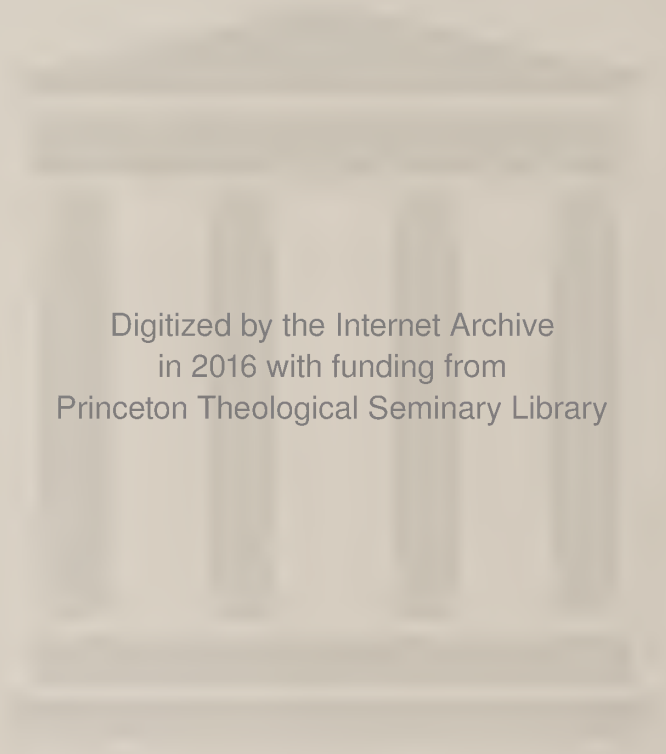

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ART. I.—*Platonis*, et quæ vel Platonis esse feruntur, vel Platonica solent comitari, Scripta Græce omnia, ad Codices Manuscriptos recensuit, variasque inde Lectiones diligenter enotavit IMMANUEL BEKKER. Eleven volumes, 8vo. London, 1826.

The Works of Plato, viz., his fifty-five Dialogues and twelve Epistles, translated from the Greek, by FLOYER SYDENHAM, and THOMAS TAYLOR, with occasional Annotations and copious Notes. Five volumes, quarto. London, 1804.

The Works of Plato; a new and literal version, chiefly from the text of Stallbaum. By HENRY CARY, M. A., HENRY DAVIS, M. A., and GEORGE BURGESS, M. A. Five volumes, 12mo. London: Henry G. Bohn, 1848.

To most of the editions of the works of Plato are prefixed brief sketches of the philosopher's life. The edition of Bekker contains four of these biographies in Greek, viz., those by Diogenes Laertius, Suidas, Hesychius the Milesian, and Olympiodorus. The edition of Taylor has the sketch by Olympiodorus, translated into English. The translators of Bohn's edition propose to give, in an additional volume, what they call, "the three existing lives of the philosopher, and the introduction of Alcinous, all for *the first time* translated into English." Some of these have certainly been translated into English; whether all, we are not able to say.

Plato, though by descent an Athenian, was not born at Athens, but on the island of Ægina; at that time subject to the Athenians. Fable has made him the son of Apollo, and represented his mother as a virgin; but his real father was Aristo, and his mother's name was Parectonia. Among his remote ancestors may be reckoned Codrus, the last king of Athens, and the celebrated Athenian lawgiver, Solon. He was born some four hundred and thirty years before Christ, being contemporary with Nehemiah, and the latest of the Hebrew prophets. The poets tell us that, when he was yet an infant, his parents left him asleep on Mount Hymettus, while they went to the sacrifice; and that when they returned, the bees had filled his mouth with honey; but this story was not intended to be believed. His original name was not Plato, but Aristocles. He was surnamed Plato from the Greek πλατυς, on account of the extreme breadth of his forehead, shoulders, and breast.

In early youth, he gave indications of an extensive and original genius. He was instructed, like the rest of the Athenians, in grammar, music, and gymnastic exercises. Owing to the respectability of his connections and ancestors, he had many inducements to engage in politics; but the revolutions of the times, and the dreadful injustice which he saw continually perpetrated, discouraged him. His attention was early directed to painting and poetry. Before the age of twenty, he had produced an epic poem, which, after reading Homer, he had the good sense to destroy. He also wrote tragedies and lyrics, and might have excelled in this species of composition; but happening to meet with Socrates, he was so captivated by his reasoning and eloquence, that he resolved to abandon all other pursuits, and apply himself wholly to the study of wisdom.

For eight years together, he was a constant hearer and follower of Socrates. He always claimed to be a disciple of Socrates—and held his master in the highest honour; yet he was not satisfied simply to adopt his conclusions, and walk in his steps. From his own invention, and the teaching of others, he introduced considerable additions, not to say corruptions, into the Socratic philosophy. When Socrates was brought to trial for his life, Plato expected to plead his cause, and actually

commenced an argument in his defence, but owing to the partiality and violence of the judges, he was obliged to desist. The speech of Socrates in his own defence Plato has recorded, and it is still extant among his works. When Socrates had been condemned, Plato and his other followers endeavoured to procure a commutation of his punishment; but his judges were inexorable. Nothing would satisfy them but the life of this prince of ancient philosophers—this truly great and venerable man.

During the imprisonment of Socrates, Plato attended him, but was prevented by sickness from being with him at his death, and listening to his argument on the immortality of the soul. The substance of the argument, however, Plato has preserved in his beautiful dialogue of the Phædo.

Upon the death of Socrates, his followers were dispersed. Several of them, among whom was Plato, went to Megara, and attended upon the discourses of the philosopher Euclid.* From this period, we may date the commencement of Plato's travels. On leaving Megara, he visited that part of Italy called Magna Grecia, or Ionia, where a celebrated school of philosophy had been established by Pythagoras, and was still continued by his followers. It was here that he met with Timæus and Archytas, by whom he was initiated into the mysteries of the Pythagorean system, the subtleties of which he afterwards too freely blended with the simple doctrines of Socrates.

He next visited Theodorus of Cyrene, and became his pupil in mathematical science. When he had been sufficiently instructed in this branch of learning, he determined to make himself acquainted with the wisdom of Egypt. That he might travel with the greater safety, he assumed the character of a merchant, and as a seller of oils, passed through the domains of the ancient Pharaohs. In Egypt, Plato may have studied astronomy, and increased his knowledge of mathematics; but it is hardly likely that he was allowed to penetrate the mysteries of the Egyptian priests. Averse to the communication of their secrets to any one, and more especially to strangers, it is not probable that a foreign merchant would succeed in attracting much of their attention.

* Not the Mathematician. He flourished in Egypt at a later period.

Some have supposed that Plato, during his sojourn in Egypt, became acquainted with the doctrines of the Hebrews, and enriched his system with spoils from their sacred books. But this again is quite improbable. The Jews, at this time, were not numerous in Egypt; their sacred books had not been translated; nor is there any such agreement between the teachings of Plato and the Old Testament, as to warrant the supposition that the former was much, if at all, indebted to the latter.

From Egypt, Plato returned to his Pythagorean friends in Italy, for whom he seems to have entertained a very strong predilection. How long he remained with them at this time, we are not informed. It is evidence of his attachment to the Pythagorean peculiarities, that he purchased, at an enormous price, some of the manuscripts in which these doctrines were inculcated.

Thus furnished, Plato at length returned to Athens, and set about the execution of a design which, doubtless, he had long contemplated, of establishing a new school in philosophy. The place which he selected for this purpose was a public grove, called *the Academy*, from Academus, a venerable Athenian, who had given it, that it might be used for gymnastic exercises. Within this enclosure Plato purchased, for three thousand drachms, a small garden, where he proposed to receive all those who felt inclined to listen to his instructions. It is evidence of the value which he put upon mathematical studies, that he caused to be inscribed over his garden gate, "No one not acquainted with geometry can enter here."

No sooner was Plato's Academy opened, than it became in the highest degree celebrated. His personal attractions, his eloquence, the celebrity of his family, his long and honourable connection with Socrates, (whose memory was now as much revered at Athens as his person formerly had been despised,) and more especially his foreign travel in pursuit of wisdom, all contributed to extend his fame, and draw around him disciples in great numbers, and of the highest respectability. To be sure, some of his old acquaintances of the Socratic school envied him, and others laughed at him; but nothing could stay the tide of his increasing popularity. In the number of his

pupils we find the names of Demosthenes, Isocrates, Dion the Syracusan prince, and above all, Aristotle. As the customs of society forbade the attendance of females upon his lectures, it was no uncommon thing for ladies to appear there attired as men. This furnished some ground for scandal against not only the scholars, but the teacher; nevertheless, the purity of Plato's character was never seriously impeached.

Plato was renowned at this period, not only as a moral and religious instructor, but for political wisdom. His assistance was required by sovereign states in new modelling their respective forms of government. Applications of this kind from the Arcadians and the Thebans he rejected, because they refused to adopt the plan of his Republic, which required an equal distribution of property. He gave his advice in the affairs of Elis, and furnished a code of laws for Syracuse, which, however, was not adopted.

His repeated visits to Syracuse constitute the principal incidents in the latter half of his life. The professed object of his first visit was, to take a survey of the island of Sicily, and more especially to observe the wonders of Mount Ætna. It was here that he became acquainted with Dion, brother-in-law of Dionysius the elder, who now reigned in Syracuse. He found in Dion an intelligent pupil and a faithful friend. We find the following testimony in respect to Dion, in one of Plato's Epistles. "He so acutely apprehended and readily embraced my doctrines, that he surpassed all the young men with whom I was ever acquainted. He was likewise determined to pass the remainder of his life in a manner superior to most of the Sicilians, in pursuing virtue rather than pleasure and luxury." Epis. vii.

Through the favour of Dion, the philosopher obtained an introduction to the tyrant Dionysius, when the following conversation is reported to have ensued:

Dion. Whom among men, Plato, do you consider happy?

Plato. Socrates.

Dion. What do you hold to be the business of a politician?

Plato. To make the people better.

Dion. And do you think it a small matter to decide *rightly* in judicial affairs?

Plato. A very small matter; the least part of good conduct. He who only *judges rightly* is like those who labour to repair tattered and worn-out garments.

Dion. Must not he who is a tyrant be bold and brave?

Plato. He is the most fearful of all men. He even dreads his barber's razor, lest he should be destroyed by it.*

The tyrant, inferring from these and similar answers, that he had no flattery or favour to expect from Plato, ordered him directly out of his dominions, and even formed a design against his life. He put him on board a vessel sailing into Greece, with directions to the master either to sell him into slavery, or put him to death. The master accordingly sold him at Ægina —the same island on which the philosopher was born. His situation, however, was soon discovered, when he was redeemed by a brother philosopher, and sent home to Athens.

After a short interval, Dionysius repented of his ill-placed resentment, and wrote to Plato, earnestly entreating him to return to Syracuse. But Plato gave him the following spirited answer: "Philosophy does not allow me leisure to think of Dionysius."

After the death of the tyrant, and the accession of his son, Dionysius the younger, who was but a mere child, Plato received the most pressing invitations from his friends in Sicily to come over and undertake the education of the young king. The opportunity of usefulness seemed so promising that he could not decline it. He indulged the hope, and had some prospect, of being able to reform the government, and to introduce, in place of tyranny, his own theory of a Republic. Accordingly, he set sail for Sicily, where he was received with the highest honour. The young king took him into his own chariot, and sacrifices were offered in consequence of his arrival. New regulations were immediately introduced; the licentiousness of the court was restrained; moderation reigned in all the public festivals; the king assumed an air of benignity; philosophy was studied by the courtiers; and every good citizen assured himself of a happy revolution in the state of public morals. But the reformation so auspiciously commenced was of short

* Life of Plato, by Olympiodorus.

duration. Debauched and unprincipled men, who hung about the court, soon found access to the monarch's ear. They persuaded him that Dion, his uncle, by the help of Plato, was meditating designs against the government, and that a speedy revolution might be anticipated. Inflamed by suspicions of this sort, the king immediately imprisoned Dion, and afterwards banished him. Plato had an apartment allotted him in the palace, but a secret guard was placed about him, that no one might visit him without the king's knowledge. At length, upon the breaking out of war, Dionysius sent Plato back into his own country; promising, at the same time, that he would recall both him and Dion on the return of peace.

The philosopher and his friend Dion now found themselves together at Athens; and they together entered on those pursuits which were most congenial to their hearts. Never was royal pupil blessed with a more able and faithful teacher, and never was a teacher favoured with a more obedient and hopeful pupil.

It was not long, however, ere their happiness was interrupted by another request from Dionysius to Plato, that he would return to Syracuse. With this invitation, the philosopher was not at all disposed to comply. He pleaded his advanced age, and reminded the tyrant of the violation of his promise that, on the return of peace, Dion should be restored. Still, Dionysius would take no denial. He pretended to be inflamed with a love of wisdom, and had an unconquerable desire again to place himself under the instruction of Plato. The Pythagorean philosophers at Syracuse testified the same things, and united in the request that Plato would return. Indeed, Dion and his family urged him to undertake the voyage, hoping that he might be able to accomplish something in their favour.

Overcome by these solicitations, the philosopher at length consented. He put himself on board the splendid galley which Dionysius had sent for his accommodation, and was speedily wafted to Syracuse. The king met him in a magnificent chariot, and conducted him to his palace. The citizens rejoiced at his return, hoping that his wisdom would at length triumph over the tyrannical spirit of the prince, and that better times might soon be realized. Dionysius seemed divested of his for-

mer suspicions and resentments; listened with apparent pleasure to the philosopher's doctrines; and, among other expressions of regard, presented him with eighty talents of gold.

Still, Plato was soon satisfied that the monarch's favour was the result rather of vanity than of any substantial desire for improvement. He wished to have the credit of surrounding himself with learned men, and of affording them a liberal patronage, but was not inclined to reform either his government or his life. He utterly refused to recall Dion, and neglected the fulfilment of many other promises. The consequence was, that mutual distrust soon arose between him and the philosopher, each suspecting the other of evil designs, and each endeavouring to conceal his suspicions under the semblance of respect and kindness. Dionysius attempted to impose upon Plato, by condescending attentions, and Plato to deceive Dionysius by an appearance of confidence.

From the nature of the case, such a state of things could not be lasting. Plato soon requested permission to return into Greece, and when this was refused, to silence his complaints and reproaches, the tyrant put him under a guard of soldiers. His Pythagorean friends, however, interposed, and procured not only his liberation, but the king's consent that he should return to Athens. And as some atonement for the indignities which had been offered him, Dionysius gave him a splendid entertainment, and sent him away loaded with rich presents.

On his return to Greece, it was convenient for Plato to stop at Elis, and attend the celebration of the Olympic games. In this great and general assembly of the Greeks, his presence attracted universal admiration. By common consent, he seemed to be regarded as the first man in Greece.

Restored to his own country, Plato devoted the last years of his life to instruction in his beloved Academy. Possessing naturally a firm constitution, and having lived regularly and temperately, he enjoyed the happiness of a green old age. He died about the year 350 before Christ, at the advanced age of eighty-one. He was never married, and had no direct heirs, but left his estate to his brother Adimantus. He was buried in the grove and garden which had been the scene of his philosophical labours, amid the tears and lamentations of the wise

and good; statues were erected to his memory, and the day of his birth was long celebrated as a festival by his followers.

Much has been said as to unpleasant relations existing between him and Aristotle, but without any just occasion. In the structure of their minds, their tastes, and habits, they were very different, and could not regard each other as congenial spirits; but that Aristotle was a sincere mourner for him there can be no doubt. He caused a monument to be erected to his memory, on which he inscribed an epitaph, of which the following is a version:

> "To Plato's sacred name this tomb is reared,
> A name by Aristotle long revered;
> Far hence ye vulgar herd, nor dare to stain,
> With impious praise, this ever-hallowed fane."

The personal character of Plato has been very differently represented by his friends and his enemies; the former ascribing to it a more than human excellence, and the latter loading it with reproach and obloquy. The truth, undoubtedly, lies between them. His private character was not formed on Christian principles, nor will it bear comparison with those of Christian teachers generally. It was less pure and elevated than that of Socrates; and yet, compared with that of the eminent men by whom he was surrounded, there can be no doubt that it was a superior character. He sustained, and well sustained, both in principles and life, the character of a *Reformer;* one who sought to diffuse the light of truth, and recall his depraved contemporaries to the practice of virtue.

Several anecdotes of Plato are preserved, which reflect honour on his moral principles and character. Having raised his hand to correct a servant when in anger, he kept his arm fixed in that posture for a considerable time, and when inquired of as to the reason of his singular conduct, he replied: "I am punishing a passionate man." At another time, he said to one of his slaves, "I would chastise you, if I were not angry."

When told, at a certain time, that his enemies were slandering him, he remarked: "I will so live that no one will believe them." A friend observing his studious habits, even in old

age, inquired how long he intended to be a scholar. "As long," said he, "as I have need to grow wiser and better."

The works of Plato consist of his Dialogues and Epistles. Of the former, there are commonly reckoned thirty-five; of the latter, twelve or thirteen. If, however, instead of regarding the Republic and the Laws as constituting but two Dialogues, we reckon them as twenty-two, (which is the number of books which they contain,) the whole number of Dialogues will be fifty-five; the same as given by Mr. Taylor.

Different opinions have prevailed among critics and commentators as to the *genuineness* of certain portions of Plato's works, some ascribing more to him, and some less. Into questions of this sort we shall have no occasion now to enter.

In reviewing his works, we shall not follow the great body of his admirers, in tracing out mystical and allegorical senses, and searching for a hidden wisdom. He is in general a plain and beautiful writer, and we shall suppose him to speak out plainly just what he means. Those passages (and there are a few such) in which he speaks *occultly* with design, we shall not attempt to decipher, choosing rather to leave them to those who have taste and leisure for such undertakings.

In his Dialogues, Plato rarely, if ever, speaks in his own name, but generally under the assumed name of Socrates. It is Socrates that we hear defining, questioning, reasoning, disputing, and sometimes narrating what he had heard from others. In a few cases, a third person narrates what he professes to have heard from Socrates, or from some other distinguished individual.

From the free use made of the name of Socrates in these dialogues, the casual reader might be led to suppose that the opinions inculcated were those of Socrates, and not of Plato. But such a supposition would be unjust to both the philosophers. The basis of the Platonic philosophy, more especially of the moral and ethical part of it, was undoubtedly derived from Socrates; but Plato treats of many things—he gives utterance to a variety of opinions—of which Socrates, in all probability, had nothing to say. Indeed, it was a complaint of Socrates himself, and of some of his followers, while he lived, that Plato put words into his mouth which he never used.

Thus, when Socrates heard Plato recite his Lysis, he is reported to have said, "How much this young man here imputes to me, which I never uttered!" Xenophon denies that Socrates ever taught natural philosophy, or any mathematical science, and charges with misrepresentation those who ascribed to him discussions of this nature; referring undoubtedly to Plato, in whose dialogues Socrates is repeatedly introduced as discoursing upon these subjects.

In reviewing the dialogues of Plato, we shall not have occasion to notice each and all of them particularly. We have not time for such a labour; nor is at all necessary. The "Introductions," in Bohn's edition, furnish sufficient preliminary information to enable the reader to pursue the discussions with advantage. Our endeavour will be to classify the dialogues, so far as practicable, and speak of such only, and make such extracts as will be of interest to the general reader.

We will first call attention to those which, in point of subject, are *political.* These are the Laws, the Republic, the Politicus, the Theages, the Minos, and the Menexenus.

The longest of Plato's dialogues, though supposed by some to have been written among the last, is *the Laws.* It consists of twelve books, and occupies, in Bohn's edition, 548 closely printed pages. The *dramatis personæ* are an Athenian guest, supposed to be Plato; Clinias, a Cretan; and Megillus, a Lacedemonian. The last two have it in charge to frame laws for a new city or colony in Crete, and the Athenian guest is called upon to advise with them in so important a matter. He becomes the chief speaker throughout the whole of the twelve books, in the course of which he treats of law in general—its foundation, reason, and object. He proves the existence of the gods, in opposition to Democritus, and other atheists, and lays down rules respecting their worship. He treats of marriage, and the education of children, commencing with the first moment of their existence in this world, and tracing them up to their maturity. He prescribes regulations for domestic affairs, even the most minute, and gives laws for the citizens, in youth and age, peace and war, and in all the various circumstances and relations of life. Many of the laws here recommended are judicious and excellent, particularly those which

enjoin respect for the aged, and for parents. Others are minute and frivolous, descending to concerns which should never be made the subject of law, but ought rather to be left to the discretion of families and individuals.

Some of Plato's enactments are of so peculiar a character, that it may be proper to notice them. He requires all the inhabitants of the proposed city to *marry;* and if any male inhabitant shall continue "unmarried for five-and-thirty years, such an one shall be fined every year. If he possesses a large estate, he shall be fined one hundred drachms," and less in proportion, according to his means.

Plato allows the existence of slavery in his community, and proposes a variety of laws for the regulation of it. Take the following as an example. "If a person shall kill a slave belonging to another, he shall indemnify the master of the dead slave, or be fined twice the worth of it; the value to be estimated by the judges. If any one shall kill his own slave, he shall be purified according to law, but shall not be treated as a murderer."

Our lawgiver prohibits the use of wine to slaves, to young persons, and to all classes while engaged in the more important concerns of life. It may be drunk moderately by persons of middle age; more freely by those advanced in years; but never to intoxication, *except at the Bacchanalian feasts.* "To drink to intoxication is at no time becoming or safe, except in the festivals of that god by whom wine is given us."

Plato was a believer in witchcraft, and declared the acknowledged witch to be worthy of death. "If any one, by allurements, or incantations, or such like enchantments, is found endeavouring to injure another; if he is a diviner or interpreter of prodigies, let him be put to death. But if any one is accused of witchcraft, without being a diviner, let his punishment be determined by the judges."

Plato had an abhorrence of beggars, and proposed a law that all such should be banished. "Let there be no beggars in the city; and if any one attempts to procure a living in this way, let the præfects expel him from the market-place, and the mayor drive him from the city, and the governor banish him

from every other part of the region, that the whole country may be free from such a pest."

The *Republic* is a dialogue, or rather a narrative of a dialogue, in ten books, and is supposed to have been written at an earlier period than the Laws. It is a description, not of any community that ever existed, but of Plato's *beau ideal* of a community. The narrator throughout takes the name of Socrates. He commences with a discussion respecting *justice;* holding that it can in no case be expedient to be unjust; and that justice and right in the individual and in a civil polity, are the same. He passes to a consideration of the poets, whom (without excepting even Homer) he pronounces unsafe and improper to be studied by the young. The fables of Homer, respecting the gods—their amours, their jealousies, their deceptions, and contentions—will lead, he thinks, to unworthy conceptions of the gods, and result in impiety, perhaps in atheism.

The prescriptions in the Republic on the subject of education, and in regard to internal domestic affairs generally, are very similar to those in the Laws. On some points, however, they are essentially dissimilar, and even opposite. The Laws enjoin marriage, and contemplate the possession of private property; but in the Republic, all things are made common, *not excepting wives and children.* The community is to constitute one great family. Men and women are to engage in the same amusements and employments, distributed to each according to his or her particular capacity and strength. Children, when born, become the property of the state; are to be educated for the state; and fathers, not knowing their own children, are to love all alike, and feel a parental regard for all.

In the latter part of the Republic, Plato speaks of the different forms of government, and points out the respective advantages and dangers of each. He shows how free governments, unless peculiarly guarded, are liable to become, first anarchical, and then tyrannical. In conclusion, he sets forth the rewards of justice, and the miseries of injustice, not only in this life, but in that which is to come. And in the absence of revelation to instruct him as to the future world, he tells a story of one Erus, a Pamphylian, who was slain in battle, and

returned to life, after twelve days, and of the account which he gave both of the happiness of the righteous, and the miseries of the wicked, beyond the grave.

Plato evidently set a high value upon that theory of a community which is detailed in the Republic. He repeats the substance of it more than once. He recommended it to the adoption of several of the surrounding states. The hope of seeing it tested by experiment in Sicily, perhaps more than any other consideration, induced him to make his repeated visits to the court of Dionysius.

In the *Theages*, one of the dialogues which we have ranked under the head of *Political*, Demodocus, a father, brings Theages, his son, to Socrates, seeking advice as to an instructor for him in political wisdom. Socrates dissuades the father from having recourse to the Sophists, and consents to associate the youth with himself, *i. e., if his dæmon do not oppose.* Having thus incidentally spoken of his dæmon, Socrates explains to Theages what he means by it. "There is," says he, "a certain dæmoniacal power which has followed me, by a divine allotment, from childhood. This is a voice which, when it is given forth, always signifies to me that *I should abandon what I am about to do;* but it never, at any time, *incites me.* Hence, if one of my friends communicates any design to me, and I hear the voice, it signifies that the design is to be abandoned." Socrates goes on to speak of several instances in which his friends had consulted him respecting their plans, and he had heard the voice, and had warned them to desist; but they refused to listen, and had perished in their undertakings.

Much has been said and written respecting the dæmon of Socrates. The above is a plain account of it, as he understood it. In the phraseology of those times, the word dæmon did not signify exclusively a bad spirit, but more frequently, perhaps, a good one; and whatever explanation *we* may give of the matter, there can be no doubt that Socrates believed that he was attended by some such guardian angel, whose province it was, not to direct him, but *to warn him off*, whenever he was about to engage in any unpropitious or improper undertaking.

The next class of Plato's dialogues to which we call atten-

tion are the *ethical*, the *moral*, the *reformatory*. They are the eight following, viz., the first Alcibiades, the Philebus, the Meno, the Protagoras, the Clitopho, the Laches, the Charmides, and the Hipparchus. Of Plato's theory of morals, the following is the sum: That virtue is to be pursued as the true good of the soul, insuring to the individual practising it that tranquillity and internal harmony which constitute the mind's proper happiness; whereas vice is a disease of the soul, arising from delusion, or imperfect knowledge, or the corrupting influence of the body, resulting in a thorough derangement of all the faculties, and in the misery of its unhappy victim. He inculcates with much earnestness the practice of virtue, and would have the ordinary pleasures of life subordinated to this "chief end of man." These principles will not be found, indeed, on any one page of Plato, or in any one separate dialogue, but may be gathered from his moral teachings generally.

In the dialogues which are here grouped together, much is said respecting the excellence of virtue, and the manner in which this good is to be attained; and yet the questions most nearly connected with the subject are not, in any case, directly answered. Error is refuted, improper views and notions are corrected, the inquirer is cornered, and there, not unfrequently, he is left. It is no part of the teacher's object to decide questions for his pupil, but to stir him up to thought and inquiry, and thus prepare him to decide them for himself. In the Clitopho, for example, while the pupil praises his teacher for many things, he complains that he has not directly told him what virtue is, nor how it may be attained; and on this account he proposes to leave him and seek some other guide.

The class of dialogues here noticed were called by the ancients *tentative*, and *peirastic*. The principal object of them seems to have been, not so much to give instruction, as to try the pupil's strength, correct his errors, make him acquainted with unforeseen difficulties and objections, and thus check his confidence in his own, perhaps too hastily formed, conclusions.

The subjects of several of Plato's more important dialogues—as the Parmenides, the Timæus, the second Alcibiades, and the Euthyphro—are *metaphysical* and *theological*.

Parmenides was a venerable Pythagorean philosopher, who, with Zeno, came to Athens, when Socrates was a young man. They held a conversation, or more properly a discussion, which was listened to by Pythodorus, and by him related to Antiphon, who repeats it, as here recorded, to a circle of friends. The Parmenides is then a narrative, at second hand, of a dialogue between Parmenides, Socrates, and Zeno, at least such is the dramatic apparatus which the writer has chosen to employ. The dialogue properly consists of two parts; the first *metaphysical*, treating of ideas; and the second *theological*, referring to the gods. Plato's theory of ideas is here pretty fully unfolded. Ideas, with him, are certain *species* or *forms*, having a real subsistence, and existing primarily in the great First Cause. They are *the patterns*, *the exemplars*, according to which every thing in nature is made.

Like most of the ancient Theists, Plato believed in a *First Cause of all things*, whom he denominates *the One*, and *the Good*, who is super-essential, ineffable, inconceivable, whom no thought can reach, or words can adequately describe. The inferior gods are *progressions*, *emanations*, directly or indirectly, from the One; and they, not he, are immediately concerned in the formation and government of the world. Indeed, the world itself, according to Plato, is a god, being animated with a divine, indwelling soul.

Though the name of Socrates is perpetually recurring in the Parmenides, the philosophy of the dialogue is Pythagorean, and not Socratic. Both the phraseology and the reasoning are metaphysical, transcendental, and in some places occult, to the last degree. In other parts, the argument is clear, and constitutes a fine specimen of the dialectic of the ancient philosophers.

The subject of the Timæus is partly *theological*, and partly *physiological*. It treats of nature and of nature's gods. The principal speakers are Socrates, Critias, and Timæus; the last of whom is a Pythagorean, recently from Italy, who is now on a visit to the philosophers of Athens. Socrates commences by recapitulating the leading parts of the dialogue of the Republic. Critias next tells the story of the Atlantic island, of which Solon had been informed by the Egyptian priests.

Timæus follows, and unfolds, at great length, the Pythagorean cosmogony, or system of nature. He teaches that the visible universe had a cause; that its artificer was not the Supreme God, but one who had indirectly emanated from him, and is here called Jupiter; that he formed it, not out of nothing, but from a confused chaotic mass, and after a perfect *pattern* or *idea*, both of which had existed from eternity; that a divine soul at once entered into it, and animated it, and so the world itself became a god. Jupiter also generated time, and the heavenly bodies for the measurement of time, placing the moon nearest us, the sun next, the planet Venus next, &c. Timæus further speaks of the origin of human souls; of their happy state before coming into this world; of their descent into bodies; of their probation here; and of their destiny in a future life. He speaks of the different parts of the body, and of the elements of which they are severally composed. The eyes, he thinks, consist chiefly of fire; and he thus explains the fact of our seeing the images of things in a mirror: "From the communication of the external and internal fire with each other, such appearances are necessarily produced; the fire of the eye mingling itself with the fire diffused about the smooth and splendid surface of the mirror." Timæus here speaks expressly of *the circulation of the blood*, the discovery of which has been (it seems improperly) ascribed to Harvey. "The heart," he says, "is the fountain both of the veins and the blood, which is vehemently impelled through all the members of the body, in a circular progression."

In short, we have here a full system of *physiology* and *psychology*, as understood by the Pythagoreans, and as received by Plato. We have a description of every part of the body, and of the manner of its formation; also of the several diseases of the body, and of the causes that produce them. The different faculties, emotions, and affections of the soul are also considered, and directions are given, and motives urged, for the purification of the soul, and its due preparation for another life.

Before dismissing the Timæus, it will be necessary to consider more fully the story of the Atlantic Island. As remarked above, the tradition respecting it was received by Solon from the Egyptian priests. It is as follows: At a very remote

period, "the Atlantic sea had an island before that mouth of it which is now called the Pillars of Hercules, [the straits of Gibraltar] and this island was greater than both Lybia and Asia Minor put together, and afforded an easy passage to other neighbouring islands. It was also easy to pass from those islands to all the continent which borders on the Atlantic sea. In this great island a combination of kings was formed, who with mighty power subdued the whole island, together with many other islands and parts of the continent. And besides this, they subjected to their dominion all Lybia as far as Egypt, and Europe as far as the Tuscan sea." Against this confederated host, the Athenians and other Greeks went forth to battle. They repelled their incursions, chastised their insolence, and drove them back to their own land. "In after times, prodigious earthquakes and deluges taking place, and bringing with them desolation, all that warlike race, and the Atlantic Island itself, was swallowed up in the sea, and in the space of one day and night entirely disappeared. And hence that sea is at present unnavigable, owing to the impeding mud which the subsiding island produced."

Such, for substance, is the tradition which Solon received from the Egyptian priests. There can be no doubt that Plato believed it; for he commenced a separate dialogue, which he did not live to finish, called *the Atlanticus*, in which he describes more fully the sunken island, its inhabitants, and laws, and speaks of the war, in which the Atlantics were vanquished by the Greeks.*

This story was also believed by the oldest interpreters of Plato. Crantor affirms that in his time, "it was preserved in Egypt, being inscribed on pillars." Proclus quotes the following passage from Marcellus, the author of an ancient history of Ethiopia: "That so great an island once existed is proved by those who have written histories concerning the external sea. For they relate that, in their times, there were seven islands in the Atlantic sea sacred to Proserpine; and three others of great magnitude, one of which was sacred to Pluto, another to Ammon, and the third to Neptune. The inhabitants of this

* See Plutarch's Life of Solon.

last island preserved the memory of the great Atlantic island, and of its governing for a long period all the islands in the Atlantic sea."

Plato has three dialogues—the Phædrus, the Lysis, and the Banquet—on the universally interesting subject of *love*. Of these, the most amusing is the latter, which is called *the Banquet*, because it was delivered at a banquet, provided by a noble Athenian, whose name was Agatho. The speakers were six, viz., Phædrus, Pausanias, Eryximachus, Aristophanes the celebrated comic poet, Agatho their host, and Socrates. It would be too great a labour to go into an examination, or to present an analysis, of the several speeches on this joyous occasion. The following amusing theory of love was introduced by Aristophanes. The human race, he thinks, were originally formed double, the two sexes being united in a single person. Each one of them had four hands, four feet, two faces, and all the other members double. Thus constituted, their strength was prodigious, their minds haughty, and they undertook to invade the very heavens. They set about raising an ascent to the skies, with intention to attack the gods. Upon this, Jupiter and the other deities held a consultation as to what should be done to the rebels, but could decide upon no punishment proper to be inflicted. They could not resolve upon destroying them, as they did the giants, for thus the whole human race would be extinct; nor yet could they suffer them to persist in their designs. At length, after much consideration, Jupiter said: "I have a plan by which the race may be preserved, and yet an end be put to their mischief. I will divide every one of them into two, by which means their strength will be diminished, although their number will be increased. I will so divide them, that each one shall walk upon two feet; and if, after that, they are not quiet, I will divide them again, and they shall go hopping each upon one foot. And as he said, so he did. He cut the whole of the human race in twain, as people cut eggs to keep them in salt." The wounds thus inflicted he directed Apollo to heal, and mankind were placed at once upon a *footing* entirely new.

"When all the human race had been thus bisected, each section began to long for its fellow-half; and when these

chanced to meet together, they mutually embraced, and wished that they could grow together and be united. Thus deeply is mutual love implanted by nature in all the race; coupling individuals together; endeavouring out of two to make one; thus bringing them again to their pristine form."

"Every one of us is at present but the tally of a human creature, bisected like a polypus, and out of one made two. And hence it is that we are all in continual search after our several counterparts to tally with us; and whenever it happens that a man meets with his other half, the very counterpart of himself, they are both smitten with strong love; they recognise their former union; they are powerfully attracted by the consciousness that they belong to each other; and are unwilling to be again parted, though for a short time. And if Vulcan were to stand over them with his fire and forge, and offer to melt them down, and run them together, and of two to make them one again, they would both say that this was just what they desired."

Such was the theory of love propounded by Aristophanes, the old comic poet, at a banquet in Athens, more than two thousand years ago; and who will say that it is not ingenious and captivating? It beats even "the Indian philosopher," who held that souls were wedded in heaven, and that in their descent to earth, some "lost their fellows on the road."

In the time of Socrates, there was a class of men travelling over Greece, calling themselves *rhetoricians* and *sophists*. They were proud, boastful, and disputatious, professing to know almost every thing, and to be able to prove or disprove any proposition that might be announced. They trumpeted their own praises, drew disciples after them, and received large sums of money as the price of their instructions. Still, they were, in most instances, but mere punsters, playing on the meaning of words, and astonishing the common people with a show of wisdom which they did not possess. As might be expected, the sophists hated Socrates, and Socrates despised them. Some of the most amusing of the dialogues before us—as the greater and lesser Hippias, the Georgias, the Euthydemus, and the Sophista—are but reports of his contests and conversations with the sophists.

At a certain time Hippias, a versatile and flippant sophist, made his appearance in the Lyceum. He was vain of his person, his talents, his dress, and his ornaments, being tricked out in all the finery of the age. Presently Socrates meets him, and thus accosts him. "O Hippias, the fine and the wise! What a long time it is since you last touched at Athens!" To which Hippias replies, "It is because I have not had leisure, Socrates. For the Eleans, you know, whenever they have any public affairs to negotiate, always apply to me; for they consider me as the ablest person among them to form a right judgment of what is argued, and to make a proper report to them."

After such an introduction, Socrates persists in plying Hippias with affected praises, just to draw out and expose the coxcomb's vanity, till at length they hit upon the principal topic of discussion, viz., *the beautiful.* "Can you tell me now," says Socrates, "what is the beautiful?" "No difficulty," replies Hippias; "the easiest thing in the world." And so he undertakes, time after time, to make out a definition of the beautiful. These definitions the old philosopher sifts and refutes, till he makes them appear perfectly ridiculous. Once and again, he drives the little sophist to the wall, pins him there for a while, and then lets him loose, just to see how he will flounce and flutter. This game is continued, until Hippias, at length, loses all patience. He complains that his argument has been "cut and torn into a thousand pieces;" and concludes with gravely advising Socrates to have done with such "petty, paltry disputes," and no longer continue "playing with straws and quibbles." This must suffice as a specimen of Socrates' manner of dealing with the sophists.

We pass over quite a number of Plato's dialogues,* and hasten to those which relate to the trial and death of Socrates.

By his manner of teaching and his course of life, Socrates had incurred the bitter hatred of the sophists and sensualists at Athens, and of the multitude who acted under their influence.

* The dialogues passed over are the Epinomis, the Theætetus, and the Rivals, on the subject of philosophy or science; the Io, on poetry; and the Cratylus, on words or names. The authenticity of the Epinomis has been denied.

These men commenced their attack upon him by inducing Aristophanes, in his comedy of the Clouds, to bring the venerable philosopher into ridicule upon the stage. This having succeeded, Melitus, Anytus, and Lycon—whose names of infamy should never be forgotten—stood forth formally and publicly to accuse him. He was charged with making innovations upon the religion of his country, and with corrupting the minds of youth; and was summoned to take his trial before the tribunal of Five Hundred. Plato expected and attempted to plead his cause, but the judges would not allow him to proceed. Socrates appeared, therefore, in his own defence; and his speech was recorded, at the time, by Plato, under the title of *The Apology of Socrates.*

The speech of such a man as Socrates when on trial for his life, reported, too, by such a man as Plato, should have great interest on the ground of mere curiosity. It is also a deeply interesting performance on account both of its matter and manner. We find here no splendor of diction, no fervid appeals to the passions, none of the tricks and artifices of oratory; but all is grave, simple, direct, dignified. Socrates addresses his judges much as he was wont to do in common discourse, proposing questions, stating facts, and pressing home upon them his conclusions. He begins by refuting the accusations of his enemies, such as that he was a mere sophist, whose object it was to pervert the truth, and make the worse appear the better reason; that he was a corrupter of youth, and an innovator upon the religion of his country. He affirms his belief in the Athenian gods, declaring that he not only worships them himself, but endeavours to persuade others, young and old, to do the same.* He assures his judges that he is above the fear of death; that he has pursued his particular course of life not with any view to personal emolument, but because he thought it right and just; and that he shall be deterred from it by no punishment which they have it in their power to inflict.

After the vote had been taken, and he had been condemned by a majority of three voices, he again addressed his judges

* A complete refutation of the pretence, that Socrates was not a worshipper of the heathen gods.

with the same calmness and dignity as before; assuring them that his death would soon be as much regretted as it was now desired, and warning his accusers that a terrible retribution awaited them—that they should come to a speedy and untimely end; which was actually the case.

In the closing part of his address, Socrates speaks of his death as a departure to the society of the good in another world, and then asks, "If this be true, O my judges, what greater good can there be than this? At what rate would not either of you purchase a conference with Orpheus and Musæus, with Hesiod and Homer? What would not any one give for an interview with him who led that mighty army against Troy; or with Ulysses, or Sisyphus, or ten thousand others, both male and female, that might be mentioned? For to associate and converse with them would be an inestimable felicity. Truly, I should be willing to die often, if these things are true."

After the condemnation of Socrates, circumstances occurred which delayed the execution of his sentence some thirty days. During this period he was in prison, where he was often visited by his followers. Among those who came was Crito, his early patron, his oldest and best friend, and this introduces the dialogue of the *Crito*.

Crito came to urge Socrates to make his escape; assuring him that it could easily be done, using many arguments, and promising him all needed pecuniary assistance. Socrates thanks him for his kindness, but utterly refuses to accede to his wishes. He insists that we ought to despise the opinions of the vulgar, endure calamities patiently, and submit to the laws. As we enjoy the benefit of the laws, we ought to consent to bear the burthens, and meet the destiny which they impose. Such is the subject and substance of this dialogue. It is full of noble sentiments, altogether worthy of the venerable philosopher, and suited to the trying circumstances in which he was placed. "It is never right," says he, "either to do an injury, or to return an injury, or when suffering evil, to revenge it, by doing evil in return."

At length, Socrates' last day arrived. At the going down of the sun he was to drink the fatal hemlock, and pass away to that other life of which he had so clear and joyful an anticipa-

tion. In the morning of that day he was visited by his wife and children, whose lamentations distressed him, and he directed them to be removed. His philosophic friends then clustered around him, and the day was spent in discussing the most appropriate and interesting topics. These conversations were subsequently narrated by Phædo to Echarates, and the report of them constitutes the dialogue called the *Phædo.*

The great subject of this dialogue, or of the conversation between Socrates and his friends on the occasion referred to, is *the immortality of the soul.* Socrates had often adverted to this subject before, and had expressed his belief of it; but now he enters into a demonstration of its truth, and undertakes to free it from objections. As he had not the light of inspiration to guide him, or its voice to instruct him in any way, it may be interesting to know what kind of arguments he would employ, in proving the great doctrine of a future life.

1. The first argument which he urges is, that every thing in nature is produced or generated from *its opposite.* Thus, the worse proceeds from the better, and the better from the worse. From the state of wakefulness we pass to sleep, and from sleep to wakefulness. And as from being alive we go to the dead, so from being dead we enter into another life.

2. The soul must subsist after death, because it existed *prior to the present life.* Socrates here assumes the soul's pre-existence, and infers its continued existence when the body is dead.

3. The soul will exist for ever, because it is a *simple, unchanging substance.* If it were a compound, like the body, it must, like the body, be dissolved. But as it is one simple substance, and not subject to mutations like the body, the conclusion is that it will never be dissolved.

4. It belongs to the soul to govern the body, and not the body the soul; which proves that the soul is allied to divinity, and like that is immortal.

5. Into whatever the soul enters, it introduces *life;* which shows that life is essential to it, and that it can never be subject to the opposite of life, which is death.

These are all the arguments for the soul's immortality which occur in the Phædo. In different parts of Plato's writings we find other arguments. Take the following from

the Phædrus: "The soul is *self-motive*. That which is self-motive inherently and perpetually moves. But that which always moves with an inward motion, always lives. Hence the soul is immortal." Again: "If the soul is self-motive, it is itself the *principle of motion*. But the principle of motion must be unbegotten, and of course immortal." In the tenth book of the Republic, Plato argues the immortality of the soul from its *indestructible nature*. Nothing *foreign* to itself can ever destroy it; and its own evils, such as injustice and wickedness, cannot destroy it, since they render it, if possible, more alive and sensitive to suffering than before.

Socrates not only urges these arguments at length, and with a great variety of illustration, but he listens patiently to the objections of his friends, and obviates them to their satisfaction; thus preparing himself and them, in the best manner, for the solemn event which was so soon to separate him from them.

A little before sunset he went into the bath, saying that he preferred to wash himself before drinking the poison, rather than trouble the women to wash his dead body. His friend Crito inquired of him how he would be buried. "Just as you please," said he; "that is, if you can catch me," at the same time, smiling and saying, "Crito thinks that *I* am he whom he will shortly see dead; whereas *I*, *Socrates*, shall then have departed to the joys of the blessed."

He now took his final leave of his wife and children; for he had three sons. When the executioner came to administer the poison, he was so overcome with the calmness and fortitude of his victim, that he could not restrain his tears. And when his friends, the philosophers, saw him actually drinking it, they too were quite overwhelmed. They covered their faces with their mantles, and some of them wept aloud. But Socrates checked them, saying, "What are you doing, excellent men! I sent away the women, lest they should produce a disturbance of this nature. Is it not proper to die joyfully, and with propitious omens? Be quiet, therefore, and restrain your tears."

When the poison began to take effect, he laid himself down upon his couch, and closed his eyes. At length, opening them, he said: "Crito, we owe a cock to Æsculapius. Discharge

this debt for me, and do not neglect it." These were his last words. The soul of great Socrates was soon released, and nought remained but his lifeless and (as he deemed it) his comparatively worthless body.

The grand source of that consolation which he felt in the dying hour, Socrates repeatedly explained. "Unless I thought," said he, "that I should depart to other gods who are wise and good, and to the society of men who have gone from this life, and are better now than when among us, I might well be troubled at death. But now I believe assuredly that I shall go to the gods, who are perfectly good; and I hope also to dwell with wise and good men; so that I cannot be afflicted at the thought of dying; believing that death is not the end of us, and that it will be much better hereafter for the good than the evil."

The Letters of Plato relate chiefly to the affairs of Dion and Dionysius, and are addressed, for the most part, to friends in Sicily. They are of little importance compared with the dialogues, and may be passed over in this brief review of his works.

The style of Plato's writings, except where it is rendered obscure by design, or by the nature of the subject, is remarkably clear. It is too diffuse to be nervous; but it is easy and natural in its structure; the words are well chosen and arranged; and the whole moves on, in a pure and lively current, bearing the reader forward to the object in view. In regard to it Cicero is reported to have said: "If Jupiter were to come down and speak to us in Greek, he would, doubtless, borrow the style of Plato."

In early life Plato wrote poetry; and through life he seems to have been as much a poet as a philosopher. Aristotle describes his dialogues as occupying "a middle region between verse and prose." His philosophical speculations, so far as they are his own, are in general *mere theories*, the creations of fancy, and not stable, logical *deductions*, based on the foundation of experiment and fact. And the reasonings on which he relied to support his theories are chiefly of an imaginative character. Comparisons are introduced; analogies are traced; sometimes fable or tradition is resorted to. There is in Plato very little of close, compact logic, of consecutive, syllogystic

reasoning and argument. In this respect he differs widely from Aristotle.

The mode of discussion more commonly pursued in Plato's dialogues is that which is still denominated the Socratic. Without doubt it originated with Socrates. After a brief introduction, the chief speaker or teacher usually commences with asking some simple question. The answer seems easy, and is promptly given. This prepares the way for another question, to which an answer is also given. And thus the questioning and answering go on, running backward or forward, as the case may be, proceeding from the simple to the complex, and from the plain to the more abstruse, till at length the respondent finds himself in deep water; entangled, it may be, in a net from which he cannot easily escape. And here, not unfrequently, the catechist leaves him, to meditate upon his situation, and extricate himself the best way he can.

Though generally clear in his style of teaching, we have said that Plato is sometimes obscure. After the manner of the Pythagoreans and Egyptians, he wraps himself up in a veil of intentional mysticism and darkness. Take the following passage from the Republic as an example: "The period to that which is divinely generated is that which the perfect number comprehends; and to that which is generated by man, that in which the augmentations, surpassing and surpassed, when they shall have received three restitutions, and four boundaries of things; assimilating and dissimilating, increasing and decreasing, shall render all things correspondent and effable; of which the sesquitertian progeny, when conjoined with the pentad, and thrice increased, affords two harmonies. One of these, the equally equal, is a hundred times a hundred; but the other, of equal length, indeed, but more oblong, is of a hundred numbers from effable diameters of pentads, each being deficient by unity; and from two numbers that are ineffable, and from a hundred cubes of the triad. But the whole geometrical number of this kind is the author of better and worse generations." This, it will be allowed, beats the Platonics, mystics, and transcendentalists of our own day.

If it shall seem strange to any that a man like Plato, whose mind was clear as the silver brook, and who was capable of

writing in a flowing, beautiful, and altogether perspicuous style, should so wrap up, and cloud, and confound his ideas; it is but just that we listen to his own apology. "It would be to no purpose," says he in his seventh Epistle, "to lay open to mankind at large the doctrines of philosophy, which are adapted to the comprehension of only a few intelligent persons; and *from obscure and imperfect hints, these will be able to conceive their full import.*"

In hope of obtaining light in regard to obscure passages in Plato, some have had recourse to his more ancient commentators, but they have been disappointed; for these not only make his obscure passages more obscure, but those which are perfectly clear, and need no explanation, they usually contrive to turn into darkness. Like some of the interpreters of our Bible, they discover mountains of sense and mountains of nonsense, under the simplest forms of speech. Take the following example, selected almost at random: "When we arrived at Athens from Clazomenia, we fortunately met with Adimantus and Glaucus, who introduced us to their brother Antiphon." This is the commencement of "the Parmenides"—a perfectly plain narrative sentence. Hear now the comment which Proclus makes upon it. "The departure from Clazomenia evinces an energy exempt from physical reasons; and the meeting with Adimantus and Glaucus indicates the dominion of the duad in united multitude. And their introduction to Antiphon denotes their returning to unity, by which they derive perfection, and a plenitude of divine goods. For in every order of gods, there is a monad, and the dominion of the duad; and the whole distributed is conjoined with the monad through united multitude; and the duad which it contains is the mother, and as it were the root, of this multitude." Such is the farrago of mystery and nonsense poured forth by a learned man, with a view to interpret and make plain one of the plainest, simplest passages in any language. And this is but one of a thousand specimens which might be quoted from the ancient scholiasts on Plato.

In entering upon a consideration of Plato's doctrines, it may be well to premise, that both he and Socrates regarded themselves as in some sense, *inspired;* so that whatever they taught came clothed with more or less of Divine authority. In

his Apology, speaking of what he had taught, Socrates says: "I am ordered to do thus *by divinity;* by oracles, by dreams, and by every mode in which anything was ever commanded to be done by man." So in the seventh book of the Laws, Plato represents the long discussion in which he had engaged as "not having been without *divine inspiration.*" In the Phædrus, also, the claim to inspiration is repeatedly asserted.

That Plato, like Socrates, was an earnest believer in the popular religion of his country, no one at all acquainted with his writings can doubt. He had, indeed, his peculiar mode of explaining this religion, but that he believed and taught it, is unquestionable. Still, like most of the polytheists of Greece and Rome, the faith of Plato rested, ultimately, on *one supreme God,* the eternal source and great first cause of all. This doctrine of one God seems, however, to have had but little practical influence with Plato and his followers; for in their conceptions of him, they exalted him above all direct concern in the creation or government of the world; above all conception and thought; and (if words have any meaning) above *existence itself.* In the Parmenides, Plato thus speaks of him. "The One, therefore, in no respect *is:* For to say that he is, would be to ascribe to him being and essence; whereas he is above *being itself.*" Again: "The One neither *is one*, nor *is;* neither does any name belong to him, nor discourse, nor science, nor sense, nor opinion. He can neither be named, nor spoken of, nor conceived by opinion, nor be known, nor be perceived by any being." What idea could the Platonists form of a God, to whom language such as this was applicable? And what possible influence would the belief of such a God have upon them, unless it were to puzzle and confound them?

From this great Fountain of being—itself above all being—Plato taught that numberless inferior divinities of different orders had,—either directly or indirectly, and by an eternal emanation, —proceeded. We say by an *eternal* emanation; for Plato compared it to the light streaming forth from the sun, which is coeval with the sun itself. The highest order of the gods—those which proceed directly from the Supreme—approach the nearest to his ineffable nature. Those which go forth directly from them, but indirectly from the great Fountain, are more unlike

him than their immediate progenitors. At about the third remove from the Supreme One, is Jupiter, the Demiurge, the former, the artificer, of the sensible universe. The materials or elements out of which the worlds were made, viz. earth, air, fire, and water, had existed, in a confused chaotic state, from all eternity. In the shaping of these materials, and their organization into the world we inhabit, three divinities seem to have been directly concerned. One contained within himself, and kept in view, the *idea*, the *pattern*, according to which every thing was to be fashioned.* Another performed the work of *fabrication*, according to the model thus presented. The third took instant possession of the new-made world, entered into it, animated it, became its soul, and thus constituted it a living thing, a god.

The earth, according to this philosophy, is the centre of the universe, and the heavenly bodies, placed at different distances, move round it; having been formed much as the earth was, except that their constituent element is more exclusively fire. They, too, are animated by appropriate divinities, and are also gods. It must be remembered, however, that the order of things here detailed is rather that of nature than of time; since the whole is represented as being alike eternal. Even the world we inhabit, according to Plato, has existed for ever.

The fact that three of the gods were concerned, as above stated, in the work of creation, has led some to imagine that Plato's theology involved the doctrine of the Trinity. But Plato believed in no Trinity, at least in the Christian acceptation of the term. He taught the existence of several *triads* among the gods. The one concerned, as we have seen, in the work of creation, is called the *fabricative* or *demiurgic* triad. But Plato's triads consist of *three distinct gods;* and they are all of them *inferior divinities—emanations*, directly or indirectly, from the One Supreme. Here, surely, is no strong resemblance to the doctrine of three *co-equal, co-eternal, personal distinctions in the one uncreated essence of the Godhead*, as this is held in the Christian church.

* By the New Platonists this personage was regarded as *the Divine Logos, the Reason.*

The thought that Plato's trinity bore any resemblance to the Christian Trinity seems first to have originated with the New Platonists, in the second century after Christ. They were a sect of philosophers who held that all religions are much the same, only differently expressed; and who, of course, were interested to trace out as many resemblances between Platonism and Christianity as possible.

Among the eternal emanations from the Supreme, were not only gods of different orders—the intelligible and intellectual, the supercelestial and mundane—but also *demons*, *heroes*, and *the souls of men*. The demons were an order of beings superior to ourselves, some good and some bad, occupying a sort of middle region between gods and men. Those honoured as heroes were thought to have had both a divine and a human origin; to have had one parent a god, or a demon, and the other some favoured individual of the human race.

The souls of men Plato believed had existed from eternity. Before descending into bodies, they dwelt each in his own star, enjoying a state of great purity and blessedness. "We were then," says Plato in the Phædrus, "initiated into and made spectators of, entire, simple, quietly stable, and blessed visions; residing in pure light, and being ourselves pure, and free from this surrounding vestment, which we call body, and to which we are now bound, like an oyster to its shell."

How long we dwelt in this beatific state, previous to our first connection with bodies, and through how many bodies we have already passed, Plato does not inform us. In the third book of the Laws, he represents this earth to have been inhabited, to have contained cities, and to have had political institutions, for a vastly long period of time—indeed, as he says, "for an infinity of time." But the moment the human soul first entered into a body—whenever this may have been, and from whatever cause—that instant it became contaminated. No doctrine is more fully or plainly inculcated by Plato than this, that *the body is the prison and corrupter of the soul.* In the seventh book of the Republic, he represents the soul, while here in the body, as in a *dark cavern, and in chains.* He says also in the Phædo: "So long as we are connected with the body, and *our soul is contaminated with such an evil,*

we can never sufficiently obtain the object of our desire." According to Plato, the great *apostasy* of the soul consists in its descent into this world, and its connection with the body. Its *redemption* will consist in its becoming purified, by the exercise of what he calls the *cathartic virtues*, from the defilements of a mortal nature, and its being restored to its primitive habit and state.

To effect this recovery, it may be necessary for the soul to pass through a great many bodies in time to come, as it may have done in time past; and peradventure it may not be restored at all. But when her pristine perfection *is* recovered (if it shall be) to as great an extent as is possible to an inhabitant of earth, she then returns, at death, to her kindred star, and enjoys a blissful life. Then, too, being winged, she unites with the gods in the government of the present world. But let her be careful how she uses her wings; for if they become mutilated or broken, she will be doomed to descend again, and go through with another probation in the body.

According to the Platonic theology, the *government* of the world, like its creation, belongs not to the One Supreme, but is left entirely to inferior divinities, who consequently receive nearly all the worship. Theirs are the supplications, the altars, the offerings. The One Ineffable can be approached only by the ultra-transcendentals, and by them only in holy silence. Proclus thus describes the worship of the Supreme.

"Let us now, if ever," says he, "remove from ourselves multiform knowledge, exterminate all the variety of life, and in perfect quiet approach near to the cause of all things. Let not only opinions, and fancy, and the passions be at rest, but let the air and the universe itself be still; and let all things conspire to raise us, by a tranquil power, to communion with the Ineffable. Having transcended the intelligible, and with eyes nearly closed, let us stand, and adore, and celebrate him, as unfolding into light the whole intelligible and intellectual genus of gods, together with all the super-mundane and mundane divinities; himself the God of all gods, the Unity of all unities, as more ineffable than all silence, and more unknown than all essence; as holy among the holies, and concealed in the intelligible gods."

By Hades, Plato understood (according to the strict etymology of the term) the *unseen world*, the *world of spirits*, including both the good and the evil. The moment any one passes away from the present life, whatever his character or destiny may be, he finds himself in Hades, or the unseen world. He comes at once into the presence of his judge, by whom, if he is corrupt, he is sent down to Tartarus—a horrid gulf or prison in the bowels of the earth; but if righteous, he is dismissed to the islands of the blessed.

The sufferings of the wicked in the other world are variously described. Some of them are of the most revolting and terrific nature. Those who are not incurable are, after a destined period, sent into other bodies; it may be the bodies of animals, or even insects. In the Phædrus, we read of some who became grasshoppers. But such as have proved themselves incorrigible, are *never to be released.* On this point Plato is clear and positive. Thus, in the Phædo he says: "Those who appear to be incurable, through the magnitude of their offences,—because they have perpetrated either many and great sacrileges, or unjust slaughters which are contrary to law, or other things of this kind,—these, a destiny proportioned to their guilt hurls into Tartarus, from which *they will never be discharged.*" He says also in the Gorgias: "It is proper that every one who is punished should either become better, and derive advantage from his punishment, or *become an example to others;* that others, seeing his sufferings, may be terrified and made better. The former class are they who have been guilty of curable offences; but those who have acted unjustly in the extreme, and through such crimes have become incurable, serve as examples to others."

The morality which Plato inculcated was as pure, perhaps, as the nature of his religion, and the customs of the country in which he lived, would permit. He could not prohibit intoxication at the Bacchanalian festivals, and he was obliged to pander to some other vices which the religion of the state tended rather to foster, than to discourage. But excepting some blemishes of this sort, the moral code of Plato had little tendency to sensualism, but leaned rather to the other side. The flesh must be mortified, sensual indulgences restrained, and the

influence of the body—that great corrupter of the soul—must be reduced to the narrowest limit.

Of Plato's doctrine of ideas, we have spoken already. He considered ideas, not as thoughts, perceptions, recollections, judgments, but as the *forms* or *images* of things; having a *real subsistence*, and much more to be depended on than sensible objects. The testimony of the senses he undervalued. Our impressions from this source can be regarded only as *opinions;* whereas our perceptions of ideas, especially those of the more general and abstract kind, those discovered by the reason, those elaborated and brought to light by the dianoëtic power—they alone are entitled to the appellation of *knowledge.* Hence he regarded pure *logic* or *dialectics*, which treats of ideas, and investigates abstract truth, as the first and greatest of all the sciences. Mathematics might be studied, and ought to be; but only as a discipline for the mind; as tending to prepare it to reason with the greater acuteness. To pursue mathematics, or any other science, as an aid to the business and the arts of life, would be quite beneath the dignity of a philosopher.

Like most ancient writers, Plato states many things, received probably by tradition, which go to confirm the early Scripture history. Thus his account of the golden age, the reign of Saturn, may have been a tradition, handed down from one period to another, of the state of man before the fall. He also states, in strict accordance with the Mosaic history, that the earliest form of government in this world was *patriarchal.* "Polities were first formed from *families* and *kindred*, in which the oldest person or ancestor ruled over the rest; and they, following and obeying his paternal mandates, were governed in a manner most just of all." Plato speaks also of an ancient deluge, in which "all cities perished," leaving the earth "in a state of infinite and dreadful solitude." None escaped, he says, but a "few shepherds—dormant sparks of the human race—who were preserved on the tops of the highest mountains."

Of the sources from which Plato drew his philosophy, something has been said already. For how much of it he was indebted to his own unaided invention, it is impossible now to say. It is certain that he had many opportunities and advan-

tages of acquiring knowledge from others. He was thoroughly versed in the old Grecian poets, Musæus and Orpheus, Hesiod and Homer, and had collected whatever of wisdom is found in them. He had also studied the political philosophers of his country, and made himself familiar with their teachings and laws. He had long listened to the discourses of Socrates; he had traversed Egypt in pursuit of wisdom; he had been associated with the most distinguished followers of Pythagoras, and had read their books. Having been favoured with such means of drawing from the resources of others, his philosophy, as might be expected, is not exclusively his own. It is rather an eclectic than an original system; and it has tasked the ingenuity of his admirers, from its first promulgation to the present hour, to make it, in all points, consistent with itself. His ethics, and his peculiar manner of teaching, Plato seems to have gained from Socrates; his dialectics he may have borrowed from Euclid of Megara; mathematics and astronomy he learned at Cyrene and in Egypt; for his natural philosophy and many points of his theology he was obviously indebted to the Pythagoreans; his political theories, laws, and plans, may have been chiefly the fruit of his own invention.

Nothing can be more evident to the student of Plato than the marked similarity, in several important particulars, between his teachings and those of the ancient *Orientals*, or *Gnostics*. The Supreme God of both is much the same kind of character —inconceivable, ineffable, exalted above all thought or concern about the affairs of mortals, and wrapped up in his own infinite, quiescent self. In both systems, the world is made and governed by inferior divinities—emanations from the One Supreme. It is made, too, according to both, of pre-existent base materials, from all eternity commingled in a rude, chaotic state. In both systems, the body is greatly undervalued, being regarded as the prison and corrupter of the soul; while deliverance from the polluting influence of the body, and finally from the body itself, is considered, in both, as the sum of redemption. Both systems inculcate the worship of inferior divinities by sacrifices and religious rites; while communion with the Supreme can only be enjoyed in mystic silence and contemplation. Both systems taught the existence of inferior æons or

demons, and also the transmigration of human souls. So many and so important points of resemblance could hardly have been accidental; nor is the manner in which they are to be accounted for so difficult as might, at first thought, be imagined. Plato had much intimacy with the Pythagoreans; and Pythagoras was, for his age, an extensive traveller. He not only traversed Greece, Phenicia, and Egypt, in pursuit of wisdom, but he penetrated far into the East, where he obtained, in all probability, the rudiments of the Oriental philosophy. These he would naturally incorporate into his own system, and inculcate upon his followers; from whom Plato, doubtless, received them during his residence in Ionia and Sicily.

The influence of Platonism was great at first; and it has never ceased to exert an influence from that time to the present. Drawing around him in the Academy princes and nobles —the most promising young men from every part of Greece— those who, in their turn, were to be the instructors of others, Plato exerted an influence, during his life, such as almost no other individual ever possessed. Nor was this current of influence materially diminished by his death. His disciples entered into his labours; they continued his school, and established others; they deemed it an honour to be called by his name; and with more or less of obsequiousness, they followed in his steps.

At the commencement of the Christian era, Platonism, under one form or another, had not only pervaded Greece and Italy, but it had penetrated into nearly every part of the Roman empire. It had infected the Jews' religion long before the coming of Christ; and no sooner did Christianity begin to be published in Asia Minor, in Greece, in Egypt, in Italy, than it came in contact with this venerable and imposing system of philosophy. The result of the contact was adulteration both ways. Christianity considerably modified Platonism, resulting in what was called Neo-Platonism; while Platonism more considerably modified and corrupted the pure system of the gospel. It is sometimes said that Platonism *originated* the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. On the contrary, it is true, that Platonism gradually *changed* and *corrupted* this doctrine. Its tendency was to lower the personal dignity, and lessen the authority of the Son of God. The Platonizing teachers, instead

of regarding him as one and equal with the Father, conceived of him as an *emanation* from the Father; a derived and inferior Being. A preparation of this kind for Arianism had long been in progress before Arianism itself was fully developed.

The school at Alexandria, from which pastors went forth into most of the churches of the East, was deeply infected with this philosophy. Its teachers wore the philosophic garb, and gloried in the name of Christian philosophers. Origen, with his numerous admirers and followers, seemed to think it an honour to Christianity to bring it into harmony with Platonism; and that this might be done without any prejudice to the gospel, they commenced allegorizing their sacred books, and turning them into fable.

Platonism continued to have influence in the Christian church, corrupting its doctrines and perverting and obscuring its holy oracles for some hundreds of years. But in the disputes of the fifth and sixth centuries respecting the Trinity and the person of Christ, the dialectics of Aristotle began to be studied, as being better calculated to sharpen the intellect, and prepare it for the controversies of the times; and from this period Platonism gradually declined.

But the influence of Plato, both in philosophy and religion, has reached to our own age. The dispute about *innate ideas*, in which Mr. Locke so much distinguished himself, was, on its best side, a controversy against the extremes of Platonism. Upon its other aspects we cannot now enter.

But though Mr. Locke escaped, and, in the opinion of many, more than escaped, from one Platonic error, he remained under the fascination of another. The theory of Plato as to the *nature* of ideas—that they are not thoughts, but something thought of, not perceptions, but something perceived, the *species* and *forms* of things;—this theory was retained by Locke and his school, and was not exploded, or scarcely questioned, till it fell under the scrutiny of the Scotch metaphysicians almost in our own times.

Platonism has been, in all ages, the fruitful source of *mysticism* and *spiritualism*. Mysticism is the religion of solitude, of silence, of inward musings, of rapt contemplation. In the judgment of the mystic, this is the way, and the only way, in

which to have divine light spring up in the soul—in which to become good and wise. It is amusing to watch the progress of this mystic spirit; see how it has been developed from age to age; and notice the forms under which it is appearing now. Whenever we hear a man in these days decrying the outer world, and extolling the inner; suspecting his senses, but paying the utmost deference to what he calls his interior consciousness; turning away from teachers, and books, and the phenomena of nature, and delving for wisdom into the recesses of his own spirit, expecting to dig it up there, like gold from the mine;—when we find such an one (as we commonly do) preferring *a priori* reasoning to those which proceed in the opposite direction, and abstract conclusions to such as are based upon substantial facts;—when we hear him talking mystically, unintelligibly, using "great swelling words of vanity," and drawing those after him, who are sure to admire what they cannot comprehend; we expect, of course, that such an one will call himself a Platonist, and extol Plato, though he may never have read a page of Plato's writings, and knows little about him except the name.

The Platonists of all time, from their great master downwards, unite in decrying the *inductive* philosophy; that which regards theory as of little worth, and bases its conclusions upon experiment and fact. With one voice, the more modern among them denounce Lord Bacon as a mere empiric and utilitarian, whose leaden intellect, with no wings to rise, could only grovel on the earth. In a work now before us, the followers of Bacon are represented as "nursed in the bosom of matter, the pupils of experiment, the darlings of sense, the legitimate descendants of that earthborn race who warred on the Olympian gods."

The single impression which, more than any other, forces itself upon us, in bringing this review of Plato to a close, is that of the immense superiority, and consequent divine authority, of our Christian Scriptures. Certainly none of the writings of the ancients could better be brought into comparison with the Bible than those of Plato. An infidel of any adroitness, who was disposed to institute such a comparison, would select the writings of Plato on which to found it, in preference to those

of any other man. And yet what would be the issue of such a comparison? Look first at the *theology* of Plato. His supreme God exalted above all concern in the creation and government of the world—above all expression, conception, and thought; while inferior divinities perform all Divine works and receive Divine honours. Consider next the *philosophy* of Plato; for he was a professed philosopher, which the writers of our sacred books were not. He makes the world and all material things to consist of but four elements, earth, air, fire, and water. He fixes the Earth in the centre of the universe, with the heavenly bodies moving round it; the Moon nearest us, the Sun next, and Venus and the other planets next. In his view, the Earth and the heavenly bodies are each and all of them animated by indwelling divinities, and are in reality gods. He teaches that the Earth has not only existed, but has been inhabited by human beings, dwelling in cities, through "an infinity of time." The Earth, too, is penetrated, through all its interior, by vast rivers, lakes, and gulfs, the most dreadful of which is Tartarus, the place of future punishment for the wicked. The human eye, he tells us, is constituted almost wholly of *fire;* and it is the fire of the eye, mingling with that of the atmosphere, which enables us to see the images of things in a glass. The human soul has existed from all eternity; has been connected with a vast many bodies already; and may be connected with as many more. Ideas, too, are *real subsistences*, the eternal forms and images of things; and most of our knowledge, in this world, is but a reminiscence of what we knew before we entered it.

Look also at the *morals* of Plato—that part of his system which, in the estimation of some, would scarcely suffer in comparison with Christianity. Drunkenness expressly allowed in the worship of one god; debauchery and licentiousness in that of another; and a community of wives and children *recommended*, as constituting the most perfect state of society!

Such then is the theology, the philosophy, and the morality of Plato. Such, certainly, are prominent and important parts of them. And now who will venture to bring such a system—contradicted at a thousand points by the decisions of reason, conscience, and truth—into comparison with the Christian

Scriptures? Could Platonism endure such a comparison for a moment? And yet Plato was a learned man; and most of the writers of our Scriptures were illiterate men. Plato was a noble Greek, trained in the very focus of ancient wisdom; while the writers of our Scriptures were poor, unlearned, and despised Jews. How then did these Jews attain to their superior, incomparable light and knowledge? How did they frame a system of theology and cosmogony, of morality and religion, of truths pertaining to this world and the next, which has borne the test of years, and the ever-prying scrutiny of restless man, and which reason and philosophy, branching out in all directions, and pursuing their onward course without embarrassment or restraint, have served only to confirm—never to contradict? How shall this question be answered? How can it be? Only one answer can possibly be given to it. *The writers of our Scriptures were taught of God.* The system they inculcate really is, what it professes to be, of *Divine original.*

In turning over the writings of Plato, we behold a great mind placed (to use one of his own comparisons) in a dark cavern, searching after the reality of things, but perceiving little more than empty shadows. He is "feeling after God, if haply he might find him;" and yet, though the true God is near, he finds him not. He is ever restless and active, inquiring, devising, theorizing, on all manner of subjects, and yet "wandering in endless mazes lost." Or if, at any time, he lays hold of an important truth, like that of the soul's immortality, he supports it by arguments the most strange and unsatisfying, and very likely, through ignorance, perverts it.

Such are the facts of the case presented to the eye of the Christian student, in turning over the volumes of Plato; and as he reads, the impression continually grows upon him—*The Bible* is indeed above all price! *It is a light unto my feet, and a lamp unto my path! It is a precious, glorious light, shining in a dark place, to which all who possess it should give diligent heed, until the day-star arise in their hearts!*

By Rev. J. C. Moffat D.D.

ART. II.—*History of Latin Christianity;* including that of the Popes, to the pontificate of Nicholas V. By HENRY HART MILMAN, Dean of St. Paul's. 8 vols. 12mo. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860.

THE Christian church, during the first three hundred years, or thereby, although consisting of a great number of free communities, under no external control going to enforce conformity to a common standard, made the nearest approach to a perfect catholicity. Heretics and schismatics there were, but not in such strength as seriously to impair the general harmony. In the next hundred years, it presented itself under the external form of a completely organized government, regulating both doctrine and discipline, covering the whole Roman empire, and recognising one common head in the emperor.

Those two periods are one as belonging to the true church catholic, by the term *catholic* distinguishing the great community adhering to a common scriptural faith, from dissentients in doctrine or discipline. Meletians, Donatists, and other schismatics, were comparatively small bodies; and the Arians, who were numerous, never separated from the rest of the church, and, in course of time, lost their importance.

Towards the middle of the fifth century, that great and impressive organization began to divide. First, the Nestorians, constituting the church of the further east, completely separated at once from the catholic church and from the empire, and took up a new position, under the protection of Persia. Then the great patriarchate of Egypt went off, on the ground of Monophysite doctrine, and defended its own ecclesiastical independence. The Greek and the Latin were still catholic. But progressive error, in different directions, introduced dissension between them. Both became more and more sectional, until all fellowship was broken off. And thus the visible church ceased to be catholic, and broke apart into sections. Of those sections the greatest were the church of the further east, that of Egypt, the Eastern, or Greek church, including all that remained of the empire, with Russia and the countries lying between them; and the Latin, or Romish

church, extending to all the southwest of Europe and northward into Sweden and Norway. Each one of these churches has a history of its own. But those of the east lay under two great disadvantages. They had to deal with a worn-out civilization, except in the north, where their work was late in beginning, and was impeded by other obstacles; and they were themselves subjects of the secular government, which was either unfavourable to them, or, in the case of the Byzantine empire, so weak as to involve them in the calamities of its own decay. The Latin church, on the other hand, except in Spain, was independent; and, although the nations of its jurisdiction were rude, ignorant, and some of them barbarous, they were those in whom was the force of a young and yet undeveloped vitality. That branch of the church was destined, under God, to have the principal hand in educating the people of the future civilization. And, consequently, although its work was very imperfectly done, even more imperfectly than man ordinarily does his work, it greatly surpassed, in point of historical importance, all its rivals of the middle ages. It is not improbable that the Greek church may yet take on a reformation and revive, while the Latin, in its present type, must go down; but, in as far as pertains to their mediæval history, the superiority of interest is largely with the latter.

Latin Christianity took its peculiar features from the Roman mind and the fashion of Roman life, operating, at first, in the non-essentials of religious observance. Its corruptions grew out of the same causes, accumulated with their decay and with the introduction of barbarian ingredients, and became exaggerated and monstrous as they carried Roman practices into a new civilization of a different style. From other branches of the church it is distinguished chiefly by features inherited from imperial Rome; centralization of authority, forcible execution of law, and the enormous growth of the western patriarchate, but also by the development of certain doctrines and the incorporation of certain practices of western nations.

Roman law, when every thing else was perishing, marked the second, fourth, and sixth centuries with evidences of healthiest vitality. With it did Christianity form the most intimate relations, gradually infusing into it much of her own

spirit, and adopting many of its forms into her own government and statement of doctrine. In that union lay the intrinsic strength of the great mediæval church system of which Rome was the head.

In the Greek world, the ally of Christianity was philosophy. The result was endless discussion of doctrine, and division and subdivision of sects, repressed only by Mohammedan invasion. A catholic system of theology was thereby determined, but an effective central force could not be maintained, except in as far as the Roman spirit was transferred to Constantinople. And that never went the length of reducing to obedience the great patriarchates of earlier foundation.

In the west, subtlety of discussion did not mark the early history of the church. But, there, the power of a central authority continued to increase, until it became a compulsion resting upon all classes of society. Before the civil law began to suffer diminution of its authority, the canon law was rising to a place beside it, when the western church alone was in condition to give it full effect and free development. And, what was of far more importance, the organization of the church had taken its structure from that of the state, and the spirit of its government was to a large extent adopted from that of Roman dominion. The real origin of Romanism in the church was Romanism in the state. St. Peter's chair was an after-thought, a fabrication to suit the circumstances. Rome's domination in the church of mediæval times was simply the offspring of Rome's dominion in the empire of ancient times. The question is no longer either mysterious or doubtful. Although we cannot discern the person of every successive bishop of that church, from the beginning, the general outline of its history is sufficiently plain.

In the early days of Christianity, the church, in any one city, was a small body. As it increased in numbers, it extended its organization over all, not by repeating itself, but by expanding. The idea of setting off new churches in other parts of the city, upon the model of the original church, and thereby perpetuating its simplicity of government, does not seem to have occurred to the early Christians. The method pursued by them was that which people would most naturally

adopt, without forecast or experience of its evils. They presumed that the church of one city must continue to be one. And when its members became too numerous to meet in one house, new congregations were assembled, and presbyters appointed in them, as belonging to, and carrying out its organization. It was the stem, and they were the branches, viewed as not having separate roots of their own, but as drawing their organism from it. There was only one church in one city, no matter how many congregations it might expand into.

It followed, almost inevitably, that the pastor of the original congregation became the presiding officer of the whole body of presbyters, and that the importance of his position increased with the number of congregations into which his church expanded. As he had become, in the first instance, sole pastor, by the act of his fellow-elders, who were also his co-pastors, gradually devolving the whole burden of duty upon him, or by the adoption of such an arrangement for convenience; so when other congregations arose out of his, their teaching elders still looked to him as in some sense their superior.

Christianity was first planted in cities, and the practices of the large city churches were naturally imitated in the smaller. And when congregations were formed in the suburbs of a city, what model more naturally followed than that of the system within the city? They were mission churches, still holding a filial relation to the original church within the walls.

The first bishop of Rome was, of course, like every other first bishop in those times, the pastor of a single congregation. Diocesan grew out of parochial episcopacy by such imperceptible process that it is perhaps impossible, in the case of any branch of the church, to say at what date the change was made, no historic importance being attached to the first step, and every succeeding one being not a change, but simply an extension of one already made.

When this system had fairly taken shape and grown to be familiar in the great cities and their vicinities, it was but consistent to appoint also a presiding bishop over a number of co-ordinate congregations in the little towns and villages in a district, and to carry out there the method of the city, and deny, for the sake of distinction, the title of bishop to all except to the pre-

siding bishop. When this step was reached, and the church reached it more or less completely about the middle of the third century, it is clear that a new ecclesiastical order had been created.

At that date there were great irregularities in the system; some bearing the name of bishop were still pastors of only one congregation, some were presiding ministers of several, and some had clergy bearing the title of bishop in congregations belonging to their charge, over whom they were beginning to arrogate the rights of a superior rank.

The church had admitted all this, not because it was scriptural, but supposing that it would be expedient. But now a lengthened debate arose on the pretensions of some bishops to superior rank.

Among the great cities, there were a few distinguished for political or commercial influence, or both. Antioch, Ephesus, Corinth, Alexandria, Rome, were from early time seats of flourishing churches. They were cities conspicuous for political or commercial importance. A church in such a city, if known at all to the general public, was necessarily more extensively known and observed than it would have been in any smaller or less important place. Among such conspicuous places the capital of the empire, of course, was the most conspicuous; and next to that must be the greatest commercial depot of the empire—provided the churches in them flourish only proportionately to the churches elsewhere. Accordingly, we find that Rome and Alexandria soon take their places as the most central points of ecclesiastical influence; and when the honours of the capital are divided between Rome and Constantinople, the honours of ecclesiastical distinction are divided also.

The Petrine character which has been claimed for the church of Rome, as another argument for its historic relation to Peter personally, is also a matter of growth subsequent to the days of the apostles; and is no less truly the native fruit of Rome. In no scriptural mention of that church does any peculiar Petrine feature appear, nor in the genuine writings of Clement, the first of post-apostolic authors, whose writings touch the matter. So far, the religious style is rather that of Paul. Nor does any thing peculiarly Petrine manifest itself in that church

until subsequent time, when other agencies, going to produce that same style of religion, had for at least two or three generations been at work. The practical and legal habits of Roman life and thought naturally gave forth such fruits, and when that style of doctrine was formed, it was a matter of course to seek authority for it in an apostle. And in that type into which the Roman church naturally grew, there is abundant reason for its preferring the authority of Peter rather than of Paul, so that when it had assumed that type, it was a matter to be expected that it should, after some way or another, claim the sanction of Peter, and overlook that of Paul, who had really so much to do with its instruction. By the latter part of the second century this character was already formed, and corresponding claims were beginning to be put forth. Accordingly, it is in the latter part of the second century that we first hear of the connection with Peter and of the presence of Peter in Italy. The first intimation of the thing occurs in a very dubious passage of Dionysius of Corinth, written about a hundred years after the death of Peter, and quoted more than a hundred and fifty years later by Eusebius. And of three assertions implied in that passage two we know to be erroneous, to such a degree that if we did not know better from other sources, we should be misled by them. And Dionysius himself bitterly complained of the way in which his writings were interpolated and their meaning altered. The claim of being founded by Peter became more common in the Roman church as the distance of time increased, and as it became less easy to be refuted. In short, there is no such basis for that claim, as history can rely upon: while on the other hand, the growth of all that constitutes Romanism is most clearly traceable to Rome.

By one step after another in the progress of conversion, the churches and pastors of the great cities increased in authority. Early Christians recognised only one church in one city. And such was inevitable, both in the nature of Christian affections and the universal style of government in the empire. The Roman municipal system prescribed such an organization. In the Roman system of government the municipal idea ruled so strongly as almost to forbid any other. Christianity, from the beginning accepted it in every great city of the empire. But

Rome was the chief of cities, the head of dominion, whose municipal system was the origin of the whole.

The world looked to Rome for the model and authority of government. And the church at Rome, in the first ages, largely blessed in respect to numbers and piety, became, from the almost irresistible current of events, a high authority among the churches. Accordingly, as the pastors of the different city churches became diocesan bishops, and then the bishops of the greater cities assumed a higher dignity among bishops, it was in the order of things that the bishop of Rome should begin to claim the supremacy which belonged to his city. The purer spirit of early Christian piety, by its very simplicity, held a check upon that ambition, and the recognised equality of Christians was adverse to it.

There was in the Roman municipal system itself that which fostered more or less the idea of independence in the several cities. The general government of the state was an expansion of the municipal, maintained by the imperial authority and support of the army. But early Christianity was possessed of no elements corresponding to these latter, and consequently had no organization comprehending the whole, and recognised no ecclesiastical emperor. Thus, while bishoprics arose in all great cities—and Rome was the greatest—no superiority of one city church was admitted over another city church in the earlier times. But under such a system of civil government as that of the imperial, it was in the nature of secular corruption that the church should approximate more and more thereto.

The great cities having become the seats of such bishoprics, a similar method was, in course of time, adopted for the rural districts. In the middle of the third century, Rome, Ephesus, Alexandria, Carthage, and Lyons, occupied places of distinguished eminence in the church. An aristocracy of such bishops was already forming. No supremacy of one was yet admitted over the others, although he of Rome was ambitious of such a position. He was effectively restrained by his brethren in both east and west, and his presumption condemned at once in Spain, Asia Minor, and Northern Africa, as a similar attempt had previously been reproved by the bishop of Lyons.

As time passed on, the civil style of the Roman government

entered more and more into that of the church. The episcopal aristocracy divided into two ranks, higher and lower, while many of the country bishops were not classed with either, still retaining the place of simple pastors of one congregation. By that process the church was prepared in the time of Constantine to shape itself to the proportions of his constitution for the empire. Then was Christianity formally wedded to Roman legislation, and, as the state religion, accepted a division of territory and of ranks and authorities corresponding to those of the state. In some respects, both were modified under the constitution of Constantine. The state was to be less directly subject to the will of one, and the church more under the control of a few. The civil rulers of the four prefectures were to have their correspondents in rank, if not exactly in the bounds of jurisdiction, in the highest archbishops, or ex-archs, of the church. In a short time, the bishop of Constantinople, called also New Rome, began to advance claims to a higher authority than the rest. Because his was the imperial city, he ought to hold imperial authority in the church. The claim was favoured by some of the emperors, and was entirely consistent with the system then in operation; but could not be admitted by the bishop of Old Rome, whose see had the advantage in antiquity of dominion. When the claim of supremacy, or of the rank of universal bishop, was advanced by the prelate of Constantinople, it was rejected by the church generally, and by none with stronger expressions of disapprobation than by his rival at Rome. But it was in the nature of the transformation then going on. Into this conflict for rank none could enter save the metropolitans of Old and New Rome. It was decided first in favour of the latter, and then of the former. The inheritance of a supremacy from Peter had nothing to do with the matter. It was a contest for rank growing out of the rank of the old and the new imperial cities. The bishop of Constantinople had no apostolic succession to claim, while the bishops of Antioch, of Ephesus, and of various Oriental cities, had historical succession from bishops appointed by apostles, yet the bishop of Constantinople was the first to obtain legal recognition as universal primate. And when afterwards the same honour was conferred upon the bishop of Rome, it was notori-

ously for the sake of obtaining political support in that quarter. Between these two dignitaries the question has never been settled. The eastern and western church ultimately separated, one accepting the rule of the Patriarch, and the other that of the Pope. Very different became their subsequent history, but it also grew out of the position of their respective cities. In the Greek or Oriental church were retained the forms of the empire, but the Latin spirit still made its residence in Rome. The spirit of the Latin empire had completely imbued the ecclesiastical system of the west.

After the time of Constantine, church government rapidly took on the likeness of that of the state. The forms of Christian worship were blended with many adopted from the heathen, and with no little of its spirit, and the originally simple discipline and rule of the church, with Latin law and the practices and ideas of Latin dominion. Upon the breaking down of the western empire, a new power was found to have assumed its place upon the old throne of the Cæsars at Rome, retaining many of the elements of their strength, in vital combination with new purposes, hopes, and aspirations. While the old territorial dominion was shattered, the spiritual was scarcely shaken, on the continent. As a general thing, it was either accepted or submitted to by the new nations who entered the bounds of its jurisdiction. It retained many features of the fallen empire; its firm basis in organization; its subordinate authorities and their ramification and mutual support; its elective, yet absolute head; its mingled strength and weakness; and inherited much of that impression of power which had been made upon the long-subject populations.

It was in the coronation of Charlemagne that the papacy reached the maturity of its earlier type. Reviving the ancient Jewish custom, according to which the king was anointed by the hands of the high-priest, the bishop of Rome assumed that his see had in some way inherited that primacy, which authorized him to dispose of imperial authority; as if, when Constantine withdrew and fixed his capital in the east, he had left the ruling power of the west resident in the bishop of Rome, or at his disposal.

According to that view, the Pope was superior to the highest

secular authorities, even in secular affairs. And in the circumstances of the case there was much to justify that view to the popular mind of the time. Rome had never ceased to be held as the seat of dominion in the west. And when the emperor withdrew, the bishop inherited the prestige. From the days of Theodosius, at least, the bishop had been the chief authority there. He had, moreover, been constrained by the force of circumstances to exercise the functions of a civil as well as of an ecclesiastical ruler. And some of the bishops had also evinced very superior ability on such occasions. Rome and the vicinity learned to look to the bishop as their chief magistrate.

At the basis of this new power lay a crude composite idea formed of elements Hebrew, Heathen, and Christian, put together without any original intention to mislead, or to justify error, and, indeed, without any determinate purpose, by the force of circumstances unforeseen. Many to this day fail to discriminate between the dead types and the living truth which they typified. Heathen Rome had been accustomed to a splendid religious ritual, at the head of which was the high-priest; the high-priest of the Jews had been a chief power in the Jewish state, not always second to the king, sometimes his superior, and latterly held the place of king. Christianity had now taken the place of both, and, accordingly, the bishop of the old imperial city became, in the growth of this idea, a Pontifex Maximus, better entitled to all the honours and power of the office than either of his predecessors. Then the tradition that Peter founded the church at Rome was magnified into a claim of supremacy over the churches. And from the doctrine of supremacy in the church, the crude thinking of that time inferred a right to supremacy in the state. Because, it was assumed, the state is only an institution of man's device, and the church is appointed of God, therefore the church is higher than the state, and all the authorities of the state ought to be subject to the chief authority of the church. Pepin's application for papal sanction in usurping the throne of France, and Charlemagne's acceptance of the imperial crown at the hand of a Pope, went to mature and confirm the notion. There was no solid basis for it, no written documents upon which the claim could be

authoritatively established and defended in case of attack. For the time, popular conviction served the purpose. But by-and-by that lack was made up. A document professing to be from the hand of Constantine the Great was fabricated, in which that monarch appears as conferring all his western dominions, with all their honours, upon the Pope, that the papal may be superior to the imperial dignity, and somewhat later, though published earlier, came forth the papal decretals, professing to be original productions of popes of the first three centuries, embodying all the highest pretensions to absolute authority over the churches. And the right of the popes to civil, as well as to ecclesiastical sovereignty, was established on written documents professedly coming down from what were deemed the proper sources. It is a remarkable testimony to the state of intelligence in the middle ages, that those barefaced and clumsy fabrications passed as genuine, even with the most learned, for hundreds of years.

From the recognition of Pepin as king of France, in the middle of the eighth century, until the latter part of the ninth, the papacy was well sustained by the ability of the popes, and the general recognition of their authority by the western emperors and the people. Pepin, Charlemagne, and Lewis, were docile sons of the church, and the subsequent division of their empire conferred the greater proportionate power upon the papacy, which maintained its integrity. This was the first period of papal supremacy over the western, or Latin church, and by far the most successful in the enjoyment of authority neither overstrained nor resisted. It consisted of a little over one hundred years.

The Christian mind of the west was fully disposed to admit and sustain all the claims which the papacy yet put forth, and to bow with unqualified reverence to the Pope, as the divinely commissioned head of the church. Never were popes seated on a more secure and peaceful throne than that which they occupied from the middle of the eighth to the latter part of the ninth century. But security gave occasion to presumption. The papal chair had become one of the highest objects of worldly ambition. Party tactics were employed in disposing of its honours and emoluments. Persons were thereby elevated to the sacred

office who were every way unqualified. The degeneracy was rapid and continued long. Papal elections fell into the hands of the basest parties. For one hundred and fifty years they were controlled by almost any other motive than the interest of the church, and during the greater part of that time by a party in which certain lewd women were the chief actors. A century and a half of papal profligacy, with hardly an exception, save the four years of Sylvester II., must have shaken its dominion more seriously had it occurred at any other period. But the state of popular intelligence was at its lowest ebb. The most humble degree of scholarship was rare. A man who could read a foreign tongue, or knew a little mathematics, was thought to be in league with the devil. News travelled slowly and reached very few points. The priest of a parish, the bishop of a diocese, was the immediate object of reverence to his people. The ecclesiastical system was strong in its own laws and practices, and went on of itself. The Pope was conceived of as far away in Rome, a sort of mythical perfection, and the head of all. But of his personal character, or the moral and religious nature of his immediate surroundings, the great public were slow to learn any thing. And thus the companions of debauchees and the favourites of harlots occupied the seat of authority in the church, and received the allegiance and reverence of Christian Europe. But even in the tenth and eleventh centuries, such a course of profligacy could not be carried to such a length without impairing the authority to which it belonged, and gradually sending its reputation abroad, to some extent, among the nations. In Italy the scandal became notorious, and it soon spread into the adjoining portions of Germany. Papal elections had been entirely in the hands of Italian parties, mostly of Rome and its vicinity. The emperor was induced to interpose, and put a check upon their shameless proceedings. Some improvement in the character of the popes was effected thereby. But the Romans became jealous, and a conflict arose between them and the emperor, in the course of which sometimes one and sometimes the other prevailed; and sometimes the conflict between them was fully as disgraceful as the preceding pornocracy.

Such corruption at the head was not without injurious effects

upon the whole body of the church. It was indispensable to the dignity and perpetuation of the papal power that vigorous measures of reform should be adopted. The appointment of German popes, and the interference of the German emperor, were also unpopular at Rome. The work of reforming the elections, and restoring the papacy to its place of former respectability, was undertaken by Hildebrand, a young Roman monk, who appears in history in connection with the pontificate of Gregory VI. and as a leader in the Italian party. Four great objects did he propose to himself and consistently keep in view throughout his public career: namely, to reform the papal elections and regulate them on firm ecclesiastical principle; to complete the organization of the clergy, and make the whole dependent upon Rome and separate from ordinary social relations; to wrest all ecclesiastical authority out of the hands of laymen, and to establish the supremacy of the papacy over both church and state. His success, although far from complete within his own lifetime, was certainly surprising; and his policy, consistently followed by others, ultimately realized almost the whole design. Circumstances, both internal and external, were favourable, and the ambition of a long series of gifted popes improved them to the utmost. And the culmination of all was reached in the peculiarly fortunate pontificate of Innocent III. His successor, Honorius III., peacefully enjoyed the fruit of that success. That summit of prosperity extended to about thirty years. Then, and then alone, did the papacy really seem to approximate to the summit of its ambition. Monarchs and nobles of the west were either docile, or were reduced to obedience; the clerical organization was in the utmost completeness it ever attained; the papal cause was sustained and defended by the ablest class of scholastic theologians; the canon law had reached the verge of maturity in the recently published Decretum of Gratian, in which the papacy was at last furnished with a scientific code of its own, a rival to the civil law; the crusades were still hopeful, and by the misdirection of the fourth, Constantinople had been brought under Latin rule, and for a time furnished to the Pope plausible ground for treating the Patriarch as a subject. Moreover, the great mass of the nations was so deeply sunk in ignorance and superstition as to be entirely sub-

missive, and the most reliable allies of the Pope in giving effect to his authority. An exception, it is true, there was. In that belt of country, running from the Pyrennees, round the gulf of Lyons to the Alps and the valley of the Po, a young literature was rising in the form of popular song, associated with views of the religion of Christ somewhat simpler than those presented by Rome. By order of Innocent III. the alarming freedom was extinguished in blood and desolation. And yet, terrific as it was, that crusade against the Albigenses failed to effect its desired end. Its triumph was more apparent than real. It laid waste Provence, but was ineffectual to crush out the new life, which, beneath the frozen soil during that dreary winter, was striking deep its roots, and preparing to send forth its blade to meet the coming spring. Ere the lapse of an hundred years, the Pope was an exile in that very country desolated by the crusade. A child born in the pontificate of Honorius III. lived to see the first effective blow stricken at the papacy itself, under which it began its long protracted decline.

When Boniface VIII. attempted to deal with Philip the Fair of France, as his predecessors had dealt with many sovereigns, he found that a new combatant had entered the field against him, and that the forces formerly his own were divided. The system of which he was the head embraced, and largely consisted of a vast mass of Hebrew and heathen notions and observances, and of practices and pretensions of its own, gradually accumulated; but its great strength lay in what it contained of Christian doctrine and of Roman legislation, together with the prestige of Rome. And in Rome, at the date when ecclesiastical took the place of civil superiority, the civil law was still in full force. The canon law grew up after its example, and in the course of time assumed precedence. It was upon the basis of law that the papal see sought to erect its supremacy. And where genuine laws were not found to suit, such as would suit were fabricated. During the long period when the civil law was almost unknown in the west, the fabrications passed for real. Ecclesiastical Rome was sustained upon the impression existing in the public mind that her authority was created by law both civil and canonical. For a long time, and that the time when the papacy was strongest,

civil law, as a separate branch of knowledge, was almost lost sight of in western Europe. All that was practical in government, was that which had in one way or another received the sanction of the church.

Had the popes consistently observed the alliance of their proper authority with the civil law, their prosperity might have extended to a greater length. But security in power tempted absolutism. Measures of aggrandizement were taken on the most questionable principles of canon law. So strong and broad was the basis in popular belief that the structure long withstood the shock of such imprudences. At the summit of its greatness the papacy realized, in the ruling conviction that it was sustained by law, all the practical benefits of a real legal right. And that popular conviction was no doubt largely due to another doctrine, inculcated with more obvious solicitude, that the Pope, as occupying the chair of St. Peter, was the vicar of God, and miraculously defended from error. The local laws of separate countries could not be accepted as counterbalancing, when they did in any way differ from the universal law of the church, which was also that of the empire. In all the great claims of mediæval Rome we find this union of Christ —or rather the apostles—and the empire, the chair of Peter, the donation of Constantine—the doctrines of Scripture, the sanction of the emperor, until all finally merge in the decrees of councils and decisions of popes. In that union lay its power. The papacy, notwithstanding the profligacy into which it sank in the tenth and eleventh centuries, as well as at many other less protracted periods, never beheld a successful attack upon the system whereby it governed, until the revival of the study of civil law showed how far it had departed therefrom. And the most notable feature in the history is the weight which the public mind immediately attached to the civil law, even where it was proved to be at variance with the will of a Pope, and the claims of his order. Philip the Fair and his lawyers were sustained by the people of France, both lay and ecclesiastic. The great elements of papal strength had begun to part company; and as soon as they were publicly proved to have done so, even on a few points, the structure began its decline.

The obstinacy of Philip might have been resisted by Boniface, as that of Henry IV. by Gregory VII., or that of King John of England by Innocent III., had his cause not been put upon the foundation of the civil law, and had it not been shown that the Pope had transcended his authority as granted by the law. When the papacy arrayed itself against the empire, it committed an act of infatuation, overthrew its own natural ally, and left itself no friendly power wherewith to counterbalance the throne of France; but when it ventured to defy the civil law it committed suicide, violating one of the fundamental elements of its own being. The lawyers became its first successful opponents.

The next blow, and it followed fast in time as in logical succession, was suffered in the removal from Rome. Both were aimed at the same vital part, and inflicted a deadly wound, which, though subsequently healed to some extent, exposed an incurable weakness. The papacy can never flourish elsewhere than in Rome, and in Rome only in as far as that city retains the prestige of ancient or existing empire.

The defeat of Boniface VIII. in his controversy with the king of France, the retraction of his successor, and the removal of the pontifical chair to Avignon, wrought an immediate and serious reduction of power, which was further aggravated, at the end of seventy years, by the succeeding schism, during which antagonist popes, two or three at a time, divided the ecclesiastical allegiance of Europe, and presented the scandalous exhibition of men, claiming to be infallible vicars of God, excommunicating and anathematizing one another. The Council of Constance, in superficially healing these injuries, impaired the papal strength in another way. In assuming to decide upon the right of popes to reign, and to put down one and set up another, it declared a general council to be the supreme power in the church, which the new Pope was constrained to admit, in order to hold his own election valid. By those events of the fourteenth and early years of the fifteenth century, popular effects were produced, which the recuperated papacy never overcame. Multitudes had been emancipated from its spiritual fetters, who could never be reduced to them again; and ideas

had got abroad which could not be recalled. Demands for reform of ecclesiastical abuses were heard from every quarter, and did not cease until, as reform was not granted by authority, it was seized by force. Nearly a half of its jurisdiction thus reft from Rome within one generation failed to suggest either a purer practice or a wiser policy. The Council of Trent, called in that emergency, determined her position more adverse to reform and unscriptural than before. Reactionary influences, chiefly in the hands of the new order of Jesuits, restored the papal strength to some degree, by exacting a more implicit obedience on the part of the nations which still recognised it, and exercising a more cruel severity towards dissenters within their grasp. Furious was the wrath evinced by the declining despot against all intelligence, scriptural piety, and freedom.

But reaction found its limits, and the success of Protestant countries put a check upon violence, beyond which it was not permitted to go. The middle of the seventeenth century saw its utmost extent, and the early part of the eighteenth found it again in decline. It had leagued itself with tyranny in the state, and unintentionally, but by natural process, with social hypocrisy and practical unbelief, to degrade the industrial classes of every nation under its jurisdiction. The issue was a third disaster to the papacy. Philip the Fair had attacked the secular supremacy, the council of Constance shook the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Pope; the Reformation rejected both, and the European revolution, in the end of the eighteenth century, decided that both had been overstrained within the area which still recognised them. A revolution carried, like that, to an extreme, will always recoil. And the papacy, profiting thereby, enjoyed a few years of reactionary prosperity again, within narrower bounds and under stronger external restraint. But the reflux was brief. And the revolution of 1848 fell like the hand of death upon the staggering athlete. Rome herself rejected her Pope, as the embodiment of an obsolete system, and the feeble reaction was effected and is sustained only by a foreign army. More than once before has Rome endeavoured to shake off the papal incubus; but now that purpose has more pertinacity and consistency and is of much higher significance. Accustomed to be a seat of power, Rome

sees her importance dwindling away, the Pope is one of the pettiest of sovereigns. His sway is obsolete. Its restoration is hopeless. The state of the world is changed since kings humbly obeyed his command, and deemed themselves honoured to kiss his foot, and is not likely to return to that same infatuation. Italy, in the meanwhile, has become free and united. Rome alone, humbled under an effete despotism and foreign arms, writhes beneath the pity of the civilized world. Rome —the old imperial Rome—in this humiliating attitude before the nations whom she one time ruled, has a motive now for rejecting her ecclesiastical master very different from that of the days of Arnold or of Rienzi.

This system, of which the Romish hierarchy is the head, is appropriately designated Latin Christianity; inasmuch as its peculiar features are due to its connection with the Latin branch of the Roman empire. By those features it is distinguished from Greek and Oriental Christianity, on the one hand, and from Protestantism, on the other. It has long ago forfeited the right to be called catholic. In ancient times the catholic church was that which held to the whole body of revealed truth, and recognised all believers in the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ as belonging to its communion, no matter where they lived, in the east or in the west, within the empire or beyond it, and was thereby distinguished from societies of errorists and narrow exclusive sects. That primitive and beautiful catholicity did not long withstand the union of church and state. The church soon partook of the division of the empire into East and West, and into Prefectures. Differences on points of doctrine and of government ensued. The Eastern church divided her jurisdiction with heretics, and the Western, although suppressing heretical sects, sank into a course of internal degeneracy. Before the tenth century, primitive catholicity was no more. The church had separated into Greek, Oriental, and Latin. And so far from being catholic, in the sense of embracing all believers in the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, the Latin church had adopted a new term of communion, excluding all who could not submit to the authority of the Pope, and recognise his claims. Every succeeding step in its history went to degrade it more and more from the standard of

a catholic church. In the deep degeneracy of practice, the whole body of revealed truth could not be consistently retained. And with a traditional reverence for Augustin, the Latin church gradually sank towards the doctrines of his opponent Pelagius. The additional errors, which received its sanction, narrowed its character even as a section. The multitude of dissenting bodies, which arose in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, such as to defy coërcion, all exclaimed against the departure from the true catholic standard, and demanded return to it. Notwithstanding the efforts of some to comply, the Latin hierarchy, upon the whole, obstinately persisted in making their church more exclusively Romish. And after the Reformation had proved the effect of that policy, the Council of Trent drew around them still more closely the limitations of a sect, which have been further contracted by the edicts of later popes, until within our own day, when the Romish church occupies such a position as would exclude from her communion the greatest divines and the best Christians of both ancient and mediæval times. The Latin church has long ago ceased to be catholic. It is narrowly Romish, and the most exclusive of sects. There is sound meaning in the popular use of the adjective *Roman* as qualifying catholic when applied to that system of which the Pope is the head. The catholic church must now be sought wherever they are who worship God in spirit and in truth, according to His Holy Word.

In reaching the position which it now occupies, the Romish church has departed, in a great measure, from the true object of Christian worship, dividing between God and a multitude of creatures what is due to God alone. In this respect, it differs as much from the practice of the early catholic church as from the teaching of Holy Scripture. The practice of creature worship was gradually introduced, and in the face of much opposition. Several ancient councils declared against it, and after it was introduced, a long continued warfare was waged against it, which did not come to an end until near the middle of the ninth century. The decision of the second Council of Nice in 787 A. D., confirmed by that of the Council of Constantinople in 842, determining image worship to belong to Christian orthodoxy, was one in which both the Greek and Latin churches were con-

cerned, but it took effect most completely in the latter; and succeeding centuries added largely to the objects of adoration.

At the head of this system of creature worship stands the Virgin Mary. A commendable respect for the memory of one so highly honoured among women existed in the church from the beginning. In the latter part of the fourth century it reached the length of calling her the Mother of God. But the Collyridians, a small sect who made offerings to her as a divine person, were condemned as heretics. And great numbers dissented from the use of the blasphemous epithet which was becoming common. It was one of the points on which the Nestorian controversy turned in the second quarter of the fifth century. The greater weight of the church decided in favour of it; but the dissentients were numerous enough to take from the catholic church the whole jurisdiction of the further east, from the western borders of Armenia and Mesopotamia. In the increase of veneration paid to saints and their images during the succeeding four hundred years, the Virgin Mary had the larger share, including the institution of various festivals in her honour. By one of those festivals, introduced about the close of the sixth century, she was regarded as having been raised from the grave by angels, and carried bodily to heaven. By the tenth century, hymns began to be written to her praise. In the thirteenth century those productions had accumulated to such a number that a regular psalter was composed or compiled for the worship of Mary alone. It consisted of one hundred and fifty psalms, parodied chiefly from the scriptural psalms, and applying to the Virgin Mary the epithets and praises which Scripture pays to God. The book long passed, and among Romanists perhaps still passes, under the name of Bonaventura. Also, during the same period, one day of the week, namely, Saturday, was set apart to her worship, and a special service prepared for it. It was hardly an additional step in the progress of this idolatry, when the *Ave Maria*, in connection with the use of the Rosary, became a daily prayer. From that time onward, in the Latin church, Mary received more worship than God. True scholastic theologians distinguished between the kinds of worship. To God it was *Latria;* to the saints, *Dulia;* and to the Virgin Mary, *Hyperdulia.*

But, practically, there could be no difference in the popular mind. Mary was now the Queen of Heaven instead of Christ, contemplated as the most effective mediator, and worshipped more frequently, and with more ardent devotion than God. But it was reserved for our own day to behold the crowning act of this idolatry, in the promulgation of the dogma of the immaculate conception.

On the subject of the sacraments vague notions certainly prevailed, and unguarded language was used by writers of the fourth and fifth centuries. And, as the reign of ignorance closed in, that unguarded language was accepted in all its breadth, and rhetorical figures were construed into doctrines. In the end of the sixth century, Gregory I. held that the sacrificial death of Christ was truly repeated in the sacrifice of the mass, and the forms of expression touching the Lord's Supper in the liturgies, were shaped more in favour of transubstantiation. But that doctrine was, for the first time, fully advanced about the middle of the ninth century. It was controverted and refuted by the best theologians of the time. Two hundred years wrought a great change of opinion. At the end of that interval, the same doctrine was again assailed by Berengarius of Tours, when the church, both clergy and laity, were almost unanimous in defending it. Transubstantiation was asserted to be the doctrine of the church, and in 1215 A. D. it was accepted as such by the fourth Lateran Council. Adoration of the elements, held to have passed through that change into the substance of the body of Christ, was almost inseparable from that doctrine, and the withholding of the cup from the laity very naturally consequent upon it. It was more difficult to account for the retaining the use of it for the clergy.

In like manner, the Romish number of the sacraments was the fruit of gradual growth. And not until the influence of Peter Lombard determined it, was it conclusively limited to seven, as subsequently sanctioned by the Council at Florence, in A. D. 1439.

The doctrines of Theology and Anthropology held their ground more firmly as embodied in the ancient symbols of the church and writings of the fathers, especially of Augustin; but in that department the practical heresy of the Latin church

has also been great and progressive. Pelagianism, when it appeared in the early years of the fifth century, was generally condemned by the provincial councils and highest ecclesiastical authorities, and completely refuted by Augustin, who was held by the catholic church as having defined the true meaning of Scripture on the points in dispute. Especially in the Latin church was Augustinianism accepted as catholic orthodoxy. And yet the prevailing doctrine of the middle ages tended more or less towards Pelagianism. Subsequently to the Reformation, Augustinianism, when revived by the Jansenists, was condemned, and its advocates suppressed by papal authority, under the influence of the Jesuits.

An early question touching the state of the soul after the death of the body, agitated for many ages, at last, about the beginning of the seventh century, settled down into the admission of an intermediate state. Under the schoolmen it became a well-defined doctrine. That intermediate state consisted of three regions, of which the most important was Purgatory, in which "the souls of all pious persons, who died without having made full satisfaction for their sins," were to be purified from all remaining defilements; and out of which they could be delivered by means of private masses and indulgences.

From the practice in the early church of re-admitting backsliders into communion upon intercession of confessors, the idea arose that confessors and martyrs had influence as intercessors with God. They were held to have done more good works than necessary for their own salvation, and, therefore, to have some merit to spare, which was available for others, who had too little. In the course of scholastic discussion, this idea was more fully developed and defined. According to its more mature form, as thus ripened, it presented a vast treasury of merit accumulated by the piety of the saints. Of that treasury the Pope had the disposal, and in the distribution it was reasonable that his agents should be paid for their trouble, or that some holy design should be carried forward by way of compensation.

When these doctrines were once established, and people were persuaded of the existence of Purgatory, and the efficacy of masses to rescue the souls there confined, and the virtue of

treasured merit in the gift of the Pope, the market of indulgences was fully prepared. The system sanctioned by papal authority as early as the thirteenth century, it continued in full force, and to increase in boldness, activity, and shamelessness, until the Reformation. The prerogative of God to pardon sin was openly arrogated, and its exercise proffered for money. A lower depth could not well be attained in that direction. After the Reformation, the extravagance of that abuse was abated, but the error has not been retracted nor abandoned. It is still one of the features by which Romanism differs from ancient catholicism.

In like manner the tradition, which, in course of time, was elevated as an authority above revelation, was, in the main, from the time of the Council of Chalcedon, Latin tradition. After the difference between the eastern and western churches, on the Procession of the Holy Spirit and other points, in 879 A. D., there was little intercourse between them; and the subsequent development of the Latin church became more exclusively Romish. The Reformation, returning to the old ground of the primitive church catholic, left the reactionary Latin branch in a still narrower Romanism. Although still containing much doctrinal truth, that church is now so thoroughly adulterated and sectionalized that it is beyond reformation by ordinary means. It needs to be completely taken down and rebuilt with sounder material. It contains valuable grains of gold, but so impracticably imbedded in earth and quartz that the whole mass must be ground to powder and subjected to living water, that the pure metal may be separated from the baser particles, and made available for its proper purposes.

Another feature of Latin Christianity is the relation which it advocates between the church and the state. On that point it differs from the Greek and Oriental doctrine, as well as from that which is generally held by Protestants, and entirely from the primitive catholic church.

Whatever may be said about the methods of sustentation in the early church, there can be no dispute about the fact that it held no such relation to the civil authority as to be in any sense a recognised partner in government. The primitive

church catholic had, in that sense, nothing more to do with the state than any other subject of it. But when Constantine established his constitution for the general government, the church was comprehended as a part of the plan, ecclesiastical jurisdiction was made parallel with the civil, and the empire distributed accordingly; ministers of the gospel belonged to the organization as truly as lawyers and soldiers, and bishops were a class of the nobility of the empire. In short, the church was constituted after the manner of a department of state, of which the great metropolitans were prime ministers, and the emperor himself was the head. Such continued to be the relation until the downfall of the empire in the west; in the east it continued throughout, and is recognised as the true relation between church and state to this hour. In the west a change was brought about by the dismemberment of the civil authority, in the course of repeated barbarian invasion. The church meanwhile held its ground. Most of the invaders were professing Christians, and recognised the ecclesiastical authority, while overturning the civil. And when they finally settled upon the lands of their conquest, the outlines of church government remained nearly as before. The system not only stood the shock, but, like a framework of iron, embraced the various invading nations, and moulded them to its own forms. But the head of the system, as far as the west was concerned, was no longer the emperor at Constantinople, but the hierarch of the old capital, the bishop of Rome. And very naturally, in such an order of events, did the idea suggest itself to him that the church should be the highest among the powers of earth; that instead of being a department under the state, it should hold the state as a subordinate authority. That principle once adopted, was never lost sight of. It became the dominant idea of the Latin church. For it took, at the same time, a practical shape. Not merely was the ecclesiastic to be superior to the civil, but it was the Romish church which was to wield that superiority. Every effort of the most gifted popes was put forth to secure the realization of that claim. In their success, it was loudly asserted, and often intemperately exercised, and in their depression, it was never abandoned; and even at the present time, it is clung to with the grasp of desperation. It

was one of the intolerable evils against which the Reformation protested.

Thus, while the Eastern churches holds to the superior authority of the state over the church, and Protestants either agree with them, or advocate the coördination of powers, or return to the position of the primitive church, in the entire separation of church and state, the Latin church adheres to their union, with the superiority of the ecclesiastical over the civil.

In the religion of Christ, the governing principle is the fundamental one of human society. Love to man, as subordinate to love of God, is the far-reaching law which is to shape all the relations of life aright. It is a religion formed for society. And whatsoever goes to divide, or in any degree to impair, the unity and harmony of society, belongs to the contradictory of the gospel of Christ. In the Romish church, since the earliest date of its mediæval history, the governing element has been monastic. In this remark we have less reference to the monastic orders than to the essentially monastic spirit of the Romish ecclesiastic system. Although, it is also true, that from Gregory I., in the end of the sixth century, down through the middle ages, the popes who did most to advance the interests of their see were actually taken from the cloisters; and of the men who otherwise devoted themselves with the greatest zeal and success to the defence or extension of the cause, the greater number were regular monks. The church through all that time, and through the church the world, was ruled by monks.

It would be the height of injustice to deny the value of the services done to the world by monks during the middle ages; but it was a woful state of the world which had need of them: and it was a state which the madness of their early predecessors had done much to bring about.

By the dominance of the monastic spirit, the ministers of religion were cut off, as far as men discharging duties among men could be cut off, from society, and with all their interests merged in the system of ecclesiastical government. An ecclesiastic was to have no relations to the world in which he lived, except through his duties to Rome.

Eastern monachism became wildly fanatical, and betook itself to the desert. Western monachism took a more practical turn, and became an organization of celibates, separated from society for the purpose of ruling it, and establishing their system in it. Upon the basis of that broad platform, various orders arose in conformity with their respective rules of severer asceticism; the greater number, no doubt, men of piety, according to their knowledge. A few ambitious minds in each generation were enough to turn the earnest convictions of the many to the account of the worldly power, which such a system was capable of wielding.

When the monastic spirit pervaded the whole body of the clergy, and entered into all the instructions of the church, it was inevitable that the best institutions of intellectual culture should also be monastic, and the work of education as well as of religion was made a ground of separation from common society. The number of orders increased, and as long as the severity of their discipline secured popular respect, the whole system was strengthened thereby. The profligacy of the papacy, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, was counterbalanced by the virtues of Cluny. And the coöperation of the revived papacy with the revived monasteries, and the more general and severe enforcement of monastic principles upon all ecclesiastical ranks, built up the power of mediæval Rome to its highest prosperity. And consistently, the relaxation of order, and the dissoluteness of monks, first provoked the tongue of popular censure. After the Reformation, the Romish reaction was instituted, and carried forward by the new order of Jesuits, and declined in their overthrow. Their restoration attended the new reaction, and their depression once more brought it to an end. The motive and ruling power, or agency in the papal system, has all along been monastic—the *esprit du corps* of a body of men harmonized in interest separate from general society. In this respect, consequently, its spirit is directly antagonist to that of Christ.

But, enough: the peculiarities, whereby Latinism in the church has gradually compressed itself into the bounds of a section, are not to be exhausted in an article. And yet, although the Latin church has no claim to be regarded as the

church catholic, the relations which it held to the world, and to revealed religion, during the middle ages, rendered it by far the most interesting and important section for that period. It alone maintained an ecclesiastical superiority above the adaptations, conveniences, or impositions of the civil government; and, even at its worst estate, bore testimony to the existence of a religious power, which the state had never made; and, while accumulating error in its practical operations, it still preserved, in the works to which it professed allegiance, the fullest exposition of truth. In keeping up the aggressive spirit and work of Christianity, in publishing to the nations, wherever access to them could be secured, the way of salvation, as then understood, and in surrounding them by its own laws and authority, it acted as an important check upon absolute heathenism: and it always contained a great number of faithful witnesses for the truth, in opposition to the vices by itself contracted and persisted in. As educator of the young nations of Western Europe, and while remaining in harmony with them, it received as well as gave support, energy, and enterprise, not elsewhere then existing in the church: and even from the depths of its lowest degeneracy, it sent forth the Reformation.

So well defined, so naturally limited, and of such varied interest, is the subject which Dean Milman has chosen for the most extensive of his works. It is also a subject, which in all its important proportions belongs to the past. In order to exhibit them truly in its maturity, and green old age, it was not necessary to follow it into the protracted feebleness of senility. And, when speaking of a work on church history, it is not unnecessary to add that it is not a text-book; that it is not a graduated series of ecclesiastical annals, nor an argument from history, nor an attempt to preach history; but a genuine work of historic art, in which the proportions and relations of the subject are symmetrically exhibited. The author justly accepts the papacy as the centre of interest, and his guiding line. He opens with the pontificate of Damasus, but enters into the full current of his narrative only with the first half of the fifth century, a period which began with Innocent I., and closed with Leo I., the real founders of that singular power.

He consistently dwells upon those features by which Latin Christianity went on to differ more and more from primitive catholicism, and finally separating entirely from the East, became a section. The larger part of the work is properly expended upon the period lying between the middle of the eleventh century and the opening of the fourteenth, during which Latin Christianity was both most exclusive and most successful. The narrative contracts as it enters the period when councils assumed authority over the Pope, and the northern mind began to overbalance the Italian: and comes to an end, on the verge of the Reformation, when that northern, or Teutonic element, put a check upon the further development of the Latin, and seriously curtailed the dimensions of its reign. A new division was then made of Christendom, with the predominance of a new civilization, upon the basis of a free gospel.

As thus treated, the subject is possessed of symmetry and completeness; but it is not yet the whole of Latin Christianity. Its long decline, with alternate sinkings and revivings, its fierce wars with Protestantism, its futile, and yet prolonged and sometimes alarming strife with the civilization of the modern world, and the spirit of intelligence and liberality, remains, when it shall have accomplished its final fall, an interesting, though different style of theme for some future pen.

ART. III.—*Evidence as to Man's Place in Nature.* By THOMAS H. HUXLEY, F. R. S., F. L. S., Professor of Natural History, &c. London. American edition, New York, 1863.

IT is the object of Professor Huxley to prove that man is so related, in structure and other physical aspects, to the ape-tribe, that both are to be placed in the same division of the great class of mammals. The order, Primates, of Linnæus, is the Professor's place of man in nature. He adds, also, the probability that man was *developed* from the ape family by

some fortunate operations of the laws that direct the changes of matter.

About a hundred years ago, the Hon. James Burnett, a scholar, philosopher, and lawyer, who was raised to the Scottish bench by George II., under the title of Lord Monboddo, the name of one of his estates, maintained a similar but inferior view of the ape tribe, in his great work on the "Origin and Progress of Language." The announcement was then considered as an eccentric conceit of a fanciful mind, breaking away from fixed principles and established modes of reasoning. Though Lord Monboddo designed in that work to maintain and "vindicate the honour of Grecian literature," he overlooked or repudiated the doctrine of his honoured masters, of Socrates and Plato, and especially of Aristotle, that man forms a race distinct from the mere animal world, and even the highest animals. He doubtless believed, as he distinctly stated, that the Orang-Outan belongs to the human species, and that the want of speech is merely accidental; the animal not having been taught articulate language, and so did not speak. He elevated the Orang above the place assigned him by Linnæus in 1766, and nearly as high as Professor Huxley fixes his place. The notion of Lord Monboddo was so opposed to the deductions of common sense on the rank of man, as immeasurably superior to that of the highest animal, that it found no favour with intelligent minds. But the times have changed.

This work of Professor Huxley may have been published in consequence of the following circumstances.

In 1857, Professor Owen maintained before the Linnæan Society, London, that among the divisions of the brain, that of man was distinguished from that of the ape-tribe, by three structures, the *posterior lobe*, the *posterior cornu*, and the *hippocampus minor*. On the differences in the brain he made a new arrangement* of the mammals, and placed man in the sub-class, Archen-cephala, (Brain-Ruler.) Thus he raised man even above that of Cuvier's classification, and needed to take only half a step to remove man into a separate class from

* On the Classification and Geographical Distribution of the Mammalia, by Richard Owen, F. R. S. London. 1859.

the other mammals. An important and active controversy ensued, in which Professor Huxley offered proof that those three parts are equally prominent in the brain of many, or of all the apes, and even more prominent in some. He calls to his aid a great weight of authority in the statements of continental zoölogists, and declares that his statements are fully supported by his own and their examination of the different ape brains, though Professor Owen has not admitted the fact. Even if these were so, Professor Owen would find proof enough of the correctness of his sub-class, in the admitted difference of the form and magnitude of the human brain and its case, compared with that of the ape-tribe. A brief history of this controversy is given in the work now to be examined, (pp. 133—8,) nearly to 1863. Much of the work had already been delivered in Six Lectures to the Working Men of London, and in other places, so that the truth or errors of the work have had opportunity to produce no little evil or good.

Let us turn to the work for the conclusion which Professor Huxley derives from his examination of the anatomical relations of man and the ape-tribe. It is, "that the structural differences which separate man from the gorilla and chimpanzee are not so great as those which separate the gorilla from the lower apes." P. 123. It must be recollected that Cuvier, in his finished work of 1829, had placed *man in Order* 1, of the Mammalia; *apes in Order* 2; *bats in Order* 3, and so on. This system had been received by zoölogists as a great improvement on the revised classification of Linnæus in 1766, though it treated of man as a mere animal, or made no account of his intellectual and moral powers, the highest and the exclusive powers of the race, in the arrangement.

As Professor Huxley maintains that the classification of Linnæus should replace that of Cuvier in relation to man and apes, it is necessary to give, in part, the Linnæan system, that all may clearly see the difference. Taking the same class, Mammalia, Linnæus divided it into Order 1, *Primates*; Order 2, *Bruta*, as ant-eaters, armadillo, &c.; Order 3, *Ferœ*, dog, cat, bear, and so on. Under Order 1, Primates, Linnæus placed four genera; as 1, Homo, *man;* 2, Simia, *apes;* 3, Lemur, *sub-apes;* and 4, Vespertilio, *bats*. From these Professor Hux-

ley excludes Vespertilio, the bat-tribe. This change being made, he declares that "a century of anatomical research brings us back to his (the Linnæan) conclusion, that man is a member of the same Order (Primates) as the apes and lemurs." P. 124. He contends for the substitution of Primates, diminished by the bat-tribe, for Order 1, *man*, and Order 2, *apes*, of Cuvier's classification. Half a century after the completion of the *Systema Naturæ*, Cuvier placed man in a distinct division at the head of the highest class, Mammalia; but a century after that work appeared, as Professor Huxley states, the *progress* of "anatomical research" *backwards* arranges man in the same Order with the ape-tribe! Thus Professor Huxley divides the Order, Primates, into *first*, man alone; *second*, the man-like apes; *third*, the new world apes chiefly, and so on.

Having settled the arrangement in this manner, no one could have anticipated his statement, that "perhaps no order of mammals presents us with so extraordinary a series of gradations as this,—leading us insensibly from the crown and summit of the animal creation (man) down to creatures, from which there is but a step, as it seems, to the lowest, smallest, and least intelligent of the placental" (highest form of) "mammalia." Pp. 124–5. If there is this vast difference in the intelligence, and the Professor should have conjoined with the intellectual, the moral power, of creatures so similar in structural form, and in all perceptible organization, can their rational and psychical powers or qualities be dependent on structure? Have philosophers been mistaken in asserting a corresponding difference in organization, as the indication of higher mental powers? If they have made a mistake, who can maintain that the fish, or lobster, or oyster, has not a noble endowment of reason and taste, of morality and religion? Either there is a vast difference in the kind and quality of the psychical endowments, or the system of structural zoölogy is an absurdity, as it does not and can not present the grand distinctions between creatures as rational and irrational, as mortal and immortal, as ignorant of the Divine energy and goodness, or as admiring and rejoicing in both.

Though Professor Huxley speaks of the "animal creation," and of the animals as "creatures," it is to be feared that he

does not admit the existence of a Creator of all things, as he denies "the intervention of any but what are termed secondary causes in the production of all the phenomena of the universe." P. 128. Still, man's proximity to the ape, which never had a thought of creation, or of its own existence as created, and never knew, or aspired to know, the beneficence with which the Creator has surrounded it, must be maintained and believed from their organization. Then the Professor proceeds to read to proud and lord-like man, who presumes to glory in his higher being and endowments as the lord of creation, the only moral lesson in the book, viz: "It is as if nature herself had foreseen the arrogance of man, and with Roman severity had provided that his intellect, by its very triumphs, should call into prominence the slaves, admonishing the conqueror that he is but dust." P. 125. What a wise and benevolent agent nature, not God, its Creator, is, to teach arrogant and extravagant man that he is formed of the same material, and moulded into the same structure as the brute ape; that is, he is organized dust, or matter, and no more; the fit associate of his elder brother, the ape: and that the conqueror and the conquered are subject to the same law, "dust to dust."

Thus, Professor Huxley gives us *his* "Man's Place in Nature." Let us consider the reasoning, by which he excludes Cuvier's arrangement of man, and revives the "Primates" of Linnæus, to the head of which he restores man. It is a comparison of certain structural parts of the anthropoid, or man-like apes, with the same in the human race. These apes are four: 1, Hylobates, the gibbon, or long-armed ape; 2, Orang-Outan; 3, Chimpanzee; and 4, Gorilla. All are brutes; "thoroughly brutal." P. 10.

In accordance with the views of Owen, Wyman, and other distinguished anatomists, Professor Huxley states, that the chimpanzee and the gorilla show the nearest resemblance to the organism of man.

The common characters of the man-like apes are, 1st, the same number and kinds of teeth as man; 2d, "their nostrils have a narrow partition, and look downwards," hence "called *catarrhine* apes;" 3d, their "arms always longer than their legs," or in the Orang as 14½ to 10; Gibbon 12½ to 10,

Gorilla 12 to 10, and Chimpanzee 11 to 10; 4th, hands, with a thumb, terminate their fore-limbs; 5th, foot with a thumb-like great toe, ends the hind limbs; 6th, all tail-less, and without cheek-pouches. Pp. 34–5. Their teeth are not level like man's, and their canine are large and long projecting tusks. P. 98.

It is admitted also, that the higher mammalia and man are closely alike in "the mode of origin, and the early steps of development," as well as in their birth, and the contrivances for respiration, nutrition, and growth. But the different orders of mammalia are not distinguished by these general properties, or structures, but by differences of a less general kind. As animal existences, there must be striking points of resemblance and contrivances, which, however, do not exclude structural and physiological differences which shall separate the Orders from each other, and even man from the Order in which the apes should be placed. These must have often occurred to every intelligent observing mind.

Professor Huxley's argument contains a careful comparison of numerous and important resemblances, and differences, in their structures. We need to trace these comparisons only for a few particulars, to apprehend their force.

He treats first of the proportions of the body and limbs, having found that the "vertebral column of a full grown gorilla measures twenty-seven inches." To make the comparisons more obvious and tangible, we give in a tabular form the lengths of the several organs mentioned.

Relative Length of certain Organs, the Spinal Column of Gorilla taken as 100 *inches.*

Names.	Spinal Column.	Arm.	Leg.	Hand.	Foot.
Gorilla,	100	115	96	36	41
Male Bosjesman,	100	78	110	26	32
Female do.	100	83	120	26	32
European,	100	80	117	26	35
Chimpanzee,	100	96	90	43	39
Orang,	100	122	88	48	52
Gibbon,	100	173	133	50	52

The variations in these organs are very striking, but the mere lengths, or relative lengths, have little value, and the true esti-

mate is to be found in their adaptation to the animal in its mode of living and acting. It may be curious that the length of the arm (115) of the gorilla is nearly a mean proportional between those of the gibbon (179) and of the Bosjesman, or $\frac{173}{115} = \frac{115}{78}$ nearly; and that the gibbon's leg (133) is to that (110) of the Bosjesman, as this last (110) is to the leg (96) of the gorilla nearly, or that $\frac{133}{110} = \frac{110}{96}$ nearly. In other cases the ratio is very different. The truth is, that the uses, or physiological considerations, must be the great point. In the four animals, the arms are long for aiding in locomotion, so that the ape may move nearly in a half-erect position; and to effect this, the lengths must be adjusted to the length of the spinal column and of the legs, and even of the hands. This will be seen under their locomotion.

Professor Huxley compares their vertebral column, ribs, and pelvis; their skulls in shape, articulation, and quantity of brain; their teeth; their hand and foot, and so on. He holds their foot to be a *foot*, and not a *hand* ever. P. 112.

The conclusion is then stated by Professor Huxley: "Thus, whatever system of organs be studied," we must come "to one and the same result—that the structural differences, which separate man from the gorilla and the chimpanzee, are not so great as those which separate the gorilla from the lower apes." P. 133. Here, then, is his reason for retaining the Order, *Primates*, of Linnæus, of which man is made the first genus and family, (p. 124,) in opposition to the generally received arrangement of Cuvier.

This conclusion of Professor Huxley is extravagant, and is not sustained by more extended views of the comparisons. This may appear in the following examination.

1. Consider other statements in his work.

He takes special care to deny that "the differences between man and even the higher apes are small and insignificant," and asserts "distinctly" that "they are great;" and he adds, "that in the present creation, at any rate" (and of what other creation does Professor Huxley pretend to have *any knowledge?*) "no intermediate link bridges over the gap between Homo (man) and Troglodytes" (gorilla or chimpanzee.) Again, he asserts, "there is no existing link between man and the

gorilla." Pp. 123, 124. If this is the fact and the truth, then ought man to be placed by himself in an order distinct from the ape-like tribe, for there are obvious links which connect the gorilla, and all the man-like apes, with the other divisions of the ape family. Of these there has never been a doubt, and cannot be a denial. And, if their differences are greater than those between man and the gorilla, and this is to be the law of classifying, let new orders be formed for them, and not man be excluded from his due position because the apes have not been properly classed. This is the obvious and the logical course. Besides, on what principle are equal differences between the Orders required? who has done it? where has it been effected? It is enough for the Orders, that they contain animals which have certain common relations, as *all carniverous*, *all ruminants*, *all pachyderms*, *all bimana*. Thus the Linnæan division of Primates would disappear, as Cuvier saw it ought, and Professor Huxley's "Man's Place in Nature" be heard of no more.

Let us hear the Professor once more. While he states that *no structural or physical distinction* can be found to separate man from the animals, he says, "At the same time no one is more strongly convinced than I am of the vastness of the gulf between civilized man and the brutes; or is more certain that whether *from* them or not, he is assuredly not *of* them." The words in italics are marked by him. Man is separated by a *vast* gulf from them, and is possessed of such high powers that he is not *of* them, but is raised far above them, so as not to belong to them.

If no structural or physical difference exists, as he asserts, then he admits there are other differences which separate man from the brutes, even from the highest apes. He states one such difference. "No one is less disposed to think lightly of the present dignity, or despairingly of the future hopes of the only consciously intelligent denizen of this world." Pp. 131, 132. Here Professor Huxley actually points out the complete separation of man from all the animals by his being "*the only consciously intelligent*" being of earth. This is a difference neither physical nor structural, as he clearly maintains. Whatever he understands by it, it is a mighty and the noblest distinction,

belonging to man only of the creatures of the earth. What a miserable, falsifying natural arrangement is that, which unites beings of such exclusive powers, with the animals only a step above "the lowest, smallest, and least intelligent" of the true mammals.

Still further; while Professor Huxley states that "man is, in substance and in structure, one with the brutes," which means only that man has truly an animal nature, which no one in this age denies, he adds, that man "alone possesses the marvellous endowment of intelligible and rational speech." Here is another entire separation of man from the animals, and by a different power from that before assigned by him. But, if "the possession of articulate speech is the grand distinctive character of man," (p. 122) there must be a *correspondent difference in the organism*, as well as in the psychical endowment. The structure for "articulate speech" must be formed, and the intellect to use it must be given. Man has both; the mere animal has neither. Of the numerous tribes of men, all have possessed "intelligible and rational speech;" but of the mere animals in their myriads, not one form ever known, from the wondrous polyp, which elaborates its coral dome in the ocean, to the curious ape family, which similates some human actions, not one has uttered "articulate speech," not one has been structurally or intellectually fitted to have this "grand distinctive character of man." The parrot has been taught to make the sound of every letter of the English alphabet, and to speak certain imitations of short sentences; but that bird has never expressed one thought from its "endowment of intelligible and rational speech." Here, then, is a difference in the structure which separates man from the manlike apes as completely as from the lower apes, or from the polyp itself. In this case, the great conclusion of Professor Huxley signally fails. Man is separated from the gorilla and chimpanzee by an organism of inestimable value, and in respect to which the man-like apes do not differ from the rest of the ape family. There is then palpable reason from the structure, for the location of man by Cuvier in an Order from which all apes are excluded.

There is no evading this result. Surely, Professor Hux-

ley will not deny to man the organism by which he forms that "intelligible and rational speech," and enjoys that interchange of thought to which the brute is a stranger, because of its destitution of the structure, and, of course, also of the mental power, which could never be used. Led to this view by the admission of Professor Huxley, who will not wonder that the Professor does not admit and glory in that moral power, which is more grand and important than articulate language; that apprehension and enjoyment of goodness, purity, and wisdom, and that discovery and love of the infinite perfections of the Creator, in these his glorious works. This is the distinction to be gloried in. Speech and high reason were given to man for the most beneficent action of the moral power, that man might be subject to his nobler spiritual nature.

2. Differences in posture and locomotion.

The articulations of the body of man fit him to stand erect, and to walk or run erect, without any support or help. The balancing of the body, as it stands on so narrow a base, and with the centre of gravity between the hips, and over that base, is unique and singularly beautiful. The curve of the spine, the articulations at the head and hips, and extending from the pelvis to and through the foot, and the placing of his foot flat upon the earth, have no parallel in the animals.

As this is an important matter, let us take the latest descriptions of the man-like apes, and pursue the marked differences, especially in those said the most to resemble man. The quotations are made from Professor Huxley's work, occasionally naming the authors he uses as authority.

The Chimpanzee: native name *Enché-eko*, corrupted into jocko; scientific name *Troglodytes* niger*, black Hole-creeper, as it lives in caves or under rocks, builds nests in trees. Western Africa from lat. 15° N. to 10° S.

The chimpanzee, at rest generally sits, "sometimes seen standing or walking;" takes "to all-fours" on detection, and "flees." Their organization is such "that they cannot stand erect, but lean forward," balancing themselves by "their hands clasped over the occiput, or the lumber region." P. 56.

* Homo troglodytes, Lin., or Simia troglodytes, Blum.

"The toes of the adult are strongly flexed, and turned inwards," so that "the full expansion of the foot, as is necessary in walking, is unnatural. The natural position is on all-fours, the body anteriorly resting upon the knuckles," which are greatly enlarged, "and thickened like the sole of the foot." P. 56.

"They are expert climbers;" "in their gambols they swing from limb to limb at a great distance, and leap with astonishing agility." P. 57. "Biting is their principal art of defence," for which their *strong canines* are well fitted weapons: in their natural state, not carnivorous. P. 57. The chimpanzee is evidently a quadruped, a mere brute. It has "arms which reach below the knees; its hair is black," and the "skin of the face is pale."

The GORILLA: native name *Engé-ena*, (or "Pongo," probably from the country, Mpongwe, on the banks of Gaboon river); lives in the interior of Lower Guinea;" scientific name, *Troglodytes gorilla*, the *Gorilla gina* of I. G. St. Hilaire, as the natives on the Gaboon call it *gina*.

"About five feet high,"* very broad shoulders, large limbs and body "covered with coarse black hair, becoming gray," or "dark gray or dun hair;" "arms very long, reaching some way below the knee;" "chest and shoulders very broad," fully double the size of the Enché-eko (chimpanzee); head of "great width and elongation of face," and of "comparative smallness of the cranial portion." P. 61–2.

"The gait is shuffling; the motion of the body, which is *never upright as in man*, but bent forward, is somewhat rolling, or from side to side. The arms being longer than of the chimpanzee, it does not stoop as much in walking," but advances "like that animal, by thrusting its arms forward, resting the hands on the ground, and then giving the body a half-jumping, half-swinging motion between them," extending its fingers and "making a fulcrum of the hand." "It is said to be much inclined" to take the "walking posture," and balances "its huge body by flexing its arms upwards." It seems to be

* The full-grown specimen examined by the writer of this article was just 4 feet 6 inches high.

obliged to use its hands to aid in walking, being "never upright as in man." The gorilla "rises to his feet when making an attack, though he approaches his antagonist in a stooping posture." He strikes his antagonist, or "dashes him upon the ground, and lacerates him with his tusks." Pp. 60–66.

It needs no critical knowledge of anatomy to understand the vast difference of the joints and articulations of the gorilla's foot, ankle, pelvis, spinal column and head, from those of man. These descriptions show him to be a terrible brute, a quadruped, separated from man in structure. Such are the anthropoids of Africa.

The Asiatic species, the gibbons and orangs, have been longer and better known.

The GIBBON: scientific name, *Hylobates*, from the Greek, which means, Wood-traverser; inhabits Java, and the adjacent lands; the tallest little exceed three feet, and their slender bodies are far smaller in proportion. Their muscular power is wonderful, as seen in their gambols and feats of hanging, jumping, and throwing themselves from and through the branches of trees. *Hylobates agilis* is so named for its feats. "The gibbons are the smallest, slenderest, and longest-limbed of the man-like apes; their arms are longer in proportion to their bodies, so that they can touch the ground when erect." P. 35. Mr. Martin says of the gibbons generally, "They walk erect, with a waddling or unsteady gait, but at a quick pace; the equilibrium of the body requiring to be kept up, either by touching the ground with the knuckles, first on one side, then on the other, or by uplifting the arms so as to poise it." Pp. 40–41.

Another eye-witness, Dr. Lewis, says, "Their progression was not by placing one foot before the other, but by simultaneously using both, as in jumping." This is confirmed by S. Miller, p. 40. Dr. Burrough states; "They walk erect; and when placed on the floor, or in an open field, balance themselves very prettily by raising their hands over their heads, and slightly bending the arm at the wrist and elbow, and then run tolerably fast, rocking from side to side; and if urged to greater speed, they let fall their hands to the ground, and assist

themselves forward, rather jumping than running, still keeping the body, however, nearly erect." P. 40.

These testimonies from Professor Huxley show, that the structure or articulation, or both, make the posture and progression of the gibbons exceedingly different from that of man: in other words, that the gibbon is a brute quadruped, and man is a man.

The ORANG-OUTAN, or Utan: *wood-man*, man of the woods; scientific name, *Simia satyrus*, and later, *Pithecus* (ape) *satyrus:* inhabits Sumatra and Borneo; about four feet high, said to be sometimes five feet, with large and heavy body, "covered with reddish-brown hair." The arms of the orang "reach to the ankles in their erect position." P. 35. "An orang climbs so slowly and cautiously, as in this act to resemble a man more than an ape," but "in climbing he moves alternately one hand and one foot." In this respect he moves like the common quadrupeds. P. 49.

"On the ground, the orang always goes laboriously and shakily, on all fours." "In walking, the body is usually directed straight forward, unlike the other apes, which run more or less obliquely, except the gibbons." P. 49.

"The orang cannot put its feet flat on the ground, but is supported upon their *outer edges*, the heel resting more on the ground," but the "hands are held in the opposite manner, their *inner edges* serving as the chief support." To this he adds, "The orang never stands on its hind legs, and all the pictures representing it are as false as the assertion that it defends itself with sticks, and the like." Pp. 50–51.

From these statements on the "two Asiatic man-like apes," Professor Huxley concludes that "such an ape may readily move along the ground in the erect, or semi-erect position, and without direct support from its arms." P. 55. Yet, it is in the evidence that the gibbon, though erect, has to maintain itself in that posture, either by bringing its long arms and hands to the ground, or by using them as a balancer; and that the orang *never stands on the hind feet*, but walks on all-fours, the leaning posture being natural on account of the length of the fore legs. The difference in the erect position and walk of man, and his running also, from all this, is too palpable to need remark.

So also, it must be seen in the African man-like apes. The gorilla is much like the orang, and neither stands erect. The chimpanzees are "sometimes seen standing or walking," but on discovery "immediately take to all-fours. Such is their organization, that they cannot stand erect," and must run only on all-fours. P. 56.

3. The next point of difference is the adaptation of the arms or upper extremities of man to the use of the head, and not of the body or locomotion chiefly. In the man-like apes, as has been shown, the grand action of the arms and hands is for movement or progression, slower or faster; yet in man they are not so employed except indirectly, but used to carry out the objects of thought. "In man the anterior (limbs) are transferred from the *locomotive* to the *cephalic* series. They serve the purposes of the *head*. The *cephalization* of the body here reaches its extreme limit. Man in this stands *alone** among mammals."

The fore-limbs of man have *two* uses; 1. "The *inferior*, depending on the demands of the appetite through the mouth;" and 2. "The *superior*, depending on the demands of man's higher nature," even "a spiritual nature, in which the brute has no share. The raising of the fore-limbs from the ground, for esthetic, intellectual, and spiritual service, is in direct harmony with such a spiritual endowment."† This has led Professor Dana to rank man as the first division or subclass of mammals, more than sustaining the first Order of Cuvier; as he thus states. "The intellectual" (and let us add, psychical) "character of man, sometimes thought to be too intangible to be regarded by the zoölogical systematist, is thus expressed in his material structure. Man is, therefore, not one of the Primates alongside of the monkeys; he stands alone, the Archon‡ of mammals." He is the ruler, chief, head, of the lower creation.

This view is sustained by facts. It places man in a high and striking position from structure, though it is not the most characteristic position, as this would introduce his *psychical* char-

* Dana in Silliman's Journal, 1863, Jan., p. 65, and May, p. 452.

† Dana's Geology, 1863. Pp. 422 and 573.

‡ Classification, p. 50. Dr. Owen.

acters, and make them the base of the zoölogical system. But it is superior to that of *Encephala* of Owen, were it supported on perfectly tenable facts, as it can be; for it is more accessible than the brain can be, and, being an external character, it is manifest to the plainest and most direct examination.

Professor Owen had adverted to this cephalization* where he states the "favorable position of the upper limbs, *now liberated from the service of locomotion*, with complex joints for rotatory as well as flexile movements, and terminated by a hand of matchless perfection of structure, the fit instrument for executing the behests of a rational intelligence and a free will."

These structural and physiological differences, which are most important and distinctive, separate man so much farther from the man-like apes, than these higher apes are separated from the lower ape-tribe, that one sees at a glance that the *Primates* of Linnæus cannot be sustained, and that even Order 1, of Cuvier, is below "man's true place" in zoölogy based on structure.

4. Differences in the skull and brain.

As the brain is the admitted organ of the mind, and as man possesses vastly greater powers of mind than the apes, we may here find great disparity in several respects.

So Professor Huxley writes, "The differences between a gorilla's skull and a man's are truly immense." These appear in the form or shape, the position, and the cavity. The form of the skull is in man more round, or slightly oblong, the *brachycephalic* of Retzius; in others, as the negro, more oblong, the *dolichocephalic* of the same author. In the gorilla, the skull is lengthened and flattened far more.† "In man, the occipital

* Classification, p. 50. Dr. Owen.

† In the full grown gorilla, which the writer examined, the statements of Professor Huxley were palpably true. The flattening and lengthening of the skull securing the smallness of the brain-cavity, and yet the enormous size of the head, with the indications of brutal properties beyond those of ox, horse, dog, tiger, or grizzly bear, were all most striking, even with the fine covering of blackish or dun hair. The upper or brain-cavity of the skull occupies a very great proportion of the head of man, while that of gorilla takes a very small proportion of his head. In Huxley's figures of the man-like apes, the brain-cavity is shown to be very small. Then the jaws of the gorilla, with their large incisors and their huge canines or tusks, indicate mere brute and

foramen is placed just behind the centre of the base of the skull, which thus becomes evenly balanced in the erect posture; in the gorilla, it lies in the posterior third of that base," (p. 93,) which is not suited or fitted to the erect posture, in consistency with the statement already given, "which is never upright as in man."

"The absolute capacity of the cranium is far less than that of man," and even with "the great width and elongation of face" it has "comparative smallness of the cranial portion." The *smallest* human skull, measured by Dr. Morton, has the capacity of 63 cubic inches; but the *largest* skull of gorilla has only 34½ cubic inches. The largest *human* skull given by Morton, contained 114 cubic inches, and the mean of his European skulls is about 90 inches; the former being four times nearly greater, and the latter towards three times greater than that of the maximum gorilla. The skull of Cuvier is stated to have been 114.3 cubic inches. The minimum skull of the gorilla is only 24 cubic inches; so that the skull of a Bosjesman (62 inches) is twice and a half greater than that; and of the European mean (90 inches) is nearly four times larger; and of Cuvier is more than four and a half times larger.

Hence Professor Huxley states, "There is a very striking difference in absolute mass and weight between the lowest human brain and that of the highest ape—a difference which is all the more remarkable when we recollect that a full grown gorilla is probably pretty nearly twice as heavy as a Bosjesman, or as many a European woman," (p. 123,) and even as some men. He adds, "that an average European child of four years old has a brain twice as large as that of an adult gorilla." The mean of five children of four years is 69.2 inches, more than double that of the maximum (34½ inches) brain of the full grown gorilla, as already given, and nearly three times that of the minimum (24 inches) gorilla brain. Finally, we may notice particularly his statement, that the "cranial capacities of some of the lower apes, *fall nearly as much, relatively, below* those of

terrible powers. The articulation of the head to the spine, with the short neck and huge muscles, make the brute dreadful. The posture of the specimen was more erect, and more independently erect, than the statements of Professor Huxley will sustain.

the higher apes as the latter fall below man." P. 95. His proposition, however, was, *that they fall* MORE *below.*

Whatever may be the difference in the volume of the brain of the ape-tribe, it is clear that the skull and brain should form a full separation of man from the apes, higher or lower, and thus place him in a division by himself. Yet Professor Huxley depreciates this structural distinction of man from the apes. He admits "that all difference of function is the result of difference of structure" in the general, and yet denies "that the vast intellectual chasm between the ape and man implies a corresponding chasm in the organs of the intellectual functions," because "intellectual power depends" not "altogether on the brain," (p. 122,) but also upon the organs on which the brain exerts its influence, through the nerves which depend on the brain. Let this be true; yet the higher animals have to their due extent this *same accessory influence* of their brain, but they have not begun to exercise the intellectual powers of the whole family of man. Leaving out of consideration the depressing influence of disease, want of a sense, as the *hearing*, defective structure, or actual enervation, here is man, in all his races, with relatively capacious brain and appropriate nervous structure; and here is the highest ape, in contrast, with his inferior brain and essential nervous modifications corresponding to his wants and adaptations; here are thousands of animals and myriads of men, and between the two, there is a "vast intellectual chasm." Either the brain, or the delicate structural organism that no science can discover and trace, makes this difference, if the function depends on structure; or there is in men an altogether superior endowment of intellect without corresponding difference of organism. In either case, there is palpable proof that man should form a separate Class, or a distinct Order at least.

If to the intellectual we add the moral power, which is as certain and clear as the intelligence itself, so much stronger does science require the separation of man from any and all animal tribes, as the result of original and vast differences, the endowment by creative power and wisdom. And yet Professor Huxley found it "easy to comprehend," in his "Lectures to the Working men in 1860," that an "inconspicuous structural

difference may have been the primary cause of the immeasurable and practically infinite divergence of the Human from the Simian stirps."* P. 122. "*May have been*," not at all probable, if indeed possible; *may not have been*, far more reasonable, and even necessary, if Infinite Wisdom directed. His simple illustration of the two watches is more than absurd; for we must compare, for any valuable purpose, not the perfect and strong with the imperfect and weak, not the complete with the defective either in structure or from some physical or even accidental cause, but those equally well qualified in their kind, the usually endowed race of man with the relatively well qualified race of apes. In such case, no one can doubt the difference in the power of brain and mind in the two palpably distinct kinds of being. Professor Huxley admits the "immense difference between a man's intelligence and an ape's," but leaves his readers ignorant of any adequate cause. The reason for this is, that he turns his thought backward and downward into the impenetrable depths of his supposed ancestral origin from some parental ape, and closes his eyes against the light which illumines the works of infinite Intelligence and Goodness.

As Professor Huxley discards real creative power, he turns

* It may be easy to utter such a thought; but who, judging from the present and the past in nature, has, or can have, any conception of such a possibility? For, could that "inconspicuous structural difference" arise from the powers and operations of the animal nature it possessed? Certainly not; because the nature must act in consistency with itself, and continue its own nature. What originated its animal structures, its organs, and their operations? It could not originate itself, organs, or operations, nor have any volition, desire, appetence or tendency in the case. The *causality* must come from *without*. Could *chance* have been the cause? Then chance must have worked with design and contrivance, for these are indisputable in all organic structures. Such is not chance, or accident, or casualty, or fatuity, which is *happening without a cause* for its beginning and its action. Could it come from the laws of matter? What power of matter is known to produce any such effect? It cannot be gravitation, or cohesion, elasticity, or any known property; not chemical attraction or electricity, heat or light. There remains only intelligent, designing power, a thinking cause, which adapts means to ends, and secures definite and certain results. The operations will be consistent with the given nature, and must perpetuate it. The "inconspicuous structural difference" would be against its nature. We cannot but coincide with Professor Owen's view; such development "is physiologically inconceivable."

to Darwin's "natural selection," or "selective modification," as the only propounded "physical causation," which has "any scientific existence." P. 125. He admits his want of knowledge that the "genera and families of ordinary animals" and plants, are produced by any such cause. Besides "structural distinctions" in plants and animals, he sees that they "exhibit physiological characters," so that they are "either altogether incompetent to breed one with another; or, if they breed, the resulting mule, or hybrid, is unable to perpetuate its race with another hybrid of the same kind." P. 126.

This great fact in favour of original and distinct species, Professor Huxley admits, and declares that his "acceptance of the Darwinian hypothesis must be *provisional*, so long as *one link in the chain* of evidence is wanting;" and "that link will be wanting," till there is "proof that physiological species may be produced by selective breeding." P. 128. He knew not any such instances; no one has known them.

Considering the position of Professor Huxley and his strong proclivities towards the adoption of "selective modification," his belief in the paucity of hybrids, and in the non-existence of fertile hybrids, deserves high consideration; it is the admission of convincing argument over a reluctant mind. This unbelief in the fertility of hybrids is doubtless well founded and correct. How few, if any, are known to be fertile, compared with those *not hybridous*. How few real hybrids are known to exist. Even Dr. Morton, in his article in favour of Hybridism* in animals and plants, admits "that hybrids, as a general law, are contrary to nature." He quotes with approbation the language of Pritchard, "that there is in nature some principle, which prevents the intermixture of species, and maintains the order and variety of the animal creation." This is the "physiological character," or, as Pritchard calls it, "a natural repugnance." Dr. Morton also says that barrenness "is usually the case with mules," meaning *hybrids*, and asserts "that domestication evolves the faculty of hybridity." Of this point Professor Agassiz has lately said, "the experiments upon domesticated animals and cultivated plants, are entirely foreign

* Silliman's Journal, vol. iii., 1847, May and July.

to the matter in hand, since the varieties thus brought about by the fostering care of man are of an entirely different character from those observed among wild species."*

But, after all the progress in zoölogy and comparative anatomy, how little has been learned on points of organism which solve the mysteries of our birth and growth, and the activities of our minds. What has the dissecting knife, the analysis of the chemist, or the microscope, revealed to us of that constitution of the brain which fits it to be the organ of mind. Professor Huxley shows some of the differences and resemblances in the form and sections of the brain of man and the apes; that both have all the great, and some subordinate divisions of the brain, as well as other points of interest; but, on what constitution of the brain it is, that the one belongs to the ape and developes its powers, and moves the interests centering in a tree or den, and the other is fitted for him whose intellect and heart move nations and convulse the world, he has made no discovery, and even excludes them from his system. Professor Huxley also states, that "the mode of origin and the early stages of the development of man are identical with those of the animals immediately below him in the scale," p. 83, and he might have added those considerably removed from him; yet, who has discovered on what organic constitution it is that the egg of the bee becomes only a bee, that of the fly changes into a fly, that of the dog producing a dog, that of the ape only an ape of that particular tribe and species, and that of a man is developed only into a man. Here is a law of *production after its kind*, constant and universal as the law of gravitation. The cause for wonder increases with the knowledge that the general structure of the eggs of the higher animals at least is precisely the same, and that the nascent young cannot early be recognised, not indeed till the tissues begin to take on their special form. These facts are thus presented by Professor Huxley; that the nascent chick, "at one stage of its existence, is so like the nascent dog, that ordinary inspection would hardly distinguish the two," and that in a more early stage this distinction is impossible; or, as he states,

* Method of Study, &c., p. v., 1863.

"it is very long before the body of the young human being can be readily discriminated from that of the young puppy."

This will satisfy the careful student of nature, as in the case of the brain, that an unerring Power has planned these works, and is moving onward their operations according to his purpose of manifesting his wisdom and goodness through his works; that not *mere matter* is engaged in the causes and changes, but that the Infinite is thus revealing himself to the finite mind.

The human brain may be the larger, to indicate the higher powers of its possessor, and it may be of finer structure also, adapted to the nobler psychical characters of the man. Thus we come to that organization in the vegetable, through which it is nourished and propagates its species: to that organism in the animal, of a higher structure, to which is added the power of sensation and voluntary motion, and many other adjunct properties belonging to the mere animal; and to that organization in man in which we find these two previous endowments associated with another of a purer and more exalted kind, the moral sense, and the appreciation of Infinite goodness. From the last two, it is certain there is a radical difference between man and the ape, or any brute. Though Professor Huxley admits this fact, in the "immeasurable and practically infinite divergence" of man from the ape, he maintains there is no *structural difference* to account for it, or to lay a foundation for it, while he ought, on the admission, to separate man from the other Primates, and allot the far higher place to man.

Finally, Professor Huxley is aware of the "repugnance with which the majority" of men do and will "meet the conclusions" to which he has honestly come, and which they honestly oppose and reject. This "repugnance" is well founded, and highly honours our race. It is because men in general *see in others the exercise, and are conscious in themselves of the possession*, of powers intellectual and moral, ever shown by man, but of which they have never known the least indication in the whole range of brutes, whatever the structures may be, or to whatever extent these may agree or differ. Though some animals may be trained to perform surprising acts, they still *are brutes*, and continue to *be brutes;* the *chasm*

remains in all its immensity, established in the constitution of things, palpable, and has its parallel in things equally well known. There is a great chasm between inorganic and organic matter. They do not come into the same category. The chasm is still greater between vegetable and animal peculiar properties. Between the mere animal life and the human soul the chasm is yet wider and deeper. Men feel it in that moral power, in particular, which they never see in the brute. "We are men and women," and not brutes, because we are moral beings, separated from the brute by an immeasurable distance both in *quality* and *in kind* of powers. This repugnance must exist; the reason and the conscience sustain it. Give to each, man and brute, its own proper place, as the Creator has shown in his works. This is the nearly universal demand, because it is the voice of God in the consciousness of men. Often as the false philosophy occurs and bewilders some minds, the chasm is seen and felt, and men stop before the yawning gulf. The battle is fought; the victory is won. In view of such an animal origin of man, which was held by some long ago, Owen quotes Sir Henry More as writing in 1662: "It is sufficient for a good man that *he is conscious unto himself* that he is more nobly descended, better bred and born, and more skilfully taught by the purged faculties of his own minde."

By Rev. Asa D. Cotton.

ART. IV.—*The Thoughts of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.* Translated by GEORGE LONG. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1864.

THIS volume allows us the privilege of protracted and leisurely interviews with a very remarkable man; and one placed in such circumstances that what he has to say is of much more than common interest. Our visitor is nothing less than a Roman Emperor, of the second century of the Christian era, while Rome was still mistress of the world, and at the same time blessed with the highest civilization and knowledge that men had ever attained. Greece had gone before, with her

literature, her science, her lofty speculations, and her beautiful arts. The human mind had been vigorously applied to the great questions that naturally present themselves to men not favoured with divine revelation duly authenticated, and had done as much toward their solution as could be justly hoped from mere reason in our fallen estate. Homer had sung, Herodotus had appeared as the father of history, Socrates had discussed almost every topic of prudence and wisdom in the conduct of life, Plato had soared into the highest regions of speculation, Aristotle had taught the art of formal reasoning, and established many truths of natural science, and Demosthenes had exhibited the loftiest powers of rhetoric; while many lesser lights had reflected and further displayed the brightness of these chief luminaries of the intellectual world. The treasures thus accumulated had become the inheritance of Rome, and were enjoyed as such in the time of this Antoninus, to a participation of whose best and deepest thoughts we are now so freely invited.

Of the Emperor himself, Gibbon thus speaks, in a few lines which we may safely quote.

After his sketch of the character of Antoninus Pius he remarks: "The virtue of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus was of a severer and more laborious kind. It was the well-earned harvest of many a learned conference, of many a patient lecture, and many a midnight lucubration. At the age of twelve years he embraced the rigid system of the Stoics, which taught him to submit his body to his mind, his passions to his reason; to consider virtue as the only good, vice as the only evil, all things external as things indifferent. His meditations, composed in the tumult of a camp, are still extant; and he even condescended to give lessons of philosophy, in a more public manner than was perhaps consistent with the modesty of a sage, or the dignity of an emperor.* But his life was the noblest commentary on the precepts of Zeno. He was severe to himself, indulgent to the imperfections of others, just and

* "Before he went on the second expedition against the Germans, he read lectures of philosophy to the Roman people, during three days. He had already done the same in the cities of Greece and Asia. *Hist. Aug. in Cassio*, c. 3." (*Gibbon.*)

beneficent to all mankind. He regretted that Avidius Cassius, who excited a rebellion in Syria, had disappointed him, by a voluntary death, of the pleasure of converting an enemy into a friend; and he justified the sincerity of that sentiment, by moderating the zeal of the senate against the adherents of the traitor. War he detested, as the disgrace and calamity of human nature; but when the necessity of a just defence called upon him to take up arms, he readily exposed his person to eight winter campaigns, on the frozen banks of the Danube, the severity of which was at last fatal to his constitution. His memory was revered by a grateful posterity, and above a century after his death, many persons preserved the image of Marcus Antoninus among those of their household gods." *Decline and Fall*, chap. iii.

We may ask then, with a feeling of no slight interest, how did the world, how did the universe look to this Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus? Nor is our curiosity the less, when we call to mind that he was speculating, often, in regions of thought where the true light of the gospel had been for some time shining, and where he might have gained the clearest views of things, that to him were yet covered with impenetrable darkness. Much reason have we to be thankful that such darkness is not ours.

Antoninus, it is true, might have been a Roman emperor, in these same circumstances, and yet have been able to put in no claim to our regard: for he might have been a mere lover of pleasure, or power, a mere warrior or statesman, and so have had the appearance of seeing nothing with other eyes than those of a day-labourer in the great factory of this world's operations. But, as we have already seen, he was a man of nobler mould. His meditations could not be those of a mere earthworm; nor were they those of a mere speculator—they were the thoughts of one who had been compelled to seek whatever helps contemplation and philosophy could afford, in the conduct of a life filled with cares and perils of the gravest kind. He was even a teacher of religion, in such sort as he could be, standing in a position where, although the "*true light*" was not clearly shining, yet not a little of the darkness of the vulgar superstitions had been chased away—in part perhaps by the

same glorious light, which even this prudent and knowing man still rejected. Nor is it the part of a wise man, even in our circumstances, to despise all that such an one may have to say. We may not indeed ask his advice on topics directly concerning our highest interests: but even in the conduct of the Christian life, as it must be in part regulated by the precepts of experience in the conduct of body and mind, we may well sit at the feet of one who, if not blessed with all the light of heaven, has at least used with the utmost skill, the best that this world can afford. Certain it is, that many calling themselves Christians, do not display, in actual life, nearly as much wisdom as did this heathen philosopher; do not bear its trials as well as he apparently did; do not perform the common duties of their stations, nearly as well as they would by the adoption of the maxims set down in the volume before us. It would be a grievous error to assume, that because the Bible teaches all that is necessary to our salvation, we need not, therefore, trouble ourselves about such details of practice, and such lower maxims of prudence, as earthly wisdom may suggest. Be it that "only by celestial observations can terrestrial charts be well constructed," these charts are necessary for our guidance on earth, and true assistance in laying them down may sometimes be had from those who had not the benefit of the highest observations.

We will now formally introduce this illustrious personage to such of our readers as happen not to be acquainted with his history. For this purpose we shall avail ourselves of the sketch, which we find at the beginning of the volume here in hand.

"M. Antoninus was born at Rome, A. D. 121. His father, Annius Verus, died while he was prætor. His mother was Domitia Calvilla, also named Lucilla. The Emperor Antoninus Pius married Annia Galeria Faustina, the sister of Annius Verus, and was consequently Antoninus' uncle. When Hadrian adopted Antoninus Pius, and declared him his successor in the empire, Antoninus Pius adopted both L. Ceionius Commodus, the son of Ælius Cæsar, and M. Antoninus, whose original name was M. Annius Verus. Antoninus took the name of M. Ælius Aurelius Verus, to which was added the

title of Cæsar in A. D. 139. . . . When M. Antoninus became Augustus, he dropped the name of Verus and took the name of Antoninus. Accordingly he is generally named M. Aurelius Antoninus, or simply M. Antoninus.

"The youth was most carefully brought up. He thanks the gods (i. 17) that he had good grandfathers, good parents, a good sister, good teachers, good associates, good kinsmen and friends, nearly everything good. He had the happy fortune to witness the example of his uncle and adoptive father, Antoninus Pius, and he has recorded in his work (i. 16, vi. 30) the virtues of this excellent man and prudent ruler. Like many young Romans, he tried his hand at poetry and studied rhetoric." Pp. 7, 8.

We append such sketches of his life as may suit our present purpose.

"When he was eleven years old, he assumed the dress of philosophers, something plain and coarse, became a hard student, and lived a most laborious, abstemious life, even so far as to injure his health. Finally, he abandoned poetry and rhetoric for philosophy, attaching himself to the sect of the Stoics. But he did not neglect the study of law, as a preparation for the high place which he was to fill. It is to be presumed also that he did not neglect the discipline of arms, so necessary for the part that he was subsequently to play." P. 8.

"Among his teachers of philosophy was Sextus of Chæroneia, a grandson of Plutarch. . . . His favourite teacher was Q. Junius Rusticus, a philosopher, and also a man of practical good sense in public affairs. Rusticus was the adviser of Antoninus after he became emperor." P. 9.

"Hadrian died in July A. D. 138, and was succeeded by Antoninus Pius. M. Antoninus married Faustina, his cousin, the daughter of Pius, probably about A. D. 146; for he had a daughter born in 147. M. Antoninus received from his adoptive father the title of Cæsar, and was associated with him in the administration of the state. The father and adoptive son lived together in perfect friendship and confidence. Antoninus was a dutiful son, and the emperor loved and esteemed him."

"Antoninus Pius died in March 161. The senate, it is said, urged M. Antoninus to take the solemn administration of the

empire; but he associated with himself the other adopted son of Pius, L. Ceionius Commodus, who is generally called L. Verus. Thus Rome for the first time had two emperors. Verus was an indolent man of pleasure, and unworthy of his station. Antoninus, however, bore with him, and it is said that Verus had sense enough to pay to his colleague the respect due to his character. A virtuous emperor and a loose partner lived together in peace, and their alliance was strengthened by Antoninus giving to Verus for wife his daughter Lucilla." P. 10.

"In A. D. 169, Verus suddenly died, and Antoninus administered the state alone." P. 11.

We do not here attempt anything like a complete sketch of the life of this emperor. On one point, however, a reader not familiar with the portion of history here in view, will naturally ask information. How did this emperor, so wise and good in so many respects, stand affected towards Christianity?

It has been already noted that he enjoyed all the light that the sages of Greece and of Rome before his day, could afford him: but for the moral philosopher, how feeble was all this compared with the light of the gospel? How was he affected by that? Or, if not profited by it, how did he conduct himself toward its adherents?

In the first place, it does not appear that he really knew anything of the Christian doctrine, or felt any respect for its adherents. From a passage in his Meditations (xi. 3,) we should infer that he had noticed the readiness of Christians to suffer martyrdom, without being at all aware of the spirit in which they acted. He reflects, "What a soul that is which is ready, if at any moment it must be separated from the body, and ready either to be extinguished, or dispersed, or continue to exist; but so that this readiness comes from a man's own judgment, not from mere obstinacy as with the Christians, but considerately, and with dignity, and in a way to persuade another, without tragic show."

Little did the good emperor know of St. Paul, and those like him, who judged of their "own judgment," knowing the truths of the gospel, that all else, yea, one's own life, should be esteemed as the vilest thing compared with salvation through

Christ. Little could he conceive of the glorious vision which sustained Stephen in his "obstinacy" under the shower of stones, which gave him sleep from an earthly life to wake in heavenly blessedness.

To us it is clear, that with some exceptions, (if such are shown,) the early Christians gave up their lives to their persecutors, just as "considerately," with just as much "dignity," and just as fitly "to persuade others," as could have been asked by the highest wisdom of philosophy itself. As a mere matter of prudence, such as men always commend, they preferred an infinite portion of spiritual good, to any that time and sense could offer them.

In the second place, it is certain that during the times of M. Antoninus, the Christians were repeatedly persecuted in different parts of the empire; and the most that can be said in the way of apology, perhaps, is that the emperor adopted the policy of his predecessors; and this, in some measure, of necessity: for he was not an autocrat; but rather a constitutional sovereign—checked by the senate, and by the established usages of his imperial functions.

To us it may seem that he was hardly excusable for not knowing more of Christianity; and we might be disposed to say, that if he had taken just pains to come at the truth, he would have embraced it, and made himself a martyr, rather than allow others to be put to death for obeying their God and Saviour. So it may be reasonable to think: but a definitive judgment in the case must be reserved for a higher tribunal.

We here append a single item, in respect to the emperor's death. During his campaign against the Germanic nations, A. D. 179, "he was seized of some contagious malady," "of which he died in the fifty-ninth year of his age." This was in the camp at Sirmium on the Save in Lower Pannonia, or, as some authorities have it, at Vindebona, (Vienna.)

The Second Part of the volume before us is entitled "The Philosophy of Antoninus." This is derived partly from two essays, referred to on p. 41, and partly from the Meditations themselves. The topics embraced are, of course, Physics, Theology, and Ethics—this latter being especially the conduct of life.

In physical science we cannot expect to learn much from any philosopher of old. The questions which exercised their minds are now mostly obsolete. We have to content ourselves, in respect to the origin of things, with the revealed statement, that "In the beginning," *i. e.*, originally, "God created the heavens and earth;" and in the belief, (*knowledge*, we may call it,) that HE has so constituted matter and mind that all these *phenomena* with which we are especially concerned follow by the exercise of his power. Phenomena, with their laws of concomitance, antecedence, and consequence, or the relations of things in time and space, have been found the only productive studies in nature; and from them we learn all that is needful in the use of such materials and faculties as have been given for our benefit here on earth.

Antoninus, it seems, did not hold to the *creation* of matter. In his theory, that also of Zeno, "God is eternal, and Matter is eternal. It is God who gives to matter its form, but he is not said to have created it. According to this view, which is as old as Anaxagoras, God and matter exist independently, but God governs matter." To those who have the light of revelation the independent existence of matter may seem an absurdity: but mere reason would find it just as difficult to account for the existence of a Spirit eternal, as for that of Matter eternal. We need not then be surprised by such opinions of the ancients: if *we know* better, it is by the teaching of such an Instructor as even a Socrates hoped would at some time come to our relief.

On the subject of cause and effect, we remark by the way, Antoninus seems to have known just as little, and about as much, as we do ourselves. We quote a single passage respecting his views. "He tells us (xii. 10) to look at things and see what they are, resolving them into the material (ὕλη,) the causal (αἴτιον,) and the relation (ἀναφορὰ,) or the purpose, &c. The word cause (αἰτία) is the difficulty. There is the same word in the Sanscrit (*hétu;*) and the subtle philosophers of India and Greece, and the less subtle" (?) "philosophers of modern times have all used this word, or some equivalent, in a vague way. Yet the confusion may sometimes be in the inevitable ambiguity of language, rather than in the mind of

the writer, for I cannot think that some of the wisest of men did not know what they intended to say." P. 52.

"The word cause is the difficulty." Exactly so; and the secret of it is not in the ambiguity of language, but rather in our minds—in the minds of all men alike. This word always suggests something that we cannot find. Facts we can know—their relations in time and space, as of concomitance antecedence, and consequence, we can learn—beyond this, save as we refer to God, the so-called Transcendent Cause, we never get. We seem compelled to content ourselves with the fact that God has so constituted things, that such and such results follow from such and such relations of matter and spirit in time and space. One *wills* the motion of his hand, for example, and it follows, *i. e.*, God has so ordered it that the movement should follow upon the volition. We may put in some intermediate facts about brain, and nerves, and muscles, but the *cause* is just as much a mystery to the philosopher as to the peasant. *Where* the *power* is, except in God, we do not know, and apparently can never know. The fiction of some third thing to operate *ab extra*, as gravitation in bringing masses together, (save as a name for a mere fact,) gives us no help: for then we want something else as a nexus between the new relatives thus brought together.

We quote again: "Antoninus's conviction of the existence of a divine power and government was founded on his perception of the order of the universe. Like Socrates (*Xen. Mem.* iv. 3,) he says that though we cannot see the forms of the divine powers, we know that they exist, because we see their works." P. 55. Just as our Saviour has taught us that we reason from the effects of the wind; which all invisible as it is, yet makes itself known by its works. And just as St. Paul teaches, (Rom. i. 20): "For the invisible things of him from (*i. e.* in, or by) the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead." Or, as Antoninus again says: "To those who ask, Where hast thou seen the gods? or how dost thou comprehend that they exist, and so worshippest them? I answer, in the first place, that they may not be seen with the eyes; in the second place, neither have I seen my own soul, yet I honour it. Thus then,

with respect to the gods, from what I constantly experience of their power, from this I comprehend that they exist, and I venerate them." P. 55.

This argument for the existence of GOD still holds: but when we put *gods* in the place of the Infinite One, we cannot wonder at the perplexities which ever and anon must have assailed the mind of every pagan philosopher; for how could he know *which* of the gods existed? Or, may we suppose that Antoninus, as also Socrates and Plato, with others before him, used the plural number merely in compliance with the popular fancies? However this may have been, it leads us to reflect, How glorious the light which was shining even in the time of this Roman, and about to dispel for ever the darkness, in which alone a Jupiter or Apollo could exist! Has there ever been such a change in the world's history; or can there be another, like that in which the whole Pantheon of Greece and Rome passed away, never again to be thought of, except as the fables of sin-darkened minds? Well may we hope that all other false religions will ultimately lose their power, and cease to exclude the light of the gospel from the world.

Of the nature of God, Antoninus wisely has attempted to tell us nothing. Had he been asked, What is God? he would not have been less perplexed than was Simonides, who, when asked by Hiero of Syracuse, first required one day to consider, then two more, &c., finally giving for reply as to his hesitation, "The longer I reflect on the subject, the more obscure does it appear to be." No one without the revelations of the Bible could ever be in a position to utter the sublime reply of the Shorter Catechism: "God is a Spirit, infinite, eternal, and unchangeable, in his being, wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness, and truth." In any fair sense of the words, this we conceive is telling us much of the divine nature—as much, perhaps, in reality, as we know of ourselves or of things around us. Our just concern is with what God is in his manifestations of himself, and what he does in the works of his hand and continued providence.

That the soul of man is in some sense an efflux from the deity, and that the divinity dwells in us, is a standing thought of these Meditations. There is also frequent reference to what

is so well known as the dæmon of Socrates. This, most clearly, is what the scientific moralist calls conscience: but what the pious in all ages have preferred to represent in a livelier way, if not with more precise truth, as God in us, or as the voice of God in the soul of man. Socrates continually speaks of it as a personal existence—Antoninus does the same. Nor is this a mere difference in language. The mere psychologist, atheist he may be, finds the moral sense among our faculties: but this may be far enough from giving it the authority of a present God, of one continually dwelling in us, prompting to the right, and warning us from the wrong.

We find continually in these thoughts, the idea that Bishop Butler makes so much of in discussing the question, whether it is likely that the dissolution of the body will be the destruction of our living powers; or, in a word, the destruction of the soul: the idea, to wit, that the body and its members stand related to the soul merely as a dwelling to its tenant, and as instruments to him that employs them. When one wishes to reach a thing distant a couple of feet, he uses his arm—to reach a distance of ten feet, he must take a pole to supplement his arm's length. In either case it is a material instrument for the soul's use; and the one may, in simple truth, be no more closely related to the mind, or spirit, than the other. The body then is not one's self, nor should be so esteemed in our daily regards. It may suffer much harm, which may be converted to our great benefit—it may experience considerable satisfactions, only to leave us, our real selves, in a worse condition than before.

We quote another passage of this exposition of the Emperor's philosophy.

"From all that has been said, it follows that the universe is administered by the providence of God, and that all things are wisely ordered. There are passages in which Antoninus expresses doubts, or states different possible theories of the constitution and government of the universe, but he always recurs to his fundamental principle, that if we admit the existence of a Deity, we must also admit that he orders all things wisely and well, (iv. 27; vi. 1; ix. 28, &c.)" P. 61. "But if all things are wisely ordered, how is the world so full of what we call

evil, physical and moral? If instead of saying that there is evil in the world, we use the expression which I have used, 'what we call evil,' we have partly anticipated the Emperor's answer." P. 61.

The substance of this answer would be, The universe is a whole, not merely a totality of related or unrelated parts: but like an organized whole, in which nothing that happens may be rightly viewed by itself; but everything with relation to the whole system. The partial views, therefore, that we take in the world of sense, and with the lower understanding, are not at all to be regarded as apprehensions of the real truth of things. To us, and at any given moment, that may seem a great evil, which to a higher intelligence, or even to our own minds at another time, may appear as an indispensable good. So it may be that all which men usually term evil, as the occasion of present suffering, may be really but the form in which some greater good is brought to pass. So it is possible, that while we may not for a moment lose the sense of moral evil, as truly such, and in such sense that we must shun it, as if absolutely and only evil, God has so constituted, and so regulated the universe, that all partial disturbances of what would seem to us the best order, shall be found in the end the most appropriate means of giving stability to the whole, and of evolving good in its highest possible forms.

Here we may quote some passages from Antoninus himself. Thus he says, (viii. 55,) "Generally, wickedness does no harm at all to the universe; and particularly, the wickedness [of one man] does no harm to another. It is only harmful to him who has it in his power to be released from it, as soon as he shall choose." This latter assertion must be explained by the doctrine of the Stoics, that that only is evil to us which we have in our power; and this apparently resting upon the notion that there is no real evil for us except in the depraved choices of our nature. But when we consider that the ills inflicted upon us by others are often the occasion of enhancing our own wickedness, we hardly feel at liberty to push our thoughts to this length.

We find in a previous section, (viii. 46.) "Nothing can happen to any man which is not a human accident, nor to an ox

which is not of the nature of an ox, nor to a vine which is not of the nature of a vine, nor to a stone which is not proper to a stone. If then there happens to each both what is usual and natural, why shouldest thou complain? For the common nature brings nothing which may not be borne by thee."

Such consolations, however, lose a part of their apparent value, when we consider that the ills which we encounter are so often the manifest result of our own moral depravity. In respect to these, even if we could fully apply the Stoic doctrine as here set forth, there must still remain the torture of a troubled conscience; and this must be relieved by methods that mere philosophy knows little of. Pardon from him who made us, on the known ground of a sufficient atonement for sin, is in this case the only full remedy for the sense of evil endured.

In the next section, we find a related topic treated with some wisdom, and yet leaving room for grave questions. "If thou art pained by any external thing, it is not this thing that disturbs thee, but thy own judgment about it. And it is in thy power to wipe out this judgment now. But if any thing in thy own disposition gives thee pain, who hinders thee from correcting thy opinion?"

But we ask, has God constituted us so, and put us into such relations with the works of his hands, that we can dismiss external evils in this summary way? The Bible surely puts us upon a very different plan. We are taught indeed to consider them as no real evil: but not on the score of their being the mere products of our own judgment of them. The true ground of consolation is in this: "All things shall work together for good to them that love God." Then, in respect to things in our own disposition that give us pain, the remedy is not in any direct thrusting out of the evil by a mere volition, but in a method much less flattering to our pride, *i. e.*, in the use of means divinely appointed, and in reliance upon the aids of Divine power. The Stoic might shut his eyes and say, the evil is gone: but not thus would he always get rid of its troublesome, and even mischievous visitations.

Another passage touching this subject we give at greater length.

"Since it is possible that thou mayest depart from life this

very moment, regulate every act and thought accordingly. But to go away from among men, if these are gods, is not a thing to be afraid of, for the gods will not involve thee in evil; but if indeed they do not exist, or if they have no concern about human affairs, what is it to me to live in a universe devoid of gods, or devoid of providence? But in truth they do exist, and they do care for human things, and they have put all the means in a man's power to enable him not to fall into real evils. And as to the rest, if there was anything evil, they would have provided for this also, that it should be altogether in a man's power not to fall into it. Now that which does not make a man the worse, how can it make a man's life the worse? But neither through ignorance, nor having the knowledge, but not the power, to guard against or correct these things, is it possible that the nature of the universe has overlooked them; nor is it possible that it has made so great a mistake, either through want of power or want of skill, that good and evil should happen indiscriminately to the good and the bad. But death certainly, and life, honour, and dishonour, pain and pleasure, all these things equally happen to good men and bad, being things which make us neither better nor worse. Therefore they are neither good nor evil." (ii. 11.)

This seems in perfect harmony with the Scripture doctrine that "No evil shall befall the just;" and ought, therefore, to be so applied in our daily thoughts as to save us from much that we ordinarily suffer, as if our feelings and natural apprehensions were in full accordance with the truth.

But how wonderful, again, the discord between such views and those of the late German philosopher, Schopenhauer. In his creed, a legitimate product of his atheism, *nothing is good*. "Pessimism," a reviewer of his life calls it, and with apparent justice. "He pants to tells us there is no hope, and preaches his bad news with the fervour of an evangelist. The opposite doctrine provokes his ire." Specially "hateful in his eyes are they who profess Optimism." "It appears to me," he says, "not only an absurd, but a *ruthless* doctrine, a bitter mockery of the nameless sorrows of humanity," *i. e.*, to find in our existence any real good. The reviewer also says: "We doubt if west of the Himalaya there was ever a philosopher, whose

deliberate views and studied theory of life were so steeped in pessimism as those of Schopenhauer. Since the curse of Faust, since the wail of Ecclesiastes, there has been no verdict on human things so full of despair." He has, in one of his works, a chapter, entitled "The Nothingness and Sorrows of Life," aiming to show, "by facts and citations from authors of renown, that existence is an evil, and something that ought not to be."*

In such darkness may a learned man, among Christian people in this nineteenth century, immerse himself, by finding a universe without a God. Into such depths of night may one, trusting merely to his own reason, plunge himself, with the light of heaven shining in full blaze upon his path.

To return to Antoninus. His Ethical Philosophy has for a ruling precept, *Live according to nature.* This would naturally follow from his idea of nature as the system and course of things as ordered by Deity. The universe, in his view, is so constituted, and the general processes of things so regulated, that every creature falling into this harmony must exactly fulfil the ends of its being. Here then we find a comprehensive rule for the entire life of man. To act in conformity with his own nature and that of the universe, is to make sure of all the good that he can attain. But in his own nature we must observe, not merely the bodily senses and their appetites, not merely the intellect and its wants, not even the better affections and their proclivities alone, but especially the ruling faculty—the conscience, as we call it. This, we must ever keep in mind, is just as truly a part of our nature as the lower appetites and passions. But the office of this faculty, endowment, or whatever we may call it, is, with the aid of reason, (and, as a Christian must add, with the light of revelation,) to rule our whole being. He then that rebels against this rule is acting against his nature, as truly as if he would attempt to dwell in the fire, or in the waters of the ocean.

But for practice, we may observe, the rule thus supplied, whether as expounded by a heathen philosopher, or a Christian divine, as Bishop Butler, encounters this difficulty—*Our nature*

* Christian Examiner, January, 1864.

is depraved; so depraved, that we can with difficulty learn what it originally was. In this way we are brought to the necessity of a divine revelation, to tell us distinctly what we were as created, and what we ought now to be; or, as we may express it, *what our nature really is.*

Hence, we may add, that if we make the attempt *to live by nature*, we must not therefore rely upon *the light* of nature. What this may bring us to, we see in the case of a Hume, a Rousseau, or a Schopenhauer. This light, unless followed in a different spirit from that which is common, reveals to us no God, no immortal spirit, no treasures better than those of earthly possessions and earthly attainments.

"Antoninus's opinion of a future life is nowhere clearly expressed. His doctrine of the nature of the soul of necessity implies that it does not perish absolutely, for a portion of the divinity cannot perish. The opinion is at least as old as the time of Epicharmus and Euripides; what comes from earth goes back to earth, and what comes from heaven, the divinity, returns to him that gave it. But I find nothing clear in Antoninus as to the notion of the man existing after death, so as to be conscious of his sameness with that soul which occupied his vessel of clay. He seems to be perplexed on this matter, and finally to have rested in this, that God or the gods will do whatsoever is best and consistent with the whole." Pp. 77, 78.

This is what we might anticipate. Mere human reason, we are thoroughly persuaded, can never determine the immortality of the soul. If it be part of the Deity, it must be imperishable in substance, but not in its individual form. If it be an emanation of divinity, it may continue as a portion of light sent off from the sun, or it may return to its own source and become indistinguishable from the common mass. If, as Brahminism teaches, it be a mere efflux of the divine nature, taking shape as does the air that issues from the key-hole of a wind instrument, the separate existence is a transient phenomenon, and is lost when the afflatus ceases; or may be viewed as absorbed (drawn back) into the original source, the absolute existence, (Brahma,) or unconscious fountain of being.

What mere reason can do in these modern times, we see in the case of the Positivists. They do not know even that we

have a soul. Their instruments of vision disclose no such entity. The very word *I* is a nuisance in their sight. They are obliged to tolerate its use: but are jealous of what it naturally implies. What they can understand, is that thinking, for example, is somehow done within the circumference of human form, as is also breathing, digesting, and other involuntary acts: but to refer it to an immaterial principle, which might exist out of the body, is to them an illogical procedure.

Even in better schools of philosophy, and except as men dread annihilation, the argument for the soul's immortality is always felt to be inconclusive. Many, no doubt, even where the light of the gospel has been wanting, have been sure of the fact, but not of the argument to support their belief. To the Bible, and especially to our Lord and Saviour, are we indebted for a final and decisive bringing of "life and immortality to light."

We shall now let the Emperor speak more directly for himself; reserving, however, the right to criticise or argue with him, as a due regard to truth and correctness of sentiment, or practical wisdom, may require.

The first book of what we shall call his Meditations* tells us in detail what he learned from different relatives and teachers. But when he says he "learned" so and so, from one and another, we understand that he was taught thus, by precept or example: not that he was thereby enabled by mere rule, and forthwith to do all the good things proposed, or shun all the faults in practice, against which he was warned.

"1. From my grandfather Verus [I learned] good morals and the government of my temper." [*Note.*—The verb, in this and some of the following sections is wanting: but in most cases, *I learned* will give the sense.)

"2. From the reputation and remembrance of my father, modesty and a manly character.

"3. From my mother, piety and beneficence, and abstinence, not only from evil deeds, but also from evil thoughts; and further simplicity in my way of living, far removed from the habits of the rich.

* Written in Greek; the true title not known. For some critical information we may refer to this volume, page 30, &c.

"4. From my great-grandfather," (perhaps on his mother's side, Catilius Severus,) "not to have frequented public schools, and to have had good teachers at home, and to know that on such things a man should spend liberally.

"5. From my governor, to be neither of the green nor of the blue party in the circus, nor a partisan either of the Parmularius or the Scutarius at the gladiators' fights. From him, too, I learned endurance of labour, and to want little, and to work with my own hands, not to meddle with other people's affairs, and not to be ready to listen to slander.

"6. From Diognetus, not to busy myself about trifling things, and not to give credit to what was said by miracle-workers and jugglers about incantations and the driving away of dæmons and such things; not to breed quails [for fighting] nor to give myself up passionately to such things; and to endure freedom of speech; and to have become intimate with philosophy, . . . and to have written dialogues in my youth; and to have desired a plank bed and skin, and whatever else of the kind belongs to the Grecian discipline.

"7. From Rusticus (Q. Junius) I received the impression that my character required improvement and discipline; and from him I learned not to be led astray to sophistic emulation, nor to writing on speculative matters, nor to delivering little hortatory orations, nor to showing myself off as a man who practices much discipline, or does benevolent acts in order to make a display; and to abstain from rhetoric and poetry, and fine writing; and not to walk about in the house in my outdoor dress, nor to do other things of the kind; and to write my letters with simplicity, like the letter which Rusticus wrote from Sinuessa to my mother; and with respect to those who have offended me by words, or done me wrong, to be easily disposed to reconciliation, as soon as they have shown a readiness to be reconciled, and to read carefully, and not to be satisfied with a superficial understanding of a book; nor hastily to give my assent to those who talk over much, and I am indebted to him for being acquainted with the discourses of Epictetus, which he communicated to me out of his own collection.*

* Epictetus did not write himself: we are indebted to his pupil Arrian for "Reminiscences" of what he taught.

"8. From Apollonius (of Chalcis) I learned freedom of the will and undeviating steadiness of purpose; and to look to nothing else, not even for a moment, except to reason; and to be always the same in sharp pains, on the occasion of the loss of a child, and in long illness," &c.

Which last, we may safely affirm, is neither profitable, were it possible, nor possible were it to be desired. On the very principle of the Stoics, that we must live according to nature, and always in obedience to reason, we should require instruction different from this. It is according to nature, our own and that of the universe, that we should feel the pains and griefs of life, and that our demeanor should be more or less affected by our feelings. Some very important ends of nature, so far as we can see, can be properly gained only by such means. Nor is it in any way unreasonable that we should be variously affected by the various circumstances in which we are placed. Must all forms of matter be subject to various impressions, in order to the various ends to be accomplished by the several kinds and relations of its masses, and yet men, while themselves partly material, be susceptible of no impressions whatever? We may indeed be told that this is more than the Stoics meant—that they merely required us to preserve our equanimity in all circumstances: but in this alone, they would not have found anything to distinguish their rules from those of other prudent men. They evidently meant that we should reduce the present sense of grief to the least possible, partly by stern resolutions not to feel it, and partly by various rational considerations touching its occasions and character. To this we shall have occasion to refer in some other places where the methods of calming ourselves in times of trouble are suggested.

But here let us add, observation and experience show, that even for the present enjoyment of life, and especially for the cultivation of the graces and virtues of our nature, stoicism is not the most successful teacher. Find us one of these cold-hearted creatures, to whom all things are the same, and we will show you a man that has less satisfaction in his present state, and shows less truly the virtues of which we are capable, than persons of ordinary sensibility, and under rules not more rigid

than those of the Christian religion. It is the part of wisdom, not to cast out all sense of pain and grief, but to bear with fortitude all that God may lay upon us, with the full assurance that in the end all shall be well with those that do their Master's will.

Of Antoninus himself, we do not mean to insinuate that he succeeded in deforming his own character, as some of his precepts might seem to require. What the precepts are, we must judge, not merely from isolated expressions of them, which might be reduced to common notions of prudence, but from the system to which they belong.

We shall give some further extracts from this first book, particularly as they give us touches of character and biography, and thus make us more familiar with the times of Antoninus than we should be through general statements.

"9. From Sextus,* a benevolent disposition, and the example of a family governed in a fatherly manner, and the idea of living conformably to nature; and gravity without affectation, and to look carefully after the interests of friends, and to tolerate ignorant persons, and those who form opinions without consideration: he had the power of readily accommodating himself to all, so that intercourse with him was more agreeable than any flattery; and at the same time he was most highly venerated by those who associated with him; and he had the faculty both of discovering and ordering, in an intelligent and methodical way, the principles necessary for life; and he never showed anger or any other passion, but was entirely free from passion, and also most affectionate; and he could express approbation without noisy display, and he possessed much knowledge without ostentation."

"15. From Maximus† I learned self-government, and not to be led aside by anything; and cheerfulness in all circumstances, as well as in illness; and a just admixture in the moral character of sweetness and dignity, and to do what was set before me without complaining. I observed that everybody believed that he thought as he spoke, and that in all he did he never

* Sextus of Cheronea, a grandson or nephew of Plutarch.

† Claudius Maximus, a Stoic philosopher.

had any bad intention; and he never showed amazement and surprise, and was never in a hurry, and never put off doing anything, nor was perplexed nor dejected, nor did he ever laugh to disguise his vexation; nor, on the other hand, was he ever passionate or suspicious. . . . . I observed, too, that no man could ever think that he was despised by Maximus, or even venture to think himself a better man."

In the following section, which, however, is too long for us to quote, he gives a most interesting account of his adoptive father Antoninus Pius' character and habits. His character was one of rare excellence. Well may he have been surnamed the *pius*, the good. From his example, as here set before us, many a Christian might learn much for the daily conduct of life.

"17. To the gods I am indebted for having good grandfathers, good parents, a good sister, good teachers, good associates, good kinsmen and friends, nearly everything good. Further, I owe it to the gods that I was not hurried into any offence against any of them, though I had a disposition, which, if opportunity had offered, might have led me to do something of this kind; but through their favour, there was never such a concurrence of circumstances as put me to the trial. . . . . I thank the gods for giving me such a brother,* who was able by his moral character to rouse me to vigilance over myself, and who, at the same time, pleased me by his respect and affection; that my children have not been stupid nor deformed in body; that I did not make more proficiency in rhetoric, poetry, and the other studies, in which I should perhaps have been completely engaged, if I had seen that I was making progress in them, &c. . . . . —that I received clear and frequent impressions about living according to nature, and what kind of a life that is, so that, so far as depended on the gods, and their gifts, and help, and inspirations, nothing hindered me from forthwith living according to nature, though I still fall short of it through my own fault, and through not observing the admonitions of the gods, and, I may almost say, their direct instructions; that my body has held out so long in such a kind of life;

* His only brother was L. Verus, by adoption.

that I never touched Benedicta or Theodotus, and that, after having falling into amatory passions, I was cured," &c.

At the end of this book we find written, "Among the Quadi at the Granua." This must have been during his campaign in the southern part of Bohemia and Moravia. Granua is thought to be what is now called the Graan, a stream flowing into the Danube.

In the quotation above, it will be remarked that the Emperor was thankful that he did not make proficiency in *rhetoric*, and certain other studies; because, had he been deeply interested in them, he might have been diverted from the higher purposes of his life. And here we think he was wise. *Non possumus omnia omnes:* even if we had the intellectual abilities, we cannot all become adepts in all studies. Here, too, we may find a very common error, as we esteem it; especially among American students. We often attempt too much; and, as a natural consequence, accomplish less than we ought. This is especially the case in the Christian ministry. The studies of the college and seminary open to us such wide fields of literature and science, that we are strongly tempted to the culture of far more than we can properly attend to, while tied to the duties, not merely of a laborious profession, but of one requiring continued supplies of fresh energy for active labours, and for labours, too, where the heart must be in vigorous play in order to any real efficiency. One who does not resolutely ignore many of the studies that attract him, can hardly be successful in any of the common spheres of our ministry. In this matter, we think the reflections of Cecil just and pertinent. "Nothing seems important to me but so far as it is connected with morals. The end—the *cui bono?* enters into my view of everything. Even the highest acts of the intellect become criminally trifling when they occupy much of the time of a moral creature, and especially of a minister. If the mind cannot feel and treat mathematics and music and everything else as a trifle, it has been seduced and enslaved. Brainerd, and Fletcher, and Grimshaw were men. Most of us are dwarfs." For others this may require some qualification: but hardly for ministers with cure of souls for their daily work. For them, the rule can hardly be less strict than for an emperor himself. In the mere

pursuit of knowledge, too, there is wisdom in Goethe's saying: "It is better to know all of something, than something of all."

Of the Second Book we quote only the last section. "Of human life the time is a point, and the substance is in a flux, and the perception dull, and the composition of the whole body subject to putrefaction, and the soul a whirl, and fortune hard to divine, and fame a thing devoid of judgment. And, to say all in a word, everything which belongs to the body is a stream, and what belongs to the soul is dream and vapour, and life is a warfare and a stranger's sojourn, and after-fame is oblivion. What then is that which is able to conduct a man? One thing, and only one, philosophy. But this consists in keeping the dæmon [the good spirit] within a man free from violence and unharmed, superior to pains and pleasures, doing nothing without a purpose, nor yet falsely and with hypocrisy, not feeling the need of another man's doing or not doing anything; and besides, accepting all that happens, and all that is allotted, as coming from thence, wherever it is, from whence he himself came; and finally waiting for death with a cheerful mind, as being nothing else than a dissolution of the elements of which every living being is compounded. But if there is no harm to the elements themselves in each continually changing into another, why should a man have any apprehension about the change and dissolution of all the elements? For it is according to nature, and nothing is evil which is according to nature.

"This in Carnuntum." (A town about thirty miles east of Vindebona, (Vienna,) where it is said the Emperor remained three years during the war with the Marcomanni.

We give such an extract rather as revealing to us the aspect of things from the Stoic's point of view, than for any light it may throw upon the conduct of life, where the light of the gospel is enjoyed. With us, the soul especially, appears in a different aspect. Its activities are a very different thing from "a whirl"—its apprehensions much better than a dream. "The firmest thing in this inferior world," says Leighton, "is a believing soul."

From the Third Book we select the following reflections.

"12. If thou workest at that which is before thee, following

right reason seriously, vigorously, calmly, without allowing anything else to distract thee, but keep thy divine part pure, as if thou shouldest be bound to give it back immediately; if thou holdest to this, expecting nothing, fearing nothing, but satisfied with thy present activity according to nature, and with heroic truth in every word and sound which thou utterest, thou wilt live happy. And there is no man who is able to prevent this."

Here is true wisdom, and a just correction of some common faults of our conduct in daily life. We are too apt to work at the thing before us, bearing a burden of imagined future ills, and suffering thus a considerable diminution of the energies that might be brought to bear upon the present task. Too little do we regard such wisdom as we find in the Brahmin's proverb, "Fix thy mind on what thou doest, and not upon its consequences: miserable is he that looks to them. Wisdom rests in action." Or this again of a modern sage: "Duties are ours; events are God's." (*Remains of Richard Cecil.*)

Again: how few, even among Christians, keep the soul in such a state that it may seem fit, at any moment, to render back to him that gave it! How few even aim at this!

"13. As physicians have always their instruments and knives ready for cases which suddenly require their skill, so do thou have principles ready for the understanding of things divine and human, and for doing everything, even the smallest, with a recollection of the bond which unites the divine and human to one another. For neither wilt thou do anything well which pertains to man without at the same time having a reference to things divine; nor the contrary."

Higher wisdom than this has rarely reached the human mind: the only possibility of giving it a clearer lustre, is by putting it truly in practice; which by the Holy Spirit's aid alone can we hope to do.

"16. Body, soul, intelligence: to the body belong sensations, to the soul appetites, to the intelligence principles. To receive the impression of forms by means of appearances belongs even to animals; to be pulled by the strings of desire belongs both to wild beasts and to men who have made themselves into women, and to a Phalaris and a Nero: and to have the intelli-

gence that guides to the things that appear suitable belongs also to those that do not believe in the gods, &c. If then everything else is common to all that I have mentioned, there remains that which is peculiar to the good man, to be pleased and content with what happens, and with the thread which is spun for him; and not to defile the divinity which is planted in his breast, nor disturb it by a crowd of images, but to preserve it tranquil, follow it obediently as a god, neither saying anything contrary to the truth, nor doing anything contrary to justice. . . ."

We proceed to notice two or three passages respecting the soul, from which it would appear that its future condition was with the Emperor a matter of considerable uncertainty.

He remarks, (iv. 14,) "Thou existest as a part. Thou shalt disappear in that which produced thee; but rather thou shalt be received back into its seminal principle by transmutation."

Again, (iv. 21,) "If souls continue to exist, how does the air contain them from eternity?" [This proceeds on the supposition of their occupying space; and so being in some sense material.] "But how does the earth contain the bodies of those who have been buried from time so remote? For as here the mutation of these bodies after a certain continuance, and their dissolution make room for other dead bodies; so the souls which are removed into the air, after subsisting for some time, are transmuted, and diffused, and assume a fiery nature by being received into the seminal intelligence of the universe, and in this way make room for the fresh souls that come to dwell here. And this is the answer which a man might give on the hypothesis of souls continuing to exist."

We observe (xi. 2) a passage of very erroneous philosophizing. "Thou wilt set little value on pleasing song and dancing and the pancratium, if thou wilt distribute the melody of the voice into its several sounds, and ask thyself as to each, if thou art mastered by this; for thou wilt be prevented by shame from confessing it, &c. In all things then, except virtue and acts of virtue, remember to apply thyself to their several parts, and by this division to come to value them little: and apply this rule also to thy whole life."

So a melody, or harmony, must be slightly esteemed, because

the several sounds have no ravishing power: so a human countenance is to give us no pleasure in the beholding because in the separate lines and hues we could see no distinguishing beauty; and in the same way the grandest piece of machinery, or of natural organization, is to be little admired, because the several parts are insignificant. But this would virtually destroy all things, where the qualities or activities depend upon a whole of related parts, and not on the single powers or qualities of each. It might seem very convenient thus to get rid of some of the troubles of life: but to put our joys, and all objects of interest into this same crucible, would be as little consonant with our nature as any false estimate that we can possibly make of them. That Antoninus himself could have been so unwise in practice, we do not suppose: but his doctrine is plainly expressed, and must be rarely capable of any good application.

A favourite topic of these Meditations is thus set forth, (xi. 18.) "Consider that if men do rightly what they do, we ought not to be displeased; but if they do not right, it is plain that they do so involuntarily and in ignorance." [Not quite the opinion of Jeremy Taylor, by the way, who has somewhere remarked to the effect, that "men clearly know how to do right, or they would not so persistently do wrong."] "For as every soul is unwillingly deprived of the truth, so also is it unwillingly deprived of the power of behaving to each man according to his deserts. Accordingly men are pained when they are called unjust, ungrateful, and greedy, and in a word, wrong-doers to their neighbours."

We find also, (vii. 63,) "Every soul, the philosopher says, is involuntarily deprived of truth; consequently it is deprived in the same way, of justice, and temperance, and benevolence, and everything of the kind. It is most necessary to bear this constantly in mind; for thus thou wilt be more gentle towards all."

In such reflections there is a measure of truth; but the doctrine of the Bible is, that "men" have "loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil." Clearly, too, their want of specific moral virtues is rather a fault than a misfortune. Still there is no room for doubt that we are prone to

judge men too harshly, and allow too little for defects of intelligence and conduct, as dependent upon circumstances over which they have had no control.

The sentiment of several passages, which we cannot now quote, is, that our feelings towards others should not be determined by their outward acts, but by a reference to their principles, motives, and designs. We would go even farther, and say that we should judge men by their conduct towards themselves, rather than by anything they may do to us. The man who is habitually bad to himself can hardly be good to others; and one who treats himself well, in main respects, will not intentionally or knowingly injure his fellow-men. In the highest sense, one may say, a good man will not harm us—a bad man cannot.

Here we must close. We would not have our readers imagine that we have given them more than a sample of the contents of this volume. In its great variety of thoughts, which we have but partially indicated, they will find subjects for profitable reflection, and many suggestions for the conduct of life well worthy of their attentive regard.

For the curious reader, and one almost sated with the stereotype forms of modern thought, we know few volumes more inviting. The stoical philosophy stands out here as an actual scheme of life; and exhibits, so far as we can judge, the very best rule and discipline ever devised by the mere wit of man. Nor is it unworthy of remark, that the same philosophy has made its impress upon the Christian mind, wherever classical literature has reached, and found a contemplative disposition to work upon. Its great deficiencies, as compared with the religion of the Bible, are too evident to require even specification. In contemplating these deficiencies, we find new reason for gratitude for the "true light" that has come into the world; and that we are not left without the sight of its glories.

Note.—We would have spoken of the beauties of this volume in paper and typography: but it seems enough to say that it comes from the house of Ticknor & Fields.

ART. V.—*History and Ecclesiastical Relations of the Churches of the Presbyterial order at Amoy, China.* New York, 1863.

THIS pamphlet treats of a somewhat novel case in the work of Christian Missions, and one that teaches lessons of general interest. We need not enter into the history of these churches, nor of the discussions to which they have given rise in a respected body of our Presbyterian brethren—this publication showing that the questions at issue are hardly yet settled; but we may state that the peculiarities of the case grow out of the fact, that the missionaries concerned belong to two different ecclesiastical bodies, one American, the other English, though these bodies hold the same views of doctrine and church order. It was to be expected that these brethren would labour together in a spirit of Christian harmony, and their labours, by the blessing of God, have resulted in the gathering of several churches in Amoy and its vicinity. Should these churches be connected with the churches in England or America, or be independent of foreign control? This is the main question here discussed. A connected question is also discussed. Should the missionaries at Amoy become members of the ecclesiastical organization, which embraces these native churches, or retain their connection with their presbyteries at home? The writer of the pamphlet, who is a respected American missionary of Amoy, contends earnestly for the separation of the churches from all foreign ecclesiastical relations, and for the missionaries remaining in their church relations at home. A particular point which he endeavours to make is, that these native churches should not be so connected with the American Synod, whose missionaries are on the ground, as to separate them from equal connection with the English brethren. And the conclusion of his argument is, that "all the branches of the great Presbyterian family in the same region in any heathen country, which are sound in the faith," should "organize themselves, *if convenient*, into one organic whole, allowing liberty to the different parts in things non-essential."

The subject has received the consideration of the chief judicatory of the church with which the author is connected, and we do not feel called to review their decision in the case, which was adverse to his wishes. We may respectfully suggest, however, that as both the home churches can endorse each other's soundness in the faith and general ecclesiastical position, some method might perhaps be devised by which the native churches could remain in the same presbytery, and yet sustain relations to the churches at home sufficient for needful purposes; while the missionaries of both bodies might be members of the Amoy presbytery, but with unbroken relations to their home churches respectively. We see how complex this looks, and yet if both these respected churches could adopt some well considered *joint* regulation on the subject, it might be found that no serious practical difficulties would be met with. Considering the past course and present status of the case, taking it as it stands, as described in this pamphlet we suppose correctly, and not as it might have been if the missionaries had pursued a somewhat different course, we are disposed to think it would be expedient to sanction now what cannot well be changed at this late day. We express this opinion, not only with deference to the views of others, but with some hesitation, because it may appear to uphold the arguments of the pamphlet. Some of these are just and weighty, but others are the reasonings not of Presbytery, but of Independency. We found our suggestion on grounds of Christian expediency, no true principle of Presbyterianism seeming to be involved, and this expediency as shown by the facts here reported.

We pass from the case of these churches at Amoy to the general subject of the superintendence of foreign missions. This will lead us to consider the relations of missionaries and of mission churches to each other and to the mother church, as these relations affect the question of supervision. We may have occasion to refer to some things in this pamphlet, but our topic is one not of local, but of general interest. We shall look at it from the point of view occupied by our church. Other churches have their respective methods of superintending the work of missions, methods formed or modified by doctrinal or ecclesiastical views; with these we have no quarrel. Christian

union is nowhere more important than on missionary ground, and it is nowhere more practically exemplified; while yet denominational preferences are manifested there, as they must be everywhere else so long as men are not agreed in their views of doctrine or church order. It is not possible to give the gospel in the abstract to the heathen; men can no more disregard questions of church order and of doctrine in China than in America; they present themselves whenever a child is to be baptized, a church to be organized, or a minister to be ordained. Christian union is not to be promoted by throwing down denominational lines, but in the good old way of spreading the truth as it is revealed—doing this more and more in the loving spirit of the great Teacher, and then when men are agreed they will walk together.

In the meantime our missionary work must, from the nature of the case, conform to the views of truth and church order which are held by those who engage in it. Missions are but the outgrowth of Christian piety in the churches at home, streams from fountains in distant countries, and the distance to which they flow will not make them rise higher than their source. It will be found unwise for missionaries to adopt measures that are much in advance of the home position of their churches on union with other churches. It is doubtful whether Christian union has been promoted by the course pursued at Amoy, the brethren there having outrun their churches at home, or at least one of these churches, causing not a little painful feeling, of which we do not yet see the end. We are indeed warmly in favour of the union of all Christians, and especially of all Presbyterians, but we see clearly that it must be union founded on agreement in the truth—in the doctrines of grace, and agreement also, though not so completely, in respect to the order of the church.

The work of missions needs superintendence of some kind. It is, indeed, a work divinely simple in its objects and resting on the principle of faith; but it is vast in its extent, and it is carried on in different countries, and among people of various languages; it relates to preaching, teaching, translating the Scriptures, organizing churches, transforming the moral elements of society; it involves a considerable expenditure of

money, which is given by numerous and widely separated donors, each of whom is entitled to be well assured that his gift is expended to the best advantage of the great object in view; it includes many details, and often it must be accomplished in new and perplexing circumstances. The missionaries are at first usually young men, necessarily possessing but little experience, needing counsel; and they are mostly men of such excellence that they welcome, within proper limits, the assistance and direction of their brethren. It is never the best and ablest missionaries, so far as our observation goes, who say, "Send out the best men, supply them with all the funds they need, and then let them do all the good they can." It is not any missionary of our church, we have reason to believe, who could make the remark of a letter writer in this pamphlet, "that your Boards at home should be content to consider themselves a committee to raise and send on the funds." It is not necessary to dwell longer, however, on the importance of the superintendence of missions. It should be properly regulated, and by no means irresponsible; it should be intelligent, wise, considerate, and eminently forbearing; but that it should not be real and sufficient, we see no more reason for believing in the work of missions than in the work of the ministry at home. Indeed, our church system is pervaded with this salutary influence in all its parts. Sessions watch over the members of the church, and these over each other in a brotherly spirit; presbyteries watch over churches and all persons under their care, and so of all our church courts. Congregations watch over their pastors, informally but really, with sympathy, kindness, and prayer it ever should be. Our professors, secretaries, and committees, are all men under law, and not independent; and we see not why missionaries should be considered an excepted class, and, so far as we are informed, it is not the missionaries of our church who would covet an independent position.

How then shall this superintendence be conducted? In a full reply to this inquiry, the home and the foreign aspects of the subject might be separately discussed, but we need not pay much attention to this division; the principles involved are of common value in the home or executive administration of the work, and in the performance of the work on missionary

ground, as will be apparent further on. Our reply to the question is, that so far as the supervision of the work of missions is official, it should be made through our church courts, and through such committee of missions as the General Assembly may appoint. To the former part of this answer no Presbyterian will object. In practice, the missions of our body are conformed to our theory; both missionaries and churches are connected with the church at home, amenable to its authority, and fully enjoying the benefits of its supervision. Where there are ministers enough in the mission they are organized as a presbytery, and it is an object of desire to have presbyteries formed in every missionary field as soon as the number of ministers will permit. We need not dwell on the subject of presbyterial superintendence, the same substantially in all parts of the world, and familiar to our readers. So far as the work of missions is concerned, it includes whatever is necessary in the relations of missionaries and their churches, both to each other and to the church supporting the mission.

While this supervision of presbytery is not repudiated in discussions such as we find in this pamphlet, it suffers loss from two opinions; indeed these virtually set aside the home superintendence of our Presbyterian system. One of these opinions maintains that the missionaries should not become members of presbyteries in the mission field, but should retain their connection with presbyteries at home; the other maintains that the native churches should be independent of our churches. According to one of these opinions, the church at home could exercise no ecclesiastical supervision whatever over the native converts of her missionaries; and according to the other, the missionaries would be virtually irresponsible to the church at home in their ecclesiastical relations, for no presbytery in this country could exercise much more than a nominal supervision over brethren living on the other side of the world. The situation of the native churches in this matter is in some respects peculiar. Too far distant to send commissioners to the General Assembly, speaking a different language, mostly in very straitened pecuniary circumstances, it is obvious that these native brethren cannot enjoy the full benefit of our presbyterial system; nobody claims this on their behalf. But this should

not preclude their enjoying such advantages as may be within their reach—the sympathy, care, and appellate jurisdiction of our synods and assemblies, so far as the nature of the case permits. Practical matters of great moment may be brought before the higher church courts from the missionary presbyteries without personal representation, and from individual members also in many instances, just as in similar cases at home. It is not to be conceded that a native appellant or memorialist would not receive justice at the hands of the distant court of his brethren; and we are surprised at the reference in support of this imputation, on page 61 of the pamphlet, to a native pastor in India, as finding "some insuperable difficulty in getting his case before the General Assembly." This is a mistake. The reference is, not to the "but one native pastor" of our church in that country, but to the only one out of three who felt aggrieved for a time, having been led to think that his ordination made him a member of the "Mission," as distinguished from the presbytery. The former in its theory is but a sub-committee of the home executive committee, entrusted with certain business matters, and no more including all the missionaries in a particular field than the executive committee includes all the ministers in the presbytery of New York. Our native brother, who is now entered into his rest, did forward a complaint to the General Assembly touching this matter; but our information is that it was not received in time to be laid before that body, and before its next meeting he had become convinced of his error. It is certain, however, that he laboured in harmony with his brethren many years thereafter, even until his lamented death.

The relation between the native churches and their far distant mother church, moreover, is only temporary and transitional. While they are children, let them enjoy whatever benefits they may be able to derive from their friends in another land; it will be the prayer of all that they may soon be able to dispense with aid from abroad. Happy for them and for us, the hour when they can stand alone as a native church! In the meantime, we are glad to think of the native church members and office-bearers, at Corisco, at Ningpo, at Lodiana, and at other missionary stations, as Christian brethren of our commu-

nion, holding the same doctrines, worshipping God in the same order, and represented more or less completely in the same ecclesiastical system.

The other opinion would keep the missionaries in connection with the presbyteries at home, and separate them from any ecclesiastical relations with the native churches. This view seems to us objectionable on various grounds, while we can see hardly anything to be gained by it. If, indeed, the local presbytery were not connected with the General Assembly, it might happen that the foreign members, being outnumbered by the native members, would suffer inconvenience from being subject to brethren less educated and less qualified to judge than themselves; but this is to suppose an improbable case. It is altogether likely that the missionaries would always possess quite as much influence in presbytery as they ought to have; indeed, the practical danger would be that of their having too much influence. They would need to guard against overshadowing their native brethren, and to be watchful to put honour upon them in presbyterial proceedings; and if irregular measures should be adopted by them against the voice of the missionaries, a corrective influence might be drawn from the appellate action of the church in this country, and at any rate the missionaries could easily be shielded from serious injury.

Let us take a good example, as to both these points and others also. We see a company of missionaries landed on the island of Corisco, brought together from different presbyteries at home. After some time they can preach in Benga, and they are called to organize churches, to train and license candidates for the ministry, to ordain ministers of the gospel, some as evangelists, others as pastors of churches. Here is presbyterial work to be done. Let the missionary presbyters constitute themselves into the presbytery of Corisco for its orderly performance, under the rules of the General Assembly which provide for such cases. *Minutes of General Assembly*, 1838, p. 42; 1848, p. 21. *Baird's Digest*, book v., sects. 122—125. The membership of this presbytery will consist of all the ministers and an elder from each church in a certain district, agreeably to the well known order of our standards. We would not restrict clerical membership in this body to native ministers; we

would not exclude the foreign ministers, the founders of the churches, because, 1. According to our theory, these ministers are all of official parity—no matter for their diversity of gifts, or their difference of race. We repudiate the idea that the missionaries have some quasi episcopal functions as evangelists, or any official superiority over their native brethren, and that they are to stand aloof from them, and to be regarded by them as of a superior order. Presbyterians have not so learned Christ and his church. These ministers at Corisco, as the ministers of Christ, occupy the same grade in his house, neither higher nor lower, because some of them are Americans and others Bengas.

2. These ministers can, as members of the same presbytery, best watch over each other's ministerial character and conduct. Obviously this is true as to the native ministers, who are as yet inexperienced, but partially educated, in need of counsel and coöperation, and whose wants in these respects can be supplied as occasion requires in the wide circle of circumstances and duties which occupy the attention of presbytery. The deliberations and proceedings of this body will afford to them an excellent school of ministerial training, and its fraternal intercourse will prevent or remove misunderstandings between the foreign and the native ministers.

The benefits of this common presbyterial union of the missionaries must not be considered as only one-sided. The foreign minister may derive much advantage from membership in the local presbytery, especially as compared with membership in a presbytery in a distant country. He may learn much from being thus brought into close official contact with his native brethren; he may be shielded sometimes from reproach; excited to greater fidelity, and comforted by brotherly sympathy; he may be aided in overcoming the peculiar temptations which assail him. An example may be cited here, without impropriety. An ordained missionary, not at Corisco, but in another part of Africa, was permitted to fall before temptation. He was connected with an interior presbytery in the southern part of our country, and after long delay, owing to the difficulty of action by a presbytery so far distant, he was eventually suspended from the ministry. Probably this minis-

ter might have been kept from falling, if he had been surrounded by the kindly restraints and benefits of a presbytery on the ground. It is pleasant to add, that the suspension was subsequently removed by a new presbytery formed in that country.

3. In this manner the best supervision of the native churches can be secured. It would be difficult to say whether the foreign or the native element could be eliminated from presbytery in respect to this supervision with least injury to the churches. The questions of casuistry, the cases of discipline, the measures for the spread of the gospel, all need the united action of both. Each may be helpful to the other, not only in private unofficial intercourse, but in presbyterial proceedings. We do not believe, however, that the foreign ministers should long act as pastors of the native churches. At first they must do so from necessity, but the continuance of this relation is not to be desired. In too many respects do the foreign ministers differ from their native brethren—in previous training, in social habits and usages, in all interior associations; besides, they have other and wider spreading work, which precludes their being long restricted to the care of a native church. On the other hand, the native minister is well qualified to be the under-shepherd of the flock; and only with such a pastor can any native church learn the duty of supporting the ministry of the gospel. Yet in many things the native pastor will long need the counsel and assistance of his foreign brethren, and it may be their protection also, as members of the same presbytery. In all these matters the aim of the missionaries should be so to mould and direct the native Christian community, clerical and lay, as to dispense with foreign dependence and assistance at the earliest possible period.

We need not dwell on this point, though we must add that it is not an objection to the foregoing outline, to say that these missionary presbyteries are and will be mainly American in their membership. At first, of course, they are; but will they so continue? Surely not, if God be still with his servants in their work. How soon these temporary relations between the churches in Africa, India, China, and elsewhere, and our General Assembly will be dissolved, by their advance in growth

and strength, we do not venture to predict. In some cases it will be at an earlier day than in others. If the intercommunication of nations continues to increase in speed and facility, the difficulties of the present relations between the missionary churches and their mother church will diminish; but nevertheless both parties should pray for the day of their happy separation. In the meantime, while our church will still be the church in the United States, its representation may include her sons and their spiritual offspring in other countries, as the civil government of the country extends its protection over our citizens and their children in foreign lands. It would be no impossible thing for a distinguished leader of one of our great armies to be elected as our chief magistrate, though he was born in Spain; neither do we see any insuperable difficulty in the way of a venerable Chinese or Hindu minister of the gospel, speaking our language as well as do many of his countrymen, being called thirty years hence to preside in our highest Assembly, and doing this with dignity and grace.

We shall not enter at any length on the second official way of exercising missionary supervision, through such committee or board of missions as the General Assembly may appoint, and subordinately through what are called missions—or sub-committees of the executive committee—in the missionary fields. This kind of supervision is regarded with jealousy by some. We may readily concede that an irresponsible committee, or one amenable only to public opinion, might wield its superintendence injuriously, while those who suffered thereby would have little hope of redress; and we also concede that any committee may make mistakes, even though it be composed of men who are under law, and who are governed by the best motives. But on the theory of our church, these committees do not supersede in any way our regular church courts, nor in the least degree interfere with their proper action; in fact, these committees or boards are but business organizations, created by the General Assembly, subject to its modification, and liable to be dissolved at its pleasure. All their proceedings, moreover, pass annually under the review of the Assembly; and it is easy for any missionary, or even for any member amongst the hundreds of thousands of our communicants, to obtain in an

orderly way an examination of alleged grievances or misuse of power. Let application be made in a Christian spirit to those who are intrusted with the oversight of the work of missions—first, to the executive officers; next, if need be, to the Board. If further examination is needed, then let application be made to the General Assembly, through the usual forms. It speaks well for the Board and its executive committee and officers, and for the missionaries; or rather it speaks well for the correctness of our missionary system, that in the period of more than thirty years since the work of foreign missions was entered upon in its present methods by the Synod of Pittsburgh, no complaint has been laid before the General Assembly touching the administration of the missionary interests of our church.

Let it be remembered that the Board, as appointed by the General Assembly, is not an ecclesiastical body, but a kind of permanent or standing committee of that body, "to which, for the time being, shall be entrusted, with such directions and instructions as may from time to time be given by the General Assembly, the superintendence of the foreign missionary operations of the Presbyterian church." *Minutes of General Assembly* 1837, p. 452. This board or committee might be dispensed with, and its functions performed by the General Assembly itself, if requisite attention could be given by that body to many matters of business which are involved in the missionary work. Or a presbytery, two or more presbyteries, a synod, or several synods, might engage directly in this work; but they would soon find great inconvenience in attending to its business matters, and to the superintendence of missionary affairs in the field of labour. These would be found indeed so onerous as to prove a fatal hinderance in most cases to the prosecution of the work by such bodies, in their formal action as church courts—at least so we are persuaded. The Board becomes an indispensable part of our agency. This Board might be appointed or constituted in different methods. The simpler these are, the better; and the more closely the Board is connected with and dependent on the General Assembly, undoubtedly the better it will prove for all parties, and all the interests of the cause of missions; but we need not here enter further into the consideration of these points.

We take the Board as it stands, charged with "the superintendence of the foreign missionary operations" of our church. These include the choice of missionary fields, the appointment of missionaries, making provision for their support and that of their work, the general oversight of their proceedings, as well as of many matters of detail connected with the welfare of families so far separated from their friends and country. A more singularly miscellaneous class of duties and interests can be found in no part of our commercial metropolis than is found to centre at the Mission House, and many of these interests are of the highest importance. Besides the various matters abroad which require supervision, the home department of the work must receive due attention; this includes the care of missionary funds, the preparation of annual reports, the publication of missionary intelligence, a remarkably varied correspondence, &c. The least inspection of this list will suggest questions concerning details, which we must pass by with the remark that these administrative affairs are so performed and made matters of record, as to admit of being readily understood. The accountability of those engaged in these things is complete.

Looking now on the duties entrusted to the Board with particular reference to the superintendence of the missions, we note, 1. It is not ecclesiastical; it does not take into its purview any ecclesiastical questions whatever. 2. It follows mainly the line of pecuniary outlay. Is it proposed to send out a new missionary, to establish a new mission, to occupy a new station, to erect a dwelling-house, to open a school? All of these are things calling for the expenditure of the missionary funds of the church, and in all of them the committee not only may with propriety, but must of necessity, if they would be faithful in their "superintendence," be satisfied as to the expediency of such expenditure. Were there but one mission, or but a single missionary, the funds of the church might be devoted to the work in progress with less need of minute supervision. It would then be practicable to transmit the money without much scrutiny of the way in which it would be expended—though even then inquiry, deliberation, and judgment on the part of the home executive officers could do no harm;

but the case is different when several missions and numerous missionaries are supported by the church. The apportionment of the missionary funds becomes then a question of relative importance, and one that, from the nature of the case, must be decided by the central committee, after viewing the whole field of labour; the appointment of missionaries to different missions must be made also from this same central point of view. As to their posts of labour, however, the missionaries are always consulted, and usually the reasons which lead the executive committee to propose to them the occupancy of a particular field, will be found to be such as will satisfy their judgment; besides, none are appointed to any mission without their consent. All this has much to do with the future supervision of their work, as from the beginning the relations between the missionaries and the executive officers are those which should exist between Christian brethren who are engaged in a common enterprise.

The distribution of funds among different missions, and to each mission separately, is also conducted on the basis of a common interest, though here a somewhat different responsibility attaches to the labourers in the missionary rooms and those in the fields abroad. In usual practice, the subject is found to be arranged without friction. The missionaries make estimates of the expenditures of the coming year, giving details specifying their own support, that of their native assistants, and the expenses of the various departments of the work. These estimates from all the missions are considered by the home committee, acting with such particular knowledge of most if not all the matters concerned, as enables them to form an independent judgment of their expediency; in this way a wise conclusion is reached as to the amount of funds that should be transmitted to each mission, or rather the amount that can be sent in view of the probable income of the Board. Two things are obvious here, 1. That there must be a central or home committee to take the executive charge of these matters; and 2. That this committee and its officers stand in a twofold relation—on one side, to the churches at home; on the other, to the missionaries abroad.

It will readily be seen that in the oversight of matters of

such moment, and particularly of a somewhat large pecuniary outlay, in so many different countries and ways, there is need on the part of the home agents of a wise discretion; of firmness also, coupled with self-distrust and a reliance on the guidance of Divine grace. But inasmuch as all engaged in the missionary work, at home and abroad, are men actuated by the mind and spirit of Christ, as they hold the same views of doctrine and church order, as they have had very much the same religious and social training, they will probably adopt the same views of missionary procedure; and thus the supervision of the work of missions will usually be a matter of quiet and pleasant duty, involving no unreasonable exactions on the one side, and complied with on the other in that spirit of good regard for order which characterizes our body. And on both sides, it is of course well understood that the General Assembly is a common appellate and controlling body—the true Board of Missions in our church, whose decisions of all questions are open, conformed to well-known rules, and as likely to be fair and correct as could be expected in view of the imperfection of all things in this world. This statement of the subject will tend to show that the superintendence of the missionaries and the mission churches, or the relations of these to the church at home, will in most cases be conducted in a manner that will prove acceptable to all parties; and this, as we have already remarked, is the result as attested by the history of thirty years. Excepted cases will occur, and such have occurred, and as extreme cases test the principles involved in ordinary routine, let us glance for a moment at one referred to above. It was a case of scandal. There was no presbytery on the ground to deal with it; for various reasons the action of the presbytery at home could not be had without much delay. The facts were placed before the executive committee on testimony that could not be reasonably doubted; but this committee, not being an ecclesiastical body, could take no steps of judicial process. They could, however, protect the interests of the mission and the missionary funds of the church, by dissolving the relation of the offending missionary to the Board; and this was done, while the facts of the case were transmitted to his presbytery. It was a grave proceeding on the part of

the committee, one not taken without full consideration, and one for which they stood prepared to answer, if necessary, at the highest tribunal of the church. The subsequent action of the presbytery fully sustained that of the committee; but if it had not, then the case would have necessarily been transferred to the decision of the General Assembly. All this proves clearly that the ecclesiastical, and the business or executive, supervision of the missions are, 1. Distinct from each other; 2. Substantial and real; 3. Harmonious; or if not in the first instance, in agreement, then 4. In the end all will be ordered aright by our highest church authority.

We have said nothing of the other methods of keeping the missions under proper supervision, and of regulating the whole missionary work, methods of which some profess to make exclusive use—such as the appointment of men as missionaries who are of the right stamp, trusting to the piety of the church, depending on public opinion, relying on the grace of God. Assuredly, we do not undervalue nor disparage any of these things, when we put honour on the ecclesiastical and executive arrangements of our body. It is our happiness to enjoy all that the most "voluntary" of our Christian brethren could claim in these respects, and in addition thereto the settled and wise order of our church. But we hesitate not to avow that our chief trust for harmony and efficiency, in all our missionary labours and the superintendence thereof, in the intercourse of missionaries with each other and with the executive committee, and in the care of the churches, is found in the fulfilment of our Lord's gracious promise, "Lo, I am with you always"—a promise given expressly to encourage the missionary work of his people. It is the mind of Christ in his servants, that lowly mind so wonderful in the Lord of glory, that disposition not to please himself, that humility and love which led him to wash his disciples' feet, that devotedness which made him account it as his meat and his drink to do the will of his heavenly Father; it is these gracious dispositions that will best guard both the missionaries and their brethren at home against occasions of offence, just as it is Divine aid and power that will give sure success to this work of their hands.

Rev. Prof. John Hall D.D.

ART. VI.—*Life and Letters of John Winthrop*, Governor of the Massachusetts-Bay Company at their emigration to New England, 1630. By ROBERT C. WINTHROP. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1864. Pp. 452.

IT is not fair in this title to create the expectation of a complete biography of Governor Winthrop; for just as the author comes to the point most interesting to the American reader—the embarkation for New England—the book is done, and we are left with a very indefinite intimation that sooner or later the remainder may possibly be forthcoming. But we are too thankful for these nineteen charming chapters, to file any complaint against the editor, except with a view to a sort of literary *subpœna duces tecum*, requiring him speedily to produce the residue of the papers in his possession. The public will not allow him to evade this demand by pleading (p. 400) what the works of Bancroft and Palfrey have already done; for those admirable historians had not the custody of the "very large collection of original family papers" (p. 7) from which the greater number of these pages have been copied, and which extend over the last nineteen years of Winthrop's life, as well as the preceding forty-two.

But the object which justifies a "Biblical" review of the work is sufficiently attainable from the materials before us. That object is to present to our times a specimen of the character which, in the early settlement of our country, recommended men to public office, and a specimen of the happy results to the commonwealth which responded to such selections. Coincident with this purpose is the illustration of piety, as capable of manifesting itself in the entire career, domestic, official, as well as ecclesiastical, of its possessor, as giving complexion and substance to the man in his sum total—the man of business, of family, of politics, as well as of the pew and communion-table; the son, husband, father, neighbour, magistrate, statesman; and this not merely the moral sort of religiousness demanded by common (or what two hundred and fifty years ago was common) integrity in public life—Jethro's "able men, such as fear God;

men of truth, hating covetousness"—but the evangelical piety nourished by constant resort to the Divine oracles, and cultivated with prayer, and rigorous application of the word to the conscience, and thence to the life.

The volume before us, which will prove, we trust, to be but the first of the "Life and Letters," is largely composed of that matter which, as the prefatory chapter well remarks, belongs unquestionably to the best sources of biography, viz., "that which has been written, accidentally and unconsciously, as it were, in familiar letters or private journals." The large collection of manuscripts of Winthrop, which have been preserved with such remarkable safety till they have come into the hands of his worthy descendant of the seventh generation, contain records of his "Christian experience," journals, letters to his wives and children, and other relatives. The attractions and usefulness of his domestic correspondence, as well as their illustrations of his character, are delightfully augmented by the preservation of many letters which he received from his family. He was first married when only three months more than seventeen years of age, and his wife died within eleven years afterwards. His second marriage was dissolved by death at the close of the first year. His third wife was spared to him for nearly thirty years; and many a one who has now the opportunity of indulging the pardonable intrusion on the privacy of Margaret Winthrop's tender, dutiful, and sensible communications "to her most dear husband," will be often disposed to say with him, "thy sweet letters, how welcome they were to me, I cannot express." Of these letters of Winthrop, the biographer well observes, "Most striking evidence do they bring to that deep-seated and prevailing love of God in his heart, which strengthened and purified all his other affections, and which seemed itself to be purified and strengthened in turn, even by those very earthly ties and domestic attachments which have so often estranged other hearts from the highest objects of their love." P. 140. And of the whole family correspondence we would say with him again, "It would not be easy, we think, to find private domestic correspondence of the same period, or indeed of any period, which would better bear

exposure, or which would reflect more credit on the character of the writers." P. 158.

With most readers it will detract from the interest of nearly all the selections, to find them edited so exactly as to retain the quaint orthography and abbreviations of the autographs. We do not see what good object is gained by this antiquarian practice, that compensates for the interruption in reading. A specimen or two might be given to show the peculiarities of old style, but there is nothing pleasing or characteristic in being stopped at every line to decipher short-hand, and guess out obsolete spelling. A good many of these various readings, too, are the result of imperfect education; and if we take the liberty of reading and printing the most hasty private papers of the departed, we need not expose their grammatical slips, or use their manuscripts for the press without the correction that all other "copy" receives. The old words should not be changed. "Contentation" should still stand for *contentment*— "commodity" for *benefit* — "painful" for *laborious*—"well-willer" for one who is paying his addresses—"profanes" as a noun — "intentive," "dumpishness," "goodman," &c. — but what, save annoyance, is there in the perpetual recurrence of *ffrynd*, *bycawse*, *yewthe*, *nuse*, *it twilbe*, or of such varieties as *write*, *rite*, *right*, *wright*, *wrote*, *wroght*, *ritten*, *righting*, or of such symbols as "&ch" for *anarchy?* To be sure, we may blunder sometimes in undertaking to interpret the signs; as Mr. R. C. Winthrop was near doing with his ancestor's "purpose to send up £10 for my A. B.," if his inclination to set this down as a high price for a University degree, had not been suddenly arrested by discovering that the ten pounds were for "Aunt Branch." The retention of so much that requires to be spelled out, is particularly to be regretted in the printing of matter so excellent as to deserve every facility for its practical use. In our quotations we shall have not only to transcribe but to translate.

John Winthrop was born in the county of Suffolk, England, January 22, 1588. The family-seat was Groton Manor. Their ecclesiastical connection was with the Established Church: though Winthrop, as Bancroft says of him, was "in England a conformist, yet loving gospel purity, even to Independency."

The first traces of his spiritual life are given by his own hand. "About ten years of age, I had some notions of God: for in some frighting or danger I have prayed unto God and found manifest answer; the remembrance whereof, many years after, made me think that God did love me; but it made me no whit the better. After I was twelve years old, I began to have some more savour of religion; and I thought I had more understanding in divinity than many of my years; for in reading of some good books, I conceived that I did know divers of those points before, though I knew not how I should come by such knowledge; (but, since, I perceived it was out of some logical principles, whereby out of some things I could conclude others.) Yet I was still very wild and dissolute. . . . I would, as occasion required, write letters, &c. of mere vanity; and, if occasion was, I could write savoury and godly counsel. About fourteen years of age, being in Cambridge, I fell into a lingering fever which took away the comforts of my life: for, being there neglected and despised, I went up and down mourning with myself; and, being deprived of my youthful joys, I betook myself to God, whom I did believe to be very good and merciful, and would welcome any that would come to him, especially such a young soul, and so well qualified as I took myself to be; so as I took pleasure in drawing near to him."

His imprudently early marriage broke off his college-life at Cambridge, but was the means of introducing him to the preaching of the curate of his wife's family, in the county of Essex: "And living there sometimes, I first found the ministry of the word come home to my heart with power, (for in all before I only found light); and, after that, I found the like in the ministry of many others; so as there began to be some change, which I perceived in myself, and others took notice of. Now I began to come under strong exercises of conscience, (yet by fits only): I could no longer dally with religion. God put my soul to sad tasks sometimes, which yet the flesh would shake off and outwear still. I had, withal, many sweet invitations, which I would willingly have entertained; but the flesh would not give up her interest. The merciful Lord would not thus be answered; but notwithstanding all my stubbornness, and

unkind rejections of mercy, he left me not till he had overcome my heart to give up itself unto him, and to bid farewell to all the world, and until my heart could answer, 'Lord! what wilt thou have me to do?'"

There is something instructive in the notices which the married boy of eighteen takes of "the foxes, the little foxes, that spoil the vines;" as in these entries of 1606. "Where there is not a reverent trembling at the committing of small sins, and those but in thought or word, there is no fear of God; and where there is no fear, there is no faith: therefore, mark this." "It is wonderful how the omission of the least duty, or commission of evil, will quench grace, and estrange us from the love of God." "I found that on Saturday in the afternoon, deferring reading and prayer till three o'clock, for the performing of a needless work, my heart was very much unsettled. On Sunday, being at sermon, I let in but a thought of my journey into Essex, but straight it delighted me; and being not very careful of my heart, I was suddenly, I know not how, so possessed with the world, as I was led into one sin after another, and could hardly recover myself, till taking myself to prayer, before I was too far gone, I found mercy."

How many journeys to Essex are made every Lord's-day, by older Christians than this, but which, if noticed at all, or with the least compunction, are passed over as but natural infirmities! The Puritan strictness of watchfulness over the inner as well as the outer man, was thus early forming the habits of Winthrop's religion, and laying their foundation in principle and experience, as well as profession. If we meet with some occasional signs of an over-scrupulous conscience, and some, at least unusual, minuteness in observing special providences, these extremes are good to be set in contrast with the recklessness of times when almost no corruption is too great to be winked at, and scarcely the most prominent events are sufficient to make men know the Lord. Such searchings of heart as are put into the following memoranda (1611), seem to have been habitual:

"Getting myself to take too much delight in a vain thing, which I went about without the warrant of faith, I was by it, by degrees, drawn to make shipwreck of a good conscience and the love of my Father, so that my heart began to grow hard-

ened, and inclining to a reprobate mind: prayer and other duties began to grow irksome; my confidence failed me; my comfort left me; yet I longed after reconciliation, but could not obtain it. I earnestly sought to repent, but could not get a heart unto it; I grew weary of myself, unprofitable to others; and God knows whether ever I shall recover that state which I lost. Oh that this might be a warning to me to take good heed how I grieve the good Spirit of my God, and wound my conscience; and that as the penning of this is in many tears, so the reading of it, when occasion shall be, may be a strong motive unto sobriety."

"I find that often sinning brings difficulty in repenting, and especially the bold running out against knowledge and conscience." "After the committing of such sins as have promised most contentment and commodity, I would ever gladly have wanted the benefit, that I might have been rid of the sin. Whereupon I conclude that the profit of sin can never countervail the damage of it; for there is no sin so sweet in the committing, but it proves more bitter in the repenting for it."

"I have trembled more at the committing of some new sin, although but small in comparison, than at the doing of some evil that I have been accustomed to, though much greater; therefore I see it is good to beware of custom in sin, for often sinning will make sin seem light."

"God will have mercy on whom he will have mercy, and when and how seems best to his wisdom and will. And his mercy is free, mere mercy, without any help of our own worth or will: so that for all good actions, we add nothing either to the deed or the doer. But as a man shooting a bird through a hedge or a hole in the wall, the hedge doth no more but cover the author, though the bird may think the blow came from the hedge, so surely the Lord hath showed me, (in prayer and meditation, whereunto he himself only drew and enabled me, sending the affliction, and sanctifying it to that end,) that there never was any holy meditation, prayer or action that I had a hand in, that received any worth or furtherance from me, or anything that was mine. And until I saw this, and acknowledged it, I could never have true comfort in God, or sound peace in my own conscience, in any the best that I could per-

form. But when sometimes I fell into a holy prayer, meditation, etc.; if I happened but to let my affections cast an eye towards myself, as thinking myself somebody in the performance of such a duty in such a manner, such a thought would presently be to my comfort and peace, as cold water cast upon a flame; whereby I might see that God by such checks would teach me to go wholly out of myself, and learn to depend upon him alone; which he himself of his mere favour give me grace to do constantly. For it is not possible that any good thing should come from me as of myself, since the very least conceit that ascribes anything to my own worth or ability in the best duty, not only takes away all merit from it, but makes it loathsome and sinful in God's sight."

Hear how a civil magistrate may attend to the duties of his court, as well as those of the Lord's house, with a Christian mind. "Our sessions were [took place], against which (fearing greatly mine own frailty) I did prepare myself by earnest prayer, etc., and my time, as I rode, I spent as well as I could in good meditations, and kept my course of prayer, etc., as well as conveniently I could while I was there, refraining my mouth, eyes, and ears from vanity, as well as I could, and so it pleased God that I brought home my peace and good conscience with me. Yet my love of goodness somewhat abated, which I perceived not till a day or two after, when I began to be somewhat loath to prayer and good communication; the flesh beginning to favour itself. But it pleased God by prayer to quicken me again. When I was at sessions I kept a continual watch (as near as I could); but yet when I saw and heard the great account and estimation that the wisdom, glory, wealth, pleasure, and such like worldly felicity was in with all, methought I heard all men telling me I was a fool to set so light by honour, credit, wealth, jollity, which I saw so many wise men so much affect and joy in, and to tie my comfort to a conversation in heaven, which was nowhere to be seen, no way regarded, which would bring myself and all my gifts into contempt. These and the like baits did Satan lay for me, and with these enemies he did ofttimes sore shake my faith; but Christ was in me and upheld my resolution, and he will uphold it (I trust and pray) that my faith shall never fail. O Lord,

keep me that I be not discouraged, neither think the more meanly of the portion I have chosen, even to walk with thee and to keep thy commandments, because the wise ones of this world do not regard but contemn these things."

And of what sort were the Judge's meditations on such journeys? "Amongst other things I had a very sweet meditation of the presence and power of the Holy Ghost in the hearts of the faithful; how he reveals the love of God in our hearts, and causeth us to love God again; how he unites all the faithful in deed and in affection; how he opens our understandings in the mysteries of the gospel, and makes us to believe and obey; and of the sweet consent between the word and the Spirit, the Spirit leading and directing us in all things according to the word. I am not able to express the understanding which God gave me in this heavenly matter, neither the joy that I had in the apprehension thereof. Other meditations I had of my sin and unworthiness, of the exceeding mercies of God towards me; and now and then to refresh me when I grew weary, I had a prayer in my heart, and sometimes I sung a psalm. I found it very hard to bring my heart hereunto, my eyes were so eager of wandering, and my mind so loath to be held within compass; but after I got into it, I found great sweetness therein; it shortened my way and lightened all such troubles and difficulties as I was wont to meet with."

His business helped—not hindered—his spiritual mind. "Settling myself to walk uprightly with my God and diligently in my calling, and having a heart willing to deny myself, I found the godly life to be the only sweet life, and my peace with my God to be a true heaven upon earth. I found God ever present with me, in prayer and meditation, in the duties of my calling," etc.

"My conscience did especially accuse me for my remissness in my calling of magistracy, in that I had not been painful in the finding out and zealous in the punishment of sin. . . . . Thereupon I prayed earnestly unto the Lord for pardon, and for grace to hate these my sins and to amend them; and I promised and covenanted with the Lord to be more zealous and diligent, and to walk more constantly with him, and I desired the Lord that whensoever I should decline from this covenant,

that I might not have any peace, but feel his anger until I were returned again."

"I plainly perceive that when I am not held under by some affliction, either outward or inward, then I must make my flesh do its full task in the duties of my calling, or such other service wherein it takes no pleasure. Otherwise it will wax wanton and idle; and then finding sweetness in earthly things, it will grow so weary of God's yoke, that it will not be borne any longer, except the flesh, by strong hand, be brought under again."

"So it is that it hath pleased the Lord to call me to a farther trust in this business of the Plantation, than either I expected, or find myself fit for, being chosen by the Company to be their Governor. The only thing that I have comfort of in it is, that hereby I have assurance that my charge is of the Lord, and that he hath called me to this work. Oh that he would give me a heart now to answer his goodness to me and the expectation of his people. I never had more need of prayers; help me, dear wife, and let us set our hearts to seek the Lord and cleave to him sincerely."

A chapter of the Life (pp. 90–122) is devoted to passages from the secret records of these communings with himself, which, for discriminating judgment and skilful application of the scriptural tests, may be placed without disparagement to the layman, along side of the standard writers on experimental religion of the seventeenth century. We can cull but a few sentences, and this not so much in the fashion of reviewing, as for the edification of our readers.

"Sometimes when my heart hath been but weakly prepared to prayer, so that I have expected little comfort, yet God hath filled me with such power of faith, sense of his love, etc., as hath made my heart melt with joy. Again, at another time, when I have settled my heart unto prayer, of purpose to quicken up my drowsy affections, and to strengthen my faith, yet I could not, with all my labour, although continuing longer and in greater fervency than ordinary, get my faith strengthened, or my heart humbled and broke, or the feeling of the love of God shed abroad in my heart, but the rather more doubtings and discouragements. Yet when I have been forced

with weariness to give over, even in the very parting Christ hath shown himself unto me and answered all my desires. And hereby he hath taught me to trust to his free love, and not to the power of selfworth of my best prayers, and yet to let me see that true prayer, humble prayer, shall never be unregarded."

"I saw plainly that the usual cause of the heaviness and uncomfortable life of many Christians is not their religion, or the want of outward comforts, but because their consciences enforce them to leave some beloved unlawful liberty, before their hearts are resolved willingly to forsake it."

"When I had some time abstained from such worldly delights as my heart most desired, I grew very melancholy and uncomfortable; for I had been more careful to refrain from an outward conversation in the world, than to keep the love of the world out of my heart, or to uphold my conversation in heaven; which caused that my comfort in God failing, and I not daring to meddle with any earthly delights, I grew into a great dullness and discontent; which being at last perceived, I examine my heart, and finding it needful to recreate my mind with some outward recreation, I yielded unto it, and by a moderate exercise herein was much refreshed. But here grew the mischief. I perceiving that God and my own conscience did allow me so to do in my need, I afterwards took occasion, from the benefit of Christian liberty, to pretend need of recreation when there was none; and so by degrees I ensnared my heart so far in worldly delights, that I cooled the graces of the Spirit by them. Whereby I perceive that in all outward comforts, although God allow us the use of the things themselves, yet it must be in sobriety, and our hearts must be kept free, for he is jealous of our love, and will not endure any pretences in it."

"Disuse in any good thing causeth the greatest unwillingness and unfitness. I saw it was safest for me ever to be well-doing, and to be fully resolved of God's good allowance of all that passeth either mouth, heart, or hand."

"There is no confession so frank as that which comes from the sense of free pardon."

"An unruly horse will more weary himself in one mile's

travel, than a sober horse in ten. So it is when we go about any duty where our hearts look for their liberty."

"I think it good wisdom for me to keep to a mean in my joys, especially in worldly things; moderate comforts being constant and sweeter, or safer, than such as being exceeding in measure fail as much in their continuance; for they, being wasted by passion, are resolved into pain, even as the body is most sensible of cold, when it hath been thoroughliest warmed by the heat of the fire."

"My heart getting loose one Sabbath-day, through want of due watchfulness and firm resolution, it got so deep into the world that I could not get it free, but it followed me to church and home again. But here was not all the hurt of it, for I found evidently that this suffering my heart to take liberty to the profaning of the Sabbath, made it utterly unfit for duty all the week following; so that it cost me much strife and heart-smart before I could bring it into order again; therefore I purpose, by God's grace, to keep a better watch over my heart upon the Sabbath."

"Oh, I see if we leave, or slightly exercise ourselves in the word, faith will starve and die, and our hearts embrace any dotages of man's brain sooner than God's eternal truth."

"Oh, that I might ever have a eare to look to my faith, as I would do to my life."

"Such trials as fall within compass of our callings, it is better to arm and withstand them, than to avoid and shun them."

"A Christian man may as well be without the unprofitable and sure-fading favour of the world, as a gentleman may spare a kennel of hounds."

"I am thoroughly persuaded that the love of the world, even in a small measure, will cool, if not kill, the life of sincerity in religion, and will abolish the very memory of heavenly affections."

We add some good things from other chapters.

"It is a policy of Satan to discourage us from duty by setting before us great appearances of danger, difficulty, impossibility, which, when we come to examine or make trial of, are found indeed to be nothing so. But even as a fool, being tied

by a thread or a straw, thinks himself impossible to stir, and therefore stands still, so doth Satan make advantage of our foolish and *fearful* disposition. In these discouragements it is sufficient ofttimes to set us at liberty, if we do but consider that it is the tempter, &c."

"I have found that a man may master and keep under many corrupt lusts, by the mere force of reason and moral considerations (as the heathen did), but they will return again to their former strength. There is no way to mortify them but by faith in Christ and his death: that as he, when sin had him at the greatest advantage in the grave, yet then got the full victory over sin by rising from under it; so a Christian, being in him by faith, is made really partaker of his conquest."

The spirit of our times is such, that we have cause to look back with admiration to the ages when it was more common for the family to bear a distinctive, manifest impress of Christianity as the seal of all its relations; when "thou and thy seed" was a more conspicuous clause to those who read the covenant. The letters of Winthrop to his wife Margaret, and to his sons, and theirs to him, constitute one of the most instructive features of his biography, in the use we are making of it for our own pages. If any should want a practical exegesis of the phrase, "in the Lord," as applied in the New Testament to marriage, and to filial duty, and by inference to all the domestic relations, we commend them to these letters. We should not say so, if they were letters *on* family religion; or a "Letter-writer" of precedents for solemn epistles to help inexperienced correspondents; or genuine family-letters, but expected to be read and admired, and haply at length published. But the correspondence in this volume took place before the family had come to such dignity as could suggest to them that what they wrote would ever have a public interest. It was not the household of a clergyman—a Philip or Matthew Henry—who were reminded at every turn of what was becoming to be said or written by or to the ordained and installed minister of religion. The effusions of the Winthrops, now presented for the first time to public view, show, so far as any writing can be trusted, the actual, prevailing religious sentiment in a private family—the habitual and

practical standing which Christianity had in the home and among themselves.

"When I considered," wrote Winthrop, in one of his touching allusions to his first wife, "when I considered of such letters as my wife had written to me, and observed the scribbling hand, the mean congruity, the false orthography, and broken sentences, etc., and yet found my heart not only accepting of them, but delighting in them, and esteeming them above far more curious workmanship in another, and all from hence, that I loved her"—he goes on to a beautiful inference that Christ will "accept the poorest testimony of my love and duty towards him." But we quote the sentence as literally descriptive of the homely sincerity of the testimony of the letters to the place of religion in their domestic life.

We will first give specimens of the husband's letters. He began well. While yet only espoused, and signing himself "thy husband by promise," he wrote in a strain, and at a length, which would have justified her in saying of the letters of the wooing period, what she said of those received eleven years after their marriage—"those serious thoughts of your own, which you sent me, did make a very good supply instead of a sermon." It is not often that page after page of such a correspondence is filled with scriptural text and argument, to draw the spouse's mind from her "well-willer" and her earthly prospects, to Christ and the spiritual life: "O my sweet spouse, can we esteem each other's love as worthy the recompense of our best mutual affections, and can we not discern so much of Christ's exceeding and undeserved love, as may cheerfully allure us to love him above all?" "Cheer up thy heart in the Lord, for thou knowest that Christ, thy best husband, can never fail thee. He never dies, so that there can be no grief at parting. He never changes, so that once beloved, ever the same. His ability is ever infinite, so that the dowry and inheritance of his sons and daughters can never be diminished. As for me, a poor worm, dust and ashes, a man full of infirmities, subject to all sins, changes and chances which befall the sons of men," &c.

But let us turn to the conjugal letters.

"Oh what great cause have we to love Him above thousands

whose portion in all good things is far inferior to ours; although this alone were sufficient to enforce us to love him with all our hearts, that he hath redeemed us from hell, and appointed us to eternal happiness, when we were as deeply under the curse as the most reprobate. Let our prayer be, my good wife, that he would quicken up the faith and feeling of these things in us, that at length we might come to take as much delight in the meditation and exercise of heavenly things, as the most covetous earthling doth in his lands and goods."

"I am here where I have all outward content, most kind entertainment, good company, and good fare; only the want of thy presence and amiable society makes me weary of all other accomplements, so dear is thy love to me, and so confident am I of the like entertainment my true affection finds with thee. Oh that the consideration of these things could make us raise up our spirits to a like conformity of sincerity and fervency in the love of Christ our Lord and heavenly husband; that we could delight in him as we do in each other, and that his absence were like grievous to us."

"The grace and blessing of the Lord be with thee ever, and with us both, for the continuance and increase of our mutual love in all truth and holiness; whereunto let us strive by prayer and stirring up each other, that we may have full assurance of our being in Christ, by our liveliness in Christianity; that we may live that life of faith which only affords true peace, comfort, and contentation. And if by this means the world shall disclaim us as none of hers, and shall refuse to hold out to us such full breasts as she doth to others, this shall not need to trouble us, but rather may give us matter of joy in that being strangers here, we may look for our inheritance in a better life."

"Oh! the riches of Christ! Oh! the sweetness of the word of grace! It ravisheth my soul in the thought thereof, so that when I apprehend but a glimpse of the dignity and felicity of a Christian, I can hardly persuade my heart to hope for so great happiness. Let men talk what they will of riches, honours, pleasures, let us have Christ crucified, and let them take all besides. For indeed he who hath Christ, hath all things

with him; for he enjoyeth an all-sufficiency which makes him abundantly rich in poverty, honourable in the lowest abasements, full of joy and consolation in the sharpest afflictions, living in death, and possessing eternity in this vale of misery."

"Seeing the Lord calls me into his work, he will have care of thee and all ours, and our affairs in my absence. Therefore I must send thee to him for all thou lackest. Go boldly, sweet wife, to the throne of grace. If any thing trouble thee, acquaint the Lord with it. Tell him he hath taken thy husband from thee, pray him to be a husband to thee, a father to thy children, a master to thy household. Thou shalt find him faithful. Thou art not guilty of my departure. Thou hast not driven me away by any unkindness or want of duty; therefore thou mayest challenge protection and blessing of him."

"I must now begin to prepare thee for our long parting, which grows very near. I know not how to deal with thee by arguments; for if thou wert as wise and patient as ever woman was, yet it must needs be a great trial to thee, and the greater because I am so dear to thee. That which I must chiefly look at in thee, for a ground of contentment, is thy godliness. If now the Lord be thy God, thou must show it by trusting in him, and resigning thyself quietly to his good pleasure. . . . The best course is to turn all our reasons and discourse into prayers; for he only can help who is Lord of sea and land, and hath sole power of life and death."

We have room for one more only of the husband's letters, and it shall be the one which he supposed would be the last before the ship sailed for America. The Arabella was now riding at the Cowes. "Remember Monday and Friday between five and six," is more than once repeated in the latest letters, to remind the wife, who was to be left in England for a time, of their mutual agreement upon an hour for devotion.

"And now, my sweet soul, I must once again take my last farewell of thee in old England. It goeth very near to my heart to leave thee, but I know to whom I have committed thee, even to Him who loves thee much better than any husband can; who hath taken account of the hairs of thy head, and puts all thy tears in his bottle; who can and (if it be for his glory) will bring us together again with peace and comfort.

Oh how it refresheth my heart to think that I shall yet again see thy sweet face in the land of the living!—that lovely countenance that I have so much delighted in, and beheld with so great content. I have been hitherto so taken up with business that I could seldom look back to my former happiness; but now, when I shall be at some leisure, I shall not avoid the remembrance of thee, nor the grief for thy absence. Thou hast thy share with me, but I hope the course we have agreed upon will be some ease to us both. Mondays and Fridays, at five of the clock at night, we shall meet in spirit till we meet in person. Yet if all these hopes should fail, blessed be our God that we are assured we shall meet one day, if not as husband and wife, yet in a better condition. Let that stay and comfort thine heart. Neither can the sea drown thy husband, nor enemies destroy, nor any adversity deprive thee of thy husband or children. Therefore I will only take thee now and my sweet children in my arms, and kiss and embrace you all, and so leave you with God. Farewell, farewell. I bless you all in the name of the Lord Jesus!"

Now for a few of the beautiful photographic lineaments of the wife—Margaret Tyndal.

"I have no way to manifest my love to you but by these my unworthy lines, which I would entreat you to accept from her that loveth you with an unfeigned heart. I shall now know what it is to want a loving husband, that I may more prize and esteem him when I have him. My mother is coming to you about a week or fortnight hence, and so I shall be deprived of you both. I pray God I may by faith lay hold on Christ Jesus and his benefits, that he may be instead of husband and mother and all other friends by the comfort of his Holy Spirit."

"My good husband, I thank you for putting me in mind to be cheerful, and to put my trust in my good God, who hath never failed me in time of need. I beseech him to continue his mercy still to me, and grant that my sins may not provoke his anger against me; for he is a just God, and will punish offenders. The Lord give me grace to make my peace with him in Jesus Christ our Lord and only Saviour, who sitteth at the right hand of God a mediator for us."

"Your love to me doth daily give me cause of comfort, and doth much increase my love to you, for love liveth by love. I were worse than a brute beast if I should not love and be faithful to thee, who hath deserved so well at my hands. I am ashamed and grieved with myself, that I have nothing within or without worthy of thee, and yet it pleaseth thee to accept of both and to rest contented. I had need to amend my life and pray to God for more grace, that I may not deceive you of those good hopes which you have of me—a sinful woman, full of infirmities, continually failing of what I desire and what I ought to perform to the Lord and thyself."

"What can be more pleasing to a wife than to hear of the welfare of her best beloved, and how he is pleased with her poor endeavours. I blush to hear myself commended, knowing my own wants. But it is your love that conceives the best, and makes all things seem better than they are. I wish that I may be always pleasing to thee, and that those comforts we have in each other may be daily increased, so far as they be pleasing to God. I will use that speech to thee that Abigail did to David, 'I will be a servant to wash the feet of my lord.' I will do any service wherein I may please my good husband. I confess I cannot do enough for thee; but thou art pleased to accept the will for the deed, and rest contented. I have many reasons to make me love thee, whereof I will name two. First, because thou lovest God; and, secondly, because that thou lovest me. If these two were wanting, all the rest would be eclipsed."

"You do daily manifest your love to me and care for my spiritual good, as well as temporal, which is best of all. I desire of God I may choose the better part which cannot be taken from me, which will stand me in stead when all other things fail me."

"The true tokens of your love and care of my good, now in your absence, as well as when you are present, make me think that saying false, 'out of sight, out of mind.' I am sure my heart and thoughts are always near you, to do you good and not evil, all the days of my life. I hope, through God's blessing, your pains will not be altogether lost which you bestow upon me in writing. Those serious thoughts of your own which you sent

me, did make a very good supply instead of a sermon. I shall often read them, and desire to be of God's family, to whom so many blessings belong, and pray that I may not be one separated from God, whose conscience is always accusing them."

"I know not how to express my love to thee, or my desires of thy wished welfare, but my heart is well known to thee, which will make relation of my affections, though they be small in appearance. My thoughts are now on our great change and alteration of our course here, which I beseech the Lord to bless us in. And, my good husband, cheer up thy heart in the expectation of God's goodness to us, and let nothing dismay or discourage thee. If the Lord be for us, who can be against us? My grief is the fear of staying behind thee, but I must leave all to the good providence of God."

We would fain breathe longer this patriarchal atmosphere, but can only delay a few moments more to hear the father, as we have been hearing the husband. And first come the letters to his eldest son, John, the future Governor of Connecticut, beginning when he was, at the age of seventeen, a student at Trinity College, Dublin. They deserve the attention in these days of parents as well as children.

"Because I cannot too oft put you in mind of those things which concern your good, as if you were nearer to me, it must be your care the better to observe and ruminate those instructions which I give you, and the better to apply the other good means which you have. Especially labour by all means to imprint in your heart the fear of God; and let not the fearful profaneness and contempt of ungodly men diminish the reverent and awful regard of his Great Majesty in your heart."

"I do usually begin and end my letters with that which I would have the Alpha and Omega of all thy thoughts and endeavours, viz., the blessing of the Almighty to be upon thee, not after the common valuation of God's blessings, like the warming of the sun to a hale, stirring body; but that blessing which faith finds in the sweet promises of God and his free favour, whereby the soul hath a place of joy and refuge in all storms of adversity. I beseech the Lord to open thine eyes, that thou mayest see the riches of this grace, which will abate the account of all earthly vanities; and if it please him to give

thee once a taste of the sweetness of the true wisdom which is from above, it will season thy studies and give a new temper to thy soul. Remember, therefore, what the wisest saith, 'the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.' Lay this foundation, and thou shalt be wise indeed. You must have special care that you be not ensnared with the lusts of youth, which are commonly covered under the name of recreations, &c. I remember the counsel of a wise man, *Quidquid ad voluptatis seminarium pullulat, venenum puta.* Think of it, dear son, and especially that of Paul to Timothy: 'Exhort young men that they be sober-minded.'"

"I bless God for the continuance of your health, but especially for the good seed of his true fear which, I trust, is planted and grows daily in you. I perceive you lose not your time nor neglect your study; which, as it will be abundantly fruitful to my comfort, so much more to your future and eternal happiness, and especially to the glory of him who hath created you to this purpose. . . . He who hath begun that good in you, will perfect it unto the day of the Lord Jesus: only you must be constant and fervent in the use of the means, and yet trust only to God's blessing."

"Let it suffice for the present, that I humbly praise our heavenly Father for his great mercy towards thee in all respects: especially for the hope which I conceive that he hath pleased to make thee a vessel of glory for thy salvation in Christ Jesus. And I heartily rejoice that he hath withdrawn thy mind from the love of those worldly vanities wherewith the most part of youth are poisoned, and hath given thee to discern of, and exercise thyself in, things that are of true worth. I see, by your epistle, that you have not spent this year in idleness, but have profited even beyond my expectations. The Lord grant that thy soul may still prosper in the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and in the strength of the Spirit, as thy mind is strengthened in wisdom and learning; for this gives the true lustre and beauty to all gifts, both of nature and industry, and is as wisdom with an inheritance."

"Be watchful, and remember that though it be true in some cases, that *principium est dimidium totius*, yet in divinity, he who hath attained beyond the middest must still think himself

to have but new begun: for, through the continual instigation of Satan and our own proneness to evil, we are always in danger of being turned out of our course; but God will preserve us to the end, if we trust in him, and be guided by his will."

"There is nothing in this world that can be like cause of private comfort to me, as to see the welfare of my children; especially when I may have hope that they belong to Christ and increase his kingdom, and that I shall meet them in glory, to enjoy them in life eternal, when this shade of life shall be vanished. I am glad also to hear that thou declinest the evil company and manners of the place thou livest in, and followest thy study with good fruit. Go on, and God will still prosper thee. To fall back will be far worse than never to have begun; but I hope better of thee."

"My true desire is that you may be a good proficient in your studies, but my most earnest prayers and wishes are that you and your studies may be consecrated to Christ Jesus and the service of his church; for which end I beseech the Lord to furnish you with all meet gifts, and to sanctify you throughout. For I doubt not but if it please the Lord to reveal himself once in you, and to let you taste and see how good he is, and what the worth of Christ is to those who find him—what riches, what pleasures, what wisdom, what peace and contentation is to be found in Christ alone—you will willingly forsake all to follow him, and with Paul, those things which sometimes seemed great advantage to you, to account them lost for Christ's sake. I can give you but a taste of these things. Be constant in hearing, prayer, reading, and meditation, and the good Spirit of God shall reveal unto you this great mystery of godliness, and shall show you more than any tongue or pen can express."

When the object of these affectionate and pious counsels entered the naval service of his country, and accompanied the expedition under the Duke of Buckingham for the relief of the French Protestants at Rochelle; and when afterwards he was pursuing his travels in the East, the same paternal care followed the man that had watched over the boy. Here again

the wisdom of 1627 can be fitly appropriated in 1864—and to the army as well as navy.

"Only be careful to seek the Lord in the first place and with all earnestness, as he who is only able to keep you in all perils, and to give you favour in the sight of those who may be instruments of your welfare. And account it a great point of wisdom to keep diligent watch over yourself, that you may neither be infected by the evil conversation of any that you may be forced to converse with, neither that your own speech or behaviour be any just occasion to hurt or ensnare you. Be not rash upon ostentation of valour to adventure yourself to unnecessary dangers; but if you be lawfully called, let it appear that you hold your life for him who gave it you, and will preserve it unto the farthest period of his own holy decree. For you may be resolved, that while you keep in your way, all the cannons or enemies in the world shall not be able to shorten your days one minute."

"Should not a man trust his Maker and rest upon the counsel of his Father before all other things? Should not the promise of the holy Lord, the God of truth, be believed above all carnal false fears and shallow ways of human wisdom? It is just with God to harden men's hearts in their distrust of his faithfulness, because they dare not rely upon him. But such as will roll their ways upon the Lord, do find him always as good as his word."

The same strain continues to characterize every letter of the father, whether of business ("in great straits of leisure") or common familiarity, down to the parting messages as he is waiting for a fair wind to carry him across the Atlantic. "The Lord pour down his blessings upon you, both the blessings of the right hand and the left, and let the blessings of your father be increased above the blessings of your ancestors upon the head and heart of my dear son." "I do much rejoice and bless God for that goodness I find in you towards me and mine. I do pray and assuredly expect that the Lord will reward it plentifully in your bosom; for it is his promise to prolong their days (which includes all outward prosperity,) who give due honour to their parents. Trust him, son, for he is faithful. Labour to grow

into nearer communion and acquaintance with him, and you shall find him a good God, and a Master worth the serving. Ask of any who have tried him, and they will justify him in his kindness and bounty to his servants. Yet we must not look that he should always give us what we think might be good for us; but wait, and let him take his own way, and the end will satisfy our expectation."

It is pleasant to know that this child of Christian nurture and admonition did not depart from "the way he should go," and that he has been described as "the heir of all his father's talents, prudence, and virtues, with a superior share of human learning." Nor was John the only example of the proverb. A younger brother—Forth—began, at the age of thirteen, to write as follows—not to his father, where it might seem more exacted—but to his brother, only three years older than himself.

"Although the distance of place hath severed us one from another, yet I trust that neither sea nor land can break off nor diminish our true love and affection one towards each other, which hath ever been; and I trust that the sun shall cease his course before our love shall be abolished. And as we do thus love one another, how unfeignedly should we love God for his Son Jesus Christ! He loved us when we were enemies, not brethren. How, how, I say, should we love him! Let us take heed that we lose not our first love, as Laodicea did, or begin well, with the Galatians, but should not go on well, but should have cause to fear, with the apostle, lest we are turned from God; and I hope mountains or hills should sooner be cast into the sea, than that we should lose our first love." "Many men who in their youth have neglected learning and goodness, in their age, when it should do them any, nay, most good and stead, then they cry out of all, their parents, themselves, and all, and wish that they had never seen the sun."

Of this son, Mr. R. C. Winthrop says (p. 186): "We will not anticipate his early fate;" and afterwards (p. 362), "We shall see but too soon what was the end of all his plans of domestic happiness;" but the relation must have been reserved for another volume, as it is not to be found in this.

In following these ramifications of religious influence through the public and private lives of this family, we seem to have found that much of whatever of *method* was concerned in it, lay in these two entries in his journal—made when he was about thirty years of age. The first is this: "Having been long wearied with discontent for want of such employment as I could find comfort and peace in, I found at last that the conscionable and constant teaching of my family was a special business, wherein I might please God, and greatly further their and mine own salvation; which might be as sufficient encouragement to my study and labour therein as if I were to teach a public congregation. For as to the pleasing of God, it was all one; and I perceived that my exercise therein did stir up in me many considerations and much life of affection, which otherwise I should not so often meet with: so that I purpose, by God's assistance, to take it as a chief part of my calling, and to intend it accordingly." P. 119.

The other reflection runs as follows: "It appears by divers precepts of God to Israel, of talking with their children about God, and by the practice of the faithful in the times of persecution, that we should have religion in as familiar practice as of eating and drinking, dealings about earthly affairs, &c., and not to tie it only to the exercises of Divine worship, which makes that there is so little free speech of heavenly matters, and that men are ready to blush at the speaking or hearing thereof, as if it were some straining of modesty." P. 147.

There is some obscurity about Winthrop's professional life. We have noticed the allusion to his magistracy almost as soon as he attained his majority. In 1622 he appears to have had business in London, as a lawyer, and in 1626 was one of the attorneys of the Court of Wards and Liveries. This office was "gone" in 1629—the fourth of Charles I.—whether by resignation, or, as the editor suggests, by his being displaced on account of "his opposition to the course of the Government at this period, and his manifest sympathy with those who were suffering under its unjust exactions and proscriptions."

In that year are found the earliest indications of the turning of his mind towards the providential openings in America for a

refuge from political and religious intolerance; and what were the uppermost considerations in Winthrop's mind may be seen in his "Reasons for justifying the undertakers of the intended Plantation in New England"—the first of which is, "it will be a service to the church, of great consequence to carry the gospel into those parts of the world, and help on the coming of the fulness of the Gentiles, and raise a bulwark against Antichrist." 2d. To make a place in the wilderness for the persecuted church to fly to. 3d. For the redress of social evils which were perverting the domestic relations in the old country. 4th. To cultivate a portion of "the Lord's garden" lying waste, while the general commission to the sons of men was to replenish the earth and subdue it. 5th. To give trades and arts an advantage which the extravagance of the times denied to the honest labourer. 6th. To afford purer fountains of learning and religion. 7th. To raise and support "a particular church while it is in the infancy." 8th. The example of godly persons forsaking their wealth and prosperity for the hard and mean condition of adventurers for such reasons as the above, would produce a great moral effect. 9th. The signs of the Divine direction and favour as seen in the disposing of so many ministers and others to the enterprise. Divers objections to the proposed Plantation were met, by the same hand, with cases—not from the Reports—but such as those of Ephron the Hittite and Abraham, Jacob and Hamor, Jacob and Laban, the servants of Abimelech and of Isaac; his arguments were to the principles of Divine judgments, the evangelizing of the nations, and the coming of the kingdom of Christ. In fact, the whole reasoning of the matter is more in the spirit of a discussion of the Executive Committee of our Foreign Missions, than of a company of colonists going to seek their fortune and establish a government. Such was the politics, such the politicians, of the earliest settlements in the northern district of what, in less than one hundred and fifty years, arose as the independent United States of America. But long before 1776 was the germ of the confederate Republic found in the compact of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, as the "United Colonies of New England"—each member reserv-

ing its local jurisdiction with a *sine qua non*, which shows that "State rights" were claimed as fundamental in the embryo republic of 1643.

It was determined by the Company of the Massachusetts Bay, that the government of the Plantation should be vested in the inhabitants, and not continue in subordination to the Company in England. Upon this proviso, Saltonstall, Dudley, Vassall, Winthrop, and eight other associates, entered into obligation to cross, within a designated period, to Massachusetts, and to reside there as their home. Winthrop was chosen governor for the first year, and sailed from Yarmouth in the beginning of April, 1630, and here the volume shuts. About eight hundred crossed in the Arbella and its consort, with Winthrop. On the voyage he wrote, "A Model of Christian Charity." The new emigrants found hardships and discouragements that turned some homeward, but the Governor, while waiting for his beloved Margaret to join him, wrote to her, "We here enjoy God and Jesus Christ, and is not this enough? I thank God I like so well to be here as I do not repent my coming. I would not have altered my course, though I had foreseen all these afflictions. I never had more content of mind." He was annually elected Governor or Deputy Governor for most of the years that followed his landing until his death in March, 1649. Down to that date he kept the "Journal of the transactions and occurrences in the settlement of Massachusetts, and the other New England colonies," which (now under the title of "The History of New England from 1630 to 1649,") is so much cited by all historians of America.

Rev. Rev. Philip Schaff D.D.

ART. VII.—*St. Jerome.**

ST. JEROME was the greatest scholar—though by no means the greatest divine—and at the same time the most zealous monk among the church fathers of the fourth and fifth century, and the connecting link between Eastern and Western learning and religion. His life belongs almost with equal right to the history of theology and the history of monasticism. Hence the Catholic artists generally represent him as a penitent in a reading or writing posture, with a lion and a skull, to denote the union of the literary and anchoretic modes of life. He was the first learned divine who not only recommended, but actually embraced the monastic mode of life, and his example exerted a great influence in making monasticism available for the promotion of learning. To rare talents and attainments,† indefatigable activity of mind, ardent faith, immortal merit in the translation and interpretation of the Bible, and earnest

* I. S. EUS. HIERONYMUS: Opera omnia ed. Erasmus (assisted by Œcolampadius), Bas. 1516—20. 9 vols. fol. (first edition, often reprinted, but now antiquated); ed. (Bened.) Martianay, Par. 1693, 5 vols. fol. (incomplete); ed. Vallarsi & Maffei, Veron. 1734—42. 11 vols. fol., Venet. 1766 (best edition). Comp. especially the one hundred and fifty Epistles (the chronological order of which Vallarsi, in tom. I. of his edition, has finally established.) The Epistles have often been separately edited, both in the original Latin and in modern translations. The order differs considerably in different editions. Hence the confusion in quotations from Jerome.

II. For extended works on the life of Jerome see DU PIN (Nouvelle Biblioth. des auteurs eccles. tom. iii. p. 100—140); TILLEMONT (tom. xii. 1—356); MARTIANAY (La vie de St. Jerome, Par. 1706); JOH. STILTING (in the Acta Sanctorum, Sept. tom. viii., p. 418—688, Antw. 1762); BUTLER (sub Sept. 30); VALLARSI (in Op. Hieron., tom. xi., p. 1—240); SCHRÖCKH (viii. 359 sqq , and especially xi., 3—254); ENGELSTOFT (Hieron. Stridonensis, interpres, criticus, exegeta, apologeta, historicus, doctor, monachus. Havn. 1798); D. v. CÖLLN (in Ersch and Gruber's Encycl., sect. ii., vol. 8); COLLOMBET (Histoire de S. Jérôme. Lyons, 1844); and MILMAN (Hist. of Lat. Christianity, Bk. iii., c. xi: Jerom and the Monastic System.)

† As he himself boasts in his second apology to Rufinus: "Ego philosophus (?), rhetor, grammaticus, dialecticus, hebræus, græcus, latinus, trilinguis." Erasmus had an enthusiastic veneration for Jerome, and placed him even far above Augustine, partly no doubt from theological sympathy with Jerome's semi-pelagianism.

zeal for ascetic piety, he united so great vanity and ambition, such irritability and bitterness of temper, such vehemence of uncontrolled passion, such an intolerant and persecuting spirit, and such inconstancy of conduct, that we find ourselves alternately attracted and repelled by his character, and now filled with admiration for his greatness, now with contempt or pity for his weakness.

Sophronius Eusebius Hieronymus was born at Stridon,* on the borders of Dalmatia, not far from Aquileia, between the years 331 and 342.† He was the son of wealthy Christian parents, and was educated in Rome, under the direction of the celebrated heathen grammarian, Donatus, and the rhetorician Victorinus. He read with great diligence and profit the classic poets, orators, and philosophers, and collected a considerable library. On Sundays he visited, with Bonosus and other young friends, the subterranean graves of the martyrs, which made an indelible impression upon him. Yet he was not exempt from the temptations of a great and corrupt city, and he lost his chastity, as he himself afterwards repeatedly acknowledged, with pain.

About the year 370, whether before or after his literary tour to Treves and Aquileia is uncertain, but at all events, in his later youth, he received baptism at Rome, and resolved thenceforth to devote himself wholly, in rigid abstinence, to the service of the Lord. In the first zeal of his conversion he renounced his love for the classics, and applied himself to the study of the hitherto distasteful Bible. In a morbid ascetic frame he had, a few years later, that celebrated dream, in which he was summoned before the judgment-seat of Christ, and, as a heathen Ciceronian,‡ so severely reprimanded and scourged, that even

* Hence called *Stridonensis;* also in distinction from the contemporary but little known Greek Jerome, who was probably a presbyter in Jerusalem.

† Martianay, Stilting, Cave, Schröckh, Hagenbach, and others, place his birth, according to Prosper, Chron. ad ann. 331, in the year 331; Baronius, Du Pin, and Tillemont, with greater probability, in the year 342. The last infers, from various circumstances, that Jerome lived not ninety-one years, as Prosper states, but only seventy-eight. His death is placed in the year 419 or 420.

‡ "Mentiris," said the Lord to him, when Jerome called himself a Christian, "Ciceronianus es, non Christianus, ubi enim thesaurus tuus, ibi et cor

the angels interceded for him from sympathy with his youth, and he himself solemnly vowed never again to take worldly books into his hands. When he woke, he still felt the stripes, which, as he thought, not his heated fancy, but the Lord himself had inflicted upon him. Hence he warns his female friend, Eustochium, to whom several years afterwards he recounted this experience, to avoid all profane reading: "What have Christ and Belial, the Psalms and Horace, the Gospels and Virgil, the Apostles and Cicero, to do with one another? We cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of the devil at the same time." But proper as this warning may be against overrating classical scholarship, Jerome himself, in his version of the Bible and his commentaries, affords the best evidence of the inestimable value of linguistic and antiquarian knowledge when devoted to the service of religion. That oath, also, at least in later life, he did not strictly keep. On the contrary, he made the monks copy the dialogues of Cicero, and explained Virgil at Bethlehem, and his writings abound in recollections and quotations of the classic authors. When Rufinus of Aquileia, at first his warm friend, but afterwards a bitter enemy, cast up to him this inconsistency and breach of a solemn vow, he resorted to the evasion, that he could not obliterate from his memory what he had formerly read;—as if it were not so sinful to cite a heathen author as to read him. With more reason he asserted that all was a mere dream, and a dream-vow was not binding. He referred him to the prophets, "who teach that dreams are vain, and not worthy of faith." Yet was this dream afterwards made frequent use of, as Erasmus laments, to cover monastic obscurantism.

After his baptism Jerome divided his life between the east and the west, between ascetic discipline and literary labour. He removed from Rome to Antioch with a few friends, and his library, visited the most celebrated anchorets, attended the exegetical lectures of the younger Apollinaris in Antioch, and then (374) spent some time as an ascetic in the dreary Syrian desert of Chalcis. Here, like so many other hermits, he underwent a

tuum." Ep. xxii. ad Eustochium (ed. Vallars.) C. A. Heumann has written a special treatise, De ecstasi Hieronymi anti-Ciceroniana. Comp. also Schröckh, vol. vii. p. 35 sqq., and Ozanam: "Civilisation au 5e siècle," i. 301.

grievous struggle with sensuality, which he described ten years after with indelicate minuteness in a long letter to his virgin friend Eustochium.* In spite of his starved and emaciated body his fancy tormented him with wild images of Roman banquets and dances of women; showing that the monastic seclusion from the world was by no means proof against the temptations of the flesh and the devil. Helpless he cast himself at the feet of Jesus, wet them with tears of repentance, and subdued the resisting flesh by a week of fasting, and by the dry study of Hebrew grammar, (which, according to a letter to Rusticus,† he was at that time learning from a converted Jew,) until he found peace and thought himself transported to the choirs of the angels in heaven. In this period probably fall the dream mentioned above, and the composition of his few ascetic writings full of heated eulogy of the monastic life.‡ His biographies of distinguished anchorets, however, are very pleasantly and temperately written.§ He commends monastic seclusion even against the will of parents; interpreting the word of the Lord about forsaking father and mother, as if monasticism and Christianity were the same. "Though thy mother"—he writes to his friend Heliodorus, who had left him in the midst of his journey to the Syrian desert—"with flowing hair and rent garments should show thee the breasts which have nourished thee; though thy father should lie upon the threshold; yet depart thou, treading over thy father, and fly with dry eyes to the standard of the cross. This is the only religion of its kind, in this matter to be cruel. . . . The love of God and the fear of hell easily rend the bonds of household asunder. The holy Scripture indeed enjoins obedience to parents; but he, who loves them more than Christ, loses his soul. . . . O desert, where the flowers of Christ are blooming! O solitude, where the stones for the new Jerusalem are pre-

* Ep. xxii., tom. i. p. 91, ed. Vallars. † Ep. cxxv., ed. Vallars.

‡ De laude vitæ solitariæ, Ep. ad Heliodorum. The Roman lady Fabiola learned this letter by heart, and Du Pin calls it a masterpiece of eloquence. (Nouv. Bibl. des auteurs eccl. iii. 102,) but it is almost too declamatory and turgid. He himself afterwards acknowledged it overdrawn.

§ Gibbon says of them: "The stories of Paul, Hilarion, and Malchus, are admirably told; and the only defect of these pleasing compositions is the want of truth and common sense."

pared! O retreat, which rejoices in the friendship of God! What doest thou in the world, my brother, with thy soul greater than the world? How long wilt thou remain in the shadow of roofs, and in the smoky dungeon of cities? Believe me, I see here more of the light." Similar descriptions of the attractions of monastic life we meet with in the ascetic writings of Gregory, Basil, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Cassian, Nilus, and in the beginning of the fifth century, Isidor. "So great grace," says the venerable monk Nilus of Mount Sinai (Ep. lib. i. ep. 1, as quoted by Neander, Am. ed. ii. 250,) "so great grace has God bestowed on the monks, even in anticipation of the future world, that they wish for no honours from men, and feel no longing after the greatness of this world; but, on the contrary, often seek rather to remain concealed from men: while, on the other hand, many of the great who possess all the glory of the world, either of their own accord, or compelled by misfortune, take refuge with the lowly monks, and, delivered from fatal dangers, obtain at once a temporal and an eternal salvation." Jerome's eloquent appeal to his friend failed of the desired effect; Heliodorus entered the teaching order and became bishop.

The active and restless spirit of Jerome soon brought him again upon the public stage, and involved him in all the doctrinal and ecclesiastical controversies of those controversial times. He received the ordination of presbyter from the bishop Paulinus in Antioch, without taking charge of a congregation. He preferred the itinerant life of a monk and a student to a fixed office, and about 380 journeyed to Constantinople, where he heard the anti-Arian sermons of the celebrated Gregory Nazianzen, and translated the Chronicle of Eusebius and the homilies of Origen on Jeremiah and Ezekiel. In 382, on account of the Meletian schism, he returned to Rome with Paulinus and Epiphanius. Here he came into close connection with the bishop Damasus, as his theological adviser and ecclesiastical secretary,* and was led by him into new exegetical

* As we infer from an occasional remark of Jerome in a letter written A. D. 409, Ep. cxxiii.: c. 10, ed. Vall., "Quum in chartis ecclesiasticis (*i. e.*, probably in ecclesiastical documents; though Schröckh, viii. p. 122, refers it to the Holy Scriptures, appealing to a work of Bonamici unknown to me,) "juvarem

labours, particularly the revision of the Latin version of the Bible, which he completed at a later day in the East.

At the same time he laboured in Rome with the greatest zeal, by mouth and pen, in the cause of monasticism, which had hitherto gained very little foothold there, and met with violent opposition even among the clergy.

In the Latin church, in virtue partly of the climate, partly of the national character,* the monastic life took a much milder form, but assumed greater variety, and found a larger field of usefulness, than in the Greek. It produced no pillar-saints, nor other such excesses of ascetic heroism, but was more practical instead, and an important instrument for the cultivation of the soil, the diffusion of Christianity and civilization among the barbarians.† Exclusive contemplation was exchanged for alternate contemplation and labour. "A working monk," says Cassian, "is plagued by one devil, an inactive monk by a host." Yet it must not be forgotten, that the most eminent representatives of the eastern monasticism recommended manual labour and studies, and that the eastern monks took a very lively, often rude and stormy, part in the theological controversies. And, on the other hand, there were western monks, who, like Martin of Tours, regarded labour as disturbing contemplation.

Athanasius, the guest, the disciple, and subsequently the biographer and eulogist of St. Anthony, brought the first intelligence of monasticism to the west, and astounded the civilized and effeminate Romans with two live representatives of the

Damasum, Romanæ urbis episcopum et orientis atque occidentis synodicis consultationibus responderem," etc. The latter words, which Schröckh does not quote, favour the common interpretation.

* Sulpitius Severus, in the first of his three dialogues, gives several amusing instances of the difference between the Gallic and Egyptian stomach, and was greatly astonished, when the first Egyptian anchoret, whom he visited, placed before him and his four companions a half-loaf of barley bread and a handful of herbs for a dinner, though they tasted very good after the wearisome journey. "Edacitas," says he, i. c. 8, "in Græcis *gula* est, in Gallis *natura*."

† "The monastic stream," says Montalembert, "which had been born in the deserts of Egypt, divided itself into two great arms. The one spread in the East, at first innndated everything, then concentrated and lost itself there. The other escaped into the West, and spread itself by a thonsand channels over an entire world which had to be covered and fertilized."

semi-barbarous desert-sanctity of Egypt, who accompanied him in his exile in 340. The one, Ammonius, was so abstracted from the world that he disdained to visit any of the wonders of the great city, except the tombs of St. Peter and St. Paul, while the other, Isidore, attracted attention by his amiable simplicity. The phenomenon excited at first disgust and contempt, but soon admiration and imitation, especially among women, and among the decimated ranks of the ancient Roman nobility. The impression of the first visit was afterwards strengthened by two other visits of Athanasius to Rome, and especially by his biography of Anthony, which immediately acquired the popularity and authority of a monastic gospel. Many went to Egypt and Palestine to devote themselves there to the new mode of life; and for the sake of such, Jerome afterwards translated the rule of Pachomius into Latin. Others founded cloisters in the neighbourhood of Rome, or on the ruins of the ancient temples and the forum, and the frugal number of the heathen vestals was soon cast into the shade by whole hosts of Christian virgins. From Rome monasticism gradually spread over all Italy, the isles of the Mediterranean, and even the rugged rocks of the Gorgon and the Capraja, where the hermits, in voluntary exile from the world, took the place of the criminals and political victims whom the justice or tyranny and jealousy of the emperors had been accustomed to banish thither.

Ambrose, whose sister Marcellina was among the first Roman nuns, established a monastery in Milan,* one of the first in Italy, and with the warmest zeal encouraged celibacy even against the will of parents; insomuch that the mothers of Milan kept their daughters out of the way of his preaching, whilst from other quarters, even from Mauritania, virgins flocked to him to be consecrated to the solitary life.† The coasts and small islands of Italy were gradually studded with cloisters.‡

* Augustin Conf. vii. 6: "Erat monasterium Mediolani plenum bonis fratribus extra urbis mœnia, sub Ambrosio nutritore."

† Ambr.: De virginibus, addressed to his sister Marcellina, about 377. Comp. Tillem. x., 102–5, and Schröckh, viii. 355 sqq.

‡ Ambr.: Hexaëmeron, l. iii. c. 5. Hieron.: Ep. 84 (or 30) de morte Fabiolæ.

Augustine, whose evangelical principles of the free grace of God as the only ground of salvation and peace were essentially inconsistent with the more Pelagian theory of the monastic life, nevertheless went with the then reigning spirit of the church in this respect, and led, with his clergy, a monk-like life in voluntary poverty and celibacy,* after the pattern, as he thought, of the primitive church of Jerusalem; but with all his zealous commendation he could obtain favour for monasticism in North Africa only among the liberated slaves and the lower classes.† He viewed it in its noblest aspect, as a life of undivided surrender to God and undisturbed occupation with spiritual and eternal things. But he acknowledged also its abuses; he distinctly condemned the vagrant begging monks, like the Circumcelliones and Gyrovagi, and wrote a book (*De opera monachorum*) against the monastic aversion to labour. But Athanasius, Ambrose, and Augustine, as also St. Martin of Tours, (died A. D. 400) whose life and miracles were described in fluent and pleasant manner by his disciple, Sulpitius Severus, were only the forerunners of western monasticism. Jerome laboured more zealously and more effectively than all for this mode of Christian virtue and piety, especially in Rome, during his three years' residence in that great centre of ancient history.

He had his eye mainly upon the most wealthy and honourble classes of the decayed Roman society, and tried to induce the descendants of the Scipios, the Gracchi, the Marcelli, the Camilli, the Anicii, to turn their sumptuous villas into monastic retreats, and to lead a life of sacrifice and charity. He met with great success. "The old patrician races, which founded Rome, which had governed her during all her period of splendour and liberty, and which overcame and conquered the world, had expiated for four centuries, under the atrocious yoke of the Cæsars, all that was most hard and selfish in the

* He himself speaks of a monasterium clericorum in his episcopal residence, and his biographer, Possidius, says of him, Vita, c. 5: "Factus ergo presbyter monasterium inter ecclesiam mox instituit, et cum Dei servis vivere cœpit secundum modum et regulam sub sanctis apostolis constitutam, maxime ut nemo quidquam proprium haberet, sed eis essent omnia communia."

† De opere monach. c. 22. Still later, Salvian (De gubern. Dei, viii. 4,) speaks of the hatred of the Africans for monasticism.

glory of their fathers. Cruelly humiliated, disgraced, and decimated during that long servitude, by the masters whom degenerate Rome had given herself, they found at last in Christian life, such as was practised by the monks, the dignity of sacrifice and the emancipation of the soul. These sons of the old Romans threw themselves into it with the magnanimous fire and persevering energy which had gained for their ancestors the empire of the world. 'Formerly, says St. Jerome, according to the testimony of the apostle, there were few rich, few noble, few powerful among the Christians. Now it is no longer so. Not only among the Christians, but among the monks are to be found a multitude of the wise, the noble, and the rich.'" . . "The monastic institution offered them a field of battle, where the struggles and victories of their ancestors could be renewed and surpassed for a loftier cause, and over enemies more redoubtable. The great men whose memory hovered still over degenerate Rome, had contended only with men, and subjugated only their bodies: their descendants undertook to strive with devils, and to conquer souls. . . . God called them to be the ancestors of a new people, gave them a new empire to found, and permitted them to bury and transfigure the glory of their forefathers in the bosom of the spiritual regeneration of the old world."*

Most of these distinguished patrician converts of Jerome were women—widows, as Marcella, Albinia, Furia, Salvina, Fabiola, Melania, and, the most illustrious of all, Paula, and her family; or virgins, as Eustochium, Apella, Marcellina, Asella, Felicitas, and Demetrias. He gathered them as a select circle around him; he expounded to them the Holy Scriptures, in which some of these Roman ladies were very well read; he answered their questions of conscience; he incited them to celibate life, lavish beneficence, and enthusiastic asceticism; and flattered their spiritual vanity by extravagant praise. He was the oracle, biographer, admirer, and eulogist of these holy women, who constituted the spiritual nobility of Catholic

* Montalembert, himself the scion of an old noble family in France, Monks of the West, i. p. 388, sqq. Comp. Hieron. Epist. xxiv. De obit. Paulinæ, and Ep. xxx.: "Illi vicerunt corpora . . . haec subjugavit animus."

Rome. Even the senator Pammachius, son-in-law to Paula, and heir to her fortune, gave his goods to the poor, exchanged the purple for the cowl, exposed himself to the mockery of his colleagues, and became, in the flattering language of Jerome, the general-in-chief of Roman monks, the first of monks in the first of rites.* Jerome considered marriage incompatible with genuine holiness; even depreciated first marriage, except so far as it was a nursery of the brides of Christ; warned Eustochium against all intercourse with married women; and hesitated not to call the mother of a bride of Christ, like Paula, a "mother-in-law of God."†

His intimacy with these distinguished women, whom he admired more, perhaps, than they admired him, together with his unsparing attacks upon the immoralities of the Roman clergy and of the higher classes, drew upon him much just censure and groundless calumny, which he met rather with indignant scorn and satire, than with quiet dignity and Christian meekness. After the death of his patron Damasus, A. D. 384, he left Rome, and in August, 385, with his brother Paulinian, a few monks, Paula, and her daughter Eustochium, made a pilgrimage "from Babylon to Jerusalem, that not Nebuchadnezzar, but Jesus, should reign over him." With religious devotion and inquiring mind he wandered through the holy places of Palestine; spent some time in Alexandria, where he heard the lectures of the celebrated Didymus; visited the cells of the Nitrian mountain; and finally, with his two female friends, in 386, settled in the birth-place of the Redeemer, to lament there, as he says, the sins of his youth, and to secure himself against others.

In Bethlehem he presided over a monastery till his death, built a hospital for all strangers except heretics, prosecuted his literary studies without cessation, wrote several commentaries, and finished his improved Latin version of the Bible—the noblest monument of his life—but entangled himself in violent

* Epist. ad Pammach.: "Primus inter monachos in prima urbe . . . archistratego monachorum."

† Ep. xxii. ad Eustochium, "de custodia virginitatis." Even Rufinus (Opp. Hieron. iv. 223) was shocked at the profane, nay, almost blasphemous expression, sorcus Dei, and asked him from what *heathen* poet he had stolen it.

literary controversies, not only with opponents of the church orthodoxy, like Helvidius (against whom he had appeared before in 384;) Jovinian, Vigilantius, and Pelagius, but also with his long-tried friend Rufinus, and even with Augustine.* Palladius says, his jealousy could tolerate no saint beside himself, and drove many pious monks away from Bethlehem. He complained of the crowds of monks whom his fame attracted to Bethlehem.† The remains of the Roman nobility, too, ruined by the sack of Rome, fled to him for food and shelter. At the last, his repose was disturbed by incursions of the barbarian Huns and the heretical Pelagians. He died in 419 or 420, of fever, at a great age. His remains were afterwards brought to the Roman basilica of Maria Maggiore, but were exhibited also, and superstitiously venerated in several copies in Florence, Prague, Clugny, Paris, and the Escurial.‡

The Roman church has long since assigned him one of the first places among her standard teachers and canonical saints. Yet even some impartial Catholic historians venture to admit and disapprove his glaring inconsistencies and violent passions. The Protestant love of truth inclines to the judgment that Jerome was indeed an accomplished and most serviceable scholar, and a zealous enthusiast for all which his age counted holy, but lacking in calm self-control, and proper depth of mind and character, and that he reflected, with the virtues, the vices also of his age and of the monastic system. It must be

* His controversy with Augustine on the interpretation of Gal. ii. 14, is not unimportant as an index of the moral character of the two most illustrious Latin fathers of the church. Jerome saw in the account of the collision between Paul and Peter in Antioch an artifice of pastoral prudence, and supposed that Paul did not there reprove the senior apostle in earnest, but only for effect, to reclaim the Jews from their wrong notions respecting the validity of the ceremonial law. Augustine's delicate sense of truth was justly offended by this exegesis, which, to save the dignity of Peter, ascribed falsehood to Paul, and he expressed his opinion to Jerome, who, however, very loftily made him feel his smaller grammatical knowledge. But they afterwards became reconciled. Compare on this dispute the letters on both sides in Hieron. Opera ed. Vall., tom. i. 632 sqq., and the treatise of Möhler in his "Vermischte Schriften," vol. i., pp. 1–18.

† "Tantis de toto orbe confluentibus obruimur turbis monachorum."

‡ The Jesuit Stilting, the author of the Vita Hieron. in the Acta Sanctorum, devotes nearly thirty folio pages to accounts of the veneration paid to him and his relics after his death.

said to his credit, however, that with all his enthusiastic zeal and admiration for monasticism, he saw with a keen eye, and exposed with unsparing hand, the false monks and nuns, and painted in lively colours the dangers of melancholy, hypochondria, the hypocrisy and spiritual pride, to which the institution was exposed.

Most Roman Catholic biographers, as Martianay, Vallarsi, Stilting, Dolci, and even the Anglican Cave, are unqualified eulogists of Jerome. (See the "selecta veterum testimonia de Hieronymo ejusque scriptis," in Vallarsi's edition, tom. xi., pp. 282–300.) Tillemont, however, who on account of his Jansenist proclivity sympathizes more with Augustine, makes a move towards a more enlightened judgment, for which Stilting sharply reproves him. Montalembert (*Monks of the West*, vol. i. 402) praises him as a man of genius inspired by zeal and subdued by penitence, of ardent faith and immense resources of knowledge, yet he incidentally speaks also of his "almost savage impetuosity of temper" and "that inexhaustible vehemence which sometimes degenerated into emphasis and affectation." Dr. John H. Newman, in his opinion before his transition from Puseyism to Romanism, exhibits the conflict, in which the moral feeling is here involved with the authority of the Roman church: "I do not scruple to say, that, were he not a saint, there are things in his writings and views, from which I should shrink; but as the case stands, I shrink rather from putting myself in opposition to something like a judgment of the catholic (?) world in favour of his saintly perfection." (*Church of the Fathers*, 263, cited by Robertson.) Luther also here boldly broke through tradition, but, forgetful of the great value of the Vulgate even to his German version of the Bible, went to the opposite extreme of unjust derogation, expressing several times a distinct antipathy to this church-father, and charging him with knowing not how to write at all of Christ, but only of fasts, virginity, and useless monkish exercises. Le Clerc exposed his defects with thorough ability, but unfairly, in his "*Quæstiones Hieronymianæ*," (Amstel. 1700, over 500 pp.) Mosheim and Schröckh are more mild, but the latter considers it doubtful, whether Jerome did Christianity more good than harm. Among later Protestant historians opinion has

become somewhat more favourable, though rather to his learning than his moral character, which betrays in his letters and controversial writings too many unquestionable weaknesses.

Of Jerome's many female disciples the most distinguished is St. Paula, the model of a Roman Catholic nun, who deserves a fuller notice in this connection. With his accustomed extravagance he opens his eulogy after her death in 404, with these words: "If all the members of my body were turned into tongues, and all my joints were to utter human voices, I should be unable to say anything worthy of the holy and venerable Paula."*

She was born in 347, of the renowned stock of the Scipios and Gracchi and Paulus Æmilius,† and was already a widow of six-and-thirty years, and the mother of five children, when, under the influence of Jerome, she renounced all the wealth and honours of the world, and betook herself to the most rigorous ascetic life. Rumour circulated a suspicion, which her spiritual guide, however, in a letter to Asella, answered with indignant rhetoric: "Was there, then, no other matron in Rome, who could have conquered my heart, but that one, who was always mourning and fasting, who abounded in dirt,‡ who had become almost blind with weeping, who spent whole nights in prayer, whose song was the Psalms, whose conversation was the gospel, whose joy was abstemiousness, whose life was fasting? Could no other have pleased me, but that one, whom I have never seen eat? Nay, verily, after I had begun to revere her as her chastity deserved, should all virtues have at once forsaken me?" He afterwards boasts of her, that she knew the Scriptures almost entirely by memory; she even learned Hebrew, that she might sing the Psalter with him in the original; and continually addressed exegetical questions to him, which he himself could answer only in part.

Repressing the sacred feelings of a mother, she left her

* Epitaphium Paulæ matris, ad Eustochium virginem. Ep. cviii., ed. Vallarsi. (Opera, tom. i., p. 684.)

† Her father professed to trace his genealogy to Agamemnon, and her husband to Æneas.

‡ This want of cleanliness, the inseparable companion of ancient ascetic holiness, is bad enough in monks, but still more intolerable and revolting in nuns.

daughter Ruffina and her little son Toxotius, in spite of their prayers and tears, in the city of Rome,* met Jerome in Antioch, and made a pilgrimage to Palestine and Egypt. With glowing devotion, she knelt before the re-discovered cross, as if the Lord were still hanging upon it; she kissed the stone of the resurrection, which the angel rolled away; licked with thirsty tongue the pretended tomb of Jesus, and shed tears of joy as she entered the stall and beheld the manger at Bethlehem. In Egypt she penetrated into the desert of Nitria, prostrated herself at the feet of the hermits, and then returned to the Holy Land, and settled permanently in the birth-place of the Saviour. She founded there a monastery for Jerome, whom she supported, and three nunneries, in which she spent twenty years as abbess, until 404.

She denied herself flesh and wine, performed, with her daughter Eustochium, the meanest services, and even in severe sickness slept on bare ground in a hair shirt, or spent the whole night in prayer. "I must," said she, "disfigure my face, which I have often, against the command of God, adorned with paint; torment the body, which has participated in many idolatries; and atone for long laughing by constant weeping." Her liberality knew no bounds. She wished to die in beggary, and to be buried in a shroud which did not belong to her. She left to her daughter (who died in 419) a multitude of debts, which she had contracted at a high rate of interest for benevolent purposes.†

Her obsequies, which lasted a week, were attended by the bishops of Jerusalem and other cities of Palestine, besides clergy, monks, nuns, and laymen innumerable. Jerome apostrophizes her: "Farewell, Paula, and help with prayer the old age of thy adorer!"

* "Nesciebat se matrem," says Jerome, "ut Christi probaret ancillam." Revealing the conflict of monastic sanctity with the natural virtues, which God has enjoined. Montalembert also quotes the objectionable passage with apparent approbation.

† Jerome says, Eustochium hoped to pay the debts of her mother—probably by the help of others. Fuller justly remarks: "Liberality should have banks, as well as a stream." And John Wesley's excellent maxim was: "Make all you can, save all you can, give all you can."

SHORT NOTICES.

The Works of Francis Bacon, Baron Verulam, &c. Collected and edited by James Spedding, Robert Leslie Eddis and Douglas Denon Heath, (all of the University of Cambridge.) Vol. VIII. Boston: Taggart & Thompson.

We have repeatedly called the attention of our readers to this beautiful, complete, and convenient edition of the works of Lord Bacon. The work has passed from the hands of Messrs. F. A. Brown & Co. into those of Taggart & Thompson. All of the fifteen volumes are now published except one, which is shortly to appear. The price must, as the publishers announced, be necessarily raised after the work is completed. No more convenient, or, for its style, cheaper edition of the works of the great philosopher can anywhere be procured.

Present Truths in Theology. Man's Inability and God's Sovereignty, with their relation to gospel doctrine and moral responsibility. By James Gibson, D. D., Professor of Theology and Church History, Free Church College, Glasgow. Glasgow: Thomas Murray & Son. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1863. Vols. I. and II. Pp. 446 and 450.

This extensive and valuable work was received at too late a period to allow of any extended examination of its contents. A very slight inspection of its contents, however, reveals two things: first, that all the great questions concerning grace are brought under discussion; and, second, that the author has a wide field of vision—the views of the later, as well as of the older theologians, German as well as English, are submitted to examination. We do not doubt, therefore, that it will prove highly instructive to all interested in theological discussions. We regret that we have not had the opportunity to gain a better acquaintance with these volumes, to authorize us to speak of them more fully and intelligently.

Critical and Grammatical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians. With a revised Translation. By Charles J. Ellicott, B. D., Dean of Exeter, and Professor of Divinity, King's College, London. Andover: Warren F. Draper. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co. 1864.

This volume forms the fifth part of Professor Ellicott's Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul, a work distinguished by

exact and elegant scholarship and familiar acquaintance with the whole field of exegetical literature. It answers accurately to its designation—critical and grammatical commentary.

Redeemer and Redeemed. An Investigation of the Atonement and Eternal Judgment. By Charles Beecher, Georgetown, Mass. Boston: Lee & Shepherd, 149 Washington street. 1864. Pp. 354.

The public papers have doubtless rendered our readers acquainted with the general character of this book. Mr. Beecher seems to belong to that class of men in whom reason and faith are subordinate and obedient to the imagination. To him that is true of which he can make an *anschauung*. His theory of preëxistence, and all he builds upon it, is a pure imagination.

Text Book of Geology. Designed for Schools and Academies. By James D. Dana, LL.D., Silliman Professor of Geology and Natural History in Yale College. &c. Philadelphia: Theodore Bliss & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1864. Pp. 354.

Although this is an abridgment of Professor Dana's extended and elaborate work on geology, it is not a mere collection of extracts. It has been rewritten and thrown into a new form, in order to adapt it to its special purpose, and give it the unity of an independent work. It is specially important that elementary works on science should be prepared by masters in the department of which they treat. Too often such books are compiled by mere learners. Teachers and pupils who may use this work of Professor Dana, know they can follow him with confidence, as he is one of the first living authorities in all matters connected with geology.

Thoughts on Sabbath-schools. By John S. Hart, LL.D. Phladelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication. Price 75 cents.

We have been gratified with the perusal of this interesting little volume. It is the fruit of long and thoughtful acquaintance with the subject of which it treats. In its style gentle, yet spirited, unpretending, yet laden with valuable truth, and clear as light, one cannot fail to perceive the evidence of a genuine didactic mind. The views of education presented in it, also recommend themselves to us as both philosophically just, and practically addressed with precision to difficulties which a teacher is likely to encounter, and throwing light upon points of method where he is sometimes at a loss to decide. Under this head, we would especially instance the chapters on "teaching children what they do not understand," on "faith as an educational power," and on "the proper use of authority in

teaching," in all of which the remarks are eminently judicious and expose the error of the opposite doctrines which, of late years, have met with too much acceptance among us.

We notice the following additions made to the Sabbath-school Library of the Presbyterian Board of Publication.

Aunt Betsy's Rule, and How it Worked. 18mo. pp. 396.

Aunt Betsy was a poor and uneducated woman, who had two orphan children cast upon her care, but by the faithful application of only two rules brought them up in a way that made them more respected by their neighbours than many children that enjoyed what are commonly thought to be much greater advantages. The book deserves a wide circulation in families as well as in Sabbath-school libraries.

Good for Evil, and other Stories. Written for the Board of Publication, by Nellie Browing. 18mo. pp. 132.

Several pleasant stories for the junior classes in a Sabbath-school.

The Young Recruit; or, Under which King. By Sarah H. Myers, author of "Poor Nicholas," "The Railroad Boy," &c. 18mo. pp. 216.

The reader in this work is treated to several voyages on the Rhine, with an intelligent description of the magnificent scenery upon its banks, but this is only a secondary matter. Its great aim is to depict the reign of grace in the soul, and the struggles with the corrupt nature; and the trials and temptations to which a "young recruit" was exposed, after leaving the service of Satan and an earthly monarch, to serve the King whose kingdom is not of this world. There is much good sense interspersed in the work, and it has our hearty commendation.

The Pastor's Bible-class; or Familiar Conversations concerning the Sacred Mountains. 18mo. pp. 214.

It is very natural for a traveller, as he passes through a country, to tell you all that is known about the places he visits, and in this book you have the same process, but you skip from mountain to mountain. Knowledge is good in whatever way imparted, but we prefer it in a more connected chain. Otherwise, the book is instructive and interesting.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

Midrash Rabboth on the Pentateuch and Megilloth, with the Commentaries, which are printed in the Frankfort edition, (1732,) and in addition that of Sol. Isaac on Genesis. Folio, pp. 678. In Hebrew.

The Song of Solomon, translated by Willeram, explained by Rilindis and Herrat, abbesses at Hohenburg in Elsace, (1147—1196,) published from a MS. in the imperial library at Vienna, by Joseph Haupt. 8vo. pp. xxiv. and 180. This commentary has the strange peculiarity of expounding this song of the Virgin Mary instead of the Church.

F. A. Löwe, Biblical Studies. No. 1. Contributions to the understanding of the Prophet Hosea. 8vo. pp. 40.

L. Reinke, Contributions to the Explanation of the Old Testament. Vol. V. 8vo. pp. 387. This volume contains eleven treatises on various matters connected with the exposition and criticism of the Old Testament.

F. Böttcher, New Exegetical and Critical Gleanings in the Old Testament. Part 1. Genesis to 2 Samuel. 8vo. pp. 268.

E. Riehm, The particular significance of the Old Testament for the religious Knowledge and religious Life of the Christian Church. 8vo. pp. 50.

Hengstenberg's Commentary on the Gospel of John is completed by the publication of the third volume. 8vo. pp. 409. A few pages at the end are devoted to the discussion of the aim of this gospel, its relation to the preceding, the readers for whom it was intended, the time when it was written, and its accuracy in recording the discourses of our Lord.

Lange's Bibel Werk. 11th Part. The Pastoral Epistles and the Epistle to Philemon. Second edition. 8vo. pp. 155.

C. F. Schmid, Biblical Theology of the New Testament. 3d edition. 8vo. pp. xxvii. and 626.

G. L. Hahn, The Doctrine of the Sacraments in its Historical development in the Western Church until the Council of Trent. 8vo. pp. 447.

K. Werner, History of the Apologetic and Polemic Literature of Christian Theology. Vol. III. 8vo. pp. 766.

Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianæ et Capitula Angilramni, from

the Manuscripts, with a preliminary dissertation by P. Hinschius. 8vo. pp. 771.

A. Merx, Bardesanes of Edessa, with an investigation into the relation of the Clementine Recognitions to the book of the Laws of the Countries. 8vo. pp. 131.

F. Böhringer is preparing a new edition of his Church of Christ and its Witnesses, a Church History in Biographies.

John Chrysostom's Homilies in Armenian. 3 vols. 8vo. pp. 924, 918, and 942. In the judgment of the editor, the homilies on Matthew and the commentary on the Epistles of Paul were rendered into Armenian by the same translator, in the fifth century of the Christian era; and none of the homilies were translated later than the seventh century.

J. C. Schenck, John Calvin's Merits in the Department of Education and Instruction. 8vo. pp. 31.

E. Stähelin, The Life of John Calvin. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 644, 479. These volumes form part of a series now in the course of publication, entitled, The Lives and Select Writings of the Fathers and Founders of the Reformed Church.

D. Martini Lutheri Colloquia, meditationes, consolationes, judicia, sententiæ, narrationes, responsa, facetiæ, from a manuscript in the Orphan House at Halle, with Prologomena, by H. E. Bindseil. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. cxix. and 465.

J. Döllinger, Fables relating to the Popes of the Middle Ages. 8vo. pp. 159. This volume contains a series of investigations preliminary to a history of the Papacy. They relate to certain imaginary persons and transactions, which gained a measure of repute, as though they belonged to authentic history, viz. the female Pope, Pope Cyriacus, Pope Marcellinus and the Synod of Sinuessa, the baptism of Constantine by Pope Sylvester, the donation of Constantine, the heresy of Pope Liberius, the monophysite leanings of Pope Anastasius, Gregory II. enticing the Italians to revolt against Leo the Isaurian, and the suspicions entertained respecting Sylvester II.

P. B. Gams, The Church History of Spain. Vol. I. The first three centuries. 8vo. pp. 422.

Brother Hans's Hymns to Mary, belonging to the 14th century, from a manuscript hitherto unknown in the imperial public library at St. Petersburg. Edited by R. Minzloff. 8vo. pp. 364. A number of acrostics on the Ave Maria and other hymns to the Virgin. The language indicates that they were written in the Netherlands. The introductory hymn is very artificial in its structure, the successive lines being composed in four different languages, German, French, English, and Latin.

E. A. Zuchold, Bibliotheca Theologica. List of books in the department of evangelical theology, which have appeared in Germany from 1830 to 1862. 8vo. pp. 960.

F. von Raumer, Handbook of the History of Literature. 8vo. pp. 640.

J. C. Poggendorff, Biographical and Literary Dictionary of the History of the Exact Sciences. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 1584 and 1468.

Monumenta Sacra, et Profana, from the manuscripts of the Ambrosian Library. Vol. II. No. 1. Remains of the Syro-Hexaplaric Pentateuch, and some other Syriac fragments. 4to. pp. xvi. and 64.

Babylonish Talmud, with all the ancient and some modern commentaries. Vol. I. The tract Berachoth. 8vo. pp. 367. In Hebrew.

J. L. Bensew, Hebrew-German and German-Hebrew Dictionary. 8vo. pp. 756.

C. Siegfeid, The Explanations of Hebrew words in Philo, and the traces of their effects upon the Christian Fathers. 4to. pp. 37.

L. Herzfeld, Metrological Investigations preliminary to a History of the Trade of the ancient Hebrews. 8vo. pp. 95.

A. Kirchhoff, Studies in the History of the Greek Alphabet. 4to. pp. 137.

F. Kanitz, The Byzantine Monuments of Servia. Folio, pp. 27, with 6 chronolithographs, and 6 copperplate engravings.

J. G. Hahn, Greek and Albanese Tales, collected, translated, and explained. 8vo. pp. 658.

L. Meyer, Comparative Grammar of the Greek and Latin Languages. Vol. II. Part 1. 8vo. pp. 320.

C. Arendt, Copious Index to the second edition of Bopp's Comparative Grammar. 8vo. pp. 272.

T. Mommsen, Roman Researches. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 396.

W. A. Becker, Handbook of Roman Antiquities, continued by J. Marquardt. Part 5. Section 1. 8vo. pp. 384. The private Antiquities of the Romans.

I. Bekker, Homeric Leaves. 8vo. pp. 330. A series of articles relating to the criticism and interpretation of the writings of Homer, originally published in various periodicals.

A. Bielenstein, The Lettish Language in its Sounds and Forms. Part 1. 8vo. pp. 485.

T. Noldeke, Contributions to the knowledge of the Poetry of the ancient Arabs. 8vo. pp. xxxii. and 224.

F. Spiegel, Eran, the country between the Indus and the

Tigris. Contributions to the knowledge of this country and its history. 8vo. pp. 384.

J. H. Plath, Specimens of Chinese Wisdom, from the Chinese of Ming sin pao kien. 8vo. pp. 62. The Domestic Relations of the ancient Chinese from Chinese sources. 8vo. pp. 48. On the Sources of the Life of Confucius. 8vo. pp. 38.

G. Bornhak, History of the Franks under the Merovingians. Part 1. From the earliest times to the death of Clothaire I. 8vo. pp. 365.

F. Dietrich, Frau and Dame, a linguistic lecture. 8vo. pp. 23.

C. F. Koch, Historical Grammar of the English Language. Vol. I. Sounds and inflections. 8vo. pp. 500.

A. Schleicher, Darwin's Theory and the Science of Language. 8vo. pp. 29.

FRANCE.

F. Godet, Commentary on the Gospel of St. John. Vol. I. 8vo.

Finetti, Conferences on the Gospel History preached at Rome. 2 vols. 8vo.

L. Second, Biblical Chrestomathy, or Passages selected from the Old Testament. 8vo.

S. Preiswerk, Hebrew Grammar, preceded by a historical sketch of the Hebrew language. 8vo. pp. lvi. and 288.

Bautain, The Philosophy of Laws from a Christian point of view. 8vo. pp. 435.

C. F. Chevé, Complete History of Poland from its origin to our days. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. lxviii. and 264.

D. Salvador, Arabic Music, its Relations with Greek Music and with the Gregorian Chant. 8vo. pp. 84.

Publications of the Observatory at Athens. Vol. I. Astronomical observations upon Comets. 4to. pp. 145.