the United States.

The name which ranks next to Dr. Watts among the hymn writers of English Independency, is that of his friend Philip Doddridge. The hymns of the latter are less grand and daring, less doctrinal and didactic, than those of the former, but they are far more sweet and tender. They are equally sound and scriptural, and at the same time appeal more directly to our sympathies and our affections. They are just such productions as might be looked for from one of his gentle, lovely temper, his biblical scholarship, and his Christian and ministerial experience. They are worthy of the pious student of Kibworth, and laborious tutor and devoted pastor of Northampton. We cannot but believe that when, by the aid of the old pictorial Bible, and the storied Dutch tiles of the fire-place, his mother implanted those germs of divine truth which blossomed and bore fruit in the "Family Expositor" and "The Rise and Progress," she also inspired him with somewhat of that love for sacred hymns for which her ancestral Germany is so noted. It was in the year 1729 that, after as thorough a training as Dissenters could then command, with a little experience as a minister, and under the sanctified influence of recent disappointment and severe illness, he began that twenty years' pastorate which has

made Northampton one of those hallowed spots around which Christian memories love to linger. There, at the suggestion of Dr. Watts, was written "The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul," and there volume after volume was added to the "Family Expositor." There, year after year, were pursued those academic toils which trained so many Christians and ministers for the service of God; and there, Sabbath by Sabbath, those sermons were preached and those hymns were sung, which the Church esteems one of her richest legacies. Let us turn aside to visit this quiet scene of his useful ministry, and on some Sabbath day enter that old chapel "with the square windows and sombre walls," where so many precious words of truth have been uttered, and such sacred notes of praise have been sung. There, in yonder square corner-seat, in the scarlet coat of a Scotch cavalry officer, sits a tall and stately man, the fire of whose grey eyes seems subdued by the sanctity of the place, and whose gentle and devout manner betokens a spirit rarely associated with his garb and calling. It is Colonel Gardiner, destined to fall upon the field of Preston-Pans, and to be immortalized by the pen of him whose ministrations he so highly prized and so often sought. There, too, is the stately and haughty Dr. Akenside, who having just completed his "Pleasures of the Imagination," and finished his studies at Edinburgh and Leyden, tries the effect of his drugs and nostrums on the boors of Northampton, ere he removes to London, and by poetry and physic wins his way to the post of physician to the queen. The pupils of the Northampton Academy, as yet unknown to fame, but destined many of them to usefulness and even celebrity, and the good people of the village and its environs, constitute the rest of the congregation. With gentle, winsome tones, and simple, earnest manner, the preacher is uttering a clear and well-arranged discourse, evidently drawn from the depths of his own experience, and hallowed with prayer. His text is, "There remaineth, therefore, a rest for the people of God." The discourse ended, the preacher "lines out" to his hearers the well-known hymn, "Thine earthly Sabbaths, Lord, we love," into which he has compressed the leading thoughts of his sermon, that it may impress them more deeply on their minds, and serve at once to awaken and

utter the emotions which the theme demands. This was his usual custom, so that in his three hundred and seventy hymns we have reproduced and perpetuated the spirit, and even the form, of Doddridge's ministry. Each of them has its Scripture text, and each was once appended to a parish discourse. It is easy to see what spirituality, what directness, what fitness, and what sympathy with human feeling and human need hymns must possess, when thus originated. Of these three hundred and seventy hymns, but a small number have found their way into our modern collections. But the best of them are in use among us, and are among those most frequently employed. Few are more familiar than those recalled by the following first lines: "Jesus, I love thy charming name," "To-morrow, Lord, is thine," "Awake, my soul, stretch every nerve," "Grace, 'tis a charming sound," "Dear Saviour, we are thine," "Now let our cheerful eyes survey," and "Hark, the glad sound, the Saviour comes." It has been beautifully said, that "if amber is the gum of fossil trees, fetched up and floated off by the ocean, hymns, like these, are a spiritual amber. Most of the sermons to which they originally pertained have disappeared for ever; but at once beautiful and buoyant, these sacred strains are destined to carry the devout emotions of Doddridge to every shore where his Master is loved, and where his mother tongue is spoken."

In 1764, the curacy of the parish church of Olney, in Buckinghamshire, was occupied by a man, whose history, as recorded by himself, has scarcely its parallel in the number and the impressiveness of providential interpositions in his behalf, and whose piety and usefulness present one of the most convincing proofs of the reality and the power of the grace of God. John Newton, though the son of a pious mother, spent his youth amidst all the corrupting associations of a sailor's life, and his early manhood in the debasing and hardening employment of a slave-trader. Under such influences, he became a monster of impiety. But the Spirit of God reached him, even amid the blasphemies of the forecastle, and the brutalities of the slave-deck. With no other classical training than that which his industry secured for him during his long African voyages, and with no other theological discipline and experience as a preacher

than that acquired in the intervals of his duty as a tide-waiter at Liverpool, he, with all the earnestness of his new Christian life, devoted himself to the ministry, and received ordination at the hands of the Bishop of Lincoln. Olney became his first pastoral charge; its poor population, consisting chiefly of lace-makers and straw-plaiters, with here and there a wealthy farmer, were his first parishioners. Thither, in the year 1767, came a middle-aged woman in widow's weeds, and a man of about thirty-six years of age, with timid, retiring manners; a countenance on which were already drawn the lines of care and sickness, and an eye which, when not downcast, or shyly turned away from the observer, was seen to shine with a fire not altogether natural. They took a large house, superior in finish and in comfort to its neighbours, and separated from the curate's grounds by only a garden wall. They became regular attendants on the parish church; and the younger might often be seen visiting the neighbouring cottages, and talking and praying with their inmates. They were Cowper, and his friend, Mrs. Unwin, who had removed to Olney for the express purpose of enjoying the friendship and the ministrations of John Newton. For nearly twelve years of varied experience, of health and of sickness, of joy and of sorrow, they lived either side by side, or beneath the same roof. The chief memorial of this long and intimate friendship between these two Christian men, is the collection of hymns, known as the "Olney Hymns." They were undertaken at Newton's suggestion, with the two-fold design of "promoting the faith and comfort of sincere Christians," and of "perpetuating the remembrance" of their mutual affection. Before the collection was complete, Cowper's mind was darkened by that fearful cloud of melancholy and insanity, which had already once enveloped it, and which was lifted only at intervals during the whole of his sad and painful life. The progress of the work was arrested. Newton, disheartened and depressed by his friend's affliction, at first thought of abandoning the project, but, after some delay, resumed his poetical labours, and completed the book alone. It was published in 1779. The hymns are distributed into three books. Those contained in the first are suggested by passages from the Old and the New Testament, and are arranged in the order of the Scriptures; those in

the second are hymns suited to particular occasions, or suggested by special events or subjects; those in the third are miscellaneous, and refer to various topics connected with the Christian life. The authorship of the few contributed by Cowper, generally distinguishable by their tenderness and their poetic sweetness, is indicated by the letter C prefixed to them. Those of the first book, referring to successive passages of Scripture, are almost exclusively Newton's. Many of them have that prosaic character inseparable from studied attempts to versify a series of Bible incidents or precepts. Their author did not regard this as a blemish; for in his preface he says, "The style and manner suited to the composition of hymns may be more easily attained by a versifier than by a poet. Perspicuity, simplicity, and ease, should be chiefly attended to; and the imagery and colouring of poetry, if admitted at all, should be indulged very sparingly, and with great judgment." Cowper, with more of a poet's spirit, could not be restricted to the path of paraphrase, and furnish verses in a fixed and regular series. His hymns were inspired by circumstances in his experience; they grew out of his retired meditations; they furnish dates in his personal religious history. It must not, however, be thought that Newton's hymns are, as a whole, destitute of poetry, or of beauty. They betray a familiar acquaintance with the vicissitudes of the Christian life, and adapt themselves readily to our various needs. How often have our emotions and desires found utterance in the hymns, "Lord, I cannot let thee go," "Come, my soul, thy suit prepare," "Amazing grace, how sweet the sound," "Sweet was the time when first I felt," "One there is above all others," "How sweet the name of Jesus sounds," "'T is a point I long to know," "While with ceaseless course the sun," "Safely through another week," "Saviour, visit thy plantation," and "Glorious things of thee are spoken"—all of them from the pen of the curate of Olney. But it is to Cowper's smaller contributions to the Olney collection that we turn with the greatest pleasure; their richness compensates for their fewness. Doubtless a part of their attractiveness is derived from the peculiar charm which invests his melancholy personal history. The gloom of despair had just been dispelled when he wrote the hymn entitled "The

Happy Change," in which he thus plainly describes his own state:

> "The soul, a dreary province once
> Of Satan's dark domain,
> Feels a new empire formed within,
> And owns a heavenly reign."

It is with all the joyousness of a bird escaped from the snare of the fowler, that in some "calm retreat and silent shade" he sung of the delights of Christian retirement,

> "Far from the world, O Lord, I flee,
> From strife and tumult far."

Memories of bitter conflicts, consciousness of the rich benefits of salutary discipline, delightful experience of the consolations of the gospel, reveal themselves in the well-known lines, "'Tis my happiness below, not to live without the cross," "When darkness long has veiled my mind," "O Lord, my best desires fulfil," "Sin enslaved me many years," and "The Spirit breathes upon the word." It was no common faith which in dim recollection of his fearful past, and dread anticipation of a gloomier future, inspired that favourite hymn, "God moves in a mysterious way," in which poetry and piety unite to justify the ways of God to man. But most precious of all, and most familiar to our lips, are those beginning "O, for a closer walk with God," and "There is a fountain filled with blood." So long as the forgiven heart shall utter its praises for pardon and peace, and the aspiring soul shall yearn for greater nearness to God, shall these hymns be said and sung; and so long with our tenderest and deepest emotions will be linked the memory of William Cowper.

We once knew a youth who supposed that the name of Steele, connected with many of our favourite hymns, was either that of Sir Richard Steele, or that of his wife. The former hypothesis seemed to be confirmed by the fact that the jovial essayist wrote a treatise entitled "The Christian Hero," and that his friend and fellow-labourer, Addison, composed several devotional lyrics. The author of our hymns was, however, neither the knight nor his "darling Prue," but a Mrs., or rather according to the modern title of maiden ladies, Miss Anne Steele, the daughter of an English Baptist minister, and a native and

resident of the retired village of Broughton in Hampshire. It is surprising how few biographical details exist respecting one whose compositions are so familiar to English and American Christians, and whose skill as a writer of hymns associates her with Watts, and Newton, and Cowper, and Doddridge. The fullest account of her life and writings we have ever seen, is to be found in the preface to her works, reprinted in Boston in 1808. Two volumes of her poems on subjects chiefly devotional appeared in England in 1760; in 1780 they were republished there, together with a third volume of miscellaneous pieces in prose and verse, under the editorial supervision of the Rev. Caleb Evans of Bristol, England. The preface just mentioned was written for this posthumous volume.

Being in independent circumstances, Mrs. Steele during her lifetime devoted the proceeds of the sale of her works to benevolent objects. By the direction of her surviving relatives, the profits arising from this posthumous edition were enjoyed by the Bristol Education Society. Her poems contain few allusions to her domestic and social relations. She occasionally addresses verses to a friend just married or recovered from sickness, or offers her sympathy to some associate visited with affliction. While her father lived, she devoted herself assiduously to the solace of his declining age. After his death she spent years in the severest bodily suffering, confined to her room, and enduring excruciating pain. Both her own writings and those of her friends refer to her agonies. These she bore with Christian fortitude. They helped to develope her character, and to perfect her piety. To them we doubtless owe much of the peculiar tenderness and affectionate trust and ardent aspiration which mark her compositions.

She was a Christian of a quiet, unpretending spirit. Her sensitive aversion to notoriety led her to publish her poems under the assumed name of Theodosia. Not until after her death was her own name prefixed to them. The longing for retirement and solitude, the delight in, and the devout study of, the works of God, the serious reflections on friendship, on death, and on passing events, which she expresses in her occasional poems, betray her contemplative spirit. She paraphrased many of the Psalms with literalness, ease, and elegance. It is, how-

ever, by her hymns that she is known to the Christian world. They are not imaginative, or sublime; but they are so full of tenderness, they express so fitly and so beautifully the hopes and the fears, the love, and the trust, the sorrows, and the desires of the believer; in fine, they offer themselves so readily for the utterance of those emotions which exist in connection with sound doctrinal views, that they form a large part of our ordinary collections, and are in constant use in our sanctuaries and our closets.

To show how largely we are indebted to the pious pen of Mrs. Steele, we need only refer to the following first lines of a few of her hymns we habitually use: "Alas, what hourly dangers rise!" "And is the Gospel peace and love," "Dear refuge of my weary soul," "Father, whate'er of earthly bliss," "How helpless guilty nature lies," "How oft, alas, this wretched heart," "The Saviour, O what endless charms," and "Ye wretched, hungry, starving poor." Some of these are but fragments of much larger compositions. The hymn beginning, "The Saviour, O what endless charms," belongs to a poem of thirty-nine stanzas; and that beginning, "Father, whate'er of earthly bliss," is part of one of ten stanzas.

It is interesting to observe the proportion which the fame of this humble Christian bears to her usefulness. Her life was spent in unnoticed and unrecorded deeds of benevolence, in pious, filial ministrations to an aged father, and in the daily deaths of a protracted illness. Unlike some other sacred lyrists, she has found no biographer. Perhaps the current of her life flowed too smoothly, and through scenes too tame and uninteresting to invite any one to follow it. She founded no church, built no chapel, went on no foreign mission; she only wrote a few sweet hymns; but in thus using the poetical talents which she recognized as divinely given, she did that which exceeds in importance and value the works of many who have filled a more conspicuous place in the history of the Church and the world. Her usefulness has far distanced her fame. She exerts an influence where her history is unknown. She ministers by many a sick bed. She furnishes the songs in many a night of affliction. Every Sabbath hears her hymns in a hundred sanctuaries. The words which she wrote in those tedious

years of pain, are sung or read in a thousand closets. Men use her hymns, who never heard her name; and many a one has uttered his penitence or his desires, in language whose author he never knew until he joined her in higher and nobler songs before the throne of God.

It was while Watts was, to use his own phrase, "waiting God's leave to die," while Doddridge was teaching and preaching at Northampton, while Newton was yet tempting the mercy and the grace of God, by his career of unbridled impiety, and Cowper was still a child, playing at the feet of that mother, so tenderly remembered, and so sweetly commemorated in his verse, that a religious movement began in England, second in importance to the Reformation. A few young men in Oxford, whose conscientious use of Christian ordinances and regularity of academic life won for them the title of Methodists, then adopted opinions and began a course which effectually interrupted the spiritual slumber of the English Church, awakened multitudes to newness of life, led to the instruction and conversion of thousands of ignorant outcasts from society, and resulted in the organization of one of the largest, holiest, most honoured, and most useful of Christian denominations. Two of those youths, who by varied agencies and rude experiences were becoming vessels meet for the Master's use, were the brothers John and Charles Wesley, the one the founder, the other the sweet singer of Methodism. This is not the place to describe the rise, the development, the struggles, and the successes of that great ecclesiastical system, nor will our limits permit us to portray the characters of those wonderful men. This has been ably done by the graceful pen of Southey, and in the thoughtful periods of Isaac Taylor. While they lived, their personal history was the history of the sect they founded, and since their death, its career has been but a following out of the impulse and direction which they communicated. But Methodism owes scarcely more to the burning heart, the prophetic eye, the forming and guiding and ruling hand of John Wesley, than it does to the musical ear and poetic tongue of Charles. The lyre of the one was as needful as the sceptre of the other. Until prompted by morbid feeling to hide the lyrical talent he shared with others of his family, John Wesley indeed showed himself

to be no ordinary hymn-writer. But during his long ministry Charles exercised his superior poetic gifts with a freedom and a frequency which has made him the most voluminous, and, as many would maintain, the best of English devotional lyrists. We have never met with any statement of the number of his hymns. His two volumes, entitled "Short Hymns on Select Passages of the Holy Scriptures," contain two thousand and thirty, and these formed but a small portion of those which year after year his inexhaustible genius produced. One of his biographers says his published hymns would occupy ten common 12mo. volumes, and his unpublished hymns would fill as many more. No sooner had these zealous men organized their bands for mutual Christian edification, than they compiled a hymn book for their use; and from that time onward scarcely a year elapsed without the publication of some hymns of Charles Wesley's. Events of every kind, national perils and individual escapes, public vices and private griefs, the duties of the family, the manifold experience of the Christian, conversions and conflicts, marriages, births, deaths, all were commemorated and "improved" in his unfailing verse. Doddridge's hymns, composed for particular sermons, had not a more specific and individual character than Wesley's. The lessons of a recent earthquake, the threatenings of foreign invasion, the warnings of existing discontent, found utterance in his lyrics. Such unexampled productiveness implies incessant composition. When not preaching, as he rode upon his circuits, as he meditated in the night watches, in the midst of personal dangers, he was ever constructing hymns. Nor was this in any sense an intellectual task. It seems as though his earnest thought and ardent feeling could not but utter itself in metre and in rhyme. He comes home from field-preaching through a shower of stones, bruised but not maimed, and his gratitude finds utterance in song. He rides to answer to a charge of treason, and returns, after a triumphant vindication of his innocence, and pours forth his praises unto God. He witnesses the power of the Spirit among the colliers at Kingswood and the miners of Cornwall, and gives vent to his wonder and his reverence in loftiest strains. He stands at the Land's End, or crosses the stormy Irish Channel, and, grateful for his safety,

breaks forth in devout thanksgiving which falls, as it were, spontaneously, into verse. Our limits forbid us to enumerate the occasions which are hallowed by the memories of his muse.

The providence of God had eminently fitted him for the good work he performed in behalf of Methodism. His classical and biblical culture, his nice musical ear, his sensitive nature, his ardent, social disposition and happy family relations, his command of a pure English idiom, his ardent emotions, his fervent piety—all contributed to his lyrical skill and success. Luther did not accomplish more by his stirring popular hymns than did Charles Wesley by his. Their ideas, their expressions, have become part of the very life of Methodism. Their presence and influence mark every step of its earlier and its later progress. Would the preacher gather around him a congregation, he planted his preaching table in the Moorfields, or on Kensington Common, and with sweet clear tones sung a stanza of Charles Wesley's hymns. Did his enemies roar against him like wild beasts, and with drums and horns seek to drown his voice and divert his auditory, he and a faithful few sang undisturbed amidst the storm, and not seldom soothed it to a calm. Was any hearer seized at the Foundry or at Kingswood with those strange fits which often followed John Wesley's appeals, some fitting hymn was raised, and, like the evil spirit exorcised by David's harp, the convulsion passed away, and the penitent was found sitting in his right mind. The hours of watch-nights too, glided away swiftly on the wings of these sacred songs. Sometimes within the crowded walls of the Foundry, the great place of Methodistical worship in London, sometimes in some verdant amphitheatre in Wales or Cornwall, hundreds and hundreds of voices would join in the well-known hymn, until the very welkin rang with their earnest psalmody. Never had such hearty and inspiring music been heard before on English soil. The minstrels' ballad and the soldiers' festive chorus never wrought such an effect as was produced when, in Whitefield's words, these Christians "sung lustily and with a good courage" those stirring Wesleyan hymns. The very "form and pressure of the times" is in them. Earnest, spirited, now tender, now triumphant, terse, but harmonious, many of them eminently social, begetting a sympathy which unites all hearts into

one, expressing that intense interest in spiritual things which characterized early Methodism, and that deep sense of their reality which prompts direct epigrammatic expression, they stirred the rudest and hardest souls, melted them to penitence, nerved them for persecution, aroused them for conflict, and lifted them heavenward in eager and triumphant aspiration. Who of us has not been moved and inspired by "A charge to keep I have," "Jesus, lover of my soul," "Lo, on a narrow neck of land," "Love divine, all love excelling," "O for a heart to praise my God," and, "O for a thousand tongues to sing?" These are familiar to other than Methodist congregations and Methodist Christians; but if we would learn the richness and the depth, the breadth, and the height of Charles Wesley's genius, we must read the Methodist hymns, and fill our hearts with their sentiments and our ears with their music.

One or two names associated either with the internal dissensions or with the external conflicts of early Methodism stand, though in an inferior place, with those of the Wesleys, on the roll of English Hymn writers. John Cennick, originally one of the teachers of the Kingswood school for colliers' children, ultimately adopted Calvinistic views, and divided the society at Bristol. The Rev. Augustus Montague Toplady, a clergyman of the Church of England, though converted under Methodist preaching, became one of Wesley's most bitter opponents. The name of the former occurring only in the history of a local schism, founds its claim to remembrance chiefly on his two hymns, "Children of the Heavenly King," and "Rise, my soul, and stretch thy wings." That of the latter, though it calls up memories of angry and uncourteous controversy, awakens far pleasanter feelings when associated with the familiar lines, most of them written for his improvement before his eighteenth year, "Blow ye the trumpet, blow!" "Rock of ages, cleft for me," "Your harps, ye trembling saints," "O thou that hear'st the prayer of faith," "Encompassed with clouds of distress," and "When languor and disease invade." The latter hymn consisting originally of fifteen stanzas was written for the Countess of Huntingdon.

With the exception of Cowper, none of the writers already mentioned achieved great poetical fame in any other depart-

ment than that of devotional verse. Dr. Johnson apologized for admitting Dr. Watts into his collection of British poets. Doddridge, though the author of what the great critic declared the best epigram in the English tongue, "Live, while you live, the epicure would say," had neither time nor inclination for other poetical efforts than those put forth for the good of his simple parishioners. Newton grounded his hope of success in writing hymns on his lack of the highest gifts of the Muse, and Charles Wesley, though known among his contemporaries as something of a satirist and an elegiac poet, is known to us at this day only as a writer of hymns. But when Reginald Heber, in his hours of leisure and of relaxation from severe mental toil, sought to benefit his poor parishioners of Hodnet, by composing a hymn for each of the round of festival Sabbaths in the English Church, he was but exercising in a narrower sphere gifts which had won the laurel crown at the oldest of the Universities of England. Whatever words of approval his hymns may have awakened, they were but the faintest echo of the thunders of applause which had greeted his recitation of "Palestine" in the crowded theatre of critical Oxford; and the devout spirit which they uniformly breathe is worthy of him who retired from the scene of his academic triumphs, to thank God for his success, and for the pleasure he had thus been enabled to give his parents. These hymns were not published together till after his death, but their composition went on through the whole period of his parish ministry. The arduous toils and painful journeys of his brief missionary episcopate in India left him little leisure for such productions. They are fifty-seven in number. We may apply to them Wordsworth's lines respecting Milton's sonnets; they are,

> "soul animating strains,
> Alas! too few."

Many of them are familiar to us all, "Brightest and best of the sons of the morning," "By cool Siloam's shady rill," "Lord, whose love in power excelling," "O God, by whom the seed is given," "Forth from the dark and stormy sky," "Beneath our feet and o'er our head," "Thou art gone to the grave," and, best and dearest of all, that Missionary Hymn, which, composed on the occasion of a collection for the Society

for the Propagation of the Gospel, and first sung in Wrexham church, is now heard, month by month, in every church in all Protestant Christendom where the English tongue is spoken, and in the far-off congregations of that heathen world whose cause it pleads, and in whose behalf it exerts, and shall ever exert, an immeasurable influence. These hymns exemplify the views Heber was wont to entertain and express in reference to such compositions. They have a simplicity and an appropriateness, a tenderness without familiarity, a richness of scriptural and natural imagery, and an exquisite delicacy of expression, which betray the hand of one who is at once a Christian and a poet. In this last particular they seem to us almost unequalled. They are redolent of the breath of the green fields and shady woods among which they were written. They are full of the exquisite poetry which won the prize for his "Palestine," which breathes through the "Lines addressed to his Wife," and shines in the imagery of "The Evening Walk in Bengal," but not so full as to impair their devotional effect, or render them unfit for public use. The smoke of the incense rises in graceful folds from the altar, but leaves us none the less intent on feeding the flame which keeps it ever ascending towards heaven.

One of the formative influences to which the piety of the Wesleys was subjected in its earlier course, was that exercised by Count Zinzendorf and the devoted Moravians. In simplicity and strength of faith, in their conviction of the personal nearness of the Saviour, that little body of Christians had not their parallel. Their spirit has been transfused into not a few of the Wesleyan hymns. But the later English Moravians have had a hymn-writer of their own, whose poetical merits, however denied by the sneering conceit of an Edinburgh reviewer, have long been admitted alike by the Church and the world. Many of the best traits of the Moravian character appear conspicuously in the hymns of James Montgomery. When his missionary father, departing for the West Indies, left him at the United Brethren's school at Fulneck, he placed him where, while acquiring a sound education, he might daily see and imitate winning examples of childlike simplicity, primitive zeal, unquestioning faith, and supreme devotion to the

cause of the Redeemer; and though the boy, panting only for poetical fame, hastened forth into the world, he carried with him habits and dispositions which enabled him to bear with fortitude and calmness, the toils, the persecution, and the imprisonment which befell him in that long and active editorial career at Sheffield, which filled up most of his subsequent life. His "Pelican Island," his "Greenland," his "Grave," and his "World before the Flood," have won for him among critics the poetical distinction so dearly coveted in his youth; but his "Songs of Zion," and his occasional religious lyrics have commended him to the gratitude and the love of a much larger circle of Christian hearts. The "Songs of Zion" are imitations of sixty of the Psalms. They have no striking characteristics, but avoiding both excessive literalness and diffuseness, they have a simplicity and clearness, and a smoothness and correctness of versification, which mark most good modern poetry. These qualities are found also in his original hymns, but united with great tenderness and warmth of feeling, varied by an occasional depth of earnestness and boldness of imagery found chiefly in the higher forms of lyric poetry. His lyre, however, gives forth soothing far oftener than stirring strains. He writes far more frequently in the style of "Friend after friend departs," and "A poor wayfaring man of grief," than in that of "For ever with the Lord," and "Servant of God, well done," —all of them familiar to every Christian ear. Few hymns are such universal favourites as the following from his pen. "Prayer is the soul's sincere desire," "People of the living God," "Who are these in bright array?" "O, where shall rest be found?" Throughout his long and useful life, Montgomery continued to write hymns for Sunday-schools, and other benevolent and religious institutions. Many of them possess peculiar excellence. One year before his death, he published a volume containing a full collection of his devotional lyrics, as he calls them, "the most serious work of a long life." Their merits are well stated in the following words, addressed to him by Lucy Aikin, on receiving a copy: "Your hymns," she says, "have an earnestness, a fervour of piety, and an unmistakable sincerity, which goes straight to the heart. In the style, too, you are perfectly successful, and it is one in which few are masters. Clear,

direct, simple, plain to the humblest member of a congregation, yet glowing with poetic fire, and steeped in Scripture, not in its peculiar phrases so much, which might give an air of quaintness, as filled with its spirit, and with allusions to its characters and incidents, often extremely happy, and what might well be called ingenious. My father would not have forgotten to add a merit, to which he was extremely sensible, as indeed am I, that the lines flow very harmoniously, and are *richly rhymed*, with their full complement of two to a stanza." In his hymns, Montgomery often reminds us of Cowper. The sweet and patient spirit of the gentle bard of Olney might be thought to have inspired many of his productions. Whatever other praise he may have won, he may be justly called *the* Christian poet of the first half of the nineteenth century.

We have considered as briefly as possible the works of the chief contributors to English Hymnology; but there are many others whose less numerous, and even solitary offerings to the service of the Christian Church, and the devotions of the Christian closet, would, did our limits permit, give them a claim to our notice. Their compositions have a value far beyond their bulk. These are, David Dickson, in the seventeenth century, whose quaint old hymn, "My mother dear, Jerusalem," has furnished the model and the materials for multitudes of later imitations; holy Master George Herbert, whose hymn, "Sweet day, so cool, so calm, so bright," has gathered into itself the very sanctities of the Sabbath; Bishop Ken, of the same age, whose morning and evening hymns, "Awake, my soul, and with the sun," and "Glory to thee, my God, this night," ascend with many a grateful sacrifice, and whose stanza, "Praise God, from whom all blessings flow," has become the favourite of all Christian doxologies; Joseph Addison, whose beautiful paraphrases, "The spacious firmament on high," and, "The Lord my pasture shall prepare," and thanksgiving hymns, "When all thy mercies, O my God," and "How are thy servants blest, O Lord," are prized by men who cannot appreciate the classic perfection of "Cato," and who are strangers to the humour of Sir Roger de Coverley; Mrs. Barbauld, who though, as she said, "inhabiting the frozen zone of Socinian Christianity," sang of "Jesus' sacred voice," and the "Blessed death of the righteous,"

in strains not unworthy of that pious pastor of Northampton, who once sought in marriage the hand of her mother; Henry Kirke White, whose beautiful hymns, "O Lord, another day is flown," "The Lord our God is clothed with might," "Through sorrow's night and danger's path," and, "When marshalled on the nightly plain," show that the Church no less than the world met with no common loss in his untimely end; Milman, the friend and fellow-labourer of Heber in this sacred field; Keble, who, in his "Christian Year," has in a yet more graceful and poetic style than that of the Bishop of Calcutta, enriched his verse with the associations of the Sabbath and week-day festivals of the English Church; Bernard Barton, who, though belonging to a sect which excludes psalmody from its social worship, has written hymns which Christians of other denominations delight to appropriate; and the two friends, Bonar and McCheyne, whose hymns have done much to shield Scotland and Presbyterianism from the ungenerous taunt, that they have never produced a hymn which is truly a hymn.

It is gratifying to see how widely used are most of the compositions noticed in the preceding pages. They enter into the most dissimilar rituals; they precede or follow the most contradictory statements of truth. Men will unite in the same language of devotion, who can never be brought to subscribe to the same formulas of doctrine. Hymns are far more catholic than confessions. Whether believers in the apostolic succession, or advocates of "the extreme of Christian democracy," whether Anabaptists or Pædobaptists, whether Calvinists or Arminians, we all alike recognize our indebtedness to Watts and to Doddridge, to Newton and to Cowper, to Wesley and to Montgomery. However interesting it may be to us in the study of Hymnology to note their denominational preferences, in our devotional hours we sing their compositions without ever thinking whether they were first heard in a cathedral or a conventicle. Such a thought would introduce a discord into our harmony. It is enough for us to know that they are the productions of men who are members with us of "the Church of the first born," and while we attribute their excellence only to the piety and the natural genius of their authors, we rejoice that "all these worketh that one and the self-same Spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will."

ART. IV.—*Some Account of an Old English Manuscript in the Nisbet Library.*

THE late Rev. Dr. Nisbet, President of Dickinson College in Pennsylvania, was one of the most remarkable Scotchmen who ever emigrated to this country. Of his anti-revolutionary zeal and his acrimonious humour, instances will readily occur to those who have read his life as written by Dr. Miller. Dr. Nisbet was born in 1736, and emigrated to America in 1784, thus being of an age at which flexibility of temper and manners is scarcely to be expected. The greatest accession to our political, literary, and ecclesiastical strength which Great Britain ever gave us in an individual, had indeed arrived here sixteen years before, and only two years younger than his brother Scot; but the men were very unlike. Nisbet was as inferior to Witherspoon in political sagacity and knowledge of affairs, as he was superior to him in abstruse book-learning. Both were scholars, both were men of piety, both were eminent for wit; but while Witherspoon threw himself with enthusiasm into the revolutionary movement, and outstripped even the native Americans in zeal for Independence, Nisbet, whose early years of residence concurred with the portentous opening of the French Revolution, took firm position as a sarcastic and almost bitter assailant of democracy. As his able biographer observes, he found it difficult to make the requisite allowance for a young country, struggling into national organization, and measured American facts by European principles. Yet it would be ungrateful for any American Presbyterian to forget the services rendered to learning and religion by his labours at Carlisle. Nothing but the inherent sprightliness of a genius and a wit, which no mountains of literature could smother, preserved him from becoming a simple bookworm. He read in many languages, and retained what he perused in a degree all but incredible. Few of our readers have failed to hear the tradition that he knew the Æneid by heart. The books which he gathered around him were in all the languages common to the learned, and besides these, in Spanish, Dutch and German, the last of these tongues

being little studied at that time either in Great Britain or America. What remains of his store, now forming a part of the Library of Princeton Seminary, in virtue of a gift from his grandsons, Bishop McCoskry and Mr. Henry C. Turnbull, serves to show the odd turn which governed his selection. For one standard book, there are fifty curiositics. These are in various languages and on out-of-the-way subjects. He evidently was a fancier of pocket-volumes, 32mo. editions, Elzevir classics, and wonderful treatises on alchemy, astrology, and the like. One finds there among other rare things the identical copy of Nostradamus, about which he corresponded with the Earl of Leven, and which, betwixt jest and earnest, he used to quote as prophetic of French and American disasters.*

Among the ancient and worm-caten volumes of that dingy but fascinating library, there is an anonymous manuscript, which has attracted scarcely as much attention as it merits, and which might well hold rank with the autograph journals of Whitefield and Davies preserved within the same walls; though more than one antiquary has conned its clerkly pages, and mused on the question whether its contents exist in print or not. This is one of the reasons why we shall presently bring it under the notice of our readers. Should some one deeply versed in diplomatic transcription and criticism, or some expert collector and collator, or some cunning judge of style and dialect, aid us to pronounce upon its authorship, or even show us that it has long since come to daylight in print, we shall not have spent these hours in vain.

The manuscript is a small squarc volume, of doubled foolscap paper, in a stout and homely leathern cover. The folios are numbered, and are threc hundred and seventy. The indentation made by turning down the edge of the leaf at the inner margin is everywhere visible. Nothing like a title appears, except that a later hand has written on the page which precedes the first written portion, the words "52 Sermons;" and this corresponds with the contents, which are made up of just so many discourses, averaging therefore about seven pages each. There are forty lines in a full page, which is close

* See Dr. Miller's Memoir, pp. 84, 188.

writing, as the page is seven inches and a quarter in height. The character though small is regular, and so straight and uniform as when cursorily viewed to resemble a printed book. From comparison with the form of letter in other English writings, we could refer the origin of these sermons to no date later than the seventeenth century, and the colour of the paper agrees with this; while internal evidences favour the earlier part of that century, and even the reign of James the First. The orthography has that convenient vacillation of license, which prevailed in days before spelling was invented. We have looked through every page to discover if possible some clew to the ownership at least; but have found nothing but this legend at one corner of the first flyleaf, indicating a truly clerical poverty of wardrobe, united with a marked precedence of the public over the private departments of laundry, to wit: *Nov.* 23. 3 *bands.* 3 *paire of cuffs.* 2 *handkerch.* 1 *cap.* 1 *shirt.*

In regard to the matter of these sermons, which were doubtless preached in some English church or chapel, more than two hundred years ago, we cannot do better than to afford a taste and specimen. They are in a high degree scriptural and even textual, adhering to grammatical and exegetical exposition, but abounding in learned citation, such as was common in the days of Bishop Andrewes, of whose manner we are here often reminded. The latest authors quoted are the Rhemist Translators, from which it is quite certain that the discourses are not earlier than the year 1582. But classics, churchfathers and schoolmen are adduced with frequency and pertinence by the preacher, who, as we mean to show, was evidently a man of extensive and learned reading. The manuscript could not have been intended for use in the pulpit, and indeed the public reading of sermons was not then common even in the Church of England; it may however have been used for committing the discourse to memory; and some of the sermons break off abruptly, or close with the mere indication of heads. Some things might suggest that it is a copy by a hand other than that of the author; as the clerkly clearness of the character, the blanks left here and there, and in one place the phrase *Nonnulla desunt.* As each discourse begins with the top of a

fresh page, there is good reason to think that they all did service singly, before being bound into a volume. From an allusion in one place, we approach the period, if not the date, for we find hats worn during the hearing of sermons, a trait of manners to which we may come back in our day, if pious worshippers should consider it as needless a formality to be uncovered, as to stand or kneel in prayer. Some of our readers will remember the passage of Clarendon, which shows that in his day hats used to be worn at dinner; with which may be compared the similar practice in both houses of Parliament. "Richard Cox, Lord Bishop of Ely, died," says Peck, "July 22, 1581, and was very solemnly buried in his own cathedral. I have seen an admirable, fair, large old drawing, exhibiting, in one view, his funeral procession; and, in another, the whole assembly sitting in the choir to hear the funeral sermon, all covered, and having their bonnets on."* Nothing can be determined as to date, by the references we shall note to sleeping in church, for the custom is not yet obsolete, though, as Dean Swift remarks in the introduction of a sermon on Eutychus, Acts xx. 9, the church is the only assembly to which people resort with the intention of going to sleep.

That the preacher was of the Church of England, we argue from several notes; as that he makes free use of the title "Saint," which Nonconformists avoided in that day, though some of their descendants are creeping into meek observance of it now; that he manifestly prefers the old Psalter; that he refers to a particular Sunday as the *Dominica in albis;* that he defends sacraments without preaching, against a well-known objection of the Puritans; and that he exclaims flatly and significantly, "Farewell discipline, when laymen come to carry the keys!" But he was also, as were many Anglicans of his day, a strenuous Calvinist and an upholder of evangelical grace. The style is sententious and antithetical, almost to the extent of being epigrammatic. It may in this be compared with that of Bishop Hall. Latinisms abound, as in almost all the scholarly English of the times. Turning to the "Golden Remaines of the Ever Memorable Mr. John Hales, of Eaton Colledge," a divine who was at the Synod of Dort, we find many resem-

* Peck's Desiderata Curiosa.

blances, not only in dialect, but in frequent Greek and Latin quotations, and a fondness for Heathen stories, in curious and witty bringing forward of Scripture instances, and in general show of erudition; but Hales is far more periodic in his style, and less textual in his proofs. There are not wanting, moreover, certain things like what we see in the sermons of "Master Henrie Smith," greatly famed in his time; but Smith was clearly much earlier, one copy bearing the imprint of 1592. Yet from spelling, language, style, and mode of sermonizing, we infer a period nearer to that of these earlier Calvinistic Anglicans, than to the Owens and Baxters. The repletion of learned common-placing, the mode of freely rendering the scraps, the sly sarcasms, and the scholastic nomenclature, put one in mind of the Anatomy of Melancholy, with which also the diction would tally; while nothing can be more unlike than the endless, lumbering periods of Burton's felicitous gossip, and the measured balance of our curt and humorous pulpit Seneca. It will be remembered that Burton died in 1639. We leave these approximations with antiquarian readers.

We have declared our purpose to afford some sample of these sermons; but as both the printing and reading of the antique, uncouth orthography would be tedious, we shall content ourselves with giving a single passage in the exact spelling and punctuation of the original text, after which we will give passages in modern spelling. Our first extract is from the opening of a sermon, on Luke xxii. 13. *Jesus, Master, have mercy on us.*

"It was well sayd of S. Aug: vere novit reete vivere, qui novit reete orare. he y^{t} knowes how to pray as a X^{an} will easily know how to live as a X^{an}. for praier is a meanes both to sett the soule right, & to keep it right. praier y^{e} meanes to support a good life, & praier y^{e} means to reforme a bad. praier y^{e} best way to prevent misery y^{t} it happen not; & praier y^{e} way to remove it, if it doe befall us. by praier Hezekiah when siek gott his life lengthened; by praier Tabitha when dead, was raised. by y^{e} praier of y^{e} church Paul was kept out of prison, and by y^{e} praier of y^{e} church Peter was delivered out of prison. therf: we may see that of all afflicted men that came to X their 1 care was to learne how to pray unto him; and they generally ob-

served the same forme. These lepers had well learned this 1 lesson. whatsoever their former life was, it is likely their after was good, they pray so well. they go to meet X, they stand in his way, they keep aloofe, they lift up their voyces; confession they make of their misery; their fayth they shew in calling him Jesus, master, their unity in joyning in one forme. All is good, here is optimum exordium, Jesus; optimus terminus, mercy; optimum vinculum, master; They knew as X was gods son, so praier gods daughter, therf: by y^e^ daughter they come to the Son."

In former days, as in our own, means were taken in the printing-house to reduce inconsistencies of spelling to some uniformity; and hence printed books exhibit fewer irregularities than manuscripts. Successive editions of the same work likewise sustain a gradual change, of which there is no more striking instance than that of the Authorized Version. Moreover, in pretended reprints after an original text the greatest inconsistencies are produced by the carelessness and ignorance of compositors, who try to correct what they suppose to be blunders. Let Burton and Cotton Mather be examples. The following forms occur in the volume under consideration; viz. Avoyd, Ædification, Æternal, Angell, Angelicall, Afarr, Alwaies, Bin, Brightnes, Bowells, Celestiall, Ceremoniall, Chariott, Citties, Cleanes, Comming, Condicion, Dammage, Divell, Dogg, Doubtfull, Drawen, Drowsines, Evill, Forceable, Fulnes, Generall, Goodnes, Gospell, Happines, Humane, Horrour, Israell, Jaylour, Jewell, Kingdome, Learne, Morall, Onely, Pœnall, Præeminence, Præcinct, Profitt, Prodigall, Putt, Sett, Sholders, Slaunder, Speciall, Spirituall, Splitt, Weaknes, Wisdome. There are scores in the several classes which these represent.

The sermons are on the following passages: Galatians vi. 14; Isaiah ix. 13; Luke ix. 28, 29, 32, 33; Acts i. 10; John xx. 14—17; Luke xvii. 11—34; Ezekiel ix. 3, 4; Isaiah xxii. 12, 13; Ephesians v. 2; Matthew xxvii. 46; Isaiah ix. 14. There are four discourses which close the series, upon a single passage, and which so remarkably exemplify the learning, ingenuity, quaintness, wit, and we cannot but add eloquence of the unknown preacher, that we cannot refrain from presenting a

portion, rendering the orthography modern, but leaving the diction unimpaired:

"Isaiah ix. 14, 15.

"*Therefore the Lord will cut off from Israel head and tail, branch and rush in one day. The ancient and honourable, he is the head; and the prophet that teacheth lies, he is the tail.*

"Sin and punishment are relatives, and relatives have a mutual dependence one upon another, both in order of being and in order of teaching. Therefore, having done with the first part, which was the term of relation, Israel's sin, I come now to the second, which answers to that, Israel's punishment; and there are in it seven circumstances observable: first, the equity of the punishment, in the particle 'therefore'; secondly, the author of it, 'the Lord'; thirdly, the publication of it, 'the Lord *will*'; fourthly, the execution of it, 'he will cut off'; fifthly, the sustainers of it, 'from Israel'; sixthly, the generality of it, 'head and tail, branch and rush'; and seventhly, the quickness and suddenness of it, 'in one day'. And these set down seven properties of God's judgments. 1. God is just in his judgments, never strikes without cause, nor unless provoked by sin and contemned by impenitency. Because they turn not, therefore he destroys. 2. He is sole and singular in judgment; for however it is the prophet that denounceth, it is God that punisheth: 'The Lord will', &c. 3. He is slow to execute judgment; he saith he will strike, before he strikes; yet withal sure, though he forbear long, yet he certainly 'will'. 4. He is severe in judgment; if we contemn his gentle stroke when he smites friendly, he will at last smite home, he will 'cut off'. 5. God is impartial in judgment; he will not bear with sin in his own people; if Israel sin, Israel shall smart; he will cut off 'from Israel'. 6. God is compendious in his judgment; he sweeps away common offenders in a common calamity: 'head and tail, branch and rush'. 7. And lastly, God is quick and expedite in his judgment; slow in resolving but sudden in the despatch; he doth all this 'in one day'.

"I begin with the first, the EQUITY of the judgment, in the causal particle 'therefore'. In which word the prophet renders a reason and gives an account of God's doing, that he may

justify God and make clear the equity of his judgments. Otherwise, an impenitent heart would be ready to reply, 'Why am I thus? Wherefore is all this come upon us? Wherewith have we grieved God that he should thus severely afflict us?'—Yes, the prophet tells them, because they turned not to God that smote them, therefore will the Lord do thus and thus. God's judgments are often bottomless, but never causeless, always justifiable, though not always searchable. David saith of them, 'How unsearchable are his judgments'; they are as a mighty deep, a deep which is not to be sounded by the plummet of reason. But how are they unsearchable, may some say. That is said to be unsearchable the cause and original of which cannot be found out. If then they be not without the compass of cause, how are they without the compass of search? But we must know, that as it is in occult qualities of nature, such as are sympathies and antipathies, there is always a cause, though we cannot give it; so in God's judgments, which are his secret way, there is still a cause, though we cannot always find it. They are open to God, though secret to us; if secret in respect of us, yet never groundless in respect of God. The particular cause cannot be always searched out, but the general cause may. Speaking comparatively, why of two men that are guilty of the same sin, God punisheth one and forbears another, we cannot give a reason of this; but speaking positively, why he punisheth all men, we cannot but give the reason of this, namely Sin, which is the sole cause of all punishment, both temporal and eternal, privative and positive. As the Apostle said of godliness, it hath the promise of this life and that which is to come, so sin has the curse of this life and that which is to come. As in good things, sin binds God's hands and will not suffer him to bless us, so in evil things, sin looseth God's hands and forceth him to plague us. The prophet Jeremy puts the former case, Jer. v. 25, 'Your sins have turned away the former and the latter rain, and your iniquities have withheld good things from you;' and the second case the prophet Isaiah resolves here, because the people turned not to him that smote them, 'therefore will the Lord cut off,' etc.

"This 'therefore' then is casual, and hath reference to the former verse, therefore; why? It hath a threefold aspect:

"1. Therefore—because of your impiety in sinning;
2. Therefore—because of your impenitency in not turning;
3. Therefore—because of your obstinacy in not seeking.

"Hence two propositions:

I. *Sin is the cause of all punishment.*

II. *Impenitency is the cause of great and speedy punishment.*

"I. *Sin is the meritorious cause of all punishment.*

"Sin and punishment are as near akin as *malum* and *malum*, for both are called and accounted evil; the one the evil of doing, the other the evil of suffering. *Flagitium* and *flagellum*, sinning and suffering, they sound alike, and such correspondence they have, that as sins are of two sorts, sins of omission and commission, so punishments are of two sorts; the punishment of loss, answerable to the first, and the punishment of sense, answerable to the second. Punishment is the correlative to sin; it runs reciprocal with it. If sin be the antecedent, judgment is always the consequent; and if sin be in the premises, we may well look for punishment in the conclusion.

"This will further appear by a double reference [which] the punishment hath to sin, both natural and moral.

"It hath a *natural reference*. Punishment is akin to sin, as the fruit of it. Prov. xxii. 8. They that sow iniquity shall reap vanity. As the birth of sin, James i. 5. Sin, when it hath conceived, bringing forth death. Therefore St. Augustine seems to put the formality of sin in punishment: *Si puniendum non esset, peccatum non esset.* If it were not punishable it were not sin. Nay, so great is the affinity between them, that one sin is often punished by another; Pharaoh's first hardness by a second; nay the same sin a punishment to itself, as we see in Cain's fear after his fratricide, and Judas's despair after his betraying. For which purpose Seneca said well: *Sceleris in scelere supplicium est.** Nay, and God hath set his mark upon some sins; there are some that have proper punishments following them in their nature, even as it were without God's sending; as dropsy upon drunkenness, penury upon pro-

* Ep. 43.

digality, terror of conscience upon murther, &c. Therefore we may observe that the same word is used for both, in all the three languages. In Latin *Noxa* signifies both the offence and the punishment. In the Hebrew עָוֹן signifies both, as in Gen. iv. 13. *My punishment is greater than I can bear*, or *My sin is greater than can be forgiven.* In the Greek both; Rom. vii. 24. *Who shall deliver me from this body of sin*, or *from this body of death?*

"2. Punishment hath a *moral reference* to sin. It is *debitum*, due unto it; therefore called ὀφείλημα. Forgive us our *debts*, the debt which we owe to the justice of God, which is to be paid in punishment as a due debt; due unto it many ways, as hire to the labourer, Rom. vi. 23. *The wages of sin is death;* as treasure to the owner, Rom. ii. 5, *They treasure up wrath against the day of wrath;* as meat to the hungry, Prov. xii. 21, *The wicked shall be filled with mischief;* as a garment to the wearer, Ps. cix. 19, *It shall be unto him as the girdle with which he is girt, and as the garment that covers him;* as the inheritance to the possessor, Ps. xi., *Fire and brimstone*, storm and tempest shall be their portion; as a reward to the meritor, Is. iii. 11, *Wo unto the wicked, for the reward of his hands shall be given him.*

"To show forth this near dependence, the Scripture sets forth the inflicting of punishment by phrases of three kinds, antecedent, concomitant, and subsequent. Sometimes by phrases subsequent, Prov. xiii. 21. *Evil pursueth sinners;* that is, it followeth them violently as in chase. It so pursues them as it hunts them foot by foot; Ps. cxl. 11, *Evil shall hunt the wicked man to overthrow him.* Sometimes by phrases of concomitance: Job xx. 11, *It shall lie down with him in the dust*, Ps. xl. 5, *The iniquity of his heels shall compass him about;* lest he should escape it, it shall beset him round. Therefore as sin is born with us, so punishment is said to be born with us; Job v. 7, man born to trouble as the sparks to fly upward; as the fire moves towards his place so punishment towards sin. It shall come down upon the head of the sinner, Jer. ii. 3. Sometimes it is set down by phrases of antecedence, Prov. xix. 29, *Judgments are prepared for scorners.* It lies in ambush for him, Prov. vi. 11, *Poverty shall come upon him as*

an armed man. It lies in wait for him, Gen. iv., *If thou hast done evil sin lies at the door*, or punishment lies at the door to break in upon sin; the one knocks and the other opens, the one calls and the other answers. Sin *hollows* to punishment, thence said to cry for vengeance, Gen. xviii. 20, and punishment echoes to sin. We never find any inflicting of punishment before commission of sin, nay no mention of punishment but upon a supposal of sin, and still an abating of punishment upon repentance for sin. Upon this ground was framed the Pharisee's question, John iv., *Whether hath sinned, this man or his parents that this man was born blind;* and Christ, though he answers negatively concerning the blind man, yet he clears the point concerning the impotent man, John v., *Sin no more*, noting that sin was the cause of that infirmity. Therefore usually in his cures he joins the remission of sin and punishment both together; as to the palsy man, Matt. ix. 2, first, *Thy sins are forgiven thee*, and then, *Arise and walk.*

"It shows us the difference between the tenor of God's mercies and his judgments, between the tenor of reprobation and damnation.

"1. Between God's *mercies* and his *judgments.* God as he is merciful, so is he just, but not after the same manner merciful as just. His mercy hath no motive but himself; it is a reflexed act, he will because he will: but his justice hath another cause. We are not saved for our works, but we are punished for our works; not saved for our righteousness, but punished for our sins. His mercy also prevents our righteousness, but his justice follows our sins.

"It shows the difference between *reprobation* and *damnation.* Reprobation and preterition is an act of his will, therefore absolute, and depends not upon any reason; but damnation is an act of justice, and therefore hath a respect to sin as the immediate cause of it. His will is the cause of reprobation, the breach of his will the cause of damnation. It is properly said, Whom he will he hardeneth, not so properly said, Whom he will he condemneth. Therefore the sentence at the last day is not Go ye cursed because I will; but a reason is given, For I was an hungered, &c. And here, God will cast off Israel, not because he will, but because they turned not.

"The Use will be

"I. To teach us how to entertain God's judgments, whensoever he sends them; not to dwell on the effect, but to look also unto the cause. Still have recourse unto our sins. Thy destruction is of thyself, O Israel. The bolt that strikes the deer is headed with his own horn; so every man's punishment is caused from himself. Every man is the worker of his own woe, and the moulder of his own misery.

"II. Let it teach us to hate sin more than punishment, because sin is the cause of punishment. We all tremble at the preaching of judgment, as Felix did, more than we do at the perpetration of sin; a sign that we love ourselves more than we love God, because we more hate punishment which is displeasing to us, than we do sin which is displeasing to God; whereas a good Christian will hate sin because it is sin, and so in flying of sin fly punishment. That is the first proposition arising from this illative particle 'Therefore;' Sin is the cause of punishment. The second is this, that Impenitency is the cause of great and speedy punishment. God as he has rods for lesser sins, so he has scorpions for greater; great plagues for great sins, and the greatest of all for impenitency; because it is the greatest sin, and in a word all sins. It is such a sin as makes hell enlarge itself, and open her mouth without measure. Punishment itself marches slowly, but impenitency adds wings unto it. Punishment would fall gently, but impenitence adds weight unto it; because it offers violence to all the attributes of God. It rejects his mercy: 'O, God will not pardon,' says Impenitency. It abuses his patience: 'O, God will not punish.' It scoffs at his truth: 'Where is the promise of his coming?' It makes a doubt of his power: 'God's arm is shortened that it cannot strike.' It denies his omnipresence: 'Is there knowledge in the Most High? Tush, Tush, God seeth not, neither doth the God of Jacob regard it.'

"In other sins, if one attribute of God plead against the sinner, there is still another to plead for him. If the power and omniscience of God call for revenge, and say, Behold I will make my power known, I will go down and see whether they have done according to their cry—then mercy interposeth with Abraham, and sues for remission: Shall not the Judge of all

the world do right? Wilt thou destroy the righteous with the wicked? If fifty be found righteous, if forty, if thirty, if twenty, if ten; wilt thou not spare it for ten's sake? Again, if the truth and justice of God call for punishment and say, My Spirit shall not always contend with man; I have spoken once and twice, I will no more alter the thing that is gone out of my lips, I will punish and not spare—then Patience interposeth and pleads for pardon, O spare a little, try a while longer, let it alone this year also. But the sin of impenitency finds no advocate. Every attribute of God cries out against it. 'Let me alone,' saith Justice to Mercy, 'that I may destroy in a moment.' Power cries to Patience, 'I will be no more entreated.' 'How long shall I suffer,' saith Patience. He that walks on impenitently according to the stubbornness of his heart, the Lord will not be merciful unto him. Deut. xxix. 19.

"This impenitency exposeth a sinner and lays him naked to the stroke of God's vengeance, because it deprives him of the benefit of God's mediatorious attributes. It turns the grace of God into wantonness, and the patience of God into fury, the mercy of God into wormwood, the longsuffering of God into severity, and the justice of God into vengeance. Therefore God bids Moses let him alone, and forbids Jeremy to pray for the people, because of their impenitency. And he tells him plainly, Jer. xv. 1, Though Moses and Samuel stood before me, yet my mind could not be toward this people; and Ezek. xiv. 20, Though Noah, Daniel, and Job were amongst them, yet should they deliver neither sons nor daughters. These five had a prevailing power with God, while they were upon earth, each of them severally. Moses, when God would have consumed Israel for the calf, he prayed, and God repented of the evil, Ex. xxxii. 14. Samuel, when the children of Israel had served Baalim and Ashtaroth, he cried unto the Lord for Israel and the Lord heard him, 1 Sam. vii. 9. Of Job, God himself saith to his three friends, My servant Job shall pray for you, for him will I accept, Job xlii. 8. Daniel was a man 'greatly beloved,' so far as by prayer he obtained the revelation of God's secrets. Noah found grace in the eyes of the Lord, so far as he obtained preservation not only for himself but for his house in the general deluge. Yet the impenitency of Israel was so great, that

if all these had been alive and joined in prayer, God would not have accepted them. Other sins are forerunners; impenitency is the next bordering on destruction. It prognosticates both sudden, severe, and certain punishment. If God defer for other sins, he will decree against this; if he cut off one or two for other sins, he destroys whole countries, whole nations for this; if he proceed by degrees against other sins, he sweeps away suddenly for this. Because they turned not, THEREFORE the Lord will cut off."

In pursuing the subject through several other sermons the preacher furnishes us with instances of learning, judgment, ingenuity, and faithfulness, nowise inferior to those which we persuade ourselves the reader has recognized in what precedes, but the fear of being wearisome prevents our copying these entire. As specimens of singular originality and force, we however subjoin that part of the last discourse which discusses the words following, in the fifteenth verse, *The prophet that teacheth lies, he is the tail.*

"A lying prophet is the most unmatchable sinner of all other; not only a sinner himself, but a bawd and pander of sin in others. A murtherer kills the body, but a lying prophet kills the soul. An unjust magistrate sells justice, but a lying prophet he sells godliness. An ill magistrate sells the righteous, but a lying prophet makes a sale even of sinners; he is the huckster or broker that draws those damnable indentures whereby wicked men make a covenant with death; the devil's factor and the porter of hell; one that as he belies God, so he belies his own name; pretends he is a Seer, yet is blind, that he is a Guide yet seduces, that he is a Prophet yet deceives. A prophet, *ad verbum*, is as much as a teller of truth, *enuntiator verborum Dei hominibus.** How then can he be a prophet that teacheth lies? Any lie is an abomination to God, Prov. xii. 22; because it is a sin most opposite to the nature of God, who is a God of truth, and nearest akin to the devil, who was a liar from the beginning; but to *prophesy* a lie is double impiety. Liars are said to have their portion with the devil in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone, Rev. xxi. 5, as though hell were

* Aug. Qu. in Exod. l. ii.

prepared first for the devil then for the liar; but the lying prophet, Rev. xx. 10, it is said of him, that the devil is cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where the false prophet is, as though hell were first and of better right due to him than to the devil himself. A lie is a fearful sin and too common and universal. Every man is culpable of this sin, more or less. David said it in his haste, but Paul upon deliberation, that all men are liars. But yet there are degrees of this sin; for though it be a sin to tell a lie, yet it is worse to devise it; this argues an intent to sin; and yet worse to teach it; this deceives others; yet worse to prophesy a lie; this is to make God the author of it. Such were the wicked prophets of Israel, not only tellers of lies, but coiners of them; not only devisers of lies, but teachers of them; nay, not only teachers of lies, but prophets of them. Ananias and Sapphira sinned grievously; they lied unto the Holy Ghost; but the false prophet doth not only lie to the Holy Ghost, but from the Holy Ghost, and as much as in him lies makes the Holy Spirit a spirit of uncleanness, as Zedekiah did, 1 Kings xxii. 24, when he prophesied a lie to Ahab and made God to be the author of it; *Which way went the Spirit of the Lord from me to speak unto thee?* A lie is hateful in a man, but much more odious in a minister. For the priest's lips, as they should preserve knowledge, so they should preserve truth. Yet even a minister may slip by infirmity, as he is a man; but to preach a lie, that is to tell a lie out of the pulpit, and from the oracle of God; this is a sin beyond parallel, for it is to make the Word of God, which is a Word of Truth a [fountain] of lies. Therefore it is no marvel if God threaten fearful destruction upon the lying prophet, 'he is the tail.' So much for the first metaphor."

In the peroration, alluding to the second figure, namely, the 'rush', our lively orator breaks forth into the following amplification, reminding one of the best masters of his day. "In common calamities, when God means to destroy, his sword makes no distinction. When sin spreads from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot, then punishment cuts off both head and tail, branch and rush; that is, both princes and prophets, old men, orphans, and widows. God is no respecter of persons in judgment. If any estates might hope for immunity

it were one of these five, for these were always high in God's esteem. The person of the 'ancient', God so much respects it, that he gave a command, Lev. xix. 32, 'Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head and honour the face of the old man.' The person of the magistrate, God so much respects, that he calls them by his own name, 'gods', and himself by theirs, 'King of kings and Lord of lords.' The person of the 'prophet,' God so much respects, that he will not suffer any man so much as to touch them; *Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm.* The persons of the orphan and widow God so much respects, that he declares himself to be their God more than he is the God of others; Ps. lxviii. 5, He is a father of the fatherless and a judge of the widows. Yet, in case of common destruction, he spares not any of these. The cradle shall not be a sanctuary for the infant. The mourning veil shall be no privilege for the widow. The silver hairs of the ancient shall not save the old man, nor the purple robe redeem the prince, nor the linen ephod free the prophet; nay, these shall rather be witnesses against them. The grey head shall witness against the ancient, when God calls to 'baldness'; and the throne against the prince, when God calls to ashes; and the ephod against the priest, when God calls to sackcloth; for God is more severe against all these; to destroy the ancient and the honourable before the branch and the rush. A rush will stand in a tempestuous wind, when the cedar cleaveth. A reed will escape lightning, when the oak is shivered. It is the fatted ox that is near to the slaughter; the spread rose is soonest cropt; the ripest apples nearest gathering. The secure old man, the presumptuous great man, the seducing prophet, they are the fairest mark for the arrow of judgment. God sometimes, in judgment to a nation, takes away the religious magistrate and the true prophet, Isa. iii. 2. He will take from Jerusalem the mighty man and the man of war. If he will take away the good prophet and the magistrate for our sins, much more the lying prophet and corrupt magistrate for their own. Therefore, as the Apostle says, Let not the strong man glory in his strength, &c., so let not the honourable glory in his eminent place, nor the ancient in his years, nor the prophet in his call-

ing, but let all hasten to repentance, seeing that God will cut off all without distinction, when he means to destroy."

None of the discourses in this volume are more singular, quaint, perversely learned, perplexingly methodical, or truly original, than the nine upon our Lord's interview with Mary Magdalene after his resurrection. Feeling the difficulty of choice, we have nevertheless determined on that which treats the words, John xx. 16, *Jesus saith unto her, Mary!*

"These words set forth unto us the second passage of the conference that was held between Christ and Mary Magdalene, at his appearing to her upon the day of his resurrection. The former part was transacted by question and answer; this by mutual salutation and resalutation. Here is the *Χαίρε*, the *Salve*, or *Ave*, that Christ gives to this Mary, far above that which the angel gave to the blessed virgin. For that was only given by an angel, this by Christ himself. In that as there was not the hope of so great a blessing, so nor sorrow for the loss of so great a comfort. Here, Mary Magdalene's sorrow was as great as her hope was little to find what she looked for. Therefore this salutation came very seasonably, both for the recovery of her hope which was vanished, and the cure of her sorrow with which she was well-nigh overwhelmed, had not Christ happily interposed himself, and called unto her.

"It makes up the other part of this history, and it is continued to the eighteenth verse, and it consists of three parts: *The Remonstrance;* 'Jesus saith unto her, Mary!' *The Reply;* 'She turned herself and said unto him, Rabboni!' *The Rejoinder;* 'Jesus saith unto her, Touch me not, etc.'

"I. THE REMONSTRANCE: 'Jesus saith unto her, Mary!' It is not so short or barren a clause, but it will afford matter for an hour's discourse, if we can find out the reasons why Christ should choose this way to make himself known unto her. It is reason sufficient that it was his will and pleasure thus to discover himself. To seek for a reason of his will, is all one as to seek for a current beyond the fountain, or for light beyond the moon, nay the sun itself. His will borrows not light from reason, but gives being and rectitude to it. Yet, because this discovery of himself was a part of his mediatorious work, and in all mediatorious works there was a conformity of his human

will to his divine, and in his human will sanctified reason was most illustrious; therefore I hope it will be no presumption to see if we can find out the true and proper reason of this proceeding. Which that we may do, I will comprise all in these three questions: Why he stayed so long, ere he discovered himself; Why he did it so soon, since she profited no more by the first question; Why he did it by a word, and particularly by a bare compellation.

"1. *Why he deferred so long, ere he made himself known unto her.* It is plain there was a delay. He did not appear so soon as he rose; and he made not himself known so soon as he appears; but after some overtures he brought her by degrees to a full knowledge and persuasion of his resurrection. First he sends his angels to give her a hint; then he shows himself in person; then he parleys with her at large; then he comes down to her capacity, and makes all evident. He could have done it at once, and to human understanding the act had been more commendable, if it had been more compendious. I am sure it had been a great ease to Mary Magdalene; she was full of sorrow and full of fears, and full of doubtings; yet he takes his own time to cure these maladies, and doth it not at the first sight, but at leisure. The reasons may be these four:

"(1.) *To exercise her patience.* Where there is no expectance, there can be no patience; where no delay, there can be no expectance. Other graces, faith, love, repentance, devotion, may exercise their acts in an instant: patience cannot subsist without time. It is all these graces in the protraction. That which faith believes, and love desires, and repentance mourns for, and prayer sues for, that patience stays for. Therefore, to the declaration of this grace God calls his servants in the exercise of all the rest, lest there should be one of the daughters, one of the fruits of the Spirit wanting in Israel. For this cause he sends afflictions to his servants, to try their patience. For this cause he continues their afflictions, for the full declaration of their patience. Were there no other motive, this alone were a sufficient inducement to take in good part all the delays that God seems to make, before he bestow upon us the thing we look for. He doth it for a good purpose, to bring their grace to perfection. If he suffers ten-

tations to assault us like Job's messengers, one upon the neck of another, we must rest our hearts upon this support, it is for the exercise of my patience. To look for audience in prayer, or comfort in affliction without patience, is to outshoot grace, and to precipitate the order which God hath set. Who was there ever found to attain his end without patience? The husbandman looks not for his crop as soon as he hath sown his seed, but waits patiently for the season. The mariner comes not to his port presently upon his putting to sea, but after many cross winds arrives there by patience. By the same steps God brought David to the harvest of comforts, after he had been tossed in the floods of great waters; and by the same steps Christ brings Mary Magdalene here to the knowledge of his resurrection, when she had run through many encounters of patience. This is the first reason.

"(2.) *To show her the infirmity of her faith;* in doubting, nay despairing of his resurrection. There is no glass shows us more of ourselves than affliction doth. For this purpose he suffers the best of us to be troubled, *ut qui te nesciebas, a te inveniaris,* as St. Augustine saith,* that we may measure ourselves aright, and plumb our hearts to the bottom. Sometimes he delays, that men may know their strength. So he deferred to fulfil his promise to Abraham; sometimes to make them see their weakness; so Mark ix. 21, he deferred a while before he cast out the dumb spirit, that the father of the child might get a sight at once both of his faith and of his infidelity: 'Lord, I believe, help mine unbelief!' Generally, his delays have a respect to infirmity; that, as Ovid observes of Ulysses,

Si minus errasset, notus minus esset Ulysses:†

he had not been so well known either to himself or others, but for his errors; and of Hector,

Hectora quis nosset felix si Troja fuisset?‡

the fame of Hector had not stood to posterity, if Troy had not fallen. Therefore Seneca thought it a great calamity to have no calamity; *Miserum, inquit, te judico, si nunquam fuisti miser; transisti sine adversario vitam; nemo sciet quid potueris, ne tu quidem ipse.* Therefore God oftentimes suffers

* In Ps. lxii. † De Ponto, l. z. ‡ De Tristibus l. iv. el. z.

trials to stay long by his servants, that they may thereby be awakened to see themselves. So Christ dealt with Thomas; he deferred to appear to him, after he had showed himself to all the other disciples; thereby Thomas saw his own infidelity. So Mary hers, &c. This is the second reason.

"(3.) *To quicken the fervency of her desires;* and to make her more eager in the pursuit of her purpose. It is a natural consequent of delay to beget expectation, and of expectation to kindle affection. In this the fire of love is contrary to the elementary; it flames most when the fuel is withheld or taken away. St. Augustine said well, of want, that it is *optimus orandi magister;* necessity is the school-mistress of prayer. It is as true of delay; it is as a whetstone to devotion to sharpen it, and it is no wonder if long fasting procure an appetite. David prays more fervently because God was silent and answered not. The blind men in the gospel cry more earnestly after Christ, when they were told to hold their peace. The woman of Cana (*sic*), she met with encounters, and they made her the more importunate; the more repulses she meets with, the more assaults she makes. The first repulse was of preterition; Christ passed by her; by that her desires are more kindled; *præterenutem revocat*, then she cries after him. The second repulse was of silence; he answered not a word; by that her desires were more kindled, *taccntem rogat*, then she beseeches him. The third repulse was of plain denial, 'I am not sent,' &c.; by this her desires were yet more kindled; *negantem adorat*, she comes and worships him. The fourth repulse was of argumentation, 'It is not good to take the children's bread,' &c.; by this her desires are most of all kindled; *arguentem vincit*, she disputes and replies upon him, and when her desires are brought to the height, her suit is brought to the issue. This is the ordinary cause of the delays he makes, *ut magis ad rogandum provocat*,* to provoke us to ask; *ut vota nostra altius in cogitationum radice solidentur*, saith Chrysostom; that by these blasts of trial, godly affections may be more kindled; as trees the more they are shaken, the more the root strengthens itself. There is no tree, saith Seneca, grows firm and strong, *nisi in quem frequens ventus incursat; ipsa enim vexatione constringitur*,

* Hier. ad Habak.

et radices certius figit. The same is the condition of other affections in Chrysostom's judgment: *mora erigit desiderium;* his delay makes us more hasty, then we learn to pour out our prayers, Isa. xxvi. 16. Then we learn to seek him diligently, Hos. v. 15. It should teach us not to faint if he answer us not at first; he will hear us at last; nay, he hears always; he hears when he seems not to hear. If he hear, that is an encouragement to pray on; if he hear not, that is an incitement to pray again. For this end he stays his hand. *Non vult cito dare, ut tu discas magna magis desiderare.** So Mary here, &c. This is the third reason.

"(4.) *To fit and prepare her by this delay for a greater measure of comfort*, in the fruition of Christ afterward. There is no comfort that we are able to judge of so well, when we have it, as when we want it. And after we have been sensible of the want, if we should obtain it presently, if with ease, there would not be so great a value set upon it, as when it is got with anguish and difficulty. If it be bought with tears and trouble of mind, if it come after long expectance, it makes the prize of it the greater. We may see it in all the things that concern this life; every thing is then dearest, when scarcest. For health, S. Hierom shows: *Quid boni habeat sanitas, languor ostendet.* Nay Tully himself: *Jucundior bona valetudo ex iis, qui de gravi morbo curati sunt, quam qui nunquam ægro corpore fuerunt.* Nay, of every thing in general S. Austin gives it for a rule, *Desiderata diu dulcius obtinentur, cito data vilescunt.* Had Jonah been brought out of the whale's belly at the first, the deliverance had not been so illustrious; no, but three days and three nights must first be spent in the 'belly of hell,' that he may learn to set a due price upon God's salvation. Had S. Paul, when he was buffeted by Satan, been heard at the first call, the voice of comfort had neither sounded so sweet nor come so full. God will have him judge of it by the want; he must cry often, want it long, beseech the Lord thrice, and then he receives the answer, My grace is sufficient for thee. So Mary here, she is kept three days in expectation with Jonah, she makes three expressions of her complaint with

* Aug. in Ps. cxxx. 6.

Paul; to the disciples, to the angels, to Christ himself, she besought thrice, and then receives the word of comfort.

"And her example is our assurance, that if God defer at any time, yet he will come in the end, and bring his reward with him. *Si non audit ad voluntatem, audiet ad salutem.* Our God will come, and will not keep silence, he will speak peace unto his people; after three days he will revive us, and the third day he will comfort us. Hos. vi. 1; that we may say with David, Ps. iv. 1, 'Thou hast set me at liberty, when I was in distress.' S. Chrysostom thought it worth the observing, that he saith not, *Non passus es me incidere in afflictionem*, Thou didst not suffer me to be in distress; nor yet, *Fecisti ut celeriter transciet afflictio*, Thou madest my affliction soon to pass away; no, but *Dilatasti in tribulatione*, Thou enlargedst my comfort, in and after my tribulation. That course he still takes, saith S. Austin, *ut tardius dans, dona sua commendet, non neget.* So Mary here, she was *in ostio*, in the very threshold of knowing Christ, yet had like to have been shipwrackt in the port; but Christ by this word reacheth out his hand, as to Peter ready to sink, &c. That for the first question, Why He staid so long ere he discovered himself.

"2. *Why Christ discovered himself to her so soon, seeing she profited no more by the former proffer he made unto her?* It is a contrary question to the one that was first propounded; that was, why so late, this, why so soon. You will say, the one might well be spared; for if it were late, it was not soon, and if it were soon, it was not late. Yes; both will stand together. It was late to Mary; for love thinks every minute a year, if God be absent; but it was soon to Christ. It was late, because it was longer than she desired; it was soon, because it was before she expected; and it could not well be sooner. He was but newly risen, and he appeared presently; here is no delay. He spoke so soon as he appeared, and prevented her by a question; here is no delay. He seconds the first question by another friendly compellation, which made all clear; here is no delay. If we consider the day itself, it was the day of resurrection; that is soon; if the time of the day, it was the same morning; that is very soon; if the persons that were in the same distemper as she, he speaks to her before any of the

disciples; that is soon. It cannot be called a delay; it was soon. What could be the reason?

"The reason is at hand. Her anguish could not brook delays, and his goodness would not suffer him to make them. This is the only reason, his tender sympathy and compassion toward Mary. He saw her in an agony, he could not forbear any further, he thought the time long as well as she. He might say as in the Prophet, 'My bowels are turned within me.' Here is his unspeakable goodness. There is no man can be so sharp set in thirsting for comfort, as he is ready and hasty to administer it. The Lord is near to all them that call upon him faithfully; Ps. cxlv. 18. Yea, near because everywhere; not only near by virtue of his omnipresence, but of his gracious assistance; Behold I come quickly. Not only in respect of his all-comprehensive eternity, to which a thousand years is as one day; but in respect of our spaces and distances of time; the answers that he makes to prayer, he gives them quickly. The help and comfort he reacheth out to misery, he sends it quickly; how quickly, S. John tells us, Rev. vi. 11, for a little season; is not that soon? The Apostle tells us, Yet a little while, and he that shall come will come, and will not tarry; is not that soon? The prophet Isaiah tells us, liv. 7, he will come in a moment. There is nothing sooner than a moment, it is so little that it cannot be divided; yes, he will cut even a moment in two for his servants' sakes. 'For a small moment have I forsaken thee;' how will that appear? Yes, Ps. li. 15. *Simulac invocaverit;* when they call upon me I will answer, before their prayers be ended. That is a small moment; yet more plainly in another place, *Antequam clament ego exaudiam;* before they cry, I will answer, before their praises be begun; that is a less scantling than a small moment.

"It should teach us to wait his leisure, and so possess our souls in patience, seeing he is always so ready. Though our trials be lengthened out to years, there is no cause of making David's expostulation, *Usque quo*, Lord, how long? To ask how long, is all one as to bind eternity to time. That time is soonest, which is best. He will come in his time, if not in ours; and his is never out of season. Ere Mary had made an end of speaking, whilst the word is in her mouth, Christ calls to her.

So that is fulfilled, Hab. ii. 3, 'The vision shall speak and not lie; though it tarry wait for it, because it will surely come, it will not tarry.' I have done with the second question, Why so soon?

"3. *Why he discovers himself by a word, and by a bare compellation,* MARY. Yet it is as redundant in matter, as it is compendious in pronunciation; but I will reduce all to these two reasons:

"(1.) *In the course of nature, it had been the most probable way to make her understand him.* For some naturalists observe, that there is no readier way to awaken a man that is asleep, than to call him by his name; if he will not waken any other ways, by jogging or pinching, he will by the pronouncing of his name. Mary was asleep now, her eyes blinded with sorrow. The sight of angels, the sight of Christ, the voice of Christ in the other words, awaken her not. Till this word she is still asleep, till Christ work powerfully by this slender means. *Fecit ut quem facie non cognoscebat, voce intellexit.* (Hier.) When he will work out the effect, it must take place. She that understood not Christ by many words, understands him by one. This word is *apertissimum indicium potestatis,* an evident testimony of his power, to produce so great an effect by so slender means, to work so much illumination by so small a word. It might seem wonderful, but that there is nothing hard to God. It is as easy for him to save by few instruments as by many, and to converte by few words as by many. We must not measure his power by instruments, nor confine his work to means. Sometimes he useth greater means and the work is not done; spends many words upon Jerusalem and she would not know him; sometimes he useth less means, and the work takes effect, he casts only his eye on Peter and he is reclaimed by it. Sometimes he doubles the name when he calls his servants: 'Abraham, Abraham,' Gen. xxii. 11, 'Moses, Moses,' Ex. iii. 4, 'Saul, Saul,' Acts ix. 4; sometimes he gives it only a single accent, as to Mary here. When he appeared to Samuel the first time, he named him only single, and then Samuel knew him not; the second time single, and yet he knew him not; the third time also single, and yet he knew not whose voice it was; but the fourth time when he doubled his call, 'Samuel, Samuel,' then

he acknowledges him. Yet here contrary, he rehearses Mary's name only once; for what purpose, but to show that little or much is all one to God. One word sufficed to make a greater world, and one word also to convert the less. It teacheth us two things.

"First, we should not despair when means of comfort or deliverance is straitened; his arm is not shortened, though the means be. Yet so presumptuous are we, many of us, as to tie his arm to means, to tie the First Cause to the second; [as], that the bare reading of the Word cannot convert, [and] that the sacraments without the Word preached at the time of administration are not efficacious. As if we would bind God to our dimensions, that because preaching converts more, reading should convert none, and because baptism with a sermon is better for men, therefore without a sermon it should not be of force for children. That's a wrong to the donour of grace; he doth by preaching, and he can by reading also. Even as by two words he raised Lazarus, by two he healed the withered hand; yet by one he gave hearing to the deaf, and by one illumination to Mary. It should teach us, on the other hand, not to applaud ourselves vainly, if the means of salvation be plentiful, unless we answer them with the fruits of righteousness; for all these examples should make for our conviction. We have sermons by thousands, and are as far from repentance as ever, whereas the Jews were brought home by one, Acts ii. To us God declares himself by many and long sentences, and we are still ignorant; whereas by one word he wrought himself into Mary Magdalene's cognisance. This for the first reason.

"Secondly, this word is *certissimum pignus dilectionis*, an assured pledge of Christ's love towards her. He could not discover himself to her in a more familiar manner, nor in a more amiable. By this word he comes down to her capacity. The naming of a man, saith Chrysostom, *φιλίας ἔστι γνησίας τεκμήριον*; it is an apparent sign of intimate love: as the shunning of the name an argument of hatred. When Saul was maliciously bent against David, 1 Sam. xx. 27, he would not vouchsafe to call him by name; not 'Wherefore comes not David,' but 'Wherefore comes not the son of Jesse?' So when the Jews were disdainfully affected towards Christ, and inquired after him, John

vii. 11, they leave out his name, *Ubi est ille*, Where is he? not *Ubi est Christus*, Where is Christ? And S. Chrysostom observes, that S. Paul in great wisdom suppresses his name, in the epistle which he wrote to the Hebrews, foreseeing that because they loved not his person they would not brook the inscription of his name. Malice cares not for hearing or mentioning the name of the person it likes not. On the contrary, it is the property of love to delight itself with the sound of the very name. Of the Spouse we find it true in the Canticles, 'Thy name is like ointment poured forth.' Of David, S. Chrysostom observes, on those words *Canam nomini tuo Altissime;* I will sing to thy name, O Thou Most High;* he might have said as briefly, I will sing to thee; no, but I will sing to thy name. Why so? the father tells us; *οἳ φιλοῦντες, τά ὀνόματα τῶν φιλουμένων περιφέρουσιν.* No word so sweet in the mouth of love, as the name of a friend. And so the Psalmist, ravished with the love of God, *τό ὄνομα αὐτοῦ περιστρέφει συνεχώς;* he still harps upon this string, 'I will sing unto thy name.' For God himself, we see it, Gen. iii., he calls to Adam by his name, 'Adam, where art thou?' and hereby *ἔδειξεν ἀυτοῦ τὸ φίλτρον, καὶ τὴν πολλὴν περὶ ἀυτοῦ κηδεμονίαν;* he demonstrated his love and care over him. By this word he breathed upon him again a new breath of life. For Christ, we see it in the parable; Dives is not named as if being an unmerciful rich man, he had been a stranger, and one unknown to God; Lazarus, whom God respects, he calls by name. So Christ did with the other Lazarus when he raised him; with Peter when he confirmed him; with Saul when he converted him; and with Mary here, when he reveals himself unto her. By this word he showed a great deal of tenderness, for it is thus much in effect: 'Mary, knowest thou not me? Hast thou so soon forgot me? Am I taken away? Am I the gardener?' The other word, 'Woman, why weepest thou?' was a sign of much sympathy, this, a sign of much love. What a difference is here, saith Ambrose, *mulier quando converti incipit Maria vocatur;* when she believes not, then the general name of Woman is used; when she draws nearer to the knowledge of Christ, then she is called Mary. I will

* In Ps. ix.

turn the observation a little. When Christ keeps aloof, then, Woman; when he draws nearer to her, then, Mary. *Nomen ejus accipit quæ spiritualiter parit Christum*, saith Ambrose, l. 3. *de virginibus;* he gives her that name which doth spiritually bear Christ. A Mary was the mother of Christ carnally, and a Mary spiritually.

"It is a twofold comfort to the saints of God. One is, when God seems strange unto them, he is as one that hears not; be not discouraged; this is a course he useth to observe, in beholding them first *eminus tanquam minus notus;* he seems to know them afar off; then *cominus, intuetur tanquam notos;* in speaking first *peregrina voce*, then *voce efficaci.* As Joseph to his brethren; first severely, 'You are spies;' then amiably, 'I am Joseph.' So Christ to the woman of Samaria; first afar off; then he comes nearer, and tells her that he was the Christ, John iv. So with Mary here; first 'Woman,' afar off; then he utters it in his old tone and accent, 'Mary!' Joseph loved not his brethren worse because he seemed strange; nor Christ Mary, when he called her Woman; nor us, though he seem to absent himself.

"Another comfort is, when we seem strange to the world, the offscourings, &c. Yea, but precious to God, he knows his, not only after a general manner, but after a special, by name. So to Moses, 'Thou hast found grace in my sight, and I know thee by name.' Ex. xxxiii. 17. So to Israel, 'I have called thee by thy name, thou art mine.' So to us; he doth not call us by our names expressly, he doth virtually. He calls us in the promises, 'Whosoever thirsteth,' &c. Our names are not written in the book of Scriptures; they are in the book of life. There is not any of their names whereof he is ignorant. As he is not ignorant of them, so he is not ashamed to own them. They may be sure they are written in heaven, for it is his throne; they may be confident they are written in the book of life, for that is his breast, and he will from thence pronounce them at the last day. It is the highest honour of which the name of any Christian is capable, to have Christ pronounce his name. It sounds nowhere so comfortably as out of his mouth. Let worldly men set their names upon their houses, that they may be continued; nay, upon their very sepulchres, as if they

would get perpetuity from the very place which causeth the body's corruption, immortality, where they have mortality; our happiness is, that they are writ and engraven upon Christ; and if upon Christ, then upon heaven. If He know them, we may be sure that God knows them, and will acknowledge them at the last day."

We have now done enough to exhibit the manner in which our learned churchman conducts a homiletical discourse through its regular parts; and we need therefore occupy little room in other extracts. Some however it seems just to give, as exemplifying either the excellencies or the oddities of the preacher.

On the sleep of the apostles in the Mount. "If we take it simply, sleep is *res trita*, a vulgar and common thing; yet even to such the pen of inspiration condescends. It is worth our observing, how it tells us of the common actions of the saints, as well as of their heroic; Abraham's offering of his son, and Abraham's digging of wells; Jacob's wrestling with the angel, and Jacob's leaning upon his staff; David's warring with the Philistines, and David's dancing before the ark; S. Paul's care of the churches, and his care of the cloak; not only their prayings and fastings and watchings, but even their eatings, journeyings and sleepings. The reasons are two; first, that we may learn to preserve piety even in those things which are *minora Christianismi;* secondly, to show that God himself takes notice of them."—"Sleeping at holy exercises may be a weakness, and may be a crime. In worldly men, that delight to make their bible their pillow, and do as usually take their naps in their pews, as in their beds, a crime; but even in a godly man, it is none of his virtues, it is at best an infirmity. I dare not call it absolutely an argument of a wicked man, for then we were all in a miserable condition, because all subject at one time or other to be overtaken; but yet I account it an argument of a careless man and a dull spirit. In itself, sleep is not a sin, because ordained for the refreshing and preserving of nature, even in her pure state, in time of innocency; but it becomes a sin by the annexion of circumstances, of time, place, measure; if it be too much, or unseasonable; and it is sometimes a less sin, sometimes a greater, but always a sin; a

greater sin, if it be habitual and customary; a less, if it be seldom and casual; a greater if a voluntary, if man compose himself to sleep; a less, if he wrestle with himself and strive against it. A greater, if it be occasioned by excess of eating and drinking; a less, if there be an endeavour by anticipation by fasting and prayer. A greater sin, if it be swallowed without any remorse; a less, if it be often bemoaned and watered with our tears. Indeed, a godly man doth always repute it in himself great, whether it be in prayer or in preaching. In prayer, it is a mocking of God and our speaking to him; in preaching, a contempt of God and his speaking to us. In both, a wrong to his ordinance, and to our own souls; for a man to sleep in God's presence and under his eye, in the time of conference with him, in the time of reaping the food of salvation. 'He that sleepeth in harvest is a son that causeth shame.' These things a godly man will consider, and by these he will be drawn to stir up himself. If he cannot overcome it, he will strive against it, and labour to prevent it; he will strive by prayer, strive by preparation, strive by complaints, he will set it on the score of his sins, he will avoid occasions, [and] remove all entanglements of sleep. If there be thus care used, and yet it steal upon him, then I account it an infirmity; yet even then an infirmity not to be cherished."—"It is the course of many, when they hear some men preach, they will pull their hats over their eyes, and set themselves to sleep; and is it then any marvel, if they be overtaken. Because they sleep on purpose at some times, God justly gives them over at other times. Seeing, in contempt of God, they set themselves to sleep (as they call it) at a bad sermon, God suffers them to be overtaken at a good."

The Resurrection. "The first-fruits of them that sleep, the first-begotten of the dead, the Alpha of all things, how well did it become him to rise on the first day of the week, and the first hour of the day; that first and last, all might be first, and time still prevented by him that was before time, even from eternity. So careful he was of the accomplishment of the work of our redemption, he was still beforehand. When his time of suffering drew near, he would not stay till his persecutors found him, but offered himself. When upon the cross, he would not stay till

death called for him, but gave up the ghost himself. When in the grave, he tarried not till the disciples came to the sepulchre, but rose early, ere they got thither. And when he was risen, he deferred not to show himself till they discovered him, but that very day he appeared beyond their expectation, to one, and to two, and to ten, and to eleven. Were they few or more, his care was still to be one, and the first in all their meetings. And if we will requite him, our first care should be the same, to prevent one another in the celebration of his rising again."

Vanity of Foreign Travel. "But so foolish are we, that we had rather be in danger abroad than happy at home. We send our children, while they are very novices, not well grounded in the principles of religion, to heathenish countries, to idolatrous places, merely for curiosity, to see the fashions of the world, whilst they are not able to teach that which is good, and too apt to learn that which is evil. What greater vanity than this! To go to the Holy Land, to see the letters Christ wrote upon the ground; or in those ruins to look for the stone that was rolled to the door of the sepulchre. To go to Rome to see one of their Jubilees; much the same with one of our triumphs or pageants. I may look upon the Vatican, and come home never a whit the better scholar; and when all is done, the bibles, that are here carried in our laymen's hands to churches, are a far more sumptuous library. They cannot be persuaded that Rome is the seat of Antichrist, except they see the seven hills; or that the Pope exalts himself above all that is called God, except they see kings and princes holding his stirrup—Platina will assure me as much that a woman was pope, as if I had my hand upon the chair that stands in the Consistory. A clear eye will see the mystery of iniquity work as covertly here, as if he were in the College of Cardinals. Their crouching to the cross, and adoration of images, and falling down before the host, may be as plainly discerned in their missals and writings, as if we were in their chapels. What greater hazard, than to go to Babylon to learn to be godly, or to learn to hate popery at Rome; where if one learne to loathe their wickedness, ten are taken by their seducements."

The ten Lepers, drawn by the fame of Christ. "As fame hath long wings, so misery hath long ears. Fame is diffusive

of great works, and misery is apprehensive of any occasion. Fame need not be hired to carry news of a Saviour; it will spread of itself; and misery need not be entreated to seek after salvation, it will inquire of itself. When the blind man in the gospel heard that Christ passed by, presently he cries after him. It was fame and sense of affliction mingled, that directed the Centurion, and the woman of Cana, and these lepers, and thousands of others to Christ. Happy were we, if it work such an effect in us! The fame of Christ is no less now than it was then. We have heard with our ears, and our fathers have told us, and we find it by experience, and we have it out of the pulpit daily, that he is ready to receive repenting sinners. We have precept to show for it, Prepare to meet thy God, O Israel; we have promise to show for it, Come unto me all ye, &c. Examples to show for it, of diseased in body, that got here the cure of their infirmities; of diseased in mind, that got here the cure of their impieties. There is no instance can be brought of any that came to Christ, and went away without the thing they came for. Hither the woman of Cana came for her daughter; hither the Centurion for his servant; hither the blind, the lepers for themselves; and all speed. All they were careful to catch hold of the opportunity that was offered when Christ passed by, fearing they should have it no more, if they should let go the present. Yet none of these examples will provoke us. They, as soon as they heard, betook themselves to motion; we sit freezing upon our dregs. They hastened towards Christ; we fly as fast from him. Is it because we know not how to meet him? It is not so. He is everywhere, we are sure to meet him whom if we fly from we cannot shun. Is it because we stand not in need of him? Yes, that we do, and more than the Centurion, or woman of Cana, more than the blind or lepers; not for our children but ourselves, not for our bodies but souls. A servant or a child is not so dear to a man as his soul; the sight of the body not so comfortable, as of the mind; the corporal leprosy not so dangerous, as the spiritual. Last of all, is it because we are not sensible of our own danger, or of God's goodness? Yes, yes; this is the reason of our backwardness to meet God; and both these are heavy conditions."

Before laying out of our hands this singular manuscript, which it is not likely any one will ever make public, and which few will ever take the pains to decipher, we beg leave to offer a short series of excerpts, taken here and there, from the old heap of brilliants.

"In prayer we get at least a shadow of everlasting happiness. If it consist in the vision of God, prayer brings us into his presence; if in fruition, by prayer the saints walk with him; if in joy, prayer fetcheth comfort from heaven; if in union, prayer fetcheth a flight to the throne of God, and sets the heart in heaven, or the enjoying of God."

"Till the last and general awakening, there shall be no perfect beholding of the beatifical glory. Till then, the body comes not to the fellowship of the soul's fruition. Till then, it takes its long silent sleep, in the place where all things are forgotten. But then, when Christ shall speak to it to arise, it shall awaken, and share with the soul in her waking raptures, never to sleep again. Ps. xvii. 15."

"Heaven is the proper place of souls triumphant, as earth of souls militant. Yet we read that there have been flights taken from both, to show their communion; sometimes the militant taken up into the raptures of heaven, as S. Paul, to show the communion of us with them; sometimes the triumphant brought down to negociations on earth, to show the communion of them with us, as Moses and Elias."

"There is nothing comes so near to infinite as the heart of man; it is larger than the world, yet it is less than the goodness of Christ. As the whole earth is but a point to the heart, so the heart itself is but a point to the mercy of God."

"All the attributes of God are equally admirable; yet of the rest I most wonder at his patience. His power is great, yet we will cease to wonder, if we consider whose power it is, His, the Omnipotent. But that a God of so much power should have so much patience, is truly admirable. That God destroys sinners is not so much as that he spares them."

"A human soul and an angel differ only as a perfect and an imperfect substance; for a soul separate is but half a man, the simplest part of a compounded nature. An angel is a complete species of itself. The soul is fitted to the body as the

form of that material lump: the substance of an angel is both form and matter to itself."*

"He that prays in an unknown tongue makes himself a stranger to God; who, though he understand all languages, yet will not understand us, if we be so foolish as not to understand ourselves."

"With God, saith S. Ambrose, *Cogitatio clamor;* the very thought is a cry. I know that in some cases prayer may be so obstreperous, that it may wound God's ears, not delight them; when being distrustful of God's omnipresence, we think to be heard for our loud speaking."

"A man cannot draw too near to God by faith, nor keep too far off in reverence."

"Those that hold a man may fall from true justifying grace, and from the certain interest which the faithful have in Christ, they also betray this gift of Christ. This is all one as to say, that Christ is only lent, not given."

"Experience tells us that there is great life in the words of a dying man. His lips as a honeycomb then drop sweetest, when he draws his breath shortest. And it is very true of our blessed Saviour; all his words were precious, wheresoever uttered, in the temple, on the mount, in the ship, on the shore. But none are so full of grace as those he breathed out upon the cross. We read of seven texts [on] which he preached from that pulpit; which were as the opening of the seven seals of the book of life."

Such sententious morsels might be gathered in profusion from these yellow pages, reminding us sometimes of Bishop Hall and the *Religio Medici*, and sometimes of Trapp, Charnock and Gurnall, and serving to expose the ignorance or prejudice of those who represent the Puritan as always sour. Such sparkle is not, in our judgment, the true crystal of classic prose, but it

* This savours strongly of the schools, nor can readers of old divinity avoid perpetual stumbling in regard to the terms *formal* and *material*, unless they revert to the scholastic nomenclature, derived from the logical distribution of *causes*. In our day the word *formal* has acquired a meaning almost opposite. Even in his practical treatises Owen will speak of the *formality* of faith, namely, that which makes faith to be faith. Our language retains a trace of this in such expressions as Dryden's "*informing* fire," or Pitt's "life *informs* this fleeting frame."

assuredly comes from no morose quarter. We do not find it in the higher regions occupied by John Owen or John Howe; but it illuminates and varies the discourse of the great Puritan preachers, whether in or out of the Anglican pale, and, with certain obvious differences, equally in the early as the latter part of the seventeenth century. The quick unexpected apodosis, going off like a conundrum or a percussion-cap, the pulpit-paronomasia (Charles Lamb's "pun-divinity") must have tended greatly to prevent that infirmity of sleeping in church, against which we have found our good author inveighing. Even the later generation of Puritans retained something of these juices, the sapidity of which continue to make Matthew Henry the favorite commentator of the unlettered class, at the very time that he is ranked *facile princeps* by critics as fastidious as learned, and as unlike as Robert Hall, Thomas Chalmers and John Foster.

On the retrospect, we find it difficult to divine the sort of audience for whom these discourses were prepared. Out of a university, or one of the Inns of Court or Chancery, it is not probable many would have comprehended the quotations in Latin, Greek, and even Hebrew. Perhaps they were not understood; it was the fashion of the age, to fire an occasional gun over the hearer's head, and it did no damage; while it aroused the oscitancy of country-members as much as the sesquipedalian vocabulary of a popular preacher of our own age. Nor was the practice confined to what our comical friends in certain quarters call the "sacred desk," but may be seen exemplified in any speech in parliament of Sir Edward Coke, Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, or famous 'old Maynard.' Seneca was quoted in church, and Solomon in St. Stephen's. Without a sedulous search we find the following authors cited in this manuscript, and some of them many times, viz. Homer, Sophocles, Plautus, Terence, Ovid, Cicero, Josephus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Plutarch, Lactantius, Eusebius, Chrysostom, Basil, the Gregories, Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, Athanasius, Cyril, Theophylact, Bernard, Aquinas, Bonaventura, Rhabanus Maurus, Calvin and the Rhemists. Scholastic terms were a lawful tender among all educated people of that day, but we cannot suppress the fancy that by our ancient

author they are used with a frequency and precision which betray, not exactly the pedant, but the trained teacher, used to act the part of respondent, in the dialectic "schools." The Scriptures as well as the Greek Fathers are sometimes quoted in Latin; which is a Romish practice, not all at once abandoned by the earlier Protestants, as may be seen by reference to Jewell, or even Lord Bacon and Coke. The familiar phrase especially of Scripture had a familiar ring upon the ear; an inkling of which lingers even now in the name *Dives*, from the Vulgate. So also, as in the days of Queen Elisabeth and James, the books of Samuel and Kings are cited, from the Latin headings, as 1 *Reg.* 2 *Reg.* &c. The English bible-quotations vacillate between the Cranmer and the Authorized Version, with a decided leaning to the latter. Amidst the throng of learned authorities, not a single English author is mentioned, nor a single Protestant, except Calvin. In justice to the author, let us add that nothing is adduced with such frequency and affection as the Holy Scriptures, which are ransacked in every recondite portion for never-ceasing illustrations and parallels. Without exaggeration we may say, that no page of the book has failed to afford us some new view of a biblical passage. The subtle and provokingly artful manner, in which our cleverest of quoters brings together verses which no mortal ever before thought of matching, results in a patchwork or marquetry, pleasing to the fancy rather than impressive or pathetic; indeed he sometimes hangs his cunning wreaths upon the cross and sepulchre, till we cease to smile. But just so did Andrewes, Henrie Smith, Perkins, Bolton, and far lower down, Brookes, Janeway and Cotton Mather. And days are coming when the pretty rhetorical trumpery of our nicest sermonizing will be as much out of date as the gold-lace of our grandfather's wedding coat, the claw-feet of a blackened cabinet, or the careful antitheses and scriptural word-play of these faded sheets.

ART. V.—*The Convert; or Leaves from my Experience.* By O. A. BROWNSON. New York: Edward Dunigan & Brother, (James B. Kirker.) 1857.

MR. BROWNSON has long been noted for attempting bold and reckless feats as a writer upon literature, philosophy, politics, and theology. This audacity, combined with a considerable power of expressing himself in classic, nervous English, has given him a place among our American notabilities. On his own showing, he has, by turns, been the adherent, expositor, and defender of Universalism, Infidelity, Atheism, Materialism, the Communism of Robert Dale Owen and Fanny Wright, St. Simon and St. Hilaire, the Eclecticism and Pantheism of Cousin, together with the social, political, and ecclesiastical theories which thence emerge. After this tortuous course, becoming "everything by turns, and nothing long," he very rationally concluded that the best use men can make of their intellects is to submit them to infallible and authoritative guidance. From historical and philosophical considerations, he reasoned himself into the belief that the Roman Pontiff alone possesses those prerogatives of infallibility and authority, which are sufficient to keep him out of those vagaries into which and out of which his unaided reason had so long been worming its way,

> . . . . . to find no end,
> In wandering mazes lost.

He appears to have forgotten that the Scriptures are the ultimate, the only infallible guide, sufficient to make "the man of God perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." Despairing of any adequate light from these, he does not seem ever to have "searched them, whether these things be so." So far as we can see, although he strenuously insists to the contrary, he had recourse to the Roman Pontiff in a mere "fit of intellectual despair." His argument was simply this: The consequence of trusting mere human reason is endless vacillation and scepticism. The consequence of relying on the Bible, without the Pope, is the sects and divisions of Protestantism. The only alternative, therefore, for those who crave unity and

stability, is implicit submission to the Pope. Extremes meet. The rankest Rationalism and Infidelity are on the margin of abject submission to the most stolid and domineering hierarchs—just as in the civil state, the anarchy of mobs is the immediate precursor of absolute despotism. He judged well, that in matters divine we need a divine guide. He showed his wonted facility of educing great conclusions from slender premises, when he judged the Pope of Rome to be such a guide, rather than the sure word and very oracles of God himself.

It requires no slight courage in one man to set himself up as the expounder and champion of the multitudinous and contradictory systems which our author has successively espoused and repudiated. But it requires still greater courage to attempt, as he has done in this volume, to vindicate his moral integrity and intellectual consistency in such a course. It is somewhat of an exploit to appear as the advocate of nearly every type of opinion, except evangelical truth—to career through the whole compass of fatuous error, from the credulity of Atheism to the credulity of Superstition. But it is a still more prodigious exploit for such a man to undertake to expound and justify himself.

His method of doing this is simply to narrate his successive changes of opinion, together with the reasons which led him to make them. He strives to give unity and consistency to this series of contradictions, by referring them all to one radical principle—that of being true to his own reason and the conclusions to which it led him. The cause of his constant changes, was a continual change in his apprehension or knowledge of the facts and first principles which constituted the premises from which he reasoned. This, he would have us understand, explains his rapid espousal and rejection of nearly all the most radical and destructive errors of modern times, without impeachment of his moral integrity and intellectual capacity. The whole brood of paradoxes, contradictions, and, as he styles them, "horrible doctrines," which, with morbid fecundity, he brought forth to the public, were all irrefragably demonstrated, if the premises from which he reasoned had only been true! He was morally upright, because he was faithful to proclaim and defend the foul doctrines developed logically from false pre-

mises! Speaking of the impious and revolutionary principles of various kinds, with which he scandalized the public in his Boston Quarterly Review, he says, "I should have been right, if my facts had been true. It will generally be found, to speak after the manner of the logicians, that my *major* was true, but my *minor* often required to be denied or distinguished." P. 197. In joining the Roman Church, he says, "I kept faithfully the resolution I made on leaving Presbyterianism, that henceforth I would be true to my own reason, and maintain the rights and dignity of my own manhood. No man can accuse me of not having done it. I never performed a more reasonable or more manly act, or one more in accordance with the rights and dignity of human nature, though not done save by divine grace moving and assisting thereto, than when I kneeled to the Bishop of Boston, and asked him to hear my confession and reconcile me to the Church, or when I read my abjuration, and publicly professed the Catholic Faith." P. 412.

"I have never reproached myself for the position I assumed after my connection with Fanny Wrightism. I followed the best light I had, honestly, sincerely, unflinchingly." P. 147.

"The various systems I embraced, or defended, whether social or political, ethical or æsthetical, philosophical or theological, were all subordinated to this end, as means by which man's earthly condition was to be ameliorated. I sought truth, I sought knowledge, I sought virtue for no other end, and it was, not in seeking to save my soul, to please God, or to have the true religion, that I was led to the Catholic Church, but to obtain the means of gaining the earthly happiness of mankind. My end was man's earthly happiness; and my creed was progress. In regard to neither did I change or swerve in the least, till the truth of the Catholic Church was forced upon my mind and my heart. During the period of fourteen years, the greater part of which I was accused of changing at least once every three months, I never changed once in my principles or my purposes, and all I did change, were my tools, my instruments, or my modes of operation." P. 102.

All this and much more in the like vein, running through the book, in explanation of his successive conversions, will hardly serve the author's purpose. They do not bring his doctrinal

career within any solution creditable to his intellectual capacity and consistency, or to his moral integrity. We admit that this self-exposition and all his writings evince, in a high degree, a certain kind of intellectual acuteness and force. Along with an utter incapacity or indisposition to master the facts and principles which constitute the basis or premises of his reasonings, they show a very unusual power of evolving from assumed premises, hastily grasped, either absolutely false, or partially so, because they ignore truths material to the subject, a tissue of extreme, reckless, and desperate conclusions. In the power to work out these startling paradoxes, and in the havoc thus made with the most sacred convictions, principles, and institutions which are dear to the holiest men, he cherishes a strange delight. Not only is he at fault in minor premises, but in the major as well. As he spins out from them the most impious extravaganzas, and dogmas, he feels all the pride of an inventor or discoverer, and breaks out in rapturous EUREKAS. He proceeds to blazen forth his pet theory, and to try to realize it in some scheme of social reconstruction, or religious and political revolution, till he finds it will not work. It is thus proved false. He sets himself to look up the flaw. It was not, he satisfies himself, in his reasoning, that was conclusive enough. But one of his premises "required to be denied or distinguished." That was all, and it was enough. So having thus run down one *ism* and himself with it, he rushes into another, with some other false or partial premise, with a like spirit, and a like issue. So

> "Tost to and fro his passions fly,
> From vanity to vanity,"

he passes from Universalism to Materialism. Discomfited here, he flies to Owen, Godwin, and then becomes a confederate with Fanny Wright—and so on, through the series,

> "To nothing fixed but love of change."

Embracing each successive scheme with the enthusiasm of a neophyte, he renounces it almost simultaneously with the disgust of an apostate. The further he reasons from his false premises the more knots of error does he turn off from his syllogistic reel. *Ex nihilo nihil fit.* The streams are no purer than the fountain.

Nursing his successive chimeras and impieties with the fire of a zealot, the attempt to work them into practice soon gives them an undeniable refutation. Although he propounded them with that defiant boldness, which is the offspring of foolhardy blindness, rather than intelligent courage, and which seemed ready to go down Niagara with them, yet when he actually sees the "hell of waters" into which he is gliding, he casts about for a new course, and takes the first that offers, only to find himself forthwith on the edge of the same terrible abyss. His only fixed land-marks, till stumbling into Romanism he was constrained to abjure even these, were Humanity and Progress. But his schemes and projects for human amelioration were impotent and ruinous, because godless. His progress was that of the treadmill, or as Carlyle once said of this kind, of a foundered horse—"all move and no go."

It is no excuse for such a course to say that his reasonings were valid, if his premises had been true. Every person who is seeking truth is bound to look to the facts and principles from which he reasons, as well as to the conclusiveness of his reasonings from them. This he is absolutely bound to do, if merely seeking light for his own guidance. But he is still more stringently bound, if he employs his reasonings, like Mr. Brownson, in instructing and guiding others. The very fact of undergoing constant revolutions of opinion, and shifting to every wind of doctrine, betokens a mind radically defective, and is proof of utter incompetency for the office of instructing and guiding men. If one of this sort has assumed the office unbidden, he is warned by such chamelion-like fickleness, that he ought to lay aside his usurped function. If he cannot trust himself, he cannot in good conscience ask others to trust him. Being proved to himself blind, he yet assumes to lead the blind, at the peril of their spiritual and temporal welfare. If he did not perceive this, he was sadly imbecile. If he did, to continue his erratic teaching was clearly unprincipled. He does not escape this dilemma, by telling us that he was steadfast and consistent in his devotion to Progress and Humanity, and that the successive, contradictory theories he espoused were mere "tools," "instruments," used by him in furtherance of these. Suppose they were. He either believed them, at the time of promulgating them, to be true, or he did

not. If he did, he is self-convicted of intellectual fickleness and incapacity. If he did not, he is convicted of promulgating as true, what he was not convinced was true, on grounds of expediency. The highest moral principle then from which he could have acted, must have been the detestable Jesuitical maxim, that the end sanctifies the means. On this hypothesis, he evinced an utter want of moral principle.

We would not be misunderstood in regard to the extent or kind of consistency which we deem requisite to intellectual and moral integrity. The first requisite to this is a paramount love of truth. If this love of truth be, as it should be, supreme, then a man is truly and only consistent with himself, when his acts harmonize with this principle. No man is infallible. The greatest intellects are not insured against all error. Every one is bound to know and feel this, consequently as he loves the truth, he will always be open to further light, on topics in their nature questionable. On such subjects, or some of them, every wise and good man will find cause to amend or modify his opinions, as new evidence is brought before his mind. If he be candid, a lover of truth, he will always be fairly accessible to such evidence, and so far liable to modify his judgments. Obstinate persistence in error, a refusal to see and appreciate the evidence that would correct it, is inconsistency with what should be supreme in the breast of a good man, fealty to the truth—and therefore it is inconsistency with himself. This is one side of the subject. It simply shows that no man is infallible, or can afford to be so opinionated as to refuse to correct his errors. But it is no justification of utter instability in doctrine, or of incessant somersets in regard to fundamental principles. Nor does it prove such a course compatible with moral or intellectual consistency. For, 1. There is a large class of fundamental truths which are either so self-evident, or with the lights afforded us by experience and revelation so immediately and obviously deducible from self-evident or unquestioned truths, that to be constantly shifting ground about them, betokens a light and frivolous mind, and admits of no excuse but insanity. That we have a spiritual, as well as a sensuous and animal nature, that there is an immutable distinction between right and wrong, that there is a living, supreme, personal God,

that the Bible is his infallible word, that it pronounces man corrupt and lost, and reveals Christ as his divine Saviour, that it establishes the family, the Church, and the State, as the great organisms for the regulation of his social nature, while their necessity is confirmed by the experience, the instincts, and the reason of the race, all these and much more the like, are brought home to the mind with such a fulness and immediacy of evidence, that he who runs may read them. Throughout Christendom, belief in these truths is well nigh universal. Doubt of them is exceptional and abnormal. It is confined either to idiots and madmen, or to the foul dregs defecated at the bottom, and the frothy speculatists who bubble and glitter and break into nothing, above the surface of society. All these most sacred and fundamental truths, luminous with their own light, Mr. Brownson in turn rejected, and alone, or as confederate with others, set himself to root them out of the faith of his fellow-men. He who does this, does what he may to turn earth into a hell. Endless vacillation on such subjects is utterly irreconcilable with any hypothesis creditable to the head or heart. No protestation of following the light one has, or being loyal to his convictions, can redeem such a course from the just reproach of fickleness, weakness, inexcusable trifling with the most sacred interests, and (if one preach and print such vagaries) rushing unbidden to a work for which he had no gifts nor call.

2. In regard to matters more debateable than those we have just considered, the supreme love of truth will lead to the careful and thorough survey of whatever bears upon the subject, before any opinion is definitely formed, and above all, professed and advocated. One who has thus carefully and conscientiously formed his opinions, will indeed be open to new light. But he will be slow to believe that his original ground of belief was fallacious, and slow to give up his opinions till they are clearly disproved. He who readily and often changes his ground, thereby proclaims that he embraces his opinions without due heed and consideration. He heralds his own unfitness to be trusted as a leader or teacher. If no man can afford to be a Pope, no man can afford to embrace opinions so carelessly, that a good conscience requires him to "change

them every three months." "A double-minded man is unstable in all his ways." And "unstable as water, he shall not excel." Such vacillation disqualifies for guiding men, and is utterly incompatible with faith in and fealty to God and Truth. They who are ever learning and never coming to the knowledge of the truth, have need, as Mr. Brownson at last found out, with his usual fanatic extravagance in his mode of applying it, "when for the time they ought to be teachers, that one teach them which be the first principles of the oracles of God."

But Mr. Brownson is aware that neither nor both of these theories, which he has offered to furnish some consistent solution of his ceaseless gyrations of opinion, even if they amounted to a tolerable justification, will apply to many of those sophistical abominations, which he so often, and with such fell assiduity, plied the public mind. It is a poor apology for most of them, that his reasoning would have been right, if his premises had been true. This indeed is far enough from always being the case. It is still worse, that they were used as mere "tools and instruments," in furtherance of the only objects in which he had faith—Progress and Humanity. A still further explanation he gives of some of the detestable opinions he promulgated at various times, is, not that he believed them, but that his aim was to set people to thinking.

Thus he says of what he preached and wrote while a Unitarian clergyman in Boston, during some years previous to his kneeling before a Papal bishop: "Whether I preached or wrote, I aimed simply at exciting thought, and directing it to the problems to be solved, not to satisfy the mind, or furnish it with dogmatic solutions of its difficulties. I was often rash in my statements, because I regarded myself not as putting forth doctrines that must be believed, but as throwing out provocations to thought and investigation." Pp. 179, 180.

"My Quarterly Review was devoted to religion, philosophy, politics, and general literature. It had no creed, was intended for free and independent discussion of all questions which I might regard as worth discussing; not, however, with a view of settling them, or putting an end to any dispute. I had purposes to accomplish, but not, and I did not profess to have, a body of truth I wished to bring out and make prevail. My aim was not

dogmatism, but inquiry; and my more immediate purpose was to excite thought, to quicken the mental activity of my countrymen, and to force them to think freely and independently on the gravest and most delicate subjects. . . . The Review should be judged by the purpose for which it was instituted, not merely by the speculations it contains. *Many of them no doubt are crude, rash, and thrown out with a certain recklessness which nothing, if I had aimed to dogmatize, could justify, but as designed simply to set other minds to thinking, may perhaps escape any great severity of censure.*" Pp. 195, 196.

It is undoubtedly wholesome for men to think on the greatest and most delicate subjects, if they think to any good purpose, and are led to just apprehensions and convictions about them. Mere mental activity, however, is not in itself a good. In order to be beneficial, it must be healthful, rational, truthful. Morbid intellectual action, which grows erratic in proportion to its intensity, is an unmitigated evil. Whose mind is more intensely active than the maniac's? What good comes of the mental activity displayed in Paine's Age of Reason? Mr. Brownson hardly ventures to offer this explanation of his audacious and impious speculations, as a justification. He presents it as a palliation. But if it relieves from the necessity of attributing them to pure malignity, it is only to put them to the account of mere wantonness. If a person takes it into his head to poison the wells in a community, it is a poor relief for him to assure us that he did it to set people to thinking. And what less than Heaven-daring mockery is it for one to offer, in extenuation of diffusing soul-poison through the community, that he did it to stimulate mental activity? Is it any excuse for promulging the most pestilent dogmas, and undermining all faith in God and his Son, his Word and his Church—all that is precious to man as an immortal being—that our design is to set him to thinking? Thinking what? Why, in this case, radicalism and anarchy, infidelity and atheism! If good intentions could ever justify the promulgation of heresies not believed to be true—which they never can—such an intention as this is hardly less wicked than the doctrines whose advocacy it is called in to palliate. And if Mr. Brownson thinks such a course ought to "escape any great severity of censure," we fear that his conversion to

Rome has made him more proficient in Jesuitical than Christian casuistry.

The only form in which we can conceive one justified in putting forth discussions designed simply to elicit inquiry, and awaken thought, is that in which the writer not only avows himself a mere inquirer or doubter, but also states the reasons, on either side, which keep his own judgment in equipoise, while he asks from others light which will turn the scales, and decide his mind one way or the other. This is the attitude of a seeker and learner; not of one who assumes, as Mr. Brownson did, to guide the thinking, and mould the views of his readers and hearers. For one who assumes this attitude, and advocates with his utmost ingenuity, sentiments on the most momentous matters, which he does not solemnly believe to be true, no defence can be invented consistent with moral and intellectual integrity. It is a poor solace to be asked by one who has scattered firebrands, arrows, and death, as he confesses, "recklessly," Have I not done it in sport? What is sport to him, is death to his fellow-men.

That, however, on which Mr. Brownson most relies for defence is the last heresy he has espoused, and to which he apparently is entitled to the credit of having adhered for some consecutive years. It is the doctrine of Papal Infallibility; and that in the absence or rejection of the Pope's authoritative guidance there is no infallible and authoritative standard of doctrine, no trustworthy criterion of truth and error, right and wrong. Hence all doctrines are equally true and false, or, at any rate, orthodox and heterodox, among those who repudiate or ignore this supreme guide in matters of faith and practice. Before bowing to this authority, therefore, he was perfectly consistent in allowing the "vile fever of his mind" to course through nearly every vagary of modern times. When he accepted this guidance he was no less consistent in renouncing them all by its authority. This, in fact, constitutes the staple of the book—its cardinal point, which is obtruded upon the reader in nearly every chapter. It is made to serve the twofold purposes, primarily of a plea for Popery, and incidentally, of so far exculpating himself as to give him a decent title to be heard by upright and intelligent persons, in a plea for it or

any thing else.* The following are specimens of what appears throughout the volume, almost *ad aperturam libri.* In refer-

* Here is the creed which he says he published "half in mockery, but at bottom in sober earnest," just before leaving Universalism. P. 93.

"Article I. I believe that every individual in the human family should be honest.

"Art. II. I believe that every one should be kind and benevolent to all.

"Art. III. I believe that every one should use his best endeavours to procure food, clothing, and shelter for himself, and labour to enable all others to procure the same for themselves, to the full extent of his ability.

"Art. IV. I believe every one should cultivate his mental powers, that he may open to himself new sources of enjoyment, and also be enabled to aid his brethren in their attempts to improve the condition of the human race, and increase the sum of human happiness.

"Art. V. I believe that if all mankind act on these principles, they serve God all they can serve him; that he who has this faith, and conforms nearest to what it enjoins, is the most acceptable unto God."

This was published in 1829.

For a while afterwards he was editor of newspapers radical in politics, and atheistic in religion. After a year or two he resumed preaching "on his own hook," as he says. At this time he had "hardly the elements of natural religion." "The only God I recognized was the God in man, the divinity of humanity, one alike with God and with man, which I supposed to be the real meaning of the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation." P. 148. Years later, as Unitarian preacher, he says: "The God I professed to worship was the God in man." He pleads this in exouse of his lofty estimate of himself, in assuming to be the "John the Baptist, the Precursor of the new Messias." P. 172. "I regarded Jesus Christ as divine in the sense in which all men are divine. . . . . As a social reformer, as one devoted to the progress and well-being of man in this world, I thought I might liken myself to him, and call myself by his name. I called myself a *Christian*, not because I took him for my master, not because I believed all he believed or taught, but because, like him, I was labouring to introduce a new order of things, and to promote the happiness of my kind." Pp. 149, 150. We fear that in all this he is but a type of a large class of those who now vaunt themselves as the most advanced Christian thinkers: and still further, in regarding, as he says he did, "the latest thought as the truest and best." P. 222. This is in part explained by the following circumstance. When a Unitarian preacher, he "learned French and a little German, and began the study of the rationalistic literatures of France and Germany, more particularly of France." P. 152. In regard to his attack on marriage, he says: "What was running in my head when I read it, I no longer remember. I did not at that time deny the indissolubility of the marriage contract. My language was construed to mean a denial of marriage, and the assertion of what is called the 'Free Love' system: but I certainly held no such system, if I ever had done so, after my connection with the Fanny Wright school ceased." Pp. 247, 248. Mr. Brownson must count largely on the simplicity of the public, if he supposes he will convince them that they need go from their Bibles to the Pope, to be kept from atheism and libertinism.

ence to his creed, quoted below, his language is: "Do you allege that my creed was unorthodox? What standard of orthodoxy had I as a Protestant? The Bible? The Bible as each one understands it for himself, or as it is interpreted by a divinely commissioned authority? The essence of Protestantism is, in denying all such authority, and in asserting the right of private interpretation. On Protestant principles orthodoxy is *my* doxy, heterodoxy is *your* doxy. For the Protestant, each man's private judgment is the only admissible standard of orthodoxy. Leave me then to follow what seems right in my own eyes, or else go back yourselves to Mother Church; prove to me that your private judgment is more worthy to be followed than mine, before you arraign me as heterodox, because I do not follow it. You differ from me as much as I do from you, and why is it heterodoxy for me to differ from you, any more than it is for you to differ from me?

"My creed, no doubt, was very short, but no Protestant had a right to snub me because it was not longer." Pp. 145, 146.

"She (Fanny Wright) followed out with logical consistency the principle of private judgment in faith and morals, and none who recognize that principle, and deny all infallible teaching, have any right to reproach her." P. 127.

By "all infallible teachings," he means, of course, teaching by living, divinely inspired, authoritative teachers, like the Pope.

"I rejected Presbyterianism because I had no good reason for holding it, and because it could not meet the want I felt of an authoritative teacher. It did not even claim to be infallible, conceded that it might err, and could not give any proof that it had been instituted by Christ and his Apostles, or that its founders acted under a divine commission. These were sufficient reasons for not continuing a Presbyterian, but not for embracing any other particular sect. Where then was I to go?" P. 30.

"All the so-called Protestant Churches were New-Lights, were of yesterday, founded by fallible men, without any warrant from God, without any authority but their private interpretation of Scripture. I cannot accept any one of them as having authority to teach or direct me." P. 28. "If they had

a right to break from her (the Roman Church) and set up their private understanding of Scripture, why have I not the right to break from them, and from the Presbyterian Church, follow my private understanding, and set up a church of my own?" P. 27. "It is God's word, you say, and God cannot lie. But how am I to know that it is God's word, or that there is any God at all, if my reason is totally depraved, and to be discarded as a false light?" P. 34.

Before discussing the main issue here presented, we will advert to his connection with Presbyterianism, to which he alludes in the foregoing extracts. His mind had been unsettled by Universalist and other sceptical influences during his boyhood. He was a stranger to all peace. He became convinced that trusting to his own reason, he should be doomed to endless and intolerable perplexity in regard to religion, which his later experience abundantly confirmed. He came in contact with Presbyterians just on the verge of opening manhood. "They told me to submit my reason to revelation. I will do so. I am incapable of directing myself. I must have a guide. I will hear the church. I will surrender, abnegate my own reason which hitherto has only led me astray, and make myself a member of the church, and do what she commands me." P. 16.

According to Mr. Brownson, he narrated this experience to the Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Ballston, Saratoga county, N. Y., and, at his request, on the same day to the session, and was baptized and received to communion the Sabbath following. He "did not ask whether the Presbyterian Church was the true church or not, for the church question had not yet been fairly raised in his mind, and as it did not differ essentially from the standing order, and claimed to be the true church and was counted respectable, he was satisfied. What it believed was of little consequence, since he had resolved to abnegate his own reason, and take the church for his guide." P. 17.

He further states, that on the Monday following his admission to the church, a meeting of its members was held, at which "we all pledged ourselves, not only to pray for the conversion of sinners, but to mark them wherever we met them, to avoid them, to have no intercourse with them that could be helped,

and never to speak to them, except to admonish them of their sins, or so far as it should be necessary on business. There was to be no interchange of social or neighbourly visits between us and them, and we were to have even business relations with them only when absolutely necessary. We were by our manner to show all not members of the Presbyterian Church, that we regarded them as the enemies of God, and therefore as our enemies; as persons hated by God, and therefore hated by us; and we were even in business relations always to give the preference to church members, and, as far as possible, without sacrificing our own interests, to treat those not members as outcasts from society, as pariahs, and thus by appeals to their business interests, their social feelings, and their desire to stand well in the community, to compel them to join the Presbyterian Church. The meeting was animated by a singular mixture of bigotry, uncharitableness, apparent zeal for God's glory, and a shrewd regard to the interests of this world.

"About the time I speak of, and for several years after, meetings of the sort I speak of, were common in the Presbyterian churches, and a movement was made, in 1827, to induce all the members throughout the Union, to pledge themselves to non-intercourse with the rest of the community, except for their conversion, and to refuse in the common business affairs of life to patronize any one not a member of the church. How far it succeeded I am not informed.

"I saw at once that I had made a mistake, that I had no sympathy with the Presbyterian spirit, and should need a long and severe training to *sour and elongate my visage* sufficiently to enjoy the full confidence of my brethren. Every day's experience proved it. In our covenant we had bound ourselves to watch over one another with fraternal affection. I was not long in discovering that this meant that we were each to be a spy upon the others, and to rebuke, admonish, or report them to the session. My whole life became constrained. I dared not trust myself, in the presence of a church member, to a single spontaneous emotion; *I dared not speak in my natural tone of voice, and if I smiled I expected to be reported.* The system of espionage in some European countries is bad enough, and it is no pleasant reflection that the man you are talking with may

be a *mouchard*, and report your words to the Prefét de Police; but that is nothing to what one must endure as a Presbyterian, unless he has enough of malignity to find an indemnification for being spied in spying others. We were allowed no liberty, and dared enjoy ourselves only by stealth. The most rigid Catholic ascetic never imagined a discipline a thousandth part as rigid as the discipline to which I was subjected. *The slightest deviation was a mortal sin, the slightest forgetfulness was enough to send me to hell.* I must not talk with sinners; I must take no pleasure in social intercourse with persons, however moral, amiable, well-bred or worthy, if not members of the church; I was forbidden to read books written by others than Presbyterians, and commanded never to inquire into my belief as a Presbyterian, or to reason on it, or about it."

He finally undertook to study for the ministry; but it would not do: "I had joined the church because I despaired of myself, and because despairing of reason, I had wished to submit to authority. If the Presbyterian Church had satisfied me that she had authority, was authorized by Almighty God to teach and direct me, I could have continued to submit; but while she exercised the most rigid authority over me, she disclaimed all authority to teach me, and remitted me to the Scriptures and private judgment. 'We do not ask you to take this as your creed,' said my pastor, on giving me a copy of the Presbyterian Confession of Faith; 'we do not give you this as a summary of the doctrines you must hold, but as an excellent summary of the doctrines which we believe the Scriptures to teach. What you are to believe is the Bible. You must take the Bible as your creed, and read it with a prayerful mind, begging the Holy Ghost to enable you to understand it aright.' But while the church refused to take the responsibility of telling me what doctrines I must believe, while she sent me to the Bible and private judgment, she yet claimed authority to condemn and excommunicate me as a heretic, if I departed from the standard of doctrine contained in her Confession. This I regarded as unfair treatment." Pp. 20–24.

He accordingly renounced Presbyterianism for Rationalism, and became a Universalist preacher. This was his first great change—from Supernaturalism to Rationalism—though, as he

says, "not so much a change as the commencement of his intellectual life;" for he was only twenty-one years old.

We have quoted at this length, because we wish to let Mr. Brownson plead his own defence of his original apostacy from truth and righteousness, which precipitated him down those abysmal depths of error, depicted in this volume, till in the lowest deep, fearing a lower still, he submitted the reason which had served him so poorly, to the guidance of the Roman Pontiff. The foregoing is a sample of the style in which he speaks of Presbyterianism and Calvinism, whenever he has a chance to caricature and vilify them. None hate like apostates. The only consistent feature of Mr. Brownson's intellectual life, that we can detect, is his envenomed hate of the "sect everywhere spoken against" by rationalizing and ritualizing religionists of every grade, and by every sort of sceptics, from Theodore Parker to Orestes A. Brownson; and all the more so, because they feel its power for truth and holiness—a power which even its bitterest foes, like David Hume, have been constrained to confess.

The only charitable explanation of Mr. Brownson's offering to the public the foregoing feeble echo of the vulgar slang of infidel and Romish *penny-a-liners*, as a veritable history of his experience of Presbyterianism, is, that he had probably forgotten, or retained only a hazy remembrance of what transpired before "the commencement of his intellectual life." Instead of recollecting what then occurred, the scoffs and jeers to which he had been accustomed, as editor of Infidel and Romish periodicals, had probably become the only garb in which it was possible for him to see Presbyterianism, whether viewed theoretically or historically. It is indeed barely possible, that he fell in with some company of fanatics, for the time calling themselves Presbyterians, whose crudities and ultraisms may have gone far enough to suggest such calumnious fabrications. Central and Western New York have at times abounded in abnormal misgrowths, the hybrid product of plans of union between Presbyterianism and Congregationalism, especially when the fusion took its character from the white-heat fanaticism of the Littlejohns, Finneys, and Burchards, who for a time there bore disastrous sway. Mr. Brownson's experience,

however, belongs to an earlier period. But wherever or whenever it occurred, if it approached the portrait Mr. Brownson has given of it, it was a thousand-fold more exceptional than the class of Romanists, whose children are so trained, according to Mr. Brownson, as "to become recruits to our vicious population, our rowdies, and our criminals." P. 421. This every one knows, who knows anything about the great body of the Presbyterian people of the United States. Who does not know that the espionage, the moroseness, the austerity, the exclusiveness as to society, business, and reading, pretended by Mr. Brownson, are a pure fiction, and, in the most extreme case supposable, must have been at least a gross exaggeration? Does Mr. Brownson expect to influence intelligent and candid minds, by insinuating that Presbyterians report a smile to their ecclesiastical authorities, or regard the least slip as a "mortal sin"? And is it not a little amusing for those who forbid the reading of any non-papal books, even the word of God itself, to the common people, to insinuate it as matter of complaint, that Presbyterians forbid, what every one knows they do not, the reading of other than Presbyterian books, for monks and their confederates to charge us with being greater ascetics than themselves, or with being ascetics at all? Or do the abettors of cowls, and cassocks, and inquisitorial dungeons, think to add spice to their calumnies, by talking of "sour and elongated visages," hurling, with Mr. Ellis and their Unitarian collaborators, the dead echo of Mr. Ward Beecher's "vinegar-faced evangelicals"?

This weak tirade, put in the form of a narrative of personal experience, for the obvious purpose of enlisting the sympathies of looser sects and free-thinking cliques, by catering to their prejudices, and of creating the impression that Romanism, in its more odious features, is outdone by Presbyterianism, will deceive no one. It will hurt only the author, in its rebound upon his character for trustworthy narration. It is not uncommon for men of mischief to destroy themselves by overdoing in their efforts to destroy others. It is quite clear that Mr. Brownson has not got over the infirmity which he confesses he formerly had, a propensity to crude and rash opinions recklessly expressed.

There are things of a different sort in this account of his Presbyterian experience, which furnish internal evidence that he was drawing more upon his imagination than his memory. Who believes that any Presbyterian session would admit a person to the communion on the bare statement, that he had lost confidence in the sufficiency of reason, and therefore wanted an infallible guide? This is the sum of what Mr. Brownson assures us he announced to the pastor and session of the Ballston church. It is hardly to be believed that any Presbyterian session opened the door of communion to any one who did not with apparent intelligence and sincerity profess faith in and obedience to the Lord Jesus Christ, of which Mr. Brownson soon gave deplorable evidence, whatever his professions, that he was destitute.

He further tells us that his pastor agreed with him that the Article in the Confession, on fore-ordination, was harsh; and informed him that he had moved in the General Assembly to have it modified, in which he failed by only two or three votes. The possibility of any such vote in the General Assembly in favour of any material modification of that article in any stage of its history, seems to us extremely questionable. The New-school innovators in their palmiest days never attempted this, however any of them may have promulged speculative dogmas subversive of it.

Mr. Brownson's main object, however, is to make out that Presbyterianism imposes a worse bondage than Romanism, not only in relation to life and manners, but in regard to reason and faith. He claims that it has all the disadvantages without any of the advantages of the Romish system. It does not claim infallibility, or that its tenets should be believed merely upon its own authority. It asserts the infallibility of God speaking in his word: and that the evidence for all articles of faith is found in that word: that they are to be believed upon God's authority, manifested in his word, and not on the authority of any uninspired church, prelate, or pontiff: therefore that true faith receives them not because they are found in the Confession, but because, though stated in the Confession and proved therein from the word of God, they are first affirmed in the Scriptures. Therefore we receive them not

upon the testimony of man, but of God, not as the word of man, but as the word of God. And without assuming to be infallible, we have that confidence that these are the doctrines of God, that we are ready to stake our eternity upon them; and to take the responsibility of refusing to admit to communion, or call by the Christian name, those who deny the most essential of them. In regard to these—all which have immediately to do with our enjoyment of the favour of God—we have the sure word of prophecy; sure not only in itself, but in our apprehension and belief of it. The promise is sure to all the seed. We know in whom we have believed, and that he is able to keep that which we commit unto him. We know the things that are freely given us of God. We know and are persuaded that nothing shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. We know too that he that believeth not this gospel shall be damned; that if any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, he is anathema maranatha; that without holiness no man shall see the Lord. We know that whosoever confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is not of God: that if any man be in Christ Jesus, he is a new creature: and that if any man have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of his. We know this and much more, even all the integral elements of our religion, not because the Pope says so, but because, thus saith the Lord in his word. Yet, while we know this, we are not inspired messengers of new truth not revealed in God's written word. We know it through eyes cleared of the film of sinful prejudice and blindness, and beholding it set forth in the sure testimonies of God. Nor do we assume to be infallible expositors of every part of the word of God, relative to minor and less essential matters. Much less do we assume the divine prerogative of lording it over men's faith, or of being invested with authority to command or enforce belief of any doctrines, by any pains and penalties beyond disowning as Christians those who disown the essential truths, or renounce the practice which constitutes Christianity. We call no man master, and are no man's masters. But we do claim to know and set forth what God himself has declared essential to salvation, not to believe and obey which ensures perdition. As the word of God has a radiance of divinity

and in-evidence of inspiration, which binds all to whom it comes, to believe it on pain of eternal damnation, so we hesitate not to proclaim its cardinal requirements, as requirements of God, indubitably declared in his word, and necessary to be believed in order to salvation. Yet we teach that these things are to be believed, not upon our authority, or because we say them, but upon the authority of God, and because he says them; and therefore that the believer must ground his faith, not upon any human creed or articles of man's composing, but upon the word of God; consequently that he must look to the Bible as his ultimate creed, which gives to any human creed, or teaching, whatever authority it possesses; in short, he must found his faith not on any mere human word, but on God's word, and search the Scriptures whether these things be so, that his faith may stand not in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God. How then is occasion given for Mr. Brownson's great objection to the Protestant system? Does it not offer infallible authority for the faith it propounds, even the undisputed word of God, which the Roman Church concedes is such, and boasts of having kept entire and intact? And if it calls upon men to behold in this word the testimony of God to the truth it propounds, instead of taking it upon any mere human testimony, is this any hardship? If we grant the infallibility of the Pope, is it any easier to examine his rescripts, bulls, and mandates, than the declarations of God as recorded by the holy prophets, evangelists, and apostles? Must we employ our reason in judging of the meaning of the Scriptures? And must it not also be employed in judging of the meaning of a Papal dogma? Must we abide in one case what our reason discerns to be set forth, and not in the other? Or does the Pope address his decrees to us as irrational beings? What but sheer nonsense or ignorance then is it, for Mr. Brownson to talk, as he over and over again does, of abnegating his own reason in becoming a Presbyterian, while he acted with the highest rationality in becoming a Romanist? In the former case he was called to employ his reason directly in discerning the mind of God as declared in his word. In the latter, he resigned that function of reason to the Pope, but still was under the necessity of using it in discerning the import of

his pronunciamentos. In the one case he yields his reason to what Protestants and Romanists alike concede to be the word of God; in the other, to a person whose inspiration all Protestants deny, and the tokens of which are to those of the inspiration of the Bible, less than the brightness of the glow-worm to that of the sun.

This matter of Papal infallibility is almost the only issue between Protestants and Romanists discussed in the book. And this is hardly so much discussed, as disposed of by flings at the Protestant doctrine, chief among which are the passages already quoted, in which he makes all the monstrous heresies of his life a logical sequence from it. He would plainly have his readers understand, that these are justifiable, so far as the Protestant denial of Papal infallibility is justifiable. Fanny Wright's libertinism is a clear logical sequence, he assures us, from the right of private judgment! Now in regard to all this, the first question is, what is the private judgment asserted by Protestants? It is simply this. 1. Each one must judge for himself that the Bible is the word of God, not of man, upon the evidence it offers to him of being such, not merely upon the testimony of some other man. 2. He must also judge for himself that it teaches certain truths, and enjoins certain duties, not merely because some other man says so, but because he perceives that God utters these things in his own oracles. He may be much assisted by ministers and others, in bringing to his attention the evidences of the inspiration of the Bible, and of its asserting what it does assert rather than its contradictory. But still faith in the Bible as the word of God, and in Christian truth as taught in that word, is nothing else than a *judgment* or belief of the mind, that these things are so, upon the evidence presented, just as belief that the sun is luminous, or a stone is extended, is a judgment of the mind that these things are so, upon the evidence presented.

Now on the supposition that the Pope is inspired, must there not be private judgment to an equal extent? Must there not be a personal judgment upon evidence that he is inspired, and also upon the doctrines he teaches, in view of the evidence thereof? This cannot be gainsaid.

But it may be said, that although up to this point there may

be private judgment among Papists, it can go no further. Beyond this the voice of the church speaking through the Pope, silences all private judgment, ends all controversies, and exterminates all sects. Recusants cannot form sects within, they become excommunicates without the pale of the church. But it does not prevent Jesuit and Jansenist, cis-montane and ultra-montane parties, divided by some of the chief issues between Protestant bodies, and by other things as well. However this may be, while Protestants hold that each one must judge for himself that God teaches the fundamentals of the Christian faith in his word, they do not allow, any of them, that what the church holds *semper, ubique*, can be rejected by any man without moral fault, or without putting him in danger of the judgment. While they assume no lordship over any man's conscience, but leave each to his own responsibility before God, they hesitate not to declare what God has declared; to assert that to be necessary which God has declared necessary to salvation, and which his people have embraced as such in all ages. If any one in the exercise of his private judgment repudiates these capital articles, we take the responsibility of disowning him as a Christian, and excluding him from our communion. And if any one in the exercise of his private judgment, rejects the authority and decrees of the Pope, what more can he do than eject him from the privileges of the church, and declare him an enemy of the cross of Christ? Or will Mr. Brownson plead it as a merit of Romanism before the American public, that it enforces its dogmas by the sword, the stake, the thumb-screw and the dungeon? He dare not do it, if he would—we hope he would not, if he dared.

Moreover, it is doubtful, if, at this moment, the diversities among the evangelical bodies as to what they insist upon are the fundamentals of Christian doctrine and practice, we mean the articles of our common salvation, *stantis vel cadentis ecclesiæ*, as taught in the Bible—are greater than they are among Romanists, as to what upon the same points is taught by the Pope. It is certain that the old Jansenist and Jesuit controversy embraces the most materials of these questions, to say nothing more.

But a deeper question emerges here. What is the church?

And what are the notes or criteria by which it is known? These are hinge-questions, upon which Mr. Brownson observes a prudent reticency, unless he can incidentally touch some shallow prejudice. We agree that, while every man must judge for himself of every doctrine, whether it be of God, yet there is one faith of God's elect, and the mind of every real Christian is infallibly guided into that faith, as to the substance of it, by the Spirit of God. He has an unction from the Holy One whereby he knoweth all things, i. e. he is enabled to see and receive all essential "things pertaining to life and godliness" set forth in the word of God. If he deviates radically from this faith of the true church, the people of God, his judgment is neither more nor less his own private or personal judgment, than if he adopts it. But it is evidence that he is not guided by the Spirit of God. It betrays a wrong moral state. We do not hesitate to take the responsibility, as we must give account to God, of denouncing his heresy as anti-Christian, pernicious and fatal, and of excluding him from church privileges accordingly. Does Mr. Brownson deem civil and physical pains and penalties desirable also? If so, let him say so. The church, whose faith we recognize, is the congregation of faithful men of every age and nation who profess and practise the true religion. To renounce the faith of this church, we indeed denounce as fatal. If it be asked, how *this* church is known, we answer by those scriptural tests, doctrine and fruits. We are commanded not to receive those who come and bring not this doctrine; to try by a doctrinal test the spirits whether they be of God; and those are commended who try them which say they are apostles and are not, and find them liars. And if any have the clothing of sheep in this respect, but are really wolves, we are required to know them by their fruits. For in vain is it to cry Lord, Lord, and not do the things which he saith. If it be asked again, how we know what is the true doctrine, and practice which distinguishes the true people of God; we answer again from the word of God. By this we know that we know Christ, because we keep his commandments. He that heareth and doeth these hath builded on a rock. All else is builded on the sand. Says John, "he

that is of God heareth us. He that is not of God heareth not us." His people are those who have his word dwelling in them.

Such are the infallible criteria of that church, which cannot err in things essential to salvation. For they are the church of the redeemed and sanctified in Christ Jesus. And now, what better marks can Mr. Brownson furnish us of an infallible church, or Pontiff? He has not declared. He is either ignorant of, or ignores the hinge-questions—the difficulties of his system. This is, at least, remarkable. So far as the main object of his book is concerned—vindicating the claims of Popery, and his own final adhesion to it, this subject of an infallible guide, in the person of the Pope, is the only one seriously handled. All else is subordinate and ancillary to this, the Alpha and Omega of the volume. He charges Episcopalians—regarded by him as the least anti-Romish of Protestants—with deriving their church from the doctrine, and not their doctrine from the church:* i. e. of attempting to sustain their church by showing the conformity of its doctrine and order to Scripture, instead of proving the divine origin and authority of the Scriptures by the testimony of the church. This he conceives to be the radical vice of Protestantism. Now if the only evidence binding on the conscience, of the inspiration and infallibility of the Scriptures, be the testimony of the church through the voice of the Pope, the question is, how do we know what is the church, the true church, whose earthly head is the inspired vicegerent and apostle of God? What are the marks shown by the church and Pope of Rome which are more evident proofs of divinity than those offered by the Holy Scriptures?

Mr. Brownson tells us how he was led to the doctrine of Papal infallibility. But he hardly pretends that one in a thousand is led to Popery by this route. He only claims that it may be of use to modern Pantheistic speculatists and sceptics. He does not pretend that it has any recognized place in Romish theology. He informs us that the archbishop of Boston hesitated some time before he could receive one whose faith was founded on such a basis, and did not open the door of the church to him, until he placed himself more definitely upon Romish ground.

* P. 193.

Much of what he says is in the nature of a plea addressed to his fellow Papists to suffer the use of his new method which brought him to the feet of the Boston prelate, as likely to be effective with persons imbued with the sceptical philosophy of our times. It is in brief as follows.

Tiring of the various forms of Socialism and Agrarianism, of Owen, Wright, Constant, Godwin, the St. Simonians, &c., as instruments of human progress, he fell in with Cousin's writings. Charmed with his Eclecticism in Philosophy, he at once caught the idea that it might be applied with equal success to the problems of Religion and Sociology. The principle of this Eclecticism is, that all systems are true in what they assert, false only in what they deny. He was not long, however, in discovering the pantheistic contradiction in Cousin's scheme, which, by making reason impersonal, and as it appears in individual man, a mere manifestation of the universal impersonal reason, confounds man and God. As it presents to man no object above himself, it furnishes no excitant, or support of human progress. So Mr. Brownson very justly reasoned. The works of Pierre Leroux, a French philosopher and politician next fell in his way. His *Refutation de l'Ecleticisme* had a "marvellous effect in revolutionizing his philosophical views, or rather of emancipating him from his subjection to the Eclectic school of Cousin and Jouffroy." His principle was, that as thought is the synthesis of two factors, the subject and the object, and both are given simultaneously in the same act of thought, one is just as certain as the other. Every act of intelligence supposes not only an intelligent subject, but an intelligible object. His just deduction from this obvious axiom, the denial of which has made so many of our modern philosophers who say they are wise, fools, was, that man, can only advance himself by communion with objects or persons exterior and superior to himself. Thus far he moves with a strong gait. But now he trips, as continental philosophers are so prone to do. "He (man) communes with nature through property, with his fellowmen through family and the state, with God through humanity." Here he still cleaves to the dust. Seeming to erect man above himself, to God, he yet gives him no higher object than his humanity to commune with. How shall this lift him above

humanity to God? is the question which Mr. Brownson very soon and justly raised. He soon worked up a theory of Providential men, whom God receives into communion with himself. These are uplifted above their fellows. The race by commencing with these, communes directly with their superior, and, through this medium, indirectly with God, and so has the means of advancement.* Elaborating this theory still further, he reaches the idea of some person raised to a super-eminent participation of God, so that he thus acquires a divine-human life, and becomes a source thereof to others who communicate with him, and through them to as many indefinitely of every age and nation, as communicate with them, or with others deriving this theanthropic life from them. He was from this time onward, likewise clearing himself of that subjectivism which is the poison-root of modern philosophic aberration, from Kant downwards—which bewildered even Leroux—that the qualities of the object are determined by the thought of the subject or mind thinking; that, aside from this thought, they exist as mere potentialities; mind and matter, God and nature are mere virtualities, except as our thought gives them formal and concrete existence; whereas the truth is, that the object determines the thought of the subject; it is because a stone is hard, the sun luminous, God is holy, that we discern them to be so. "A thing does not exist (says Mr. Brownson) because we think it, but we think it because it is intelligibly—actively—present to our intelligence, or intellectual faculty."

"Suppose the man Christ Jesus, for man he was according to the most orthodox teaching, was taken up, miraculously, if you will, into a supernatural communion with God, so that God, as in the case of every providential man, became his object in a supernatural sense; then, since life partakes alike of object and subject, and is the union or identification of the two, his life must be strictly a divine-human life, and he in the life he lives truly God-man, as the Christian world has always believed. Is not here the Incarnation, the actualization of the divine in the human? And as it is evidently a miraculous com-

* It will be no news to those who were readers of his Review, that "he placed, as yet, our Lord in the category of great men, along with Abraham, Moses, Zoroaster, Confucius, Socrates, Plato," &c. P. 320.

munion of the human with the divine, is not this the Miraculous Conception and birth of our Lord?

"As the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself. The Son by his supernatural or miraculous communion with the Father, lives a divine-human life; so the Apostles and Disciples, by communion with the Son, lived the same life, and through him became one in life with the Father and with one another, and were elevated above their natural life, and set forward in the career of progress. Here, I said, is the Christian doctrine of Holy Communion, or Eucharistia." Pp. 330, 331.

This is so exactly the common method of Transcendental Ritualism, whether it leads to Mercersburg, Oxford, or Rome, that it is hardly to be supposed that the author was indebted exclusively to his own invention for every part of it, not derived from Leroux. It has long been common property to several classes of ritualists. Mr. Brownson says, "it brought me to the recognition of those great principles, which, taken in connection with the unquestioned historical facts in the case, required me either to renounce my reason, or go further and accept the church and her doctrines, in her own sense, not merely in the sense in which I had asserted them in my philosophy. But this I was not at once prepared to do; and for the first time in my life I refused to follow out my principles, so long as I held them, and to accept their last consequences." P. 355. The causes of this reluctance to follow his convictions were natural; such is the low estimate he had always put upon the Romish church and hierarchy, the severing of social ties, the condemnation of Protestants, whom he had been wont to regard as comprising the great body of intelligent, moral and religious people. He soon, however, came to see that the ultimate end of Christianity is not the improvement of man's worldly estate, but his deliverance from eternal death, and preparation for celestial bliss and glory. Worldly amelioration results incidentally from it, but is not its main object. His own salvation was at stake. All speculating and scheming on the subject soon gave way to urgent anxiety for his own salvation. His reasonings took this earnest practical form. "There needs no church or priest to tell me that I am not living that

life, (the life of Christ,) and that if I die as I am, I shall assuredly go to hell. Now as I have no wish to go to hell, something must be done, and done without delay. . . . There is then but one rational course for me to take, that of going to the church, *and begging her to take charge of me, and do with me, what she judges proper.* As the Roman Catholic church is clearly the church of history, the only church that can have the slightest historical claim to be regarded as the body of Christ, it is to her I must go, and her teachings, as given through her pastors, that I must accept as authoritative for natural reason. It was, no doubt, unpleasant to take such a step, but to be eternally damned would, after all, be a great deal unpleasanter." Pp. 371, 372.

He accordingly announced his wish to Bishop Fenwick of Boston, who committed him to his coadjutor and successor, Bishop Fitzpatrick, for counsel and instruction. The latter received him with civility, but with distrust, in view of his past career. It was soon apparent that there was some impediment to perfect frankness in their mutual intercourse. The Bishop had no confidence in his divine-human-life theory, and did not regard it as a solid foundation for faith. Yet Mr. Brownson was unwilling to give it up, first, because he flattered himself that he had discovered a valuable addition to the resources of Romish polemics, and next, because, if he rejected or waived it, he had no ground for regarding the church as authoritative for natural reason, or for recognizing any authority in the Bishop himself to teach him. He had made up his mind to be a Catholic, and yet was afraid to state his reasons for becoming one, lest the Bishop should deprive him of it, and "send him back into the world utterly naked and desolate!" He was however at length relieved from this painful dilemma, by finding another method by which, even waiving the one he had thus far followed, he could "arrive at the authority of the church, and prove, even in a clearer and more direct manner, her divine commission to teach all men and nations in all things pertaining to eternal salvation." "So in point of fact, says he, I was not received into the church, on the strength of the philosophical doctrine I had embraced, but on the strength of another and *perhaps* a more convincing process. *It is not*

necessary to develope this course here, for it is the ordinary process adopted by Catholic theologians, and may be found drawn out at length in almost every modern course of theology." Pp. 376, 377.

All the light we can find here then, as to the marks of the infallible church and pontiff, are such as the Romanists themselves repudiate in common with Protestants, such as never would have availed to gain Mr. Brownson himself access to her communion; a mere philosophical speculation which never did and never can lead one in ten thousand a step towards any church, Latin, Greek, Armenian, or Protestant. He still commends his pet theory to the attention of Romish controversialists, as worth more than they suppose, in combating the scepticism of the age; and he is now so far imbued with it, as to hold that "even if man had not sinned, there would still have been sufficient reason for the Incarnation, to raise human nature to union with God, *to make it the nature of God*, and to enable us through its elevation, to enjoy endless beatitude in heaven." P. 395.

We think the Romish prelates show their wisdom in discarding or ignoring this theanthropic theory. Perhaps Mr. Brownson, as he writes more especially for the sceptical speculatists of the age, and in self-explanation, has done the best thing he could in advancing it. He has certainly shown his polemical tact in keeping back the real argument on which Papists rely in support of Papal infallibility and authority. He well argues with his Papal friends, that the objections to this doctrine in the "non-catholic" mind, lie beyond the reach of their ordinary methods. Their argument in this behalf is transparently vicious. They prove the Scriptures to be from God by the testimony of the church. But how do they prove theirs to be the true infallible and authoritative church? By the Scriptures, so far as they prove it at all. Whence did Mr. Brownson, for example, obtain proof, after waiving his divine-human theory, that the church is "commissioned to teach all men and nations?" Whence but from the commission given by our Lord, and recorded in the gospels? Here is the vicious circle so often exposed by the Reformed theologians to the discomfiture of their adversaries. These prove the Scriptures by the

church, and the church by the Scriptures; i. e. they prove their premise by the conclusion they derive from it. There is no escape from this, unless they make the word of God the first and chief source of authority in divine things, and from that derive the doctrines, functions, prerogatives, and criteria, of the church. But this brings in upon them the dreaded necessity of private judgment as to what the Scriptures teach, before we reach the infallibility and authority of the church. Still, if they assert, as they do, that the church in the person of the Pontiff, is the prime repository of infallible knowledge and authority, by which the inspiration of the Scriptures is proved; then, in answer to the question, how do we know which is the true church, and that it has these prerogatives? they must refer us to the Scriptures. This, on their own showing, is the Book of God, and a true church must conform to the criteria there given. Nor is there any other possible authority to which they can refer us, for the notes of the church, or for evidence that they have any better claim to be regarded as such, than the Mormons. Try as they will, they cannot break this vicious circle, and they must fail, as was most fully shown in the numberless futile though ingenious devices to parry the resistless arguments of the Reformers *de circulo Pontificio*. The most plausible of these answers that we have noticed, is that of Cardinal Richelieu. He says that faith in the church does not necessarily depend on the Scriptures, because the church was known to the faithful before the first books of the Old Testament were written, and to the primitive Christians before the New Testament was written. There are certain marks by which natural reason may recognize it, without scriptural testimony, such as antiquity, perpetuity, visibility. From these the church may be known, and being so known, may be our authority for believing the Scriptures. Thus he contends the vicious circle is avoided.*

* "Ecclesiæ cognitio non pendet necessario a Scriptura, potest enim Ecclesia cognosci sine Scriptura, quod patet ex eo quod a fidelibus agnita sit a creatione usque ad Mosem qui primus verbum Dei scriptis consignavit, et a primis Christianis antequam Apostoli eorumque discipuli Evangelium et libros N. T. conscripsissent, ita cum cognitio Ecclesiæ non pendeat necessario a scriptura, quamvis infallibiliter Scriptura cognosci non posset nisi ex Ecclesia, non incurritur in circulum vitiosum qui idem per seipsum probat." Quoted by Turrettin, in his *Disputatio Theologica de Circulo Pontificio.*

But the obvious fallacy here is, that not every thing ancient, perpetual, visible, is the church: and if we should grant that these are criteria thereof, how do and whence do we know them to be so? How do we know indeed, that there is a church at all, and what are its marks and properties, except from the word of God? That word may be delivered by oral messengers, as to the patriarchs, and as regards the New Testament, to the primitive Christians, or communicated in written books, as to us; but it is none the less the word of God that gives proof of the church, and indicates its distinctive and essential qualities. Nor can there be any genuine faith which is not founded immediately on the word of God. For "faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God." Moreover the church is "built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ being the chief corner-stone." Besides, the vital characteristics of the church are holiness, truth, vital union and obedience to Christ in its members. Without these, mere antiquity, perpetuity, visibility, are nothing. Now all these attributes, the former and the latter combined, characterize not any one visible organization, as such, in all its parts and members; they are found only in the communion of saints of all generations, the true Israel, not merely those who are of Israel. This is the real body of Christ, whose life is in all its members, destined to be without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, and against which the gates of hell shall not prevail. By no possibility, whatever church-theory we may hold, can the church be proved or known but by the Scriptures. The Cardinal has not succeeded in breaking the vicious Pontifical circle. None of their so-called "motives to credibility" or belief in the church, are of any weight, except such as are derived from that infallible standard, which suffices to make the man of God "perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." As the Scripture therefore is necessary to prove the church, it cannot depend on the testimony of the church for proof of its own divinity: except so far as the fruits of righteousness it produces, serve for an indirect *a posteriori* confirmation. To cut this matter short; which emits clearest and most indisputable radiance of divinity, the most conclusive evidence thereof to every mind in contact with it, the Holy Scriptures, or the

Romish church and hierarchy? Mr. Brownson's reticence here is among the shrewdest things in his book.

Passing, however, this grand question, all the material points of which he so coolly shies, and conceding his doctrine of Papal infallibility, we conceive that his pretence that the right of private judgment excuses or palliates the long series of foul and impious theories which he broached, is altogether discreditable to him—scarcely less so than these heresies themselves. Really, is it not mocking the good sense of serious and intelligent readers, to pretend that the want of an infallible interpreter of the Scriptures justifies sensism, materialism, agrarianism, libertinism, atheism? Is an educated man in this Christian land morally justified in denying that two and two make four, that we have immaterial souls, that there is a God, that we are accountable to him, that truth, justice, kindness, chastity, are obligatory, that civil society, marriage, the rights of property, are salutary institutions, because no Pope tells him so? Papists will hardly say this. Mr. Brownson counts largely on the credulity or stolidity of his readers, if he supposes that he harms Protestantism as much as himself by such allegations.

It is a noteworthy circumstance that in renouncing the tenets, he speaks kindly of the character, purpose, and spirit, of nearly all the leaders, projectors, and promoters of the various infidel, agrarian, and other schemes, with which he was successively identified—always excepting Presbyterians, Calvinists, and Evangelicals. These he rarely fails, first to misrepresent, and then to vilify. This is due in part to his rash and reckless habit of making his opinions and statements obey the impulse of his feelings, and in part to his complete ignorance of the subject. In his alliance with Owen, Wright, Ballou, *et id genus omne*, he was familiar with the leaders and the great works which displayed the character of the persons and parties implicated. And he has the double motive to soften their enormities, of mitigating the public condemnation of his complicity with them, and of rendering Calvinism odious by unfavourable contrast with things confessedly hateful. But it does not appear that he has ever been acquainted with any recognized leaders or standard theologians of Calvinistic or other evangelical churches, or that since the "beginning of his

intellectual life," he has known anything whatever about them. He repeatedly speaks of Calvinism, and indeed, all Protestants, as denying, in opposition to Romanism, that gracious habits are infused into the soul.* He says that Calvinism, indeed all evangelicalism, had taught him that nature and grace, reason and revelation, could be held only "as mutually repugnant to each other."† "Christian marriage proceeds on the assumption that man, *with the grace of God*, is free to love and can love, and faithfully perform, if he chooses, all that is implied in the marriage contract. But Calvinism and infidelity alike denying free-will in fact, even when they do not in name, are obliged to reject marriage in the Christian sense, and to be consistent must assert what is called Free Love." P. 131. This amounts to saying that, according to the Romish system, men can love what they ought to love, by the aid of divine grace, that according to Calvinism they cannot so love, with such assistance, and that hence Calvinism leads, like infidelity, to Free Love. Until we can prove that grace cannot do for a Calvinist what it can for a Papist, what decent pretext has he for uttering a calumny which all history contradicts? But why should we waste our time in tedious exposure of one so ready to "speak evil of the things he understands not?"

His boasting that he enjoys greater mental freedom under the Papal yoke than ever before, while he so long luxuriated in the utmost licentiousness of thinking, is not so absurd as it might appear. Despotism is often more comfortable than lawlessness, and he seems utterly incapable of conceiving, as respects opinion, any medium between the two. This fallacy runs through and vitiates the entire work.

Not the least amusing part of the volume is the closing chapter, in which he attempts to explain and apologize for the tyranny, degradation, and abasement, which have turned nearly all Papal countries, and especially the temporal dominions of the Pope, into the region and shadow of death; which render the body of Papists even in free Protestant countries, an isolated, degraded, and almost servile caste, and must ever furnish Protestants an irrefragable argument against Popery. The

* See inter alia, p. 293. † P. 295.

tree is known by its fruit. Whoever wishes to see an ingenious, yet, from the difficulties of the case, desperate piece of special pleading, may consult the chapter in question. Whether the hierarchy will accept his apologies for their alliance with despots in suppression of civil and religious liberty, remains to be seen. But he is resolved to defend them, as he was to find reasons for entering the church, when he feared Bishop Fitzpatrick would deprive him of the only one he had. In these as in other cases, where there is a will there is a way, *Stat pro ratione voluntas.*

We take pleasure in adding that there are passages of great power and truthfulness in the volume, which we should be glad to quote, if we had room. In rising from sensism, materialism, and atheism to Romanism with all its errors, there is of necessity a process of sloughing off many heresies, and emerging into the light of many precious truths. His reasonings on some of these points, are luminous, compact, and forcible. The argument by which he proves that Universalism logically ends in obliterating all "objective distinction between virtue and vice;" his analysis of the pantheism of Cousin, and refutation of the psychology and philosophy of all those forms of modern transcendental idealism, which destroy objective truth and being; his account of Dr. Channing and the Boston Unitarians; his portraiture of *novi homines* suddenly become rich, and of the debasing effect of their coarse and flashy extravagance on themselves, their families and society, altogether with many other touches of his strong and graphic pen upon various persons and things, give an incidental interest to the book, which, as to its main object—the exposition and vindication of himself and his faith—is a failure, not for lack of ability in the author, but from the stubborn character of his subject. He has proved indeed, that we need an infallible guide. But he has not proved that guide to be the Roman Pontiff, in place of the Word of God.

Art. VI.—*Histoire D'Espagne depuis les premiers temps historiques jusqu'à la mort de Ferdinand VII. Par M.* Rosseeuw St. Hilaire, *Professeur à la Faculté des lettres de Paris, Membre correspondant de l'Académie de Madrid.* Nouvelle Edition revue et corrigée. Tome septième Paris. Furne & C^ie^. 1856.

In this volume M. St. Hilaire has reached the crowning interest of his theme. Taking up the narrative at the year 1521, he conducts it through all the more stirring events that intervened until 1552, during which period he finds it expanding into almost a history of Europe, together with the romantic adventures of those who conquered Mexico and Peru. At the opening of the volume, the grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella is found firmly seated on the throne of Spain as Charles I., and on that of the German empire as Charles V., and at its close the career of that man of remarkable fortune is drawing near its no less remarkable goal. It is the period of the Reformation, commencing with the Diet of Worms, and ending with the Peace of Passau and the victory of Protestantism.

The opinions entertained by the author are decidedly Protestant, moderate and statesmanlike. He has won for himself a position among the first historical writers of the age; his manner of handling a theme of great breadth and difficulty is that of a master, and speaks a mind richly furnished with historical lore, of admirable facility in detecting historical cause and effect, and refined and moderated by a pervading reverence for gospel faith. Without any of the theatrical airs of Michelet, Lamartine, or Thiers, he wields a rich and masculine style, an eminently graphic power of narrative, and in his grouping of events is just, clear and effective.

A good translation of the whole work could scarcely fail to be received with favour by an English public, but especially would the present volume arrest attention from the ability with which it is written, as well as from the subject of which it treats.

Though a romantic attraction pertains more or less to the whole history of Spain, and there are periods of it when the

national character appears in a nobler light, never did that country wield an influence so extensive and commanding, as during the first half of the sixteenth century. United, for the first time, under one crown, her energies were not yet relaxed by internal security, while providential circumstances conferred upon her monarch a breadth of dominion previously unparalleled in the history of Europe. By his mother, heir of the crown of Spain and Naples; by his father, of the Netherlands and estates of the house of Austria; and by election, emperor of Germany, this Spanish king saw his dominions enlarged by discovery and conquest in the East and West Indies, and on the continents of North and South America to boundaries undefined by the geography of the time.

A remarkable combination of circumstances, apparently fortuitous, had effected this result within less than the ordinary life of one man. When the king of Spain was elected emperor of Germany, only six-and-twenty years had elapsed since the discovery of America and the annexation of Granada, and only sixteen since the conquest of Naples. Castile and Aragon, though united under Ferdinand and Isabella, had become one kingdom only in the accession of Charles, three years before, and the addition of the Netherlands, though nominal somewhat earlier, became actual only in the same event. Indeed, much of that greatness is to be ascribed not to Spain, but to her monarch, and less to his talents than to the singular conjunction of hereditary rights in him. It might with as much propriety be called the full tide of fortune to the house of Austria. For it was a grandson of the emperor Maximilian who was at the head of it; another grandson, after receiving Austria from his brother, added thereto by marriage the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, while one granddaughter became queen of France, another queen and afterwards regent of Portugal, and all of them used their efforts harmoniously to sustain and enlarge the power of their family. Yet it was Spain, not Austria which formed the basis of the structure, and the character of the influence thereby exerted was sovereignly Spanish. The highest honours of those eminent personages were due to their descent from the monarchs who first united Spain.

Ages of internal danger, activity, and heroism had prepared

the people of Spain for such a position. Overpowered by a Mohammedan invasion, when that fanaticism was yet in the fury of its youth, and driven from all but a corner of their country, they had maintained a war of nearly eight hundred years for its recovery. And the age by whom that consummation was effected had not yet passed away. That warfare had been prolonged, not less by dissensions among themselves than by the valour of their enemies. In its earlier periods, the petty states, into which the strip of country, remaining to the Christian inhabitants of the Peninsula, was divided, from jealousy of their respective rights, impeded each other in the enlargement of their dominion, and enfeebled each other's resources by intestine wars. Though victory in the main attended their arms against the Moor, the work of regaining their lands advanced so slowly that at the end of four hundred years the half had not been accomplished. Lessons of toil, of long endurance in hardship, of watchfulness and activity, of romantic sentiment and honour in rivalry with both Gothic and Moorish chivalry, habits of valor and daring enterprise as well as pertinacity of purpose, perpetuated from age to age, wrought effects which ultimately became hereditary. External success attended them according to the degree in which combination went forward among themselves. Yet governments formed in such circumstances were slow in uniting, and slower still in granting an interchange of confidence. Gradually, by intermarriage of royal families chiefly, steps were secured towards that end. On one side, Castile and Leon, and on the other Aragon, absorbed into themselves respectively a variety of inferior independencies. Subsequently, those larger bodies began to combine. First Leon and Castile were united under one monarch, though not yet permanently, nor without a protracted struggle of local jealousies.

One hundred years later the resources of Catalonia were added to those of Aragon; and Portugal was in the meanwhile extending her dominions on the Atlantic coast. Each of those states charged itself with expulsion of the Mohammedans from the territory immediately south of it. On the east, Aragon carried her conquests to the borders of Murcia, where being separated from her enemy by the previous advance of

Castile, her progress in that career was stayed. The long sea coast and valuable harbors of Catalonia and Valencia, now added to her dominion, furnished a new and wider outlet for enterprise; and Aragon became arbiter of the Mediterranean sea. Castile, in the centre of the Peninsula, drove the common enemy from their long honoured seat of empire on the Guadalquiver, and confined them to the narrow limits of Granada, while Portugal not only expelled them from the western borders, but even followed their fugitives into Africa, and retaliated upon them by establishing a Portuguese province on the coast of Morocco. Crowded into the small but fertile district of Granada, the Moors erected a new barrier to the forces of Castile. Art compensated for diminished territory, and a dense and active population could with greater effect defend the narrow bounds, which yet furnished not only the means of comfort, but of wealth. For more than two hundred years was that fragment of their former dominion successfully defended by the Moors against their northern foe. And not until the forces of Castile and Aragon were combined under Ferdinand and Isabella was the conquest complete, and the whole peninsula restored to European possession.

During this protracted process of aggregation and augmenting power, Spanish character was undergoing a similar formation. Energy and self-reliance were engendered in the people by those dangers to which they were continually exposed, and, perhaps not less, a disposition to ferocity. The different states, consisting of bodies of warlike nobles with their followers, of free cities not less tenacious of their rights, and of ecclesiastics, who were also the keenest men of the world, naturally limited their monarchs by a large enumeration of privileges reserved to his principal subjects. Attachment to the forms of Christian worship and to profession of its faith, also became an impassioned prejudice with a people who had so long fought in their defence, who had been accustomed to associate it with their own national existence, and to refer all their great grievances to the infidel. The cause of Christianity, as they knew it, was one with that of Spain. The war for their own rights was bound up with that for the church. Their attachment to their church was doubtless in many cases intelligent, but it was

universally passionate. It was the faith for which their fathers had fought and bled, its symbol had emblazoned their banners, it had been their battle cry, and its enemies had been their enemies for eight hundred years. Consequently to the Spaniard the Church of Rome appeared in a light entirely different from that in which it was elsewhere viewed in the end of the fifteenth century. And if that enthusiasm might have passed away after the conquest of Granada, it was artfully kept alive by directing the tide of popular feeling against the Jews, under cloak of which Rome succeeded in putting in force another agency for maintaining the allegiance of Spain. Beguiled by the plea of purifying the church, and eradicating the infidel and Jew, Spaniards submitted to the establishment among them of the most horrible instrument of despotism. But for the attitude thus occupied by them between the church and the infidel, with whom they classed the Jews, it is not to be accounted for that Spaniards, with their habits of independence, should have suffered the horrible and most offensive despotism of the Inquisition to be set up among them, even at the instance of a much honoured and beloved queen. But they were not in a condition to reason coolly upon the right and wrong within a church, for which they had so long done battle, before the fetters had been fastened upon them.

Thus, at the opening of the sixteenth century, Spaniards disciplined to force of character and self-reliance, were still unable to see the church for which their fathers bled, in any other light than that in which it had appeared to their fathers. Their enterprise victorious at home had begun to look abroad for adventures, while a united government was possessed of the means to second bolder daring and the execution of vaster designs.

In Spain, therefore, the Romish Church found a stronghold and most effective defenders at a time when her very existence was threatened elsewhere.

The German empire, though long shorn of its lands and revenues, was still the highest dignity among princes, the lingering shadow of old imperial Rome; and the reverence with which it was popularly regarded was a bond of union among nations, who otherwise had now but little in common. In the

downfall of the ancient empire of the west, the authority, still deemed resident in Rome, was naturally assumed by the bishop, then the highest dignitary there, as having receded into himself. And when Charlemagne by his own arms had reconstructed a similarly vast domain, the imperial rank was by the bishop of Rome re-transferred to him, as if it had been only held in reserve until the appearance of a prince worthy to bear it. Claiming succession from Charlemagne, subsequent emperors continued to look to the Pope for confirmation of their title. And, thus, both the German empire and the Romish Church inherited the prestige of ancient Rome, and supported themselves by the claim to more or less of her dominion. A long-continued contest between them had built up the Papacy at the expense of the empire. The estates of the latter were exhausted and alienated, and its material force reduced to the most abject feebleness, which the electors were not unwilling to perpetuate, but the grandeur of the title possessed the highest attraction for princes, and a mysterious power with the people. It consequently became an object with those who bore its honours to look to other quarters for the revenues whereby they should be supported. In this effort the house of Austria had been more successful than any of their predecessors or rivals, since the downfall of the Hohenstaufen. Their hereditary estates constituted a foundation, and their art and rapacity indefatigable architects. In this career, Maximilian, the grandfather of Charles V., though in many respects weak and vacillating, had proved himself a worthy son of Hapsburg. But only in the election of Charles, now master of the united kingdom of Spain, did the empire find that adequate support from abroad, which its honour demanded, but which itself could no longer supply.

A century before, the possessions accumulated by the dukes of Burgundy had come to form one of the wealthiest and strongest states on the continent. They consisted chiefly of two large groups, Burgundy and the Netherlands. At the death of Charles the Rash, in 1477, the whole became the inheritance of an only daughter. Maximilian of Austria succeeded in obtaining the hand of the wealthy heiress; but her broad lands of Burgundy were seized by the king of France, and her husband

either lacked the forces or the talent to recover them. The rest of her possessions were at her death transmitted to her son Philip, who, by his marriage with the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, became the father of Charles V. Thus the future emperor, through his grandmother, inherited the sovereignty of the Netherlands and an empty claim to that of Burgundy. From the former he drew a valuable support of his government, while the latter became the cause of long, bloody, and unavailing quarrels with France.

Another fertile source of dissension with that state, was inherited in the recently conquered kingdom of Naples. In 1442, Naples and Sicily had been attached to Aragon under the reign of Alphonso V. At his death that prince exempted the former kingdom from the regular succession by conferring it upon his natural son. His brother and successor, John, king of Navarre, uniting in his own hands the resources of Navarre, Aragon and Sicily, was deterred only by domestic broils from attempting by force to realize also his expectations of Naples. The invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. of France, was a tide that ebbed with as great rapidity as it had flowed, but it laid a foundation for the claims of his successor, which aimed at nothing short of the complete possession of southern Italy. At the same time Ferdinand, as king of Aragon, had not forgotten his father's claim to the crown of Naples, while as king of Sicily he contemplated with anxiety the approach of so powerful a neighbour. The two monarchs, mutually apprehensive, entered into a compromise, which consisted in the partition of the fated kingdom between themselves, to the utter exclusion of the prince then upon the throne, under pleas the most flimsy and hypocritical. This nefarious compact was immediately carried into effect, an army being sent by each of the contracting parties into that portion of the country assigned to him. The occupant of the Neapolitan throne, having no means of successful resistance, surrendered to France and passed the remainder of his days in exile. Scarcely, however, had their respective conquests been achieved, when the two victorious parties came to blows for the possession of the whole. In disregard of attempts to prevent them by negotiations between the absent kings, the two armies on the field prolonged the contest until

by the skill and valour of the illustrious Gonsalvo the Spaniards were made sole masters of the prize. All efforts on the part of France to exact compliance with the treaty of partition or to recover possession by arms were unavailing. In 1506, Ferdinand was received by the Neapolitans, as their hereditary monarch rightfully restored. Subsequently the investiture thereof was granted by the Pope, on the same terms on which it had been held by earlier princes of the Aragonese line: and thus nothing was lacking to the completeness of his regal title. Thus also was another bond formed between the Spanish monarch and the Papacy.

For a thousand years the master of western Europe had been a priest. The authority, at first assumed from necessity and with unfeigned reluctance, had long been wielded with more than the arrogance and cruelty of a secular despot.

When the dissolution of the western empire and the barbarity of its invaders threw the burden of government upon the clergy, as the only class of society competent to its duties, that ecclesiastic, who, from the ancient dignity of his diocese, was respected as their head, became actual monarch of the disorganized countries. During the long period of decline, destruction and multiplied invasions, that sacerdotal rule was a most salutary provision. It saved the lands of ancient civilization from becoming an utter wilderness—the hunting grounds of savages —and taking hold upon the barbarian invaders themselves, it gradually shaped them into the forms, and imbued them with something of the spirit of civil order, and though new migrations of fresh tribes, and new wars of conquest continually interfered with those immature efforts, and though even priestly ideas of government were not at that time very elevated, yet it deserves the praise of keeping alive the most that was kept alive of either right government or true religion. And when, in the person of Charlemagne, a prince appeared of ability to check those migrations, and compel the roving tribes to settle on particular lands, and in occupations which gave them a local propriety, though the ecclesiastical chief conferred upon him the gift of imperial rank, it was still as a superior. Charlemagne held his empire by the right of his own good sword; but his honours and his title and all that gave legitimacy in the eyes of

the men of his time to the authority he wielded, was the gift of the Pope. And when his empire fell apart, in the hands of his feeble successors, that authority reverted with interest to the source from which it came. The great conqueror was found to have acted unawares the part of a pacificator and settler of the hitherto fluctuating population of the west, confirming the ecclesiastical rule, and adding largely to the number of its subjects. A long and calamitous struggle broke the strength of his successors on the imperial throne, and clothed the Papacy in the splendour as well as the actual possession of temporal sovereignty. For more than two hundred years, from Gregory VII. to Boniface VIII., nothing occurred to impair that culmination of power. The Pope was positively king of the kings of Europe.

But the states planted by Charlemagne, and springing out of his empire, were in the meanwhile ripening towards independence. At first disjointed and internally discordant, they gradually assumed an individuality of character, and accumulated public force. By the beginning of the fourteenth century, France had arrived at such a degree of national strength and force of character, that the contest therewith was a losing game on the side of the Papacy. Royalty, during that time fortifying itself in the confidence of the people, secured a large share of that homage, which in earlier times had been almost absorbed by the Church. Power was slowly, but by inevitable process, passing out of the hands of the Papacy into those of the monarchs. The shameful vices of some of the later Popes contributed to the same result. A dominion founded upon the reputation of peculiar sanctity and commission from Heaven, could not fail to be impaired by the profligacy of Alexander VI. and the bloodthirsty ambition of Julius II. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Papal chair, though still honoured as the highest seat of authority, was no longer equal, in its own strength, to a serious strife with any one of the great thrones of the time; and more than one of them had on their own soil braved and defied it. The only course left for the sovereign priest to pursue, was to secure the support of one or two, in any difficulty with another. Austria, by the help of a tenacious hold upon the imperial dignity, had elevated herself to an

equality with nations of the highest consideration; but taking warning by the fate of Swabia, had cultivated the most amicable relations with Rome. France and England were the most dissatisfied with papal rule, and most frequently restive under it. The ties of alliance were consequently drawn the tighter between Rome and the two other great monarchies; and nothing could have occurred more favourable to the apparent interests of the former, than that which took place when the grandson of the Catholic monarch, in the spirit of his predecessor, became master of both, at the same time that his authority, on the one hand, pressed upon the rich but refractory Netherlands, and on the other, in Sicily and Naples, stood guardian over Rome, while prepared to sustain his policy by a numerous navy and the wealth of the Indies.

The emergency in which that support became so necessary was one that arose out of the natural growth of civilization. It is a radical error to conceive of the anti-papal movement of the sixteenth century, as merely a theological reform, springing out of the views of one or two men. It was the great throe of society to slough off the larva of mediæval hybernation. Within that hard and narrow casing the new life had formed for itself a fitting body, which had now reached such a degree of maturity, that what was formerly a protection had become a prison. Escape was indispensable to further development. As the young plant, by the imperceptible force of vegetation, upheaves the earth and overturns masses of rock in its progress to the open air, on which its future growth depends, so the new civilization had reached that point when it had to burst through the soil in which it had taken root, and nothing could obstruct it without crushing out its life. From the fact that theological error was the soul of the despotism, and ecclesiastics were its agents, it was necessary that the decisive blow of the deliverer should first take effect upon the church of that day; but from the same premises it followed as inevitably that if the blow was successful there, a shock must be given to the whole structure. That reformation was one affecting the whole breadth of society. Its tendency was to put an end to the existing relations of priest and people, to turn allegiance from Rome to the princes and governments of the respective countries, and wor-

ship from created things to the Creator; to alter, in short, political and social relations as well as to correct theological doctrines, and it went hand in hand with literary and scientific advancement.

The young intellect of modern Europe had played in scholastic speculation and lays of the Troubadours; and, practised in such gymnastics, it was gradually prepared to undertake works of genuine erudition and of elegant literature. When the capacity to enjoy them was acquired, books of ancient renown were eagerly sought after and rescued from the rubbish of the cloisters. Beautiful Latin was once more cultivated, and the modern tongues grew up to elegant maturity under the example of its productions. Greek was also revived; and with the taste for classical literature came also the revival of art. Logic and mathematics had been restored by the schoolmen; and minute scholarship became a necessity of progress by means of ancient languages. To sustain each other in the arduous labour, scholars formed themselves into associations, and princes earned renown in patronizing them, as well as in making their own courts schools of the liberal arts, while providence, a wise instructor, from time to time, threw in new elements going to sustain, direct and invigorate the movement. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the revival of learning had been in progress nearly two hundred years.

The parties who had hitherto been most forward in the march were Italy, England, and France. But during the 14th and 15th centuries Italy outstripped all competition. Naples, Rome, Florence, Ferrara, and Venice, were the homes of learning and every beautiful art, first alike in study of the ancient and culture of native resources. In England, who opened her literary career about the middle of the 14th century, learning was secondary to native production, and fewer questions were put as to what other times had done than as to what the present should do. France, which had been the stronghold of the scholastics, was slower in rising above the dreary flat of their speculations. The crusade against the Albigenses had been fatal to her Troubadours, and succeeding efforts were drowned in the disastrous wars with England. Thus France came to the opening of the 16th century chiefly a scholastic,

to which remark the metrical chronicles of her language form no exception. England, after the expulsion of her armies from France, fell, during the middle part of the 15th century, into long and dangerous civil wars, which cut off her interest in other nations, and rendered her character more native than it otherwise would have been. She emerged from the strife emancipated from the rule of the Barons, with a single sovereign, and a people who recognized him as their leader, and were not ignorant of the nature of the power that made him such. The growth of intelligence had not been stayed, but it had turned into channels of popular interest rather than of scholarship. Questions of religion were handled in the succeeding generation, with more ability by Englishmen than those of erudition.

To the same series of causes belongs also the growth of the universities, in respect to which, the highest honour was due to France. In those nations also the power of the mediæval nobility, which distributed despotism in arms over the face of the country, was giving way to the royal: that is, to a government centred in a king, at once the master and protector of the people against the injuries of any other power. Henry VII., Louis XI., and Ferdinand and Isabella, were all as zealous and successful leaders against the local lords as an oppressed people would have desired. They were despots themselves; but they crushed a class who were worse, and the condition of their people was improved.

In that work, however, they did not all proceed by the same means, and the ultimate effect upon the great issue of the 16th century was very different accordingly. In Spain the centralization of power was brought about chiefly through affinities of royal families, and in the eyes of the people by accidents which seem to have been regarded as only of temporary effect. Consequently the several states, formerly free and jealous of their rights, seemed to count upon retaining their respective constitutions, and made no adequate provision for a similarly liberal constitution of the central monarchy, which was growing up among them, and soon to comprehend them all in its embrace. While Castilians only thought of securing the constitution of Castile, and Aragonese that of Aragon, the new monarchy

unavoidably grew up to the exercise of prerogatives unchecked by either, and finally to the extinction of both.

In France, the monarchy had grown chiefly by its own cupidity and machinations; and while absorbing the estates of the great lords, it was only to distribute them among its own adherents, who were, no less than their predecessors, separate from the people, though without their weight in government.

At the same epoch, the English monarchy occupied a position hardly less absolute. But that had been reached neither by kingcraft, nor by the shortsightedness of different constituent states. England was one state, with one constitution, which still remained unchanged, and their king had come to his throne from the union of popular parties upon him. The unitedness of that support conferred the power of an autocrat, and for a time the constitution seemed suspended; but it still stood by the throne, ready to strike down the monarch who should presume too far upon its indulgence, and still sustaining the manly heart of the people.

In Italy, though the monarchical principle was in the ascendant there also, no native state was strong enough to give effect to an Italian policy. That which bore the name was only papal. In the north, a subject of contest between her stronger neighbours; in the south, the victim of Spain; and in the centre, agitated by the residence of an anomalous power, continually embroiling itself, and thereby the whole peninsula, with one or another of all the nations of Europe, Italy held but little territory as her own; and that little was divided among hostile states. Then, as now, the disunion of Italy neutralized her native strength, and notwithstanding the liberal bearings of the Italian mind, such had been the constraints and inducements addressed to it, that the practical results of two hundred years of culture were, sufficiently safely for all its masters, summed up in art.

Amid the general growth of intelligence and of liberality, it could not fail to appear that the Church, in its mediæval history, had contracted many and dangerous errors. Though not unattempted at even earlier time, the first effort at reformation of doctrine, which succeeded in working a lasting national effect, was that commenced by Wyckliffe in the latter half of the four-

teenth century. Attempts had been put forth to crush it, as that of the Albigenses; but the protection of a strong hand at home, and the divided state of the Papacy at that time, rendered ecclesiastical punishments not easy to inflict in England. Subsequently, the wars with France and of the Roses, actually sheltered the opinions of the people. No competent authority found leisure or opportunity to scrutinize them. The doctrines of Wyckliffe also went abroad, deeply leavened the west of Scotland, and multiplied converts in Germany and Bohemia.

In the meanwhile, from long impunity, and triumph when assailed, papal corruptions accumulated rather than diminished, and skepticism, under those circumstances, inevitable in many of the priesthood, led to a more barefaced and scandalous practice. Instead of shaping her service to the growing intelligence of the times, the Papacy seemed to obtrude her obsolete superstitions the more shamelessly; so that the very head of the system himself had ceased to regard it in any other light than that of a machinery for procuring wealth, and power, and splendour. When we consider also that Popery was then the religion which addressed itself to every individual of Europe, from the valley of the Theiss to the coasts of Galway, and from the Mediterranean to the Northern Sea, it is obvious, in such a relation between the growing intelligence of the people and the hopeless obstinacy of ecclesiastical authority, backed by such a weight of secular power and fiery prejudice, in certain quarters, that a tremendous convulsion was unavoidable.

The immediate cause of disruption was only the tone of insult which, added to abuse, provokes the blow. The æsthetic growth of Italy had suggested to the Papacy the erection of a palace-temple for the exhibition of its ceremonies, consistent with the taste of the times and its own stupendous ambition. Its revenues were inadequate to the design. To eke them out, the sale of indulgences was pushed to such an extent as to outrage common decency. Long had the people of Europe seen their religion treated, in its highest places, as a myth, and a means of making gain out of their credulity; but now the insult was recklessly thrust upon them, in the most barefaced manner, at their own firesides. A general murmur of disapprobation arose to the north of the Alps; and no sooner was the voice of a

spokesman heard shaping the sentiment in words, than thousands, in his clear, well-defined charges, recognized the impression of their own consciences.

Every new state of genuine progress must spring out of the heart of its predecessor, while the latter is yet in its prime. Luther was but one in a series of great teachers in the church, by whom the doctrines of the Reformation had been successively elicited by earnest study of the Scriptures, the number of whom and of their pupils had been increasing for centuries. Out of that same corrupt church, and by a process coming down from a time when it was not corrupt, must the new church arise. For even that corrupt church is the historical heir, at once of ancient civilization and of the church planted by the disciples of the Lord. It had been moulded to a mediæval form for mediæval purposes, but when mediæval times were passing away, a corresponding change upon the form would have been indispensable even had the spirit remained pure. But the form was now decaying both in becoming obsolete and because the purity of its former life had departed. Yet that pure spirit of Christianity and of civilization had never ceased its work in the earth; but ere the old had begun to depreciate, creating for itself new forms in a renovation of society, it had long proceeded quietly and for the most part unseen, like the ear of corn in the secret of the husk, not even those who were under its influence being aware of its growth or of the extent to which it pervaded society. But when the world awoke to the necessity of reform, the new creation came to view ready equipped for the emergency; and there was no other quarter from which reform could come. The genius of Luther and his indomitable courage would have been nothing in the controversy, but for their proper place in that current of things. It cost many a Bede and Waldo, and Berengarius and Wyckliffe and Huss, to prepare the way for the triumph of Luther. The new life of Christian civilization had come to the birth.

From the same inevitable order of Providence it is plain that the leader of the Reformation could be no other than an ecclesiastic, and one whose position and sympathies associated him with the people. We justly wonder at the apparent inadequacy of means to the end when we contemplate a poor monk

taking the lead in a movement which overturns long existing institutions, resists the power of the proudest monarchs, and goes to change the face of the civilized world; but, the truth is, none save a poor monk was in condition to accomplish such a work. Even Luther could not have been the Luther he was, in any rank which should have removed him further from the sympathies of the people, or from the organization of the church.

In thus remarking of the providential circumstances of his life we would not be understood to insinuate the slightest detraction of the Reformer's intrinsic abilities. Never was man more thoroughly furnished by character and education, and exercises of a spiritual experience for his life's work than Luther. Earnestness pervaded his being; from childhood, life was to him a most solemn reality. In no aspect could he regard it with levity or unconcern. And to whichever of its problems he addressed himself, it was with an instinctive resolution not to let it go until he had mastered it. He certainly did not, as what man ever did, correctly resolve all, but a superficial treatment of any, or contentment with doubt in regard to any, or professed belief in what remained to him doubtful, was an impossibility in his nature. To him, amid the numberless questions transcending human wisdom, faith in the facts of God's creation and providence and the doctrines of his word became a philosophical as well as a spiritual necessity.

Yet his was not the seriousness of a cold and unimpassioned intellect, insensible to the beautiful and affecting. Imagination had favoured Luther with her choicest gifts, and rendered him susceptible in a high degree to the charms of art. Music and poetry were the language of his most precious emotions. But he never dallied with their externals. From a strong and genuine impulse alone did he seek their melodious expression. He created, accordingly, no dainty trifles for the amateur, but rich, warm realities, which have found a response in the souls of tens of thousands of God's people. Germany still owes some of her best hymns, and the Christian world some of its noblest airs, to the genius of the Reformer.

A heart that beat in tenderest sympathy with his fellow-men, together with a clear common sense, gave practical bearing to everything which Luther undertook, shaping his conceptions of

truth into tangible and acceptable forms for the men of his day. That it should have been sometimes rough in its plainness, or violent in denunciation of wrong, was incident to such a direct and energetic mind.

That man of warm, earnest heart, searching intellect, and genial imagination, had a fearful novitiate for his work, in an age filled as that was with obsolete forms, with professions which were recognized as hollow both by those who received and those who made them, when art in its highest splendour, still toiled the slave of superstition, when unbelief with flippant levity assumed the most solemn offices in the Church, and the most solemn truths of revelation were treated with neglect by the majority of those who sought honour in expounding them. Well for him and for the world he was designed so widely to influence, that his youth was spent in the heart of Germany, and that his poverty constrained him to the humblest and most honest society. Well for him that a solemn experience had led him from step to step of Christian knowledge, that a distressing and protracted inquiry had conducted him from truth to truth, and that the providence of God had supplied him from time to time with books, situations, and friendly counsel, and above all, that he had proceeded in his studies of the Holy Scriptures, until he was firmly established in the position he had to defend, before the actual corruption and hollowness of the times were spread before him. The effect of such an unveiling upon his earnest nature at an earlier date must have been disastrous. It occurred when it could only fortify his determination to do battle for the truth, of which he was convinced. He who had all his life sought for truth with the zeal of those who dig for hidden treasure; who in that pursuit had denied himself all but the coarsest fare; who in his comfortless cell at Erfurt had macerated himself with watchings and fastings; who for days in succession had forgotten food and drink in his pursuit of peace with God; who had resisted the temptations of every honour to his scholarship, and every comfort to his body, until on one occasion he was actually found in a dying state upon the floor of his cell, that he might reach unto that spiritual good which his soul craved, and who at last had been rewarded by discovering the pearl of great price, was pre-

pared to view the licentious indulgence and hypocritical professions which prevailed among ecclesiastics of his time, only with horror and unutterable contempt. The visit of Luther to Italy, and his brief residence in Rome, at a time when his intellect approximated to maturity, and his faith was fixed by converse with the word of God, was most opportune to open his eyes to the necessity of reform, as well as to prepare his mind for that attitude which it was soon to assume. It was his to battle with effete mediæval institutions, his youth was spent in the midst of them, where they were still most honestly regarded; it was his to emancipate thinking from the fetters of scholasticism; his education had made him the acutest of dialecticians; and, learned in the subtleties of Albertus and Aquinas, it was his to check the prevalence of false doctrine and corrupt practice; his education had put him in the way of so doing with the utmost effect in a fervent and faithful exposition of truth, while his humble yet ecclesiastical position gave him at once influence with a large body of the priesthood and with the populace.

The simple-hearted, and, then at least, religious population of Northern Germany, were just the people to be most seriously offended with the impudent tricks of imposture, then paraded before them, and thence, as well as by their apprehension of the truth he taught, were prepared to fall in with the views of the Reformer. Popular will had, however, but little place in government, except in as far as it might influence or coincide with that of the monarchs: and as some of them did not coincide with their subjects on this matter, it early became necessary to have a separate and independent organization, with a wise and dauntless man at its head. God had provided the man for the emergency. Co-labourers arose in various directions, awakened by his arguments, or encouraged by his daring. Then rapidly increasing numbers soon demonstrated the safety as well as the propriety of union. A spiritual commonwealth sprang up from roots far ramified through the length and breadth of Europe.

The ninety-five theses of Luther against indulgences, on the one side, and the condemnatory bull of Leo X. on the other, brought the controversy to issue, and declared the war of the Reformation. A new element of civilization had entered

the arena, destined ultimately to transform the policy of the world. But none of the great rulers rightly understood its bearing and force. They attempted to play fast and loose with it, as if it had been a mere temporary excitement, according to their occasional necessities or convenience. Among the inferior princes, it is the peculiar praise of the elector Frederic of Saxony, that he manifested a sense of its grandeur from the beginning. Few of those whom the world calls wise have proved themselves so worthy of the title. No common brain could have dreamed his dream. Such, however, was the respect which the movement very soon compelled, that several of the highest crowned heads, not even excepting the emperor, at one time or other courted its alliance; and such was the providential disposition of events, that their blindest and most selfish measures went to its support and extension, and even the Sultan of Turkey was made an involuntary contributor to a cause of which perhaps he had never heard the name.

The question of the Reformation was the central point of European politics for the 16th century. On one side stood the Papacy, supported by the prescriptive position of the past, and the armed might of Spain; on the other, Martin Luther, supported by the force of truth, and those out of every land who like himself had been made free thereby.

The two forces extensively interramified with each other. In every country the people were more or less divided at first; but a short time served to bring over to Reform fully half of Germany, Prussia, Livonia, and the kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, who accepted it as set forth in the Augsburg Confession; England, Switzerland, Scotland, and Holland, who adopted the tenets of Geneva, while large numbers also embraced the same doctrines in France, Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland. At first, however, this extensive popularity was far from obvious. It needed a few devoted heroes to uphold the now unfurled banner, until it had secured the confidence of those who were prepared to sympathize with the cause. And it was chiefly during that time that the capacity of rulers was tried, in relation to it. As for the emperor, his attitude was predetermined by that of the principal nation he

governed; but his conduct proves that he never rightly understood it.

The course pursued by Francis I., may have been induced to some extent by the divided opinions of his people; but not the less was it at variance with the hereditary spirit of his country and the cause to her of evils incalculable. The true interest of France was with the Reformation, and had some of her great rulers, such as Philip the Fair, or Richelieu, been at the head of affairs, they could hardly have failed, however much Romanists by private preference, to perceive on which side lay the interest of their country. Had France sustained the Reformation, she must have stood at its head, and thereby having become the leader of two-thirds of continental Europe, would have secured herself most effectually against the designs of the emperor, and provided for her people that freedom of life and conscience, for which they have since shed so much blood almost in vain. Instead of that, her shallow and fickle-minded king spent his reign in gayety and Quixotic enterprises, without either profit or honour, fluctuating between the two great parties, as his necessities or short-sighted policy seemed to demand; for a petty principality in Italy risking the safety of his whole dominion, and involving it in a war which laid waste one of its finest provinces; and for the alliance of an aged Pope, whose interests could have no weight with his successor, forming a marriage for his son, which entailed upon France her darkest disgrace and heaviest heritage of woe, while leaving the glory of seconding the great liberal movement of Europe to one of the inferior princes of Germany. If any one questions the willingness of his people to follow him in such a step, it may be confidently answered, that over and above France's large Reformation element at that time, the necessity of self-defence against the aggressions of the emperor, and valid reasons of state for dissatisfaction with the Papacy, there could be no doubt of national support for a French king, who by any honourable means of either peace or war, should have put France at the head of Europe. But the opportunity was lost; and the national policy once adopted could not afterwards be changed by similar means.

After all, the misfortune of France was probably the safety

of the Reformation. For, if not patronized in its youth by a great nation, neither was it shaped by any particular nation's interests. If unprotected, it was also independent.

Nor was the king of England more intelligent of the subject, though, as he ruled a people so numerously Protestant in their opinions already, that he could not fail to perceive how strongly they would support him in resistance to the Pope, he availed himself thereof to gratify his violent and despotic temper. As was to have been anticipated, the part he did take in it proved of serious and lasting injury. The Reformation was not a policy of princes, but the action of a religious public now sufficiently enlightened to understand the foundations of their faith, in opposition to incorrigible corruption. On the other hand, not even the mighty power of Spain, though united with the authority of the empire, was permitted to offer an insurmountable barrier to its progress. With the gravest intentions to extinguish it, the emperor really effected very little towards that end. Providential circumstances always interfered to divert his arms elsewhere, or to wrest out of his hands even the results of victory.

In assuming this point of view for the sixteenth century, we do not overlook the interests of commerce, of government, of national wealth, and of learning. We would not underrate the vast material resources then disclosed in the new world, the great conflict with Turkey, nor the opening of direct trade with the East Indies, and thereby of a mine beneath the Turkish empire at the very moment when it had reached the summit of its power; we would not deny their importance to the growth of more liberal doctrines of national rights, the rise of that system which operates to render a common despotism of Europe impossible, or the unprecedented diffusion of intelligence, which that century effected; but, after the utmost value of these and other elements of civilization, unfolded or ripened in that time, has been fully admitted, that which pertains to the Reformation will be found to overtop them all. Most of them, in fact, pertain to one or other series of causes or effects leading to, or springing out of, that revolution. And prominent as was the part, then acted by Spain in the world's drama, it was her championship of the old against the new, which crowned its

importance. Notwithstanding some inconsistent measures of her king, Spain was throughout the central stronghold of the Papal defences, without which, neither France nor the empire could have been relied upon. Every great enterprise of Spanish intellect or prowess was then conducted under the profession of defending or propagating the faith. Wars against the Turks, by sea and land, conquests in Mexico and Peru, as well as campaigns in Europe against the Reformers, and establishment within their own borders of the Inquisition, and persecution of Jews and heretics, were all consecrated of the Spaniard by the same fiery zeal for the faith of Rome, which reached its extreme in the order of Jesuits.

Had the rest of Europe been fully prepared to accept the Reformation, such an attitude of any one people must have been subject of unqualified regret; but, in the actual state of things, it was better that the dominion of the old should continue to be enforced upon all who were not yet ready to admit the authority of the new. In every revolution the danger most to be dreaded springs from that class of persons, who, without preparation for the change, are thereby emancipated from the control to which they have been accustomed. Such was then the number of the truly Protestant from conviction, that it was no longer possible, if it had been expedient, for them to remain in allegiance to Rome; but to have broken off that allegiance in the case of the millions, who were still without any such convictions, could have been productive only of mischief. But, in the tremendous convulsion, which divided the civilized world, no ordinary force was competent to prevent that consequence, which would have embarrassed, if not defeated, the work of Reform, by mingling with it a mass of heterogeneous elements, and thrown the world back into the anarchy out of which it had so long been struggling. At the same time, that attitude, together with the necessity which demanded it, arising equally out of popular ignorance and depravity, were no justification of each other, nor could the nation which assumed it, escape either the immediate or remoter consequences of penalty. These soon became abundantly manifest. In the meanwhile, the integrity of the Reformation had been, in the main, preserved. False and ignorant professors of its faith had been

deterred from incumbering it to any such extent as seriously to misrepresent it to the world. The great danger pertaining to the opening of such a career had been averted, and a new era of Christian civilization successfully inaugurated. Papacy believed itself saved. The Reformers deemed their work obstructed. Both misconceived. It was the Reformation that was saved, while Papacy was gently let down. For there was another aspect, in which the Romish authorities might have contemplated their great ally. Though then their principal bulwark, and as such, indispensable in the existing conflict, he operated by that very position to the overthrow of their supremacy, inasmuch as a confessedly superior colleague on the throne more effectually subverts the reign of a monarch than the revolt of one or two provinces. And it is now an historical fact that the power, which imperceptibly and unintentionally percolated through those amicable relations from the Papal chair to the Spanish throne, though ultimately lost by Spain, never returned to the Papacy. The secular dominion of that once great, but now obsolete power, went down with its protector. If Luther sought to hurl it from a precipice, Charles V. propelled it no less surely towards the same level by an inclined plane. Such gradual decline is more consistent with the interests of the world than a sudden overthrow could have been. It is long since Spain lost her predominance in European politics, and Papal domination out of Italy is a thing of the past. A creed and ecclesiastical system remain, and must remain for some time longer, but the secular power can never rise again. Rome, it is true, may think otherwise. An old man may present a great many arguments to support his opinion that he shall live as long as his son, or even survive him; but the law of nature remains unchangeable, that the fathers pass away and the sons come into their stead. Spain, though now far sunk below the rank of states which were one time her inferiors, may revive. For Spain is a nation of strong minded men, whose intellect, so far from being exhausted, has never yet had free development. But the Papacy can never revive. For it was a mere system springing out of peculiar circumstances which are for ever passed away. To all the world, excepting his own scanty estates, the successor of Hildebrand is no longer anything but a priest.

Of the other party which then rose to divide the Christian world, we are perhaps not yet fully furnished with the materials of a just estimate. For it is still in the youth of its progress. Viewing it, for the present, only as a power affecting the state of the world, its aim was from the beginning, not temporal dominion, but the conversion of men from sin unto righteousness, and the securing of their perfect liberty to live accordingly. To the whole extent of its genuine operation, therefore, it increased the value of all its adherents, and constituted them free citizens of a pure and enlightened community. It was the very genius of true liberty, and being unconfined by local possessions, the more readily diffused itself through the nations, leavening the individual mind, and thence sending out its fruits in the improvement of society. These outward effects are much more extensive than we ordinarily conceive. For they appear not only in what is known as Protestant, but also in the Roman Catholicism of the present day, in the intercourse of nations, both in war and peace, in society in general, in fact, they colour the whole civilization of our time. It was the Reformation that saved Romanism, as far as it is a Church, and not a political system. When it occurred, it was unavoidable; but had it not occurred, Christianity must have been extinguished in idolatry, licentiousness and unbelief. We entirely credit the professions of Romanists when they claim to be in theory and spirit the same with their predecessors of the eleventh century; but their practice is materially different when it falls under the eye of a Protestant public—a public which they must henceforth expect to meet, in increasing numbers, in all quarters of the globe. Christians now in Romanist communion have much to thank the Reformation for. But an age is yet approaching when grander effects shall be seen from that question of the sixteenth century, and a future critic may charge even our own time with under-estimating the movement headed by the brave young monk of Wittemberg.

At the same time, we shall certainly not be understood as meaning that, for the reasons now mentioned, Romanism was so improved as to do well enough for those who retained it. Constraint to decency and the outgrowth of spiritual life are very different things, and more different in their fruits than in their

looks. The one is an artificial flower, which is always the same, or changes only by fading; the other, a product of creative energy, is ever advancing from one state of development to another, and even its apparent death is only retreat into the germ of a new life. While the countries which accept the Reformation are marked by popular intelligence, enterprise and prosperity, taking the lead in everything that pertains to the elevation of human nature; those who adhere to the Romish faith, without exception, lag behind, or make advance only by feeble imitation of their Protestant neighbours, and that always at the expense of their Romanist principles. France is no exception. For the pride of her monarchy was the humiliation of her people, and her popular movements have all been after Protestant example, and would have been more successful had they caught the spirit while aiming at the results. Of Protestantism, it is remarked by M. St. Hilaire, in the *Revue Chrétienne*, that "When it has disappeared, it may be said to have carried with it the vital force of the people who permitted it to die. Of this, Spain and Italy are witnesses. Not with impunity do men reject the gospel to attach themselves to human traditions. Is not the blessing of God, which rests so visibly upon England and all Protestant Europe, averted from those beautiful lands? Yet in them Catholicism reigns in all its pride." France and Sardinia, to all the extent that they are prosperous, are unpapal: and necessarily so. To think of living and thriving now, after the fashion of the middle ages, is preposterous, as it would be to attempt to restore the civilization of ancient Egypt, to revive a mummy, or to combat the Minnie rifle with the bow and arrow. Not to take any higher view of the matter than that of mere statesmanship, it is vain to hope for national prosperity now through any principles other than those of the Reformation.

The most instructive lesson taught us by this review of the historical causes of the Reformation, and of its nature and effects, which we have thus imperfectly traced, is that the truth of God, the gospel of his Son, or rather, the Son of God himself, is the life of the world. The real invisible power which prepared the way for Luther; which overthrew the dominion of the Papacy; which emancipated so large a part of Europe from civil

as well as ecclesiastical bondage; which opened the way for science, commerce, and the useful arts to their wonderful achievements, was none other than the power of the truth and Spirit of God. There is no real life, no desirable progress, no true liberty, but in connection with true religion. What is called civilization, the progress of society, development of the race, is nothing but the progress of evil, tending more and more to darkness and degradation, except so far as that progress has its source and guiding power in the truth of true religion. All the efforts of infidel or atheistic advocates of liberty, equality, or human happiness, have ended only in the increase of despotism, vice, and misery. It is this great lesson that all the blessings of the Reformation, all its power to promote the progress of the nations, all its good effects in the past and in the future, are due, not to emancipation of mind, or to the civil liberty which it secured, but to its religious element—to its springing from the desire to secure the image and favour of God, which the volume before us is designed and adapted to teach. There is no secular vocation of man comparable in responsibility and importance to that of the historian. He is the interpreter of God. He unfolds the meaning of God's doings, as the preacher expounds his word. If the exposition which he gives of history be false; and especially if it be irreligious; if it ignores the hand of God and the power of his truth and Spirit, it is in effect the transfer of atheism into the ordinary affairs of life, and has all the evil consequences which must flow from Atheism. The idea that religion is to be confined to the Church, or to the department of morals; that God is to be worshipped in the sanctuary or the chamber, but disregarded in the world and in history, an idea which has such a hold on the minds of most men, is thoroughly anti-scriptural. We regard, therefore, as a very great event, the appearance of a history destined to take rank with the first works of its class, written by a true Christian in a bold, open, yet moderate and catholic Christian spirit; which everywhere recognizes the gospel as the word of God, and points it out as the true life of the world.

We rejoice to hear that this work has received the three thousand francs' prize from the Sorbonne, a decision not less honourable to that venerable body than to M. St. Hilaire.

SHORT NOTICES.

The Genealogy of the Brainerd Family in the United States, with numerous Sketches of Individuals. By Rev. David D. Field, D.D., Member of the Historical Societies of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania. New York: 1857. 8vo. Pp. 303.

GREAT respect is due to those antiquaries who busy themselves about the materials of early American history, and Dr. Field merits and will receive the thanks not only of all the families whom he honours by mention in his book, but of all who venerate the names of David and John Brainerd, and admire the genuine poetry of Daniel.

The chief interest of this useful volume connects itself with the biography of the good Indian missionary, to which Dr. Field has made some important contributions. We are more gratified than surprised to find his investigations confirming what we have long been taught at this place concerning a connection between Brainerd's expulsion from Yale College, and the founding of a new institution in New Jersey. "I once," says Dr. Field, "heard the Hon. John Dickinson, Chief Judge of the Middlesex County Court, Connecticut, and son of the Rev. Mr. Dickinson, of Norwalk, say, 'that the establishment of Princeton College was owing to the sympathy felt with David Brainerd, because the authorities of Yale College would not give him his degree, and that the plan of the College was drawn up in his father's house.' Perhaps I have not given every word just as he uttered the declaration. But as I was then preaching in Haddam, where I have spent more than twenty-five years of my ministry, and as I have passed hundreds of times by the place where the house stood in which David Brainerd was born, the cellar of which is still visible, I am certain that I have declared the precise fact that Judge Dickinson uttered. Nor is this the whole proof of the fact. There is evidence that the Rev. Aaron Burr said, after the rise of Princeton College, that it would never have come into existence if it had not been for the expulsion of David Brainerd from Yale College. It is a significant fact that three of the men who were conspicuous in their sympathy and efforts for Brainerd were the first three presidents of Princeton College, Jonathan Dickinson, Aaron Burr, and Jonathan Edwards." Pp. 265, 266. Dr. Field further notes, that all the members of New York Synod were warmly attached to Brainerd, and

friendly to Princeton College. "President Clapp," he adds, "complained that they upheld members from Yale College who were under censure, evidently referring specially, if not solely, to Brainerd." The work is admirably printed, and contains a number of engraved likenesses. It is gratifying in no common degree to welcome such a contribution from one who in a green old age still dispenses the Word of Life in the very spot where the great Edwards penned his mightiest work, and who meanwhile looks around him on a group of distinguished sons. May his evening hour be peace!

An Introduction to the Study of Philosophy, with an Outline Treatise on Logic. By Rev. E. V. Gerhart, D. D., President of Franklin and Marshall College. Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston. 1858. Pp. 359.

The modern philosophy of Germany is in its terminology and mode of thought so different from that of Great Britain, that those trained under the latter are little prepared to comprehend the former. We have often read hundreds of pages in German books without the slightest glimmer of the meaning of a single sentence. We have known men of high cultivation read volumes of German philosophy in an English dress, (Hickcock's Rational Psychology, for example) without gaining an idea. This may be accounted for either by our obtuseness, or by the profundity of the authors, or by the unnatural, conventional, technical mode of exhibition and expression. The writers themselves, and their followers, intelligent and unintelligent, will no doubt think the first and second of the causes specified the real source of the difficulty. We are rather in favour of the third, not only because more grateful to our self-complacency, but also because we know that the German philosophy is as much a mystery to the mass of educated Germans as to us; and because the system becomes intelligible enough in the hands of those who choose to speak naturally. There is a class of authors who have a special interest for English readers; men who stand as interpreters between the German and English mind, partly because they occupy a middle ground, and partly because they write with the design to be understood. To this class President Gerhart belongs. He is a German by descent and training, but a German anglicanized; and he has sense enough to know that it is not necessary to be unintelligible in order to be profound. The object of a "Short Notice" is not to discuss the doctrines of a book, but simply to indicate its character and value. We therefore content ourselves with saying that Dr. Gerhart's volume, the title of which is given above, is a clear and intelligible exposition of the leading principles of his philosophy, and has both an inherent and an

adventitious value. It contains much that is true and important, and much which whether true or not is yet interesting, as revealing a mode of thought new to those whose training has been exclusively English.

Light from the Cross: Sermons on the Passion of our Lord. Translated from the German of Dr. A. Tholuck. Philadelphia: William S. & Alfred Martien, 608 Chestnut Street. 1858. Pp. 345.

The characteristic design of the English and American Sermon is to convince and instruct; that of the German to excite devotional feeling. A man may be years in Germany and never hear any great doctrine formally presented and discussed, or any great duty inculcated. The idea of worship controls all the exercises of the sanctuary. It is not only in the singing and prayers, that this idea is kept in view, but also in the sermon. The great object of the preacher, (when evangelical,) seems to be to call out the feelings of his hearers in gratitude for God's mercies, and admiration for his perfections, and especially to excite him to love and worship the Redeemer. Doctrines are taken for granted. It is assumed that the hearers are Christians, and that they come together not so much to learn as to worship. Perhaps both styles of preaching are carried too far. The Germans would be better if more didactic, and the English if more devout. The reader will find the remark above made verified in perusing this volume, although the sermons which it contains are less purely emotional than the ordinary discourses of the distinguished author. It is a delightful edifying book. The portrait of the writer given in this volume, looks very much as Tholuck did thirty years ago, especially about the forehead. He must now be a very different looking man.

Life-Studies: or How to Live. Illustrated in the Biographies of Bunyan, Tersteegen, Montgomery, Perthes, and Mrs. Winslow. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 530 Broadway. 1858.

This book is founded on a happy idea. Bunyan stands as the representative of the Christian soldier; Tersteegen of the Christian labourer; Montgomery of the Christian man of letters; Perthes of the Christian man of business; and Mrs. Winslow of the Christian mother. It is a very attractive and useful work.

The Life and Labours of the Rev. T. P. Gallaudet, LL.D. By Rev. Heman Humphrey, D.D. Robert Carter and Brothers, No. 530 Broadway. 1857. Pp. 440.

Mr. Gallaudet was so early, so long, and so successfully connected with efforts for the education of the Deaf and Dumb, that

all who are interested in that important work of benevolence, must take an interest in the history of his life and labours. It is not, however, solely on this account that this volume is entitled to attention. Mr. Gallaudet was a man of eminent ability and attainments, and of a singularly attractive character. We have seldom known any one who sooner found his way to the confidence and affections of those with whom he associated.

Summary of Recent Discoveries in Biblical Chronology, Universal History, and Egyptian Archæology. With special reference to Dr. Abbott's Egyptian Museum in New York. Together with a Translation of the First Sacred Book of the Ancient Egyptians. By G. Seyffarth, A. M., Ph. D., and D. D. New York: Henry Ludwig, No. 39 Centre street. 1857. Pp. 241.

The results of recent investigations into the antiquities of Egypt are commonly locked up in books so expensive and learned as to be beyond the reach of ordinary readers. Those results are so important and interesting, that any attempt to render them more generally accessible, is a praiseworthy work. Dr. Seyffarth appears to have devoted much labour to this subject, and to be thoroughly furnished with the necessary erudition. His volume contains a great body of important information.

The Plenary Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. By Eleazar Lord. New York: M. W. Dodd, No. 506 Broadway. 1857. Pp. 312.

The radical idea of Mr. Lord's theory of Inspiration is, that language is exclusively the medium and instrument of thought; that we think in words, so that without words we have no thoughts. From this it necessarily follows, that if there be any inspiration of thought, it must be in connection with words, thoughts being communicated only by and through the words. This is one way of reaching the conclusion in which the great mass of Christians agree, viz. that the Holy Scriptures are in such a sense the word of God, that they have the same authority as though uttered immediately by the lips of God. What David said, the Holy Ghost said. This is the important point. We should be sorry, however, to rest this great doctrine on any metaphysical theory as to the laws of the human mind, or as to the absolute necessity of words to the exercise of thought. Infants have thoughts before they have words, and so have the deaf and dumb. The views of Mr. Lord, however, are worthy of serious attention, and his work, as advocating a truth of primary importance, is to be welcomed by all to whom that truth is precious.

George Whitefield: a Biography with special reference to his labours in America. Compiled by Joseph Belcher, D. D. American Tract Society. Pp. 514.

Whitefield was, undoubtedly, the greatest of modern preachers. His labours in America are bearing fruit in all parts of our country to the present day, so that no man can understand the present state of the Church in America who is ignorant of what he did. The facts are to be found in this volume. So far as we know, there does not exist any thorough, philosophical, and scriptural exhibition of the great work which Wesley and Whitefield accomplished. The good and evil which marked their career have never been, to our knowledge, fairly discriminated. Biographies have been produced in abundance, but they have been either defamatory or eulogistic. These distinguished servants of God have been portrayed either as mere fanatics or as perfect saints. It would be a great service rendered to the Church, if some man, sympathizing with their piety and zeal, and at the same time alive to their great errors and defects, should so exhibit their career that, while grateful for the good which they accomplished, we might be warned by their errors.

The Marrow of Modern Divinity. In two Parts. Part I. The Covenant of Works, and the Covenant of Grace. Part II. An Exposition of the Ten Commandments. By Edward Fisher, A. M. With Notes by Thomas Boston, Minister of the Gospel, Ettrick. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, No. 821 Chestnut street. Pp. 370.

Few doctrinal or practical works have lasted longer, or exerted a wider influence, than the Marrow of Modern Divinity. Written originally in the age of Cromwell, to compose the strifes which had arisen among the friends of evangelical religion, to counteract the tendency to Antinomianism which then prevailed, while it clearly presented the doctrine of gratuitous justification, it was itself condemned as Antinomian by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in the early part of the last century, when that Church was under the control of the Moderates. Though designed and specially adapted to a different state of the Church from that which now exists, it retains its value as a concise exposition of the great truths of the gospel.

Memoir and Select Remains of the Rev. John Brown, Minister of the Gospel, Haddington. Edited by the Rev. William Brown, D. D. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 821 Chestnut street. Pp. 227.

The writings of Brown of Haddington, especially his Catechism, his Self-Interpreting Bible, Dictionary of the Bible, and his Concordance, have been among the most widely circulated of

modern religious works. He was for thirty-six years a pastor of the church in Haddington, and for twenty years Professor of Divinity in the Associate Synod. His Memoirs, therefore, are a part of the religious history of Scotland during an important period.

A Translation and Commentary of the Book of Psalms, for the use of the Ministers and Laity of the Christian Church. By Augustus Tholuck, D.D. Translated from the German: with a careful comparison of the Psalm-Text with the Original Tongues. By J. Isidor Mombert. Philadelphia: William S. and Alfred Martien, 608 Chestnut street. Pp. 497.

This Commentary is devotional rather than either doctrinal or philological. These two latter elements are not wanting; they are only subordinate. The translation of the Hebrew Text here given is not Tholuck's, but that of the common English version modified. The translation of the German appears to be much better than we generally find in the issues of the British press.

A Liturgy; or, Order of Christian Worship. Prepared and published by the direction and for the use of the German Reformed Church in the United States of America. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1858. Pp. 340 and 66.

Every one knows that in Prussia, the two branches of the great Protestant body, the Lutheran and Reformed, have been united in one Church, called the Evangelical. In this body, so far as its religious life is concerned, the Lutheran element has obtained complete ascendency. What in England is called Puseyism, is rampant in many parts of Prussia, under different names. This characteristic tendency seems, from various indications, to be developing itself in the German Reformed Church in America. The most serious assaults against the doctrines of the Reformed have proceeded from members of that communion; a theory of the Church, of Church power, of the priestly character of the ministry, and of sacramental grace, which the free spirit of Luther would have spurned, has been propounded in their accredited organs. With this, as a natural consequence, has sprung up a distaste for the simplicity of the Reformed ritual, and a hankering after the observance of "days and months, and times and years," and for complicated liturgical forms. A committee of the Synod of that Church has been for some time engaged in the preparation of a Liturgy, which has at length been published, although without "ecclesiastical sanction or approbation." "It carries with it," we are told, "in such form, no authority for the churches." After the "Primitive Forms," such as the Apostles', Nicene and Athana-

sian Creeds, the Gloria in Excelsis, the Ambrosian Hymn, the Litany, &c., we have the Church year divided into four periods, the Advent Season, the Easter Season, the Pentecost Season, the Church Season, with the prescribed lesson from the gospel and epistles for every Sunday, and the collect for each special service. The whole calendar is gone through; the First Sunday in Advent, Second Sunday, St. Stephen's day, St. John the Evangelist's day, Innocents' day, and so on to the end. This occupies 128 pages. Then comes the regular service on the Lord's day, extending from page 129 to page 147. Then come prayers for festival seasons, filling about thirty-two pages. The rest of the volume is taken up with the forms for the administration of the sacraments, for ordination, visitation of the sick, burial, &c., and with a collection of family prayers and of Psalms and Hymns. We do not doubt that this volume contains much that is truly excellent, but the whole thing is overdone. Unless we are greatly mistaken as to the prevalent sentiment of the Reformed Church, the liturgical spirit will be effectually smothered under these multitudinous forms. It would require years of drill, before minister or people would know how to use such a book, or feel themselves at home with it. Had the committee contented themselves with preparing a form for public worship, including the Creed, the Confession, the Gloria in Excelsis, and the Litany, with prayers selected from the formulas of the Reformed Church, to be used when no clergyman was present, or by the clergyman himself, if he saw fit, with forms for the sacraments and funerals, they might, as we think, have done the Church good service, and compressed the whole in a volume of fifty pages. But in our humble judgment, they have run the whole matter into the ground. In the use of such a book as this, a man would become either an angelic saint or a religious machine. Which would be the most frequent result, history does not permit us to doubt.

God's Message to the Young; or, the Obligation and Advantages of Early Piety seriously urged upon Young Persons, in connection with Eccles. xii. 1. By Rev. George W. Leyburn, late Missionary to Greece. New York: M. W. Dodd, 506 Broadway. Richmond: P. B. Price. 1857. Pp. 179.

Experience teaches, that of those who are gathered into the Church, the great majority are from the class of young persons. To the religious training and conversion of the young, therefore, ministers and parents have every encouragement to devote special effort and attention. Thorough doctrinal instruction, habits of devotion, attendance on the house of God, the observance of the Sabbath, separation from evil companions, the influence of parental piety and example are the means

which God ordinarily blesses to this end. Works such as that of Mr. Leyburn, addressed especially to the young, and designed to urge upon them the duty of remembering their Creator in the days of their youth, are also of great value. In this little volume the author has presented the claims of religion on those in the morning of life, in a way well adapted to produce the happiest impression.

How Much shall I Give? A series of Tracts on the subject of Systematic Benevolence. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, No. 821 Chestnut street.

This volume contains "The Duty of giving away a stated portion of our income," by Rev. William Arthur, A. M. "Systematic Benevolence," by Rev. D. V. Smock. "Address on Systematic Benevolence," by the General Assembly to the Ministers and Churches under its care;" and "The Great Giver," by the Rev. W. S. Plumer, D. D.

Lectures on the History of Ancient Philosophy. By William Archer Butler, M. A., late Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Dublin. Edited from the Author's MSS., with Notes, by William Hepworth Thompson, M. A., Fellow of Trinity College, and Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge. In two volumes. Philadelphia: Parry & McMillan. 1857.

These volumes reached us at the moment of going to press. We are obliged to postpone, therefore, to a future opportunity, all discriminating criticism upon them. The bare announcement of such a work to those who have known the author through the volumes of his sermons recently given to the public, will lead many among them to procure it, and learn its merits by personal examination.

Mental Philosophy, including the Intellect, Sensibilities, and the Will. By Joseph Haven, Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy in Amherst College. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon, Blakeman & Co. Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard. 1857.

A convenient and satisfactory compendium of Mental Philosophy, adapted to the wants of learners and the requirements of the class-room, has long been a desideratum, which, one after another, our Professors in this department have tasked themselves to supply. We have, on different occasions, indicated our opinion of these successive productions, and shown that the field is still open for new efforts to meet this want. This work of Professor Haven, though not without its faults and errors, is, on the whole, quite the most successful effort yet made in this department. It is clear and comprehensive in its method, perspicuous and elegant in style, and quite complete in its analysis and exhibition of the principal phenomena, operations,

and faculties of the human mind. We meet occasionally in various parts of the work with views which we do not endorse. We have not had time to read the important chapter on the Idea of Right, or the Nature of Virtue. The chapter on Logic, we think, were better omitted, unless the subject were more thoroughly treated. The chapter on the Will, although not free from exceptionable passages, we rejoice to say, contains a great deal more truth, and a great deal less error, than we expected to find. We hope we may be able, hereafter, to indicate more precisely the features of the book which we approve, and those to which we take exception. It has already attracted a public attention which establishes its claim to just and thorough criticism.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

ENGLAND.

Eadie, Commentary on the Philippians.

P. S. Desprez, The Book of Jonah, illustrated by Discoveries at Nineveh. 12mo. pp. 130.

R. Gray, A Key to the Old Testament and Apocrypha; or an account of their several books, their contents and authors, and of the times in which they were respectively written; with a Key to the New Testament, by T. Percy. 8vo. pp. 460.

Bengel's Gnomon on the New Testament, now first translated into English. Vols. I. and III. 8vo.

W. E. Jelf, Christian Faith Comprehensive, not Partial; Definite, not Uncertain. 8vo. pp. 268. Bampton Lectures for 1857.

H. James, Christianity the Logic of Creation. 12mo.

H. James, The Church of Christ not an Ecclesiasticism. 12mo.

J. E. Cairnes, The Character and Logical Method of Political Economy. 8vo. pp. 194.

Analecta Nicæna, Fragments relating to the Council of Nice; the Syriac text from an ancient MS. in the British Museum; with a translation, notes, &c., by B. H. Cowper. 4to.

D. Livingstone, Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa, during sixteen years' residence in the interior. 8vo.

History of Herodotus, a new English version, edited, with notes and essays, by G. Rawlinson, assisted by H. Rawlinson and J. G. Wilkinson. 4 vols. 8vo.

S. Birch, Ancient Pottery and Porcelain, Egyptian, Assyrian, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman. 2 vols. 8vo.

The Library of the British Museum received, during the last year, an addition of ten thousand four hundred and thirty-four volumes. The manuscripts obtained were also numerous; among them was a handsome copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch, on vellum, of the date A. D. 1441. The antiquities received comprise, in addition to the collection of the late Sir William Temple, formerly minister at Naples, one thousand six hundred and thirty-five coins and medals, five of which are of glass, with inscriptions in the Cufic character. In the department of natural history, there have been added thirty-three thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine Zoological specimens, and six thousand seven hundred geological and mineralogical specimens.

FRANCE.

The Serapeum of Memphis discovered and described, by A. Mariette. No. I. Fol. pp. 8, with 4 plates. This work is to contain 110 folio plates, presenting plans and views of the Serapeum, the principal bas-reliefs, vases, inscriptions, and the different objects found in the excavations. Each plate is accompanied by an explanatory text.

Taine, The French Philosophers of the nineteenth century. 8vo. pp. 367.

The Academy of Inscriptions have offered prizes of two thousand francs each for the best exposition of the history of the Gauls, prior to the Emperor Claudius, and the best treatise on the text of the Koran, the former to be presented in 1858, the latter in 1859.

The distinguished Orientalist, Quatremère, Professor of Persian in the Imperial School of living Oriental Languages at Paris, recently deceased.

The collection of Tamil writings belonging to the late M. Ariel, of Pondicherry, and which contained upwards of five hundred MSS., was bequeathed by him to the Asiatic Society of Paris.

The first Russian journal was the *Gazette* of Moscow. Its publication was authorized by a ukase of Peter the Great, dated December 16, 1702, and the first number appeared the same day. The oldest copy known to be in existence is dated January 2, 1703.

ITALY.

The Albani Library, announced to be sold at Rome, is to be transferred to Mantua and Milan, by order of the government. The Alfieri Library also is shortly to be sold. This will cause the dispersion of two thousand manuscripts and eleven thousand four hundred printed books. The collection is rich in works relating to Italian history of the middle ages, and in the private correspondence of numerous ambassadors and cardinals, scions of this noble house. The Mezzofanti Library has been purchased by the Pope, and presented to the city of Bologna.

GERMANY.

Hengstenberg's Christology, Vol. III. Part 2. 8vo. pp. 223. This concludes the work.

The Condensed Exegetical Manual on the Old Testament. Vol. XII.

A seventh edition has appeared of Tholuck on John, a fourth of De Wette on the Gospel of Matthew, a second of Hofmann's Schriftbeweis, and a second of Ewald's History of Christ.

K. H. Graf, The Blessing of Moses (Deut. xxxiii.) Explained. 8vo. pp. 83.

J. G. Vaihinger, The Poetical Writings of the Old Testament translated and explained. Vol. III. Proverbs and Lamentations. 8vo. pp. 404.

P. Schegg, The Holy Gospels translated and explained. Vol. II. Gospel of Matthew. 8vo. pp. 576.

A. Bisping, Exegetical Manual to the Epistles of Paul. Vol. II. Part 1. 2 Corinthians and Galatians. 8vo. pp. 315.

F. H. Reusch, The Book of Tobias translated and explained. 8vo. pp. 144.

A new translation of the Bible is announced as in preparation by the Chevalier Bunsen.

P. de Lagarde, De Novo Testamento ad Versionum Orientalium fidem edendo. 4to. pp. 20. The writer proposes to publish an edition of the New Testament, paying more regard to the critical authority of ancient Oriental versions than has been hitherto done.

Rab. A. Geiger, The Original and the Versions of the Bible in their dependence on the wider development of Judaism. 8vo. pp. 500.

Neander's Theological Lectures. Section I. Part 2. The History of Christian Doctrine. 8vo. pp. 312.

A. Ebrard, The Doctrine of Vicarious Satisfaction founded

in Scripture, with special reference to Hofmann's theory of the Atonement. 8vo. pp. 100.

J. A. Ginzel, History of Cyrillus and Methodius, the Apostles of the Slaves and the Slavic Liturgy. 8vo. pp. 307.

E. F. Gelpke, Church History of Switzerland. Part I. 8vo. pp. 416.

Aurora, or Select Writings of those who sought to Reform the Church before Luther. Edited by F. Schöpff. Vol. III. 8vo. pp. 61.

Meditations of Savonarola upon Psalms xxxi. and li.

H. Heppe, History of German Protestantism, from 1555 to 1581. Vol. III. contains the years 1574—1577. 8vo. pp. 738.

H. Heppe, Dogmatics of German Protestantism in the sixteenth century. Vol. III. (the last.) 8vo. pp. 434.

F. Zarncke, The German Universities in the Middle Ages. Contributions to their history and character. No. 1. 8vo. pp. 266.

The Berlin edition of the works of Frederick the Great is new completed in 30 vols. 8vo. One hundred copies have been printed in 4to.

Photii Constantinopolitani liber de Spiritus Sancti Mystagogia, quem nunc primum edid. J. Hergenrœther. 8vo. pp. 36 and 338.

J. Kittseer, Contents of the Talmud and its authority, with a historical introduction. 8vo. pp. 203.

W. Gremin, The Fable of Polyphemus. 4to. pp. 30.

M. Uhlemann, Egyptian Archæology. 8vo. pp. 331.

H. Brugsch, Monuments of Egypt. No. 1. fol. pp. 26, and 18 plates. This is from the drawings taken during his expedition to Egypt in 1853 and 1854. The work is to be completed in about twenty numbers.

M. A. Levy, Phœnician Studies. No. 2. 8vo. pp. 115. This is occupied with the deciphering of various inscriptions.

The first number of Bernstein's long expected Syriac Lexicon has appeared. Fol. pp. 144.

F. Uhlemann's Syriac Grammar and Chrestomathy. 4to. pp. 403. A second enlarged edition.

W. Schott, On the Chinese art of Versification. 4to. pp. 26.