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THE
LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.

MARCH, 1854.

- ART. I.—1. *Essay towards the Restoration of the Historical Stand-point for the Criticism of the New Testament Writings. (Versuch zur Herstellung des Historischen Standpuncts für die Kritik der Neutestamentlichen Schriften.)* By HEINRICH W. J. THIERSCH. Erlangen: Heyder. 1845.
2. *Prelections on Catholicism and Protestantism. (Vorlesungen über Katholicismus und Protestantismus.)* By HEINRICH W. J. THIERSCH. Erlangen: Heyder. 1845 and 1846.
3. *A Few Words on the Genuineness of the New Testament Writings. (Einige Worte über die Aechtheit der Neutestamentlichen Schriften.)* By HEINRICH W. J. THIERSCH. Erlangen: Heyder. 1846.
4. *The Church in the Apostolic Age, and the Origin of the New Testament Writings. (Die Kirche im Apostolischen Zeitalter, und die Entstehung der Neutestamentlichen Schriften.)* By HEINRICH W. J. THIERSCH. Frankfort and Erlangen: Heyder and Zimmer. 1852.

"THE Apostolic Age," the last production of Thiersch's pen, merits an extended notice; not only because of the importance of the subject, but also because of the position occupied by the author in the religious and literary world,—a theologian of eminence, one of the great champions of Christianity against the most recent school of German infidelity, and, of late years, a convert to Irvingism. To be properly appreciated, however, there is required a review of his previous writings, of the discussions that drew them out, and of the general attitude of Christian apologists and of their adversaries at the time when he became enrolled among the former.

The appearance of the celebrated Strauss's "Life of Christ," in
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1835, has certainly done good service to the cause of Christianity. It annihilated the old Rationalism; it substituted open hostility for the insidious approaches of a concealed enemy: above all, it was a confession wrung from infidelity, that the religion of Redemption cannot be got rid of, without accounting for the character of the Redeemer; thus bringing the controversy to fasten upon the vital and essential point,—the one of all others upon which the Christian should wish to concentrate it,—the august person of the Lord himself. However, as a bold attempt to explain the way in which, according to its author, the Gospels could have been invented, the attack surprised and startled even the Germans, used as they are to all sorts of alarms and excursions upon the field of theological strife. It seemed to them the more formidable, from its applying to the history of our Lord principles which had been already applied, by a too general consent, to parts of the Old Testament history. Numerous answers appeared, and, in most cases, they were able and satisfactory. The venerable Neander, in his "Life of Jesus," (1837,) showed the wondrous consistency of the Redeemer's words and works with his professed being and mission, refuting in detail the heartless cavils of a mind uninfluenced by those religious wants and aspirations, which ought to be common to the whole human race. Ullmann, of Heidelberg, (*Historisch oder Mythisch?* 1838,) called attention to the mightily suggestive import of the simple fact, that the Church was founded by a Crucified One, and showed the absurdity of making the character and works of Jesus a mythic invention of the Church, while there was nothing on this hypothesis to explain the existence of the Church itself. He exhibited the real nature of myths, and their utter dissimilarity to the evangelical history; so that every pagan legend, and, still more, every apocryphal legend of Christian antiquity, is, from the very contrast, a means of rendering the historical character of our sacred records more manifest. Tholuck produced his masterly "Credibility of the Gospel History;" (1839;) Ebrard, of Erlangen, his "Scientific Criticism of the Gospel History," (1841-2,) uniting a thorough investigation of the origin and distinguishing characteristics of each of the Gospels, with a harmonized recapitulation and justification of their contents. We do not mention the crowd of less eminent, though often useful, writers, nor many excellent articles which appeared in the Theological Reviews. Lange's "Life of Jesus" was a few years later, and had not yet exercised any influence when Thiersch entered upon the arena. The effect produced by those, in essential respects, unanswerable apologies was, to force the assailants of Christianity to change their ground. Strauss had occupied himself solely with what he considered the internal indications of fable in the Gospel history. He had tried to show how the wonders narrated might, one after another, arise from the exaggeration natural to men who idolized their departed

master, and would fain adorn his history with the counterpart of every legend treasured up in their national traditions. But, while thus decomposing the *facts*, he had abstained from all criticism of the *documents* as such; he did not attempt to form any conception of their respective origins and authors, or of their immediate purpose, and allowed us to suppose that the Gospels in their present form were as old as the apostolical Epistles, and as the generation that had immediately succeeded Jesus. Five years, however, had not elapsed from the publication of Strauss's book, before the admirers of the mythic hypothesis had to confess it was impossible to maintain it, if so short a time were left for the formation of the myths. They felt they must either sacrifice the system, or else show that the Gospels were written later than the first century, and that the whole commonly received history of primitive Christianity was fabulous. Without paying over-much attention to the facts to be gathered from Heathen and Jewish historians and men of letters, Tacitus, Suetonius, Josephus, and Pliny, they proceeded to cut at the root of primitive Christian history, by applying the axe of destructive criticism to its own documents. Gfroerer, in his "History of Early Christianity," (*Urchristenthum*), and in his "Century of Redemption," (*Das Jahrhundert des Heils*), tried to give a less indefinite shape to Strauss's theory, by attributing the Messianic legends to the influence of the theology of the Mishna, and of sundry apocryphal writings, which he quietly antedated by some two or three centuries, to serve his hypothesis. Schweigler led the way for his own future attacks, and those of others, upon the Acts of the Apostles, by his "Montanism, and the Christian Church of the Second Century." (Tübingen, 1841.) The Gospel of John, as the testimony of one who had eaten and drunk with Jesus after his resurrection, and who was a prominent actor in the early Christian history, was especially obnoxious to all who wished either to get rid of that history altogether, or to reconstruct it speculatively. Hence, in the years 1840 and 1841, there appeared no less than four elaborate attempts to criticize away the work of the Beloved Disciple. They were from the pens of Luetzelberger, Weisse, Bruno Baur, and Schweitzer, writers differing in their views, in their objects, in their estimate of the synoptical Gospels, and in their degree of hostility to revelation, but agreeing in one essential point,—the unsettling of the historical basis of the Christian religion. They were cheered on and aided in the work of destruction by Ferdinand Christian Baur, and the other writers in Zeller's "Theological Register," published at Tübingen.

This preliminary sketch prepares the reader for the title of Thiersch's first work: "An Essay towards the Restoration of the Historical Stand-point for the Criticism of the New Testament Writings." (Erlangen, 1845.) Our author, then already known to the public as the son of a celebrated philologist, and as him-

self Professor of Theology at the University of Marbourg, protested against the method as well as the results of the reigning sceptical criticism, its disregard of historical testimony, its exclusive attention to internal *data*, and its arbitrary treatment of these. He tried to find some firm ground in which to anchor amid a troubled sea, casting up mire and dirt, to determine landmarks of positive fact, enough to protect biblical criticism from the caprices of wild or hostile imaginations. After an able chapter on the language and style of the New-Testament writings, he proceeds to investigate the origin and object of the Gospels in such a way as to combine the internal and external evidences for their authenticity, and that of the New Testament generally; bringing together into one picture the state of minds,—the religious needs in the first Christian society,—and the apostolical literature which resulted from that state, and supplied those needs.

Without dwelling upon the infinite distance between the tone and spirit of the Epistles, and the earliest patristic writings, there are peculiarities which even the irreligious critic is capable of appreciating, and which render it impossible honestly to attribute the former to any period later than the first or second generation of Christians. They are throughout pervaded, for instance, by a conception of justification, which is almost totally absent from the theology of the second century. Again, though distinctly declaring that the times and the seasons were not revealed, they repeatedly betray an expectancy of the Lord's immediate second coming, and consequently absence of thought for a distant future; while there existed among the Christians of the second century, on the contrary, a clear consciousness that they formed a society which would require a long period to accomplish its mission. Most of the books of the New Testament bear the unmistakeable impress of having originated in the struggles of the founders of the religion to preserve it pure from the corrupting influences of Judaism on one side, and of heathenism on the other. The didactic writings are so totally free from allusion to the historical, or even from repetition of what is contained in the latter, that the independence of the two classes of documents has never been denied: yet the Epistles everywhere pre-suppose the great facts related in the Gospels, and they confirm the historical truthfulness of the Acts by the most minute and least-to-be-suspected coincidences. Thiersch gives satisfactory reasons why the contents of the Gospels should be so seldom re-produced in the Epistles, and at the same time shows that the allusions to our Lord's words are more frequent than is generally thought, recurring especially in the eschatological passages of St. Paul. He very judiciously makes the Acts the key-stone of his critical edifice: for, as Jerome had already remarked, the close of the book evidently shows that it

was written before Paul's martyrdom, and about the year 63. But, since it professes to be a continuation of the Gospel of Luke, that Gospel must have been written in or before A.D. 63: and it is easy to conclude that Matthew, at least, is not later than Luke; for he was not acquainted with the work of his fellow-Evangelist. A late critic, Credner, tried to account for the way in which the Acts leave the Apostle in prison, without giving any sequel of the history or telling us of his fate, by the supposition that the work was interrupted for some unknown reason, and that the author never finished it; but Thiersch shows that the concluding paragraph of the Acts is wound up in such a way as to be parallel to the concluding paragraph of the Gospel of Luke. The book is duly finished, though the reader is left in suspense as to the issue of events, at a most interesting moment. Moreover, in all the later chapters the author accompanies the Apostle from Greece to Palestine, and from Palestine to Italy, so evidently sharing his master's presentiment that it was a last voyage, that we must assume that nothing can have occurred meanwhile to change the solemn anticipation. The account of the farewell scenes at Ephesus, at Tyre, at Cæsarea, (Acts xx. 22-25, 37, 38; xxi. 4, 5, 11, 13,) must have been written before Paul's release, if he ever was released,—in any case, before the expectation of release he expresses in the Epistles to the Philipians, (i. 25, 26; ii. 24,) and to Philemon. (22.)

The New Testament writings contain abundant internal indications, not only of the time at which they were written, but even of the order in which they succeeded each other. Thus the first appearance of thought for the future circumstances of the Church in this world is to be found in the later Epistles. In Paul's earlier letters, Romans and Galatians especially, he has to do with the Pharisaic tendency,—the first and simplest form of Judæo-Christianity. In Ephesians and Colossians we see traces of the beginning of a false Gnosticism, and in the writings of John traces of its maturity. Similarly the Second Epistle of Peter predicts evils which Jude recognises as already present. In Paul's time, and even in that of Jude, (verse 12,) the heretics tried to remain in the bosom of the Church: in that of John, they had already separated. (1 John ii. 19.) The different tendencies combated in the Epistles have suggested to the school of Tübingen the suspicion, that most of them were forged in the second century, to meet the heresies that were then striving for the mastery. Thiersch proves that admitted facts lead to precisely the opposite conclusion: the Epistles *do not* notice the prominent characteristics of the heresies of the second century, while they *do* dwell upon incipient stages of those heresies, or upon those very shapes of wild speculation or practical evil, which we might on psychological grounds expect to find, as the result of the contact of the religion of Redemption with the elements which, we

know, existed immediately before, or contemporaneously with, its appearance in both the Jewish and the Gentile world. The great and ever-recurring feature of the Gnosticism of the second century, in all its varieties, is the attempt to distinguish between the Creator of the sensible world and the highest and true God, preached by Jesus Christ. Now, not a vestige of this idea appears among the heretics combated in the apostolic writings. Again, the adversaries of Paul and John invariably gave themselves out to be Apostles and Prophets: their successors of the second century advanced no claims of the kind. They either professed, like Marcion, to be reformers and restorers of the true faith, which had been spoiled by the current traditions of the Church, or else, like Valentinus, to be in possession of a holy secret tradition, derived from Christ and the Apostles. They were pretenders to learning, in opposition to the beginnings of human science and of a Christian literature among the early Fathers, instead of being false Apostles in opposition to the true.

With respect to external testimony, our author, following in the steps of Hug, lays stress on the recognition, by the heretics of the middle of the second century, of every document of the New Testament, except one or two of the smallest and least important, as the universally acknowledged standard of truth among all who claimed to be Christians. Surely, the different Gnostic sects would not have taken such pains to explain away and allegorize writings fundamentally opposed to their doctrines, unless they found those writings pre-existing, as a supreme authority in the Christian Church, which they could not set aside, without giving up their own pretensions to be the proper representatives and interpreters of the primitive Church. The Essay divides the interval between St. Paul and St. Jerome into three periods, in relation to the recognition of the canon. From A.D. 70 to 100 is the first period, during which the organization of the Christian Church was developed under the fostering hand of John; the latest writings of the New Testament were produced, and the original canon—the *ὁμολογούμενα* of Eusebius—universally received and read along with the Old Testament. The second period, comprising the second and third centuries, bears a thoroughly conservative and traditional character, in contrast with the productive character of the first period; the smaller and more private documents—the *ἀντιλεγόμενα* of Eusebius*—which had not been included in the primitive canon, becoming gradually known, yet distinguished from the other Scriptures by the somewhat narrow-minded traditionalism, and scrupulous fear of innovation, which characterized the time. The productive character re-appears in the third period, extending over the fourth century,

* Comprising properly the Epistle of James, the Second Epistle of Peter, Jude, and the two last Epistles of John. The authority of the Apocalypse and Hebrews was also controverted, but more partially.

that is to say, re-appears in the spheres of Church organization and legislation. Ecclesiastical arrangements were made to correspond with the civil order of the Roman Empire; local irregularities were done away with; synods and councils bound the religious edifice together; the bringing together the representatives of the churches from distant countries, admitted of an examination into the claims of the *antilegomena*; the scruples of the Churches which did not possess them were removed, and they were received into the canon. This conception of the history is justified by all the remains of the second and third centuries; it is the only one which can explain the facts of the early universal reception of the *homologoumena*, the reverential jealousy with which they were kept apart from the intrusion of other writings, and yet the later easy reception of the *antilegomena* without their being recommended by any controversial or sectarian interest.

Thiersch dwells particularly upon the opportunities of Eusebius, who had before him so many writers now lost, many of whose names he mentions, some of whom had expressly occupied themselves with this subject; and yet he never, in the whole circle of early Christian literature, found a single doubt breathed against the authority and authenticity of any one of the *homologoumena*. To the objection that some of the oldest Christian apologists do not refer to so many of the New Testament writings as might be expected, and that Justin Martyr, in particular, does not quote St. Paul, the Essay first urges the usual reply,—that the subjects treated by those writers, and the *public* to which they addressed themselves, did not call for much biblical quotation. It next makes the novel and probably sound suggestion,—that the oldest apologists borrowed very largely from the anti-pagan polemics of Jewish writers who had preceded them, and that from this was derived the predominance of the abstract monotheistic over the properly Christian element in their works. Great use had been made by recent adversaries of Christianity of the fact, that writings no longer looked upon as parts of the canon, as the first Letter of Clement of Rome, and the "Shepherd" of Hermas,—some of them even spurious, as the "Apocalypse of Peter,"—were yet read along with the present New Testament Scriptures in sundry Churches, or were cited with great respect by some of the Fathers. Thiersch replies, in the first place, that it was natural the strong traditional spirit of the middle and end of the second century should set a high value upon the few writings which served to bridge over the chasm between the apostolic age and their own time of nascent Christian literature: in the second place, that expressions of respect for extra-canonical writings, of the kind alluded to, are almost exclusively confined to Clement of Alexandria, a man of extremely speculative tendencies; and even he shows a clear consciousness of the distinction between his favourite authors and the apostolic writings. The reading of the

books referred to in some of the Churches seems to have been associated with local remembrances. Thus the Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians was read for some generations in the midst of that particular Church, and in it only; the Acts of Martyrs were sometimes read on the festival of their martyrdom; and what Jerome says of the Works of Ephrem Syrus,—that they were read in some of the Syrian Churches “*after the reading of the Scriptures*,”—may suggest what was done in similar cases, where the order observed is not explicitly mentioned.

Thus, every thing we can learn of the religious ideas and controversies of the three centuries during which Christianity, grappling with Paganism in front, and hereay from behind, marched on to the conquest of the Roman world,—every additional light thrown upon those memorable ages confirms the internally demonstrated impossibility of the collection called the New Testament having been written by any others than the immediate founders of the Christian Church, and in the very crisis of its earliest existence. At the same time, it remains an unshaken fact of history, that those writings were distinguished from all others as a final authority on religious matters, and received as such by every contending sect, even those who were the farthest from the spirit and letter of their contents.

With respect to the origin of the books of the New Testament taken separately, the *Essay* distinguishes three periods. The earlier Epistles, before A.D. 60, are remembrances of Paul's labours and travels, elicited by the pressing necessities of the Churches, and chiefly by the controversy with Judaizing Christians. From A.D. 60 to 70, is the period of transition from the first stage of primitive Christianity to a more permanent shape and establishment; and to it are to be referred the synoptical Gospels, and all the rest of the Epistles, except those of John. After A.D. 70, we have the writings of the Beloved Disciple during that closing period of his long life, in which he impressed upon the Church the doctrine and the organization which are prominent in the two following centuries. The deaths or dispersion of the Apostles, and the dawn of a heathen Gnosticism, disposed to ignore the historical reality of the incarnation and life of Christ, led to the issue of official versions of the Apostles' remembrances of their Divine Master, some time about or after A.D. 60. Jesus had prepared his disciples to rehearse his words and doings, after his resurrection, as part of their mission. (John xiv. 26; xv. 27.) Matthew's is the Palestine version of this common apostolic tradition, behind which the individuality of the compiler is in a great measure effaced. Luke, who had probably collected his materials during the two years that he was detained in Palestine by Paul's imprisonment, must have written his Gospel for Gentile Christians at nearly the same time with Matthew; for neither saw the work of the other. It is written from the

point of view that might be expected from Paul's companion and yoke-fellow. Mark is a version of the Palestine tradition, prepared for the Christians of the west; the substance taken down from the lips of Peter at Rome, and afterwards arranged in order by being compared with the Gospel of Luke. In this view of the synoptics, Thiersch endeavoured to combine fact and tradition: on the one hand, the fact of Mark's remarkable coincidence with Matthew in matter, and with Luke in arrangement and connexion,—the fact, moreover, of Mark's strict and consistent chronological order: on the other hand, the tradition of Clement of Alexandria, that the Gospels containing the genealogies were written first; and the tradition of Papias, that Mark wrote under Peter's dictation at Rome, but not in exact order. Our author, it will be observed, steers midway between the idea of Townson, Hug, and the older critics generally, that the Evangelists saw and copied from each other, and the idea of Gieseler, that the verbal coincidences of the first three Gospels arose from their drawing from the common source of a tradition stereotyped by repetition. The later Epistles of Paul, contemporaneous, as has been already said, with the synoptical Gospels, are not quite as polemical as the earlier, and are written rather with a view to complete the instruction and edification of the Churches. Peter wrote for the express purpose of sustaining the hands of his brother Apostle, and showing the harmony which existed between them; thus disavowing the Judaizing zealots, who used his venerated name as a watchword in their attempts to discredit the Apostle of the Gentiles. The reminiscences of the Epistle to the Ephesians, and other writings of Paul, which led De Wette to reject the authenticity of the First Epistle of Peter, are just so many corroborative indications of the object of the Epistle. John's Gospel supposes the others well known: they were, doubtless, already publicly read in the churches. His Epistles, and the early chapters of the Apocalypse, serve to complete our view of the internal history of the Church, to mark its progress in the appropriation of Divine truth, and the changing forms of error with which it had to contend. We can trace, thinks Thiersch, through following centuries, the agency of John, overlying without destroying that of Paul, in the permanently ordered hierarchy, in the place given to the person of Christ, and in the relative subordination of the doctrine of justification.

The appearance of the *Essay* served to place its author at once in the first rank of orthodox critics. The work was distinguished by earnestness, perspicuity, a judicious selection among the facts and arguments already employed by Christian apologists, and a combination of them with observations new, original, and weighty. It turned the weapons of the adversaries against themselves; using, to strengthen the evidence of the authenticity of the New Testament, the very facts to which they had attracted attention. It

was not merely an able refutation of the objections of sceptics in detail, and in a negative, defensive way, but a positive reconstruction of the origin of the New Testament as a whole; its several parts confirming, as well as completing, each other; corresponding, like the separate members of a perfect organism; and leaving upon the mind a conviction of the reality of the circumstances under which they profess to be written, and of their having actually originated in connexion with those circumstances. This was really to raise biblical introduction to the dignity of a science whereas, it had hitherto been but an assemblage of scraps of information relative to the literary history of the Bible: and results which, if considered isolatedly, might be questioned, now participated in the certainty of the facts with which they were associated. The great champions of Infidelity and Christianity, Strauss and Neander, having, both of them, as has been said, neglected the criticism of sources, and confined themselves to that of facts, measuring the latter, moreover, by a standard often arbitrary and personal, it had become all the more important to unite the study of early Christian history with that of the New Testament documents, to exhibit the books as growing out of the history, and the several men of God who wrote them, as the organs of Divine revelation, in response to the successive wants of a society, of whose origin, development, dangers, and struggles, there is an imperishable monument in their own pages.

However, the germs of Thiersch's subsequent weakness, both as a critic and as a theologian, can be detected in this work:—a pride of high belief,—a somewhat fierce contempt of adversaries, indicating, perhaps, an undue predominance of the intellectual over the religious element in his convictions,—and an exaggerated respect for patristic tradition. When considering the external evidence of the authenticity of the New Testament, it is most important to distinguish between the general consent of the Churches, and the statements made by individual Fathers, with respect to the authorship of particular books and the circumstances attendant on their origin. No historical testimony can be stronger than the former. That the whole dispersed Christian community, in Europe, in North Africa, and in the East, should agree in receiving certain books as the supreme rule of faith,—books that they refused to give up to their persecutors at the peril of their lives, and this while morbidly jealous of innovation,—is a phenomenon that can only be accounted for by the fact, that those books were esteemed sacred from the time that the whole community was under the direction of its first founders. The accounts with which individual Fathers favour us are, on the contrary, a very weak foundation upon which to build any part of the apologetical structure. They sometimes bear an unequivocally legendary character, conflicting with each other or with internal indica-

tions: they rarely exhibit the exercise of sound judgment in controlling, or selecting from among, the elements floating at random on the sea of tradition. Those respective sources of knowledge bear to each other the same relation that the legends of some primitive people—about their earliest chiefs, the country from which they came, and their successive migrations—bear to the indisputable indications afforded by their language, their usages, and their physical characteristics. It is only when those universal, and enduring, and *uninventable* elements, confirm the tradition, that they are of any value for history. Of course, it is through the writings of the Fathers that we know the consent of the Churches; but it is not the less true that those writings are useful, as the organs and monuments of the common tradition, rather than on account of the particular details they add. Now, Thiersch, unfortunately, confounds those two very dissimilar kinds of testimony; he lays the same stress upon the loose plank, and upon the good ship. As an instance of his servility, may be quoted his attempt to show that the assertion, so unhesitatingly made by Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and others, that our Lord's ministry lasted but one year, was not without some foundation, since the most active part of it was confined within the year that, according to one system of Gospel chronology, elapsed between the death of John the Baptist and that of Christ. A more grave symptom of an unsound hierarchical tendency is the suggestion, that the reason why the Second Epistle of Peter was not universally received in the primitive Church was, that those to whom it was intrusted wisely communicated it only in cases where the extremes of error and dissoluteness combated therein were already known, and otherwise kept it from publicity, as a deposit for future ages,—an "*apocryphum*, in the higher sense of the word." If Thiersch could prove that there was, during the first three centuries, any reserve in the communication of the Christian sacred writings,—any thing approaching to a withholding from the people of documents known only to the Priest, or a subsequent promulgation of them on the sole authority of the Priest,—he would inflict an irreparable injury indeed on the external evidence of the New Testament. It would be both possible and easy for a priesthood, in such circumstances, to impose forged scriptures on the community, or to alter pre-existing scriptures. The resistless weight of the universal consent of the early Church consists in the fact, that there was nothing esoteric in its faith or in its practice, and that every source of knowledge was open to all its members alike. When Romanists or Romanizers taunt us with having received the Scriptures through the Fathers, it is well to remind them, not only that heretical and Pagan authors have largely contributed to the proofs of the authenticity of the letter of the New Testament, but also that the consent of the ancient Church is a satis-

factory historical authority, only because the Scriptures were freely read, after the Protestant fashion, to the whole congregation, and because they were in the hands of all persons who were able to procure them.

No sooner had our author become known as a critic, than he hastened to appear as a theologian, publishing his "Prelections on Catholicism and Protestantism," (Erlangen, 1845 and 1846,) which he had previously delivered at the University. "Our epoch," said he, "requires a deeper understanding of the essence of Catholicism and Protestantism in themselves, as well as that of their respective relations to the primitive Church. The controversy which began three centuries ago must be revised: our age is better qualified to solve this great problem than any previous one, and, therefore, under greater obligations to do so." He does not despair of a reconciliation between those long disunited sisters (?): so he proceeds forthwith to reconcile them upon paper,—certainly the easiest procedure of the two, and thoroughly Germanic. He compares the two systems, in their different conceptions of the Church, of the doctrine of salvation, and of sacraments; registers their points of agreement and of difference; investigates, as from a higher and impartial stand-point, the measure of truth in each; and tries to find some proposition, which, admitted by both, would modify and transform them, and, in bringing them nearer to the truth, bring them nearer to each other.

It would be but thankless labour to analyse in detail a work necessarily condemned to remain a sterile speculation. We need only characterize its general tendencies and affinities. Thiersch insists very strongly upon the ideal of a holy, catholic, and apostolic Church, embracing all the baptized world in one visible organization. The Church of Rome has the merit of retaining the theory; but, lacking religious life, it is obliged falsely to pretend that the actual facts correspond to the theory: it is but the shadow of the past. Protestantism, more sincere and more earnest, has been wanting in holy ambition, and, sensible of the humiliating reality, has given up the ideal. The recovery of the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit would, he thinks, be the true means of restoring the long-lost intensity of Christian life, and open the way to the desired reconciliation; it would render primitive discipline possible once more, and Priests could give absolution with complete knowledge, at least for the moment, of the heart of the penitent! With respect to the great questions of sin and grace, repentance and justification, faith and works, the lecturer resigns himself to lean to Protestant doctrine, but attempts to demonstrate, with much ingenuity, and more success than one would have expected, that Protestant doctrine sometimes dwells *incognito* in Romish creeds: instance the following language of the Council of Trent, from which Thiersch concludes, it is only in an improper sense of the word that the Church of

Rome calls works "meritorious:"—"Absit tamen, ut Christianus homo in seipso vel confidat vel gloriatur, et non in Domino, cujus tanta est erga omnes homines bonitas, ut eorum velit esse merita quæ sunt ipsius dona."* All pious members of the Church of Rome have ever rested for salvation upon the Redeemer's merits alone. The essential difference is, that while the Protestant confesses this truth openly, and all his life long, the pious Catholic is afraid of it, and only applies it to himself at the hour of death, when nothing else can stand him in stead. With respect to sacraments, of course our author holds baptismal regeneration, and a sort of transubstantiation; treats the reformed doctrine with asperity, and appropriates the words of Menzel,— "It is only from out of the depths of the Lutheran faith that can issue a reconciliation with our Catholic brethren."

As was to be expected, with Thiersch's evident tenderness towards the Church of Rome, he utterly fails in accomplishing one of the principal objects proposed, *viz.*, the giving a deeper insight into the essence of Catholicism. He shows, indeed, that it is the perpetual tendency of Rome to mingle truth and error; but he does not ask the reason of such a phenomenon; one would almost think he supposed it accidental; and he never seems to suspect that there are cases where the truth merely serves to recommend the error. He analyses the difference between the two communions, without telling us why they exist, and without inquiring into the common ground and character of Romish peculiarities. The fact is, that the tendency to substitute the form for the reality, the visible and palpable for the spiritual, the mere talisman for moral principle,—that leaven of religious materialism, in short, which runs through all Thiersch's own conceptions, is itself the essence of Roman Catholicism, as it was the essence of Paganism before. The spiritual life that took but three centuries to overthrow Paganism in open conflict, has had to struggle for fifteen centuries with the far more deadly influences of its old enemy, professing Christianity and filling the temple of God. As George Herbert says,—

"Sin, not being able to extirpate quite
The Churches here, bravely resolved one night
To be a Churchman too, and wear a mitre."

We need no laborious speculations on the origin of pagan idolatry in the dark and forgotten twilight that preceded history. Its counterpart is exhibited in the gradual development of the modern Roman saint-worship; and the processes by which the higher forms of polytheism degenerated into fetichism, can be illustrated by the descending scale from the Roman Catholic of intelligence to the victim of superstition, by no means confined to the poorer ranks, who thinks that one image of the same saint

has more power than another, though carved of the same wood, and daubed with the same paint.

Thiersch protests strongly against State Christianity, as it is understood in Germany,—the religious despotism of a bureaucracy. He says, it is founded on a lie, and that, though the complete separation of the temporal and spiritual spheres may have terrible effects during the time of transition, and be the signal of great calamities for the nations, it will end nevertheless in the triumphant advent of personal and individual religion. But what right has he to speak of personal religion, who would only make men change masters, and hand them over, regardless of their inalienable responsibilities, to be the subjects of a miraculously-appointed Hierarchy, ready on all matters to think, believe, and decide for them? The *Prelections* profess to pursue no end of immediate execution, to keep upon the ground of theory, and only influence opinion: but, while commenting and comparing creeds, speaking against Confessional prejudices, and assuming the attitude of a peacemaker, it is easy to see the author's aspirations had a more practical character than he dared to avow. He wished, at heart, for another Church to absorb the two rival communions. Terrified at the unchristianization and demoralization of Germany, he believed it impossible to effect a reformation without supernatural means. Had he seen Christian charity at work in his country, laboriously, prayerfully, and patiently making use of ordinary means to accomplish those moral miracles before which all others fade away, he would, perhaps, have felt greater confidence in the simple message of pardon, as the power of God unto salvation.

The *Prelections* appealing to many instincts of the German mind,—its love of novelty, its spirit of conciliation, its aspirations after external unity, its favourite weakness, of balancing arguments, and remaining in erudite suspense between *pro* and *con*,—they attracted much attention at first: but when it was discovered that they had been written under the influence of Irvingite ideas, and when the author professed he had actually found the apostolate of which he had proclaimed the necessity, the charm was broken, and the book fell from the hands of theologians: it is now seldom referred to, and less read. Irvingism has, indeed, made some progress in Germany, and will, perhaps, make more: but that disgust at, and fear of, the spirit of the age, and that yearning after authority, which pervade the higher classes of Germany, lead the majority of its victims to the great time-honoured apostolate of Rome, rather than to its mimicry in a petty sect. It was not until the spring of 1848, that Thiersch formally declared his adhesion to the Irvingites, and went to Berlin to hold conferences upon the subject there. He is now Pastor of a congregation, we believe, at Frankfort-on-the-Mayne.

F. C. Baur, the head of the Tübingen school of sceptical

critics, wrote an answer to Thiersch's "Essay," in 1846, with the title, "The Critic and the Fanatic in the Person of Mr. H. W. J. Thiersch;" and our author replied in the course of the same year in a pamphlet of about a hundred pages: "A Few Words," &c. Baur and his disciples pretend that the Christianity which appears in the pages of Irenæus, Clement, Tertullian, and the other religious writers of the close of the second century, and which has come down to us, was a system just then recently developed, a sort of compromise between hostile Jewish and Gentile communities, a *cross* between the Ebionites and the Gnostics. Three-fourths of the New Testament, according to the same theory, must have been written about the middle of the second century, during the controversies which were to issue in this compromise. The Gospels and Acts, among the rest, were no authentic histories; and the only remains of the earliest Christian antiquity—that of the first century—are the Apocalypse, and four principal Epistles,—Romans, First and Second Corinthians, and Galatians. Baur recognised the existence and labours of St. Paul, but imagined he must have failed to overcome the resistance of his Judæo-Christian enemies. The Apocalypse, it may be added for the reader's information, is unanimously attributed by this school to the Apostle John, in order to draw reasons from its style for denying the authenticity of the Gospel. The four Epistles above mentioned are uncontested, because of their frequent and vivid allusions to local and personal interests, and to events then passing. In our days of practised analysis and psychological research, no man of any critical tact or literary pretensions could bring himself to doubt that we have in them a faithful transcript of the workings of an ardent, powerful, and original mind, grappling with the difficulties incidental to the founding of a religion, and determining its doctrinal tenets. But it is wonderful how any one can recognise the authenticity of those letters, and not see that the whole Christian history is implied in them. Strauss himself, believing 1 Cor. xv. to have proceeded from the pen of Paul, owns that, within about twenty-nine (it were more correct to say, twenty-seven) years from the death of Jesus, there were still alive more than half the "five hundred" persons, who were persuaded they had seen him after he was risen from the dead. That whole impulse of a new life communicated by the Lord from heaven, which brought the Christian religion and Church into being, stands confessed in those four letters, upon which the sceptical critic has not dared to lay his hand. Strange, moreover, and painfully significant, is the fact, that the same men own Paul to be one of those characters that cannot be invented, and yet believe Jesus Christ a myth. The reason is, that in the one case the appeal is made to their literary and critical sagacity, and in the other to their susceptibility of religious impression. We know Paul

to be a real man, because, though we have never seen his equal, we have seen those who are more or less like him: the proportions are colossal, and stand out with a vigour and life-impress which no imagination could have created; but the type is natural. On the other hand, mere experience cannot help us to feel, that the moral features of the Son of Man are faithfully taken from a real being who dwelt and suffered amongst us. What observations men can make among their fellows could never have suggested that Divine character in human conditions, and can as little confirm its reality when presented. It is to higher faculties than those of observation and memory,—it is to the remaining traces, or, rather, to the Holy Spirit's gracious renewal of our original capacity of taking delight in the Divine excellences, and of reflecting them, in a measure, in our sphere,—that the life of Jesus Christ commends itself, as a real manifestation of "the glory of the Only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." It is the innate consciousness of what God is in relation to us, and of what we ought to be in relation to Him, that forces us to recognise the holy reality of both relations at once in the same person. It was for this reason, doubtless, that Jesus repeatedly presented his *words* as an evidence of his being and mission, that ought to weigh more, with hearts disposed to seek God, than even his *works* of power and mercy; (John iv. 48; x. 38; xiv. 10, 11;) and it is for this reason that we who read his words need not envy those who witnessed his miracles. The poor heartless critic who can bring himself to believe the Gospels an invention, confesses thereby that the highest susceptibilities surviving in the rest of fallen humanity are obliterated in him; and even in his own lower sphere of literary criticism he involves himself in inextricable difficulties: for if, by his own admission, Paul's character can be no myth because of its wonderful vigour and originality, how can *He* be a creature of imagination, who rises above Paul, and all men, and generations of men, in solitary sacredness? Where were the materials found with which to fashion such a character? and how comes He to be as *unlike* the creations of imagination, as He is *superior* to other actors in human history?

To return to the subject of this notice. Baur's attack upon Thiersch turned chiefly on the relation of the early Church to the principal heresies of the second century,—the sphere in which each of them had added original contributions to the arguments used on their respective sides. On this ground, the defender of revelation found it an easy task to show, that his rival violated all rules of criticism in his endeavour to sustain the most monstrous romance, with which it had ever been attempted to throw history into confusion. Both parties agree, that Gnosticism arose from the contact of pagan speculation with Jewish ideas, whether directly or indirectly, through the Christian movement: they

differ as to the time at which this reciprocal influence began to be exerted. Baur assumes, that there never existed any kind of Gnosticism previous to that of the second century; and therefore argues, that those books of the New Testament, which refer to Gnostic tendencies, must have been written a century later than they profess to be. Thiersch maintains, that the allusions, referred to in the New Testament, indicate an earlier form of Gnosticism than those which prevailed in the beginning and middle of the second century; and, consequently, that those allusions alone are sufficient to prove, that the books in question must have been written earlier. Baur admits, that later heathenism, about or before the time of Christ, reflecting upon the popular mythology, produced a philosophy of religion and nature: he admits, at the same time, that Saul founded Churches in Asia Minor. Surely this is equivalent to admitting, that the elements from which Gnosticism proceeded, were contemporaneous with St. Paul,—a Gentile philosophy in contact with Jewish speculation in Egypt, and with a popular Jewish asceticism in Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. "Is it not incredible," asks Thiersch, "that all those elements should be brought together in the first century, and not act upon one another until the second; that the train should hang fire for a hundred years after the match was applied to it?" It is in human nature, that an intense religious excitement, like that of which we have the evidence in Paul's undisputed Epistles, must have acted upon such minds as were predisposed to speculation, rather than to earnest religion, so as to produce an incipient Gnosticism. Now, this is just the state of which we find the vestiges in the Epistles: the New Testament supplies the historical link between the oriental theosophies, immediately preceding the Christian era, and the heresies of the second century; and this is the case with documents, the authenticity of which the Tübingen critics admit, as well as with those which they reject. Baur is bound to explain why there are such clear indications, in the earlier chapters of the Apocalypse, of the prevalence of Gnostic errors and immoralities among the Christians of Asia Minor. If Christianity be the product of a compromise between contending sects of Jewish and Gentile origin, and that so late as the first half of the second century, it follows, the two sects must have maintained their distinctive characters until that period, and primitive Christianity must be sought among one of these extremes,—most naturally, the Jewish: a difficult conclusion this, when the remains of the earliest period, even reducing them to the Apocalypse and four Epistles of Paul, are the opposite of Ebionitism. Nothing discouraged, Baur stoutly affirms, Paul and his party must have been crushed, and that his adversaries gave a predominantly Jewish character to that Church of the first century, which afterwards coalesced with Gentile elements to form the Church of

Irenæus and Tertullian. Further still, his theory not allowing him to admit the complete rupture between the Church and the Synagogue, he actually supposes Pilate alone to have been guilty of the crucifixion, and that the writers of the Gospels unjustly accused the Jews of concurring in the deed! A reconstruction of the early Christian history, which is driven to such expedients as these, stands self-convicted. One may hardly affirm, that it contradicts every remaining indication, whether found in the New Testament, or elsewhere, of the facts that occurred, and the state of things that existed, in the first hundred and fifty years after the crucifixion. It could only be made plausible by supposing every one of those indications exactly the reverse of what they are. We have admitted monuments of the foundation and spread and doctrinal development of the early Christian Church, in Gentile lands, by Paul of Tarsus; and Baur supposes the tendencies and doctrines of the Christian Church of the time to be directly opposite to those of its most gifted and energetic leader. We have the statement, at the close of the first century, by the eminent Pagan, Pliny, that the Christians worshipped Christ as God; and Baur makes them Ebionites, who owned him only as a human Messiah. We have the testimony of universal antiquity to the hatred of the Jews to the person of Christ, their principal share in his death, and the final rupture of the Church and the synagogue, coincident with, or previous to, the destruction of Jerusalem; and Baur must, for very consistency, express doubt of both. Others invent hypotheses to account for facts; but here is a writer who invents one set of hypotheses to sustain another, and this last in direct contradiction to facts. We have, in the last half of the second century, on the part of the Christian leaders, a decided leaning to Jewish ideas in ecclesiastical polity and doctrine; this was a natural re-action against Gnosticism: but, at this very time, on Baur's theory, we ought to find the current setting away from Judaism, men's minds showing the traces of a recent rupture, and Paul honoured as one emerging from obscurity,—his labours at length appreciated! Only compare the writers of the second century with those of the sixteenth, when the Apostle was *really* restored to the Church, and his works in some sort re-discovered. History exhibits, in the first century, a period of excitement and creative power in the religious sphere, such as the world had never witnessed, while the first two-thirds of the second century were a period of collapse. The Professor of Tübingen's romance, on the contrary, makes the first century a time of silent preparation, and transfers to the second the time of action and creative impulse: the labours of a Paul, a Peter, a John, were comparatively unproductive; and the world owes the Christianity it possesses to some obscure zealots of the second century, whose names it has forgotten,—nay, whose names were forgotten or

ignored by the very generation that followed them!! The only argument brought forward by Baur, which is not in audacious contrast with the reality, is the fact, first discovered by himself, that Paul is held up to reprobation, under the name of Simon Magus, in the apocryphal books called the "*Clementines*." This confirms Paul's writings, so far as to his having bitter adversaries, and their professing to be Peter's disciples; but that it should serve the purpose for which it is adduced, Baur must prove the "*Clementines*" to represent the feelings of the universal Church at one stage of its existence, instead of being the production of some obscure sectary. That Paul should be vituperated, under a false name, and so covertly, that it required the critical sagacity of the nineteenth century to discover it, shows that the *Clementines* can only have been an impotent effort of sectarian malice against an Apostle generally honoured. Clement of Rome is, of all the primitive Fathers, the one whose genuine remains show him to have been an intelligent disciple of St. Paul; so that the author of the attack, in order to get his book into circulation, was obliged to attribute it falsely to an illustrious follower of the Apostles! "The Apostolical Canons and Constitutions," forged in the third century, were also written in the name of Clement; another proof of the consideration in which he was held, and, indirectly, of the continued supremacy of the disciples of Paul at the close of the first, and beginning of the second, century.

Thiersch, whose arguments we have ventured to supplement by some additional considerations, shows, from the example of the apocryphal Epistle of the Corinthians to Paul, and the Apostle's apocryphal answer, what would have been the real attitude, with respect to the Gnostic controversy, of forgeries made in the second century. Those documents are both extant in Armenian; and they make Paul assert the unity of the Creator and the Redeemer, repelling blasphemies uttered from a dualistic stand-point against the Creator of the world. Baur attributes about five-sevenths of the New Testament to the first half of the second century. Now, how comes it to pass that the genuine remains of this period are so few in number and so poor in matter, while the pretended suppositions are so inconceivably rich? An age which had no tolerable writer in his own name must be peopled with pseudo-Pauls, pseudo-Peters, pseudo-Johns! All its great geniuses and religious minds had a passion for writing under false names, and most unaccountable success in imposing their forgeries upon the Christian public! More wonderful still, the genuine remains of this period leave the doctrines of grace and justification by faith altogether in the background, while its forgeries are identical in doctrine and spirit with the acknowledged writings of Paul! It is easy to question the authenticity of document after document on arbitrary grounds; but the more books you attribute to the second century,

the more you are obliged to account for their origin by the circumstances of the Church; and even if that were done satisfactorily, their universal reception would still remain an insoluble enigma. The strife about the celebration of Easter shows how little disposed the Churches were to take things on each other's credit. Their really conservative, rather than productive, character made them particularly careful of receiving too readily books claiming a Divine authority. Thus it was no dislike to the contents of the *antilegomena*, that kept them from being universally acknowledged until so late as the fourth century, but simply jealousy for the purity of the canon. Thus again, Tertullian relates how the authors of the "Acts of Paul and Thecla" were, during this same second century, degraded from the Priesthood, for attempting to impose that religious romance as a real history. The work has come down to us, and we can see that it contains nothing to displease the Hierarchy of the time, except that it was not true. Baur tries to explain away Tertullian's very plain and positive Latin, and to make out that the culprits voluntarily resigned their charge: his laboured comment just proves how strongly the fact tells against sceptical criticism. It is to be remembered, that, if Irenæus is the oldest writer against the Gnostics now extant, he had predecessors, the controversy was already old, and his opponents allegorized in their wild way, to escape those statements of the New Testament, which his predecessors had urged against them; so that we must carry back, at least a generation higher than Irenæus, the recognition of the authenticity of the New Testament writings by the great heretical sects, including the Valentinians, who were not afraid to accuse the Apostles and Jesus himself of error.

Baur dexterously, tries to soften as much as possible the charge of wilful fraud, which his system lays at the door of the authors of all the historical, and most of the didactic, books of the New Testament. He says, for instance, that the pseudo-John invented all sorts of personages and facts, as types of his theological intuitions, but without intending them to be taken for historical realities, his walk lying altogether in the region of ideas. Thiersch quotes the Apostle's solemn asseveration of the fact, that the blood and water gushed from the side of Jesus, (John xix. 35,) to show that he meant to convey, as positively as language enabled him to do so, the objective reality of even the most evidently symbolical facts; so that it is idle to attempt to escape from the conclusion, to which the critical determinations of the school of Tübingen lead:—namely, that those writers to whose influence upon humanity modern society owes its sense of truth and abhorrence of deceit, were themselves deceivers.

The only part of the controversy in which our author appears somewhat lame and unsatisfactory, is his attempt to vindicate the critical discernment of the Fathers. Baur urges that the most

eminent of the early Christian writers, from Justin Martyr onward, quote, as genuine, passages from the Sibylline books, and sentences from Orpheus, Linus, Homer, and Hesiod, which are now universally acknowledged to be forgeries, so that they must have been extremely weak and credulous men. Thiersch observes, in the first place, that, with the exception of a few passages in Clement of Alexandria, the forgeries or forged interpolations in question do not bear the mark of Christian hands, but of Jewish, and were older than the Christian era; in the next place, it is no wonder that the Christian Fathers were deceived, since erudite and intelligent Pagans were so. Even a Marcus Terentius Varro allowed himself to be imposed upon by some of those falsified Sibylline utterances. He adds that the spheres of mere literature and of Church tradition are not to be compared. This last observation, which drops as it were carelessly from Thiersch's pen, is really the point upon which stress should be laid. It is a mistake to suppose that the evidence of Irenæus, as to the writings held sacred and authoritative among Christians, is to have its importance measured by his personal penetration. He did not give the Scriptures to, but received them from, the Church; and the importance of his testimony consists in its acquainting us with the practice and convictions of his Christian contemporaries as a body. There can be no comparison between the degree of certainty which may be attained about the authorship of a book existing in rare copies in the cabinets of the learned, and that which attends books received by multitudes as the law of their faith and life, and publicly read in their weekly assembly. No sort of publicity that existed throughout the old world can be compared with that given to the writings of the New Testament; for the sacred books of all idolatrous religions were in the hands of the Priests only, while those of the early Christians were written for, addressed to, and confided to, the people. They are not memorials of a venerable antiquity, shrouded in mystery at their origin. The Christian society was already in existence, and had been rapidly spreading, for more than twenty years before the earliest of them appeared; nor are they scattered over a long period, but confined to one generation. That society, by whose wants they were elicited, was competent to undertake their guardianship. As for the literary acumen of the Fathers, who does not recognise powers of a high order, and native critical sagacity, in an Origen, a Eusebius, a Jerome? But the criticism which weighs external evidences of authorship, comparing them with internal indications, and controlling both by their consistency with each other, and with known facts,—criticism, as a science, in short, did not and could not exist, before the discovery of printing afforded unlimited facilities of comparison, and brought the co-operation of the whole learned world to bear upon individual effort. A sort of critical procedure, of course, attended

the formal determinations of the canon by different Councils in the course of the fourth century; but it was such as to confirm the idea just expressed. We have no record of the debates, if any, that took place at Laodicea, at Hippo, at Carthage; but we can judge, from the invaluable work of Eusebius, what were the materials on which the decisions were grounded. The external evidence of the *antilegomena*, when formally received into the canon, did not consist of individual testimonies;—it was the tradition of the whole Church in those countries to which those minor writings were first addressed, that overcame the scruples of distant Churches: and their internal evidence was of that higher kind which commends itself to the moral man. To say that there was little critical discernment, in the modern sense of the word, in either Christian or pagan antiquity, is not to weaken, but immeasurably to strengthen, the argument for the authenticity of the Scriptures: for the reasons which made the commission of literary frauds easy *then*, make their detection easy *now*; the same sort of simplicity, which let forged Sibylline oracles pass without suspicion, executed the forgery without art. An age little careful to collate manuscripts, to compare dates, to note peculiarities of style,—an age unobservant of local colours, or the nicer proprieties of scenes, times, and persons,—is, in the same proportion, incapable of imitating them. So that, while the essential contents of the New Testament Scriptures recommend themselves to all ages alike, as a Revelation of grace, which it could never have entered into the heart of man to conceive, there are also secondary characters of authenticity, which, so far from being artificially contrived, could not even have been appreciated in the age that produced them, or in any other, until the modern period of analysis and scientific criticism. The evidences of Revelation have increased with the lapse of centuries; they have literally grown with the development of mankind.

Several years passed, after the controversy with Baur, without the appearance of any new work from Thiersch's pen; and he was supposed to have withdrawn from the walks of sacred science, until last year gave evidence to the contrary. "The Church in the Apostolic Age, and the Origin of the New Testament Scriptures," (Frankfort and Erlangen, 1852,) is the first book of an ecclesiastical history, which the author proposes to continue in future volumes to the time of Leo the Great and the Council of Chalcedon. After the usual introduction, on the aspect presented by Heathenism and Judaism at the coming of our Lord, the book is divided into three chapters, devoted, respectively, to Peter, Paul, and John, considered as the successive agents of God in the foundation, extension, and organization of the Christian Church. The chapter on Peter's agency is an historical comment on the first twelve chapters of the Acts; that on Paul embraces the last sixteen chapters of Acts, with his own Epistles

and those of Peter and Jude; the materials of that on John are found in his writings and in sundry traditions. The transition between the first and second period is marked by the persecution under the first Herod Agrippa. The Jews having once more a ruler of their own nation, armed with the power of life and death, and he using it to persecute the Church, the Apostle of the Circumcision ceased to be the principal actor in Christian history: then Antioch, at first,—Ephesus afterwards,—became the metropolis of the Christian community. The supernatural powers given to Paul were at their height at Ephesus, as those of Peter had been at Jerusalem in the beginning. (Acts xix. 12; v. 15.) The Apostle evidently felt that Asia Minor, and Ephesus in particular, was the great centre of his activity; and for this reason, among others, he foresaw,—as we learn from the affecting farewell to the Elders of that city,—that the irruption of the heathenish false *gnosis* would take place there. Moreover, when, in his captivity, he occupied his thoughts with the heavenly being and calling of the Church, it is to Ephesus he addresses his instructions, as the place where Christendom had reached the consciousness of what it was. The transition between the second and third periods is the great Roman persecution, under the impure, cruel, and popularity-hunting Nero; a persecution which Thiersch supposes, from the expressions of Tacitus, to have been provoked by a sudden spread of Christianity in the Imperial City, such as Luke had not anticipated when he brought the Acts to a close. John, more calculated for building up, than for founding, Churches, subsequently took up his residence at Ephesus; and his agency there was so long-continued, and so powerful, as practically to supplant the remembrances of Paul in the churches of Asia Minor, as we see to be the case in the following century. At the time of his writings, the Church had attained that independence of Judaism for which Paul had so long struggled.

Our author has not forgotten his old adversaries of Tübingen. He tells them, that the essence of Heathenism is not polytheism, but creature-worship, whether the object of adoration be the spirit of nature itself, as in pantheism; or else, a giant rock, a white elephant, a beetle from the mud of the Nile, or a spear stuck in the ground. He reminds them, that the primitive Christians were so far from being Ebionites, that, in Trajan's time, as Ignatius lets us perceive, they had rather to struggle with the Docetic heresy,—the denial of the real humanity of Jesus. Hence the stress laid by John upon the incarnation, and his warning against idols, that is, imaginary Christs. When, at the close of the second century, Artemon, at Rome, asserted that faith in the Godhead of Christ was a novelty, he was refuted by the language of the old hymns and doxologies. The Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians is another irrefragable testimony: it

shows, that the Christians of Rome held the Godhead of Christ at the close of the first century; and the genuineness of the Epistle is undeniable. Dionysius of Corinth, writing eighty years afterwards, tells us, it was still read in that Church. Nor can this be alleged to be confined to those regions where the Christian faith was developed under the personal influence of Paul. The Churches of Egypt and Ethiopia, of Syria, Kurdistan, and India, were evangelized by other Apostles, or their disciples, and still retain the traces of their origin in numerous Jewish usages, unknown to the Greek and Latin Churches; yet we find them in the second century as far from Ebionitism as the Christians of the West, and agreeing in the common doctrine without a semblance of hesitation; showing, that the founders of the Christian Church in general must have held, along with Paul, the Deity of Christ, and the free calling of the Gentiles.

As the attempt to account for Christianity as a variety of the sect of the Essenes, was revived in England, a few years ago, by Mr. Hennel, in his "*Origin of Christianity*," it may be well to borrow a few notes on that subject from Thiersch. He observes, that Josephus, in describing the three Jewish sects, had evidently the Stoics, the Epicureans, and the Platonists before his eyes, and may, intentionally, or unintentionally, have made his picture conform to the analogy, even more than the reality did. We may add, the desire to raise the character of his countrymen in the eyes of foreign philosophers, seems to have made him exaggerate the importance of the Essenes: we hear so little from other writers about those of Judea and Syria, at least. John the Baptist might, far more readily than our Lord, be treated as a representative of those ascetics; yet, Josephus himself never dreamed of confounding him with them. The history of Paul, the sayings attributed to Jesus about the Scribes and Pharisees, and the long perseverance of the Jewish Christians in the usages of the law,—all show that Christianity arose on the ground of orthodox Judaism, and not of Essenism. The Jewish mystics dwelt upon the Mosaic, rather than the Davidic, character of Messias; they never attempted to reconcile the contemplative and active life. Both the Essenes and the mystic school of Alexandria denied the resurrection, because of their ideas about matter. Philo's conception of the creation is infected with pantheism; his spirits are emanations; matter, the principle of evil; and the doctrine of pre-existence deprived the fall of its significance. In short, there was nothing in common between Jewish mysticism and Christian realism; and the second chapter of the Epistle to the Colossians is the judgment of the primitive Church upon the former. We have a distinct historical notice of the relations of the Essenes with the Christians at a later period: Hegesippus mentions them as one of the Jewish sects who helped to disunite the original Church of Jerusalem, after the

reign of Adrian. We can understand, that the second destruction of Jerusalem helped to separate finally from the Synagogue the majority of a party whose connexion with it was already but feeble, and who found in the Ebionite section of the Judæo-Christians elements with which they had some affinity. Thiersch suggests, that the Jewish Kabbalists were probably the successors of those among the Essenes who remained faithful to the Synagogue. As for their fellows, the Therapeutæ of Lake Mœris, he thinks they must have gone over to Christianity, with arms and baggage. We know the Jewish temple at Leontopolis in Egypt was shut up soon after the destruction of that at Jerusalem.* The Therapeutæ are never heard of after Philo; and he himself had no successor. That Eusebius should have confounded them with Christians, may have arisen from imperfect notices of the fact, that they were absorbed by the Church. Other indications of it, and of the influence they exerted, are the connexion of the ascetic Gnostics with Egypt and Syria, and the subsequent rise of Christian monasticism in the same regions; its chosen seat being those very caverns of the Thebais, where the Therapeutæ had dwelt. Thiersch considers the apocryphal Epistle of Barnabas a monument of this movement of Jewish ascetics Christianward, and makes it older than the second Jewish war under Trajan and Adrian.

"The Apostolic Age" defends the great Pentecostal miracle satisfactorily from some popular objections. It is often asked, for instance, how the twelve spoke all at once, without confusion? and how those Jewish devotees, who heard them speak each in his *own* tongue, could discover that they appeared to others to speak in *their* tongues? Thiersch says, "We have only to suppose that groups, consisting each of them of natives of the same country, were upon their way to the temple together, at the hour of the morning sacrifice, and that the speaker who attached himself to each group, addressed them in their own language. The nations mentioned in Acts ii. 9, 11, did not all speak different languages, nor even different dialects; they are mentioned, because they were all really represented by the devotees living at Jerusalem, and were precisely those among whom the Church developed itself in the apostolic age; so that the historian probably took them as pledges of the work that was shortly after accomplished among their countrymen." Our author is not so happy in his reconciliation of the description of the gift of tongues in the second of Acts, with that given in the fourteenth chapter of 1 Corinthians, some five or six-and-twenty years later. "In Acts," he says, "there is no need of an interpreter; at Corinth, no mortal can understand the tongues without an interpreter, nor interpret without the Holy Ghost. In the former,

* JOSEPHI *Bel. Jud.* vii. 37 (30).

the hearer is profited; in the latter, the speaker: the one is given for the untaught, and the other is useless to them." His way of solving the difficulty is to say, that the Pentecostal gifts consisted of tongues of men, and the Corinthian of tongues of angels. This is, if we mistake not, the solution given "by the Spirit" among the Irvingites, when the uncouth sounds, uttered by the persons supposed to be in the Spirit, after passing for Chinese, were discovered not to be any human language at all. For our own part, we are inclined to doubt that there is any thing in the matter which needs reconciliation. The hearers at Jerusalem required no interpreter, apparently because they could all interpret; those at Corinth required one, apparently in cases where the language spoken was understood by a small minority of the assembly;—let us suppose, traders, or seamen, from a distance;—the speaker at the latter place could not always himself interpret, because that involved a collectedness and calm control over oneself, even in a state of ecstasy, which belonged only to the highest form of the gift. However, even if we were to suppose that the Pentecostal gift of tongues was but momentary, and that the term came afterwards to be applied to some other mysterious spiritual manifestations, we should much prefer leaving the matter obscure, to accepting Thiersch's explanation. It would present no handle to the adversary of revelation, but rather the reverse; for the obscurity of the allusions in the Epistle to the Corinthians results from the writer's consciousness that the phenomenon was perfectly well known to his immediate readers; so that, in the most natural and artless way, he makes the whole Corinthian Church witnesses that some wonderful manifestations of the kind did really take place among them. The gift of tongues, while serving a purpose of direct utility, as enabling men to speak languages they had not learned, seems to have been essentially designed as a sign of the present power of God, and a mighty symbol of the restoration of a principle of unity to mankind. Man's apostasy after the flood had been punished by a confusion of languages; the builders of the city of pride were made not to understand each other, because, in forgetting their relation to God, they had lost the real principle of unity among men: the builders of the city of God, on the contrary, were enabled to make themselves understood of all men, because they were sent to restore the lost secret of union. Hence, the gift was more important as a *sign*, than as a power of communicating thought. Cornelius and his household spoke "with tongues, and magnified God," even when there were no strangers present; (Acts x. 44-47;) and the impression left by what we read of the Pentecostal effusion, and in Corinthians, is that of short hymns and prayers, rather than discourses,—of a predominance of the emotional over the intellectual element.

We observed that the "Essay" had brought the history of

the first and second generation of Christians to illustrate inquiries into the origin of the apostolic writings. "The Apostolic Age" does the converse, and brings the writings to illustrate the history. Both works have the great merit of treating those two subjects as inseparably connected; but, in the one, criticism occupies the principal place, and, in the other, history. Thus the author goes over nearly the same ground as before, and enables us to see in what particulars his ideas have been confirmed, or changed, or modified, during the interval. He judiciously continues to reckon the Epistle of James the earliest, referring the oppression and blasphemy of rich men, spoken of in the second chapter, to the persecutions directed against the Christians by the Sadducean rulers of the day, to whom also is addressed the terrible apostrophe in the fifth chapter. The controversy with those who trusted in a dead faith, is not the result of any antagonism to Paul, or even to those who abused Paul's doctrine; for, if there were no other reason, Paul's doctrine was not yet public: but James had in view the dry orthodox Pharisees, who thought believing in the unity of God would save them, and pleaded for that idea the examples of Abraham and Rahab. The identity of that visit of Paul to Jerusalem, mentioned in Gal. ii., with the Council of Jerusalem, mentioned Acts xv., which is hesitatingly adopted by Neander, and controverted by Wieseler, in his "*Chronology of the Apostolic Age*," (Goettingen, 1848,) is maintained by Thiersch, and justified by the one simple reason, that the visit in question could neither be later nor earlier than the Council. Not later,—because Barnabas and Paul were still associated: (compare Gal. ii. 1 with Acts xv. 39 :) not earlier,—for we see that the older Apostles only gave the right hand of fellowship to Paul, because his apostolical calling had already been exhibited by successful labour: (Gal. ii. 7-9 :) his first missionary tour in Cyprus and Asia Minor must have preceded the interview. The question in Acts is about the rights of heathen Christians: in Galatians it is about the Apostleship of Paul, and was settled comparatively in private.

Perhaps there may be a little exaggeration in the way in which our author makes all the instances of faith chosen in the eleventh of Hebrews to bear, each of them separately, upon the circumstances of the Christians of Palestine, at the time that Epistle was written. However, he succeeds in making it very probable, that it was a time when the Hebrew Christians were shut out from participation in the ordinances of the temple-service, and were obliged thereby to come to a final decision between the Church and the Synagogue. Hegesippus implies, that James the Just was put to death shortly before the Jewish war; and, without building too much on the genuineness of the well-known passage in Josephus about the death of James, the context in which that passage appears, compared with the indications in

Hebrews, leads to the supposition, that there was a new, cruel, and systematic persecution of the Christians by the relentless Sadducee Ananus, after the death of Festus, about A.D. 63. This Epistle, then, exhibits the last words of instruction and warning addressed to the Hebrew Christians, by one who bore them upon his heart in that agonizing crisis of their religious history, in which, after having for thirty years united faith in Christ with zeal for the institutions of their fathers, they were at last obliged to give up one or the other. Is Paul the writer? Thiersch replies, The question is a secondary one. If some admirable picture attributed to Raphael were proved not to be his, we should not have a work of art the less, but a great painter the more; and if this letter were proved not to be Paul's, we should not have an inspired writing the less, but an apostolic writer the more. The Eastern Church attributed it to Paul from the outset; the Western had it not at first in their canon, and were afterwards, perhaps, slow to receive it, because the sixth chapter offered a handle to the exaggeratedly severe discipline of the Montanists and Novatians. It is hard, he continues, to find Paul in such language as that of chapter ii. 3, 4: it is hard not to recognise him in the last paragraph of the Epistle. Probably the thoughts were those of Paul, and the close written with his own hand. Tertullian's attributing the Epistle to Barnabas may be an indication that he was the immediate author under Paul's direction; thus introducing the Apostle to the Jews for the last time, as he had done at the commencement of his ministry. (Acts ix. 27.) It was no violation of the compact made between the Apostles as to the distribution of their labours, that Paul should write to the Hebrews, because altered circumstances had now superseded old arrangements, and Peter was actually at this time labouring among the heathen Christians. We must differ from Thiersch as to its being hard to find Paul in Heb. ii. 3, 4. It seems, on the contrary, worthy of his large heart, which made itself all things to all men, that he should leave in abeyance his own independent revelations connected with his Gentile Apostleship, and humbly take his place along with his readers, speaking of Christianity upon those grounds only on which they had received it. This is but the same condescending abdication of personal pretension to authority over them, which is implied by the absence of the usual apostolic exordium, and by the tone of the whole letter:—"I beseech you, brethren, suffer the word of exhortation." (xiii. 22.) We must also contest the supposition that the western Church had not the Epistle in their canon at an early period. The Epistle of Clement gives evidence of the contrary, and obliges us to suppose that the scruples felt at Rome, at the close of the second and in the third century, originated after the Epistle had been already received. As to the fact, noted by all competent judges since Origen, that the style of the Epistle is more finished than

that of Paul's undoubted letters, it can be accounted for by the elaborate character of the book, the only production of the Apostle assuming the character of a regular essay. That, in this Epistle alone, of all the books in the New Testament, the quotations never vary from the Septuagint, implies that this translation was held in peculiar estimation among the Hebrew Christians: a suggestion sustained by a fact which we do not remember to have seen insisted upon by any biblical critic,—that the Epistle of James and the Gospel of Matthew are among those New Testament writings which come nearest to the Hebrews in their use of the letter of the Septuagint.

The Rev. A. P. Stanley, in his "Sermons and Essays on the Apostolic Age," acknowledges himself largely indebted to Thiersch's "Essay;" and in treating of the three Apostles, as marking the respective phases of the primitive Church, he took nearly the same course which Thiersch pursues in the volume before us. We do not know whether the German critic is acquainted with the work of his English fellow-labourer; for he is somewhat negligent in noticing contemporaries: but certainly, had he borrowed largely in turn, his work would have gained by it. We may instance that part which treats of the First Epistle of Peter. Both writers agree in thinking Peter wished to identify his teaching with that of Paul, and discountenance the party that would have made him the Apostle of a counterfeit Christianity; but Stanley looks upon the Epistle as dated (v. 13) from the literal Babylon of Mesopotamia, addressing the Churches of Asia Minor in order, from east to west, from the hills of Pontus to the cities on the Ægean Sea. Thiersch, with the Fathers, takes Babylon for a mystic name of Rome, applies the term *διασπορά* (i. l.) to Gentile Christians, and overlooks, throughout the Epistle, the many indications that the writer considered himself as addressing Jewish converts in the first place. He accounts for the use of the metaphorical name, by supposing Nero's persecution had already begun, and extended to the provinces; (v. 8, 9;) but the way in which the Apostle speaks of his readers' trials, is much more like one sympathizing from a distance, than one actually writing from the centre from which the persecution had emanated, and where it still raged. Why, for instance, does he not ask for their prayers? Why is there nothing explicit about the suffering or patience of the Roman martyrs? The secret of our author's opinion is his leaning to everything that puts Peter in connexion with Rome. In the "Essay," he had already expressed himself convinced by Windischmann, that Peter had founded the Church at Rome; placing this event between the years 44 and 50, that is, between Peter's escape from Herod's prison, (Acts xii.,) and his re-appearance at Jerusalem, at the great conference about circumcision. (Acts xv.) Why Luke should leave the Apostle in the street, (Acts xii. 17,) without

saying a word of an event so important as his journey to the metropolis of the world, while he notices Paul's desire to see Rome, for years before he got there, (xix. 21; xxiii. 11,) is a difficulty which does not seem to have suggested itself. Since publication of the "Essay," this vexed question had been most thoroughly investigated by Wieseler, in a dissertation appended to his Chronology. The learned professor of Goettingen showed that there are good reasons to suppose that Peter was put to death at Rome, but that the legend of his having founded the Church in that city had no historical foundation: and, as it makes him Bishop of Rome for twenty-five years before his martyrdom, it contradicts everything that we know of apostolic history. No serious historian on the other side has a right to overlook Wieseler's arguments; yet Thiersch does not condescend to mention, much less to reply to, them; and he thinks it a valid plea for the tradition, to say, that when once Peter had to leave Jerusalem, he had no other sphere for his labours than Rome! as if the Apostle of the Circumcision had nothing to attract him towards those Jewish populations in the heart of Western Asia, whose numbers were so great that it was a well-known saying, "Whosoever dwells in Babylon, is as though he dwelt in the land of Israel."

Thiersch now connects the date of Mark's Gospel with his theory about Peter: he so far adopts the ideas of Wilke's *Urevangelist*, as to make Mark the earliest of the Gospels, and a foundation text for both Matthew and Luke, whom he still supposes to have written independently of each other, and at about the same time. The Gospel of Mark is therefore placed at about A.D. 44, to answer to the date of Peter's supposed visit to Rome. With a singular deference to sceptical criticism on the one hand, and to patristic tradition on the other, he admits that the last thirteen verses of Mark's Gospel were probably added later, and by another hand; and yet he tries to save Clement of Alexandria's assertion that the Gospels with the genealogies were written first, by suggesting that the Gospel may have remained a private manuscript until the death of Peter, and that the addition coincided with its public recognition. It is not so easy to associate criticism and tradition in the case of the Apocalypse. Here, decidedly, external evidence preponderates for the reign of Domitian; and Thiersch, in the "Essay," had professed himself satisfied on the subject by the labours of J. C. R. Hofman; yet the idea that it was written in the reign of Galba, and under the impression of Nero's persecution, is becoming more and more prevalent. Thiersch does not now venture to conclude peremptorily against the former date, but thinks it more probable that the heavenly Jerusalem was exhibited just as the earthly was about to disappear. At least he so expresses himself when discussing the subject directly. Whenever he has occasion to revert to it after-

wards, he always takes the earliest date as a settled thing; so that his hesitations in the first instance were no more than a tribute of respect to the Fathers,—a sort of reluctance to differ with them, until out of sight. Some fifty pages off, he even builds his argumentation about the ecclesiastical government of the first century, in a great measure, upon the supposition that the office of *Angel* of the Church was created during the life-time of several of the Apostles; and, indeed, we shrewdly suspect, that it was the possibility of making this polemical use of the Angels of the Seven Churches, that turned the balance with him in favour of the earlier date. He suggests that the difference in tone between the historical and prophetic parts of Isaiah, illustrates that difference between the styles of the Apocalypse and the Gospel of John, which has been such a stumbling-block to the learned.

It appeared in the "Essay," though but incidentally, that the author held the common opinion of St. Paul's having been twice in prison. "The Apostolical Age" gives it up. The "Essay" hesitated about the time when the pastoral Epistles were written; "The Apostolical Age" propounds a positive, but most infelicitous, theory. It places the Epistle to Titus after the Apostle's second journey, the Nicopolis of chap. iii. 12 being the city of that name in Cilicia; the First Epistle to Timothy during some unimportant absence that interrupted Paul's three years' stay at Ephesus; the Second Epistle to Timothy, with Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon, during the two years' confinement at Cæsarea. So that the Apostle's solemn presentiment, "I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand," (2 Tim. iv. 6,) was an illusion. His exclamation, "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness," &c., (7, 8,) is no longer the calm triumph of the aged soldier of Christ on the eve of martyrdom. The general desertion of which he complains, (16,) standing alone under the shadow of impending death, ceases to be a last lesson not to reckon overmuch on the courage and sympathies of others. Thiersch does not tell us how Onesiphorus came to find the Apostle in Rome, (i. 17,) when he was in Cæsarea! but he does tell us that Cæsar's house (Phil. iv. 22) must mean the family of the royal freed-man Felix! and that the prætorium (i. 13) may mean Herod's palace in Cæsarea! One's first impression, on reading such determinations as these, is unmixed astonishment, that a man who has hitherto displayed a sound critical judgment, and a vivid sense of historical reality, should thus trifle with the plainest evidence, in favour of a theory which has not one solitary element of probability to recommend it, the suggestion of which is even, at first sight, unaccountable. However, the enigma is speedily resolved: in the same person, the

critic has been sacrificed to the theologian: it is in the interests of Thiersch's hierarchical system to carry as high up as possible the institution of the system of Church-government which appears in the pastoral Epistles; and so that whole order of the development of the New Testament Scriptures, to the determination of which he had himself so much contributed, must be thrown into confusion, in order to have Presbyters and Deacons a few years earlier!

To resume the modifications which the chronology of the "Essay" receives as a whole in the present work: they consist in the earlier date and in the character of a foundation text attributed to the Gospel of Mark, in the earlier date of the Apocalypse, and in the referring to the time of the imprisonment at Cæsarea those Epistles which belong to the imprisonment at Rome.

The great blots upon Thiersch's labours as a critic are,—in the first place, his putting facts to the torture in order to serve doctrinal purposes; and, in the second place, his servility wherever patristic tradition is concerned. He carries this so far, that, while recognising the Epistle of Jesus Christ to Abgarus, King of Edessa, to be a forgery, he intimates there may really have been a correspondence, now lost! He suspects the Creed to be of apostolic origin. He dwells, for pages long, on the puerile legends about Mark's arranging the details of the ecclesiastical constitution of Egypt, as it existed ages afterwards; the consecration of the Bishop of Alexandria by twelve Elders, &c. The utterly contradictory traditions about the succession of the Bishops of Rome, that we find in Irenæus, Tertullian, and Eusebius, he tries to explain by supposing that there were at first separate episcopal jurisdictions in that great city, instead of learning from such a startling fact not to depend upon the Fathers for ecclesiastical traditions of minor importance. Stanley has well observed, in the work above referred to, that the most positive and circumstantial appeal to tradition in all Christian antiquity, is that which accompanies Irenæus's statement, that the most active part of the Lord's ministry was between the fortieth and fiftieth years of his age. Thiersch knows that Tertullian and Cyprian, Cyril of Alexandria, Gregory, Jerome, and Chrysostom, could maintain that the dispute between the two Apostles at Antioch was a mere preconcerted collusion. He himself tells us that Augustine and other Latins thought the First Epistle of John was addressed to the Parthians, because they mistook *Πρὸς Παρθένους*, an old heading of the Second Epistle, for a proper name. Yet all this, and much more like this, does not shake his respect for the utterances of antiquity. At the same time there are important points on which "The Apostolic Age" is unduly influenced by contemporaneous sceptical criticism: *e. g.* "Undeniably Luke wrote the history (Acts)

with a view to reconcile the Jewish Christians to Paul ;" and, in accordance with this, he represents Luke as purposely silent about Paul's rebuke of Peter, and the recognition of Paul's apostleship by the three pillars of the Jerusalem Church. The objections of the sceptic acting upon the spirit of the hierarchist, he attributes Mark's silence about the incarnation and ascension to a Jesuitical tendency, which he calls a "holy reserve."

We are told in the preface, "This undertaking is not a part of my new calling as Pastor in the apostolical Churches; it is rather an echo of my early labours as teacher of theology." Yet, he attributes to his present experience clearer light as to what the Church was at the first, and the influence of Irvingism is manifest in all his doctrinal and ecclesiastical conceptions. He puts the question, whether the Holy One assumed the nature of the present, or that of the paradisiacal man, as if there were two human natures, instead of one, and the same nature in an original, or in a fallen and corrupt, state; and he resolves the question in these words: "The Son assumed into the unity of his person that human nature which was fallen and smitten with the curse." (*Vom Fluch getroffen.*) Again, he believes that as Christ, so also the Church, was called to exhibit practically, that there can be such a thing as a human development without sin; but in this he owns there has been hitherto failure. In general he takes the low and materialist—what the Germans call the *five-finger*—side of things, giving Divine intervention in human history a mechanical character. Thus he supposes the various races at Babel were suddenly changed in their physical characteristics,—that the Caucasian became a Negro by a degrading transformation, previous to all climatic influences. Like the Fathers, he is so jealous of lay agency in religious matters, that when he finds in the New Testament any private Christian distinguished by his zeal and activity, he sets him down at once among the seventy disciples, or else the hundred and twenty; and for the same reason the believing men and women, greeted at the close of the Romans, must needs be all of them Church officers. When the Apostle John, speaking of that sound, divinely-taught discernment, which would keep the humble believer from the proud speculations of Gnosticism, says, "Ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things;" (xi. 20;) this means, in our author's opinion, that the proper official organization would keep them safe; the hierarchical staff was complete! If Paul rebuked Peter at Antioch, it was because he was in the field of his own apostleship: he would not have done so at Jerusalem! If Luke speaks in the first person, from Acts xvi. 10 onward, it is not because he joined the Apostle at Troas, but, doubtless, he was there ordained to be an Evangelist, and so, from being nobody, became somebody, and had a right to reckon himself one of the apostolic band. The scenes in the Apocalypse

(iv. and v.) show that the order of the ancient Christian *basilica* is as old as John, with the Bishop's throne behind, and the Elders round the altar. The Second Epistle of John is addressed not to an elect lady, but to a Church; and since she has daughters, it follows that metropolitanism is apostolical! Thiersch accounts for the absence of a Christian altar and Priesthood at the first, only by the prolonged existence of the Jewish: they could not co-exist, since both were of God; but the New Testament Hierarchy was introduced as soon as the old was gone; and if Israel had entered into the New Covenant, far more of the peculiarities of Mosaism would have been retained in it: the Bishop of Jerusalem would have been "a kind of Christian High Priest,"—a legitimate Pope, in fact. Instead of understanding the Jewish festivals as shadows of the *substance* of the spiritual blessings of the New Covenant, he seems to represent them as shadows of its *forms*. The unity and solidity of the old Catholic Church, with her Bishops and Metropolitans, her discipline, festivals, fasts, liturgies, &c., all must be attributed to the authority of John. He forgets, what he had himself observed in the "Essay," that the famous controversy about Easter, between the Churches of the West and those of Asia Minor, proves that there had been no apostolic order established about the festival that was esteemed the most important of all. "The Greek and Latin Mass," he exclaims, "would never, during thousands of years, have developed itself out of a Protestant preaching meeting." This is possibly true. The deep and earnest religious feeling of the primitive Christians, and their fervent sympathies with each other, as members of one family, animated by one spirit, led them to celebrate the Lord's Supper oftener than we do, and made that holy ordinance occupy a more central place in their worship than in ours, so as to give occasion in subsequent ages to a form of evil different from that which a degenerate Protestantism would take: but, let us ask, which is most in harmony with the spirit of primitive Christian worship,—the Protestant preaching,—or the Mass, be it Greek, Latin, Puseyite, or Irvingite?

Notwithstanding the supreme importance he attaches to the subject, Thiersch is not very clear in exposing the chronological development of that primitive organization, which is with him an essential condition of collective religious life. The Apostles first, of course; Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors, or Teachers, were also from the beginning; Elders appear after a few years. With almost all modern writers, he holds that "Bishop" and "Elder" designated the same office. He allows that Paul seems to have delayed establishing the system of local government by Elders in most of the Gentile Churches for some years after their formation. Timothy and Titus are not Bishops, in the modern sense of the word, but apostolical Legates, receiving powers at once more extended and more temporary than the modern Bishop. The

first examples of episcopacy, properly so called, are those of St. James, at Jerusalem, and St. Peter, at Rome: then the Angels of the seven Churches exhibit the system established in Asia Minor under the eyes of John, and just as the Jewish temple with its institutions had perished, or was about to perish. The Angel was overseer of the Elders, as the latter were of the laity; and the way in which he is reproached (Rev. ii. 3) for the unfaithfulness of the Church, proves that both it and its Ministers were bound to obey him; he was no *primus inter pares*. The Bishops are not successors of the Apostles; for they existed under the Apostles; so there was no interregnum between the apostolic government and the episcopal. Paul was not a thirteenth Apostle, but the first of a new set which ought to have continued; and the ancient legend that John did not die, with the expectation still extant in the Greek liturgy that he is to return, are symptoms of the Church's instinctive aspiration after continuous apostolic government. The present book enters into no explanations as to how the Church became widowed of Apostles: that is probably reserved for the following volume. Whatever is peculiar in the author's system evidently rests upon the supposition, that the Angels of the Asiatic Churches are *bond fide* men,—flesh, blood, and mitre,—not personifications of the Churches; this is the point on which the whole theory depends, the apex of the inverted pyramid. Mr. Stanley believes the Angels of the Churches to be as figurative as those of the trumpets, the vials, the winds, and the waters, in the same book; adding that this was the interpretation of the passage by Origen, and the popular view of it in the middle ages.

Thiersch tries to account for the absence of any stress upon forms and hierarchical institutions in the Epistles, by their being written to Churches already organized. Assuming this reason to be satisfactory, there are other troublesome questions in reserve: How comes the only authentic historical record of those times to be so very meagre in its details about organization? And when it does furnish any notices of these matters, why are they mentioned only incidentally, and left in the back-ground, as of secondary importance? Thus we come to know that there were Elders in the Churches of Judea, merely because the Christians of Antioch sent them the money they had collected; (Acts xi. 30;) but of their institution there is no account. Again, if the Angels of the seven Churches be Bishops, then this order was instituted as silently, and is noticed as incidentally, as the order of Presbyters had previously been. Our author assures us that the Elders of the Churches of Judea, introduced upon the scene with so little pomp and circumstance, must have been of the hundred and twenty, or of the great number of Jewish Priests who had embraced the faith. It were but trifling to discuss the merits of this conjecture; but the stubborn fact remains, that the general conception of Christian feeling and Christian activity

which we find in the historical and doctrinal parts of the New Testament, is something very different from what it ought to be according to the theories of "The Apostolical Age." As to that strongly constituted and life-dispensing Hierarchy, which floats before the eyes of Thiersch with radiant halo,—instead of showing it to us in the Bible, he is perpetually giving specious reasons why it does not happen to be there. He thinks he can detect vestiges of it here and there, but does not pretend to exhibit the history of its institution as a whole, nor of the greater part of it in detail. He cannot produce any explicit doctrinal statement of its authority, or historical reference to its exercise; and that, though the relations of Paul with his fellow-Apostles, and his conflicts with false teachers, especially at Corinth, were calculated to draw out the theory of such a system, if it existed, and to exhibit it practically at work. The way taken by Romanists and Irvingites to escape the difficulty is, boldly to affirm that the Bible is insufficient, and required to be completed by a living authority; but even this desperate resource does not explain why the New Testament and the living authority should be so little consistent with each other. Divine sources gushing, on this hypothesis, from the same fountain, and yet holding altogether different elements in solution! No: the theory that is obliged to put tradition *beside* the Scriptures, is obliged in all sound logic to put tradition *instead of* the Scriptures, as soon as it conveniently can. Whether it has done so, or not, let history testify.

The desire for a living infallible authority, wherever it exists, ignores the difference between the period of creation, and the period of Divine sustaining energy, in the work of Redemption. Man stood in need of authority, because he wanted a message of saving help from heaven; but the Messenger has come,—the Son himself, that we might behold in Him the glory of the Father's holiness and tenderness; and He has accomplished in his death and resurrection the mighty act of a new creation. That work once performed, and interpreted by the same Spirit through whom it was performed, it remains to the end of time an adequate, all-sufficient Revelation of the Blessed God. The Old Testament is the record of Redemption being prepared; the New Testament, of Redemption effected and applied. In the former, the authority of a coming Redeemer communicated itself to those who were sent to prepare his way; in the latter, He speaks by the disciples whom He has chosen. These are not, like the inspired writers of the Old Testament, spread over many ages: they are essentially witnesses of his resurrection, (Acts i. 22; ii. 32; iii. 15; iv. 33; &c., &c.,) confined to one generation, and their ministry complementary to their Master's, that He may finish in them the instructions He had begun to leave us. Hence the Church is said to be built on the foundation of the New Testament Apostles, and Prophets, as the first layer in the goodly

structure; (Eph. ii. 20;) hence the names of the twelve Apostles of the Lamb—and no more than twelve—are written on the *foundations* of the heavenly Jerusalem. (Rev. xxi. 14.) It was a ministry of creation, and not one that was to continue. From henceforth it is over with human visible authorities; the voice of the Bridegroom Himself has been heard: after speaking by his Son, God can send no meaner messenger; the secret of redeeming love once told, no holier revelation can be reserved in heaven. It is true, weak and erring man feels the need of receiving help through a very present channel, and of tendering obedience to a living master; but Jesus in person ever lives to make intercession for those who come to God by Him, and gives his Holy Spirit to them that ask Him. And here lies the danger and the guilt of the system of authority, be it Romanist or Irvingite: instead of inviting the sinner to put himself in living personal relation with the Saviour, he is given over to delegated functionaries, who are to provide him with a creed and practices ready made, dispensing him from any exercise of his own moral being, except the act that abdicates it. The returning prodigal, instead of being sent to his Father's arms, is directed to the upper servants of the house. The principle of Protestantism—that the Scriptures are a fixed and sufficient rule of faith and life—is equally hostile to *Rationalism*, which, suppressing authority altogether, leaves man no resources out of himself, and changes religion into philosophy,—and to *Materialism*, which, perpetuating authority, keeps God out of its horizon, and changes religion into superstition. On the Protestant principle, the attitude given to authority produces, instead of superseding, faith; the object of faith and the believing subject are both in their places: with Rationalism there is no object of faith at all; with Materialism there is no believing subject, but only the mechanical repeater of a creed. Those apparently hostile extremes agree in keeping their disciples aloof from contact with God. You scornful sceptic, and you credulous devotee, are brothers in unbelief!

While obliged to judge "The Apostolic Age" severely, we do not wish to be ungrateful to its author, or to forget the eminent services some of his works have rendered. Many pious minds instinctively shrink from the sort of controversy he carried on with the school of Tübingen: its very perusal seems not merely distasteful, but unwholesome. This nauseating cavilling of sceptical criticism against all that is holy and true, seems at first to loosen our own hold upon it, as the moral tone is apt to be lowered by intercourse with certain types of degraded character; or, as minds previously healthy are sometimes unsettled by long and close contact with the insane. To have to defend the history of Jesus Christ, and of the immediate effects of His appearance on the world, in a series of petty discussions, in which the majesty of His presence, and the immensity of the interests at

stake, seem to disappear, is humiliating. It is as if one had to defend a bosom friend from some base accusation by cross-examining witnesses, while the heart acquits him for a higher reason,—because it cannot be mistaken in him. But the labour spent on this controversy is not lost: false criticism in history, like heresy in doctrine, has served to draw attention to matters which would otherwise pass unnoticed. It is well that infidelity, immediately after recognising the necessity of explaining the life of Christ, if it would rid itself of Christ, has been next obliged to recognise the necessity of annihilating the history of the first and second centuries, if it would rid itself of the New Testament. It is well to have learned, that the closer we are obliged to scan all remaining indications of the state of things after the appearance of Jesus Christ, the plainer the evidence, that a new principle of religious life, communicated to mankind from heaven, was at work in the world.

ART. II.—*The Papers of the London Missionary Society.*

THE startling intelligence, recently brought to this country, of the wonderful change that has taken place in Madagascar, through the voluntary surrender, by the old Queen, of all her authority to her son, who is an avowed Christian, has revived, towards that noble island, an interest which had almost expired. The bitter, bloody, and wholesale persecution, to which those who had embraced Christianity have been exposed by the demoniac fury of the two men who held paramount influence over the Queen, was supposed to have quenched almost the last spark of that faith in the island; and, in the utter dearth of intelligence from thence, arising from the entire exclusion of Europeans from the interior, the subject had almost sunk into oblivion. It was looked upon as being, at least for the present, a hopeless case, unless, by some miracle of Providence, the Malagasy could be roused into resistance against the Government, and thus a national convulsion should burst asunder the tyrannical fetters by which they were enthralled.

It now, however, appears that a new instance has occurred, to justify the adage, that the "blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church." So far has the persecution of the professors of Christianity in Madagascar been from eradicating that faith, that it has, as in other cases, had a directly contrary effect. As the number of victims has increased, so have believers multiplied,—the patience, firmness, and confidence of the martyrs, whilst sealing the truth with their blood, having forced on the minds of thousands a conviction of the power and efficacy of a religion that could produce such effects upon its votaries.

There is perhaps no place on the face of the globe, within reasonable reach of civilization, respecting which there exists a greater deficiency of general information, than the island of Madagascar. Whilst British commerce and enterprise have insinuated themselves into every remote corner of the earth, this noble country, although lying in the direct route to our East India possessions, is more a *terra incognita* to the rising generation than China itself; and its five millions of inhabitants are almost as much strangers to us as those of Kamtschatka or Terra-del-Fuego.

The fact is, only two works of any extent, on the history of Madagascar, have ever been published in the English language, —namely, that by Copland, in 1822, after the visit of Prince Rataffé; and that of Ellis, in 1836. Both these works were speedily out of print;* so that the information they contained is confined to those who possess copies. With the view, therefore, both of conveying a portion of intelligence, and stimulating further inquiry, we propose giving a short account of the past and present condition of Madagascar, and of its future prospects.

The island of Madagascar extends from 12° to 25° 40' south latitude, and from 43° 41' to 50° 30' east longitude from the meridian of London. It is nine hundred miles in length, from north to south, and about three hundred broad, in its widest part, from east to west, and contains about two hundred millions of acres of land. It lies at the distance of six hundred and seventy leagues north-east of the Cape of Good Hope; one hundred and eighty-six from the Isle of France, or Mauritius; one hundred and fifty from the Isle of Bourbon; and about eighty-seven from Mozambique, on the African coast, which gives name to the dangerous channel flowing between them.

The name (Madagascar) of this island does not appear to be of *native origin*; nor, in fact, have the aborigines any specific name for it, but speak of it in a kind of periphrasis, as *Izao rehetra Izao*, which signifies, "All this entirely;" *Ni tany rehetra*, or, "All this country;" *Ny univony Ny riaka*, "The in-the-midst-of-the-flood," or, "The Island;" and it is remarkable that this latter designation is applied to Madagascar only, the word "Nossy" being used for "Island" in every other case, as "Nossy Hibrahim," applied to Isle St. Mary.† No clue appears to have been discovered, showing to what language the name it now bears with us belongs.

The coast of Madagascar is throughout intersected at short intervals by rivers, many of which are navigable for a consider-

* The Honourable East India Company took forty copies of Copland's work; and, as the edition was only five hundred copies, it was soon absorbed.

† The writer of the article "Madagascar," in the seventh edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," assumes that the name Malagache (of which Madagase may be a corruption) indicates an Asiatic origin.

able distance, and have excellent bays and gulfs at their embouchures, affording safe anchorage for shipping. The Bay of Antongil in the north-east part of the island, of Tamatave in the east, of Port Dauphin in the south-east, and of St. Augustine in the south-west, are remarkably good, and would contain large fleets in perfect safety.

A chain of mountains runs throughout nearly the whole length of the island from south to north, and regulates its division into the twenty-two provinces. From these mountains descend numerous rivers and streams, which irrigate and fertilize the low grounds. These in some parts are marshy for want of draining; but the general appearance of the country is beautiful in the extreme, and in many parts bold and romantic. Whilst the dense and tangled forests, revelling in tropical luxuriance, overhang the higher grounds, the rich alluvial plains graze innumerable herds of fine cattle and sheep, or wave with crops of rice, maize, barley, and other cereal productions, which are extensively cultivated by the inhabitants. In the vicinity of these fields are situated the towns and villages, many of them exceedingly picturesque, being built on elevated spots, and surrounded with beautiful fruit-bearing and other trees.

The soil of most of these extensive plains is a rich *alluvium*, composed of the mingled *débris* of decayed mineral and vegetable matter, and requires but little artificial aid to render it productive. The climate is good, except in the rainy season, (January and February,) when the *malaria* from the marshes compels the natives to retire to the mountains, in order to avoid the fevers which then prevail. The cultivation also of the red rice, which grows only upon the low grounds, and requires artificial irrigation, increases both the humidity and the unhealthiness of the climate; the water being allowed to evaporate from the fields, after the artificial inundation.

Although agriculture is extensively practised, it is in its rudest form. The natives have neither ploughs, harrows, working cattle, nor wheel-carriages of any kind. Horses were unknown, as well as wheel-carriages, until the French attempted to colonize the island. Barley, maize, beans, peas, rice, potatoes, and yams, are the chief vegetable products of the farms. Many of the farmers are rich in cattle and grain, and some of them do not know the number of their herds. There is no regular or legal appropriation of the land, any portion that is unoccupied being free to the first comer, who, however, pays a quit-rent to the Chief of the district, who is also the lord of the soil. If the first occupier quits it, any other person may take possession; but no one is allowed to infringe upon his neighbour's occupation. Both men and women are employed in the cultivation of the fields. Great numbers of fowls and pigs are reared by the farmers; but the latter are consumed only by the lower class of the people,

The towns are usually built on commanding eminences, and are surrounded by strong stockades, the entrances being shielded by the ends of the stockades projecting beyond each other, and forming a narrow passage between. Outside the stockades is a ditch or moat, six feet deep, and eight or ten wide; and on the inner side, next the town, is a bank of earth. The houses consist of one floor only, and are usually built of thick planks, with a steep roof thatched with the leaves of the bamboo or the raven palm. Many of those of the Rhoandrians display much taste and elegance, being surrounded with fruit-bearing and other trees of tropical production, amongst which the raven palm is the chief favourite.

According to Mr. Ellis, there are two distinct predominating races of people in Madagascar, who may be considered the *aborigines*, although the question, which were the first on the island, or at what period they arrived, is involved in impenetrable obscurity, — the common case of nations destitute of a written language, as was that of Madagascar until about three hundred years ago, when, it is said, the Arabs conquered the island. These two races are the Blacks, with woolly hair, evidently identical with the negro race of the opposite coast of Mozambique; and the Olives, with long black hair, who are as palpably descended from

“That singular and astonishing race, whose source is yet involved in mysterious uncertainty, but

‘ Whose path is on the mountain wave,
Whose home is on the sea;’

whose spirit of adventurous enterprise led them, at a period when navigation was almost unknown in Europe, to visit the borders of Africa and Asia, and whose descendants now people the shores of the Straits of Malacca, the Malayan Archipelago, and the chief clusters of the Polynesian Islands.”*

These latter are by far the most numerous in Madagascar, and also excel the former in their intellectual powers and habits, and in their other peculiarities of mind, which fit them for the highest attainments in arts, science, and literature. These two races constitute the bulk of the inhabitants; and whatever other types of humanity there are in Madagascar, they must be considered interlopers, deriving their origin from strangers accidentally led or brought thither. Such are to be found there, of all intermediate complexions between coal-black and dingy-white.

There are some peculiarities observable in the natives, which render their antiquity of possession still more enigmatical. One is, the universal practice of circumcision, which must have been derived from some of the descendants of Abraham. In fact, they have, like the Arabs, many names peculiar to the family of that Patriarch, and the Isle St. Mary is called Nossy Hibrahim, or Abraham’s Isle; the origin of which is lost in the same obscu-

* Ellis.

city. Many of their customs, also, both civil and religious, are analogous to those of the ancient Patriarchs, and would seem to carry back their history to a very remote period, even previous to, or during, the settlement of Jacob's family in Egypt. This is the opinion of some writers on the subject; and it is certainly borne out by other of their customs besides that of circumcision.

Their religion is of a peculiar cast, approaching as near to what is called the religion of nature, as any religious system we are acquainted with. They acknowledge only one God, the Creator of all things, whom they call *Zanharè*, or "the God above." But with this they couple a belief in a multitude of inferior spirits, the Penates or household gods of the country, whose images they retain in their houses, and who are invoked as mediators on all occasions, although they never consider them as being directly objects of worship. It is probable that this has led the French writers on Madagascar to represent them as being free from idolatry. Being Roman Catholics, these writers would scarcely call a system idolatrous, which approached in its features so near to their own. A close inspection, however, of this system by the Missionaries revealed the fact, that, although the Malagasy have neither temples nor stated times or places for united worship, they possess all the essential elements, and practise individually the rites, of the grossest idolatry. Their inferior deities are invoked through the medium of an *Oli* or *Ody*, which is a kind of *Teraphim*; and this medium, like the cross in Romish worship, is used in all their domestic arrangements, and is frequently worn by the heads of families, as a charm against evil spirits and evil influences. They believe in the immortality of the soul, and that at death it returns to *Zanharè*; but, with this, they have no idea of future punishments, or of sin. They offer animal sacrifices, but do not, like the Jews, take males only. Every man, too, is his own Priest and sacrificator; and the offerings are votive, and made to secure temporal blessings,—not to atone for sin. It is worthy of remark, that a day of rest—in fact, a Sabbath—is universally observed, not as a religious institution, but as a humane civil appointment of a total cessation from compulsory labour, the particular day for its observance not being arbitrarily fixed, but left to the discretion and convenience of the parties who observe it.

In many respects, as we have stated, the religion of the Malagasy might be considered as a degenerate type of that of the patriarchal ages; whilst in others it approaches as near to that which some modern philosophers have extolled under the name of "natural religion," as any in the known world. And what are its fruits? With highly intellectual endowments, we find them addicted to intemperance, sensuality, revenge, and cruelty, and to every vice debasing to humanity. And thus, in all ages of the world, as well as in all countries and all conditions of

society, from that of ultra-polished Athens of old to semi-barbarous Madagascar of the present day, Heathenism, whilst it envelops the mind of its votaries in a mantle of senseless superstition, at the same time makes provision for the gratification of every evil passion, by ascribing to their deities the same propensities, and by even deifying, in some instances, those very propensities themselves. Experience daily renders the fact more obvious and conclusive, that the Gospel of Christ is the only agent capable of refining the mind and the heart, and of rendering them the abode of purity and virtue.

With respect to the mental qualities of the Malagasy, there is every reason to believe that they are naturally quite on a par with Europeans, and capable of the highest intellectual cultivation. A more remarkable instance in proof of this opinion could not be adduced than that of Radama, the late Sovereign of the island. This great man—for he deserved that character—exhibited, from his earliest youth, a shrewdness and good sense, as well as good feeling, that eminently qualified him for conferring the most extensive benefits upon the people over whom he afterwards reigned. A singular anecdote, alike characteristic of the domestic manners of the people, and of the filial sentiment—most delicately expressed—of Radama, is related by Mr. Ellis:—

“When quite a child, having observed that his father and mother had some dispute, and that the latter had been sent from home divorced, he contrived one day, during his father's absence, to get a chicken, which he tied to the leg of a chair in the house. His father, on his return, inquired who had done this; and was told, ‘Radama.’ The child was called, and asked why he had so treated the little chicken? He replied, ‘*It is a little chicken crying for its mother.*’ Impoina (his father) took the hint, and sent for his wife home; and the dispute which had separated them terminated.”

The after-life of Radama fully realized the mental promise of his early years. At the period when Le Sage, the first British agent, visited the capital, (Tananarivoo,) he certainly found the monarch seated on his native mat on the ground, clothed in his native “lamba,” there being neither chair nor table in his house; but, even then, amidst all this want of the common indications of civilized life, the conduct and manners of Radama were far superior to those of his countrymen; his address was agreeable and prepossessing, and marked by politeness. This was in 1816; subsequently to which date, a rapid expansion of mind was observable from his intercourse with the British; and he grasped eagerly at every plan that was calculated to improve the character and civilize the manners and habits of the people. The establishment of schools for their education, the abolition of the slave-trade and of infanticide, and the cordial patronage afforded to the Christian Missionaries, were the moral means of improve-

ment adopted by him ; whilst the substitution of European clothing and modes of living, the building and furnishing of houses, the system of warfare and agriculture, and the promotion of commerce and manufacturing industry, were rapidly changing the social character and condition of the Malagasy ; when the death of this noble-minded man put a stop to the measures which he had originated, but which were succeeded by a retrogressive policy, most disastrous and unfortunate to the nation.

The population of Madagascar is reckoned at from four and a half to five millions. This estimate is deduced from the number of houses, which was ascertained, by Prince Corollar, from the accounts of the Government officials of the respective districts, to be upwards of a million. It is believed that the population was much more numerous in former times,—the decrease being easily accounted for, by the devastating wars, the practice of infanticide, the slave-trade, and other less obvious, but still fatal, causes, which have extensively operated to reduce it, since its intercourse with Europeans. Whole ranges of deserted villages, and of ancient rice-grounds, abandoned and overgrown with brushwood, mark the degree to which these scourges have depopulated the country. The female sex is said greatly to predominate,—a fact which is accounted for by the fearful waste of life amongst the males in their frequent and barbarous wars. In all uncivilized countries human life is little valued ; and the frequent infliction of the punishment of death for trivial, and even imaginary, offences, in Madagascar, whilst it marks the despotic sway of the Chiefs, and is equally indicative of the absence of those milder principles and dispositions which an advanced state of society exhibits, falls chiefly on the male portion of the population. It is justly believed, that this island is capable of sustaining a population of more than 25,000,000.

The form of government is that of a despotic monarchy, modified only by the influence of the sacerdotal hierarchy, who hold both the people and the Sovereign in entire subjection. The succession to the throne is nominally hereditary, but not necessarily so. The Sovereign appoints his immediate heir, and frequently extends his appointment to three or four successors, and fixes the line for future generations. A remarkable and characteristic custom, however, prevails in Madagascar, in this respect. The children of the Sovereign's wife, *unless she also be of the royal stock*, are not eligible to succeed to the throne. This custom is founded on the supposed universal laxity of morals, in regard to the matrimonial fidelity of the women, (although bound thereto by law and custom,) which, it is generally assumed, renders the legitimacy of the royal offspring doubtful. Thus, the principal wife of Radama, though descended from a Sacalava Chief, was not of the royal blood of his ancestors ; and, consequently, her children could not legally inherit. Accordingly, Rakotobè, the

son of his eldest sister, was, in general terms, acknowledged by himself, and recognised by the Chiefs and people, as his heir.

Of the twenty-two provinces into which Madagascar is divided, the most important is Ankvoa, in which the capital—Tananarivoo—is situated, and where the Government holds its seat. The Hovas, who inhabit this province, are more numerous, industrious, ingenious, and wealthy, than those of any other province. They are chiefly of the Olive race, and display remarkable intelligence and aptitude for acquiring the arts of civilization. The capital is situated in the district of Imerina, and is, as nearly as possible, in the centre of the island. Its name signifies "a thousand towns;" and certainly a city containing 20,000 inhabitants, which is built with considerable attention to regularity and convenience, and in which the reigning Monarch possesses two regal palaces, furnished in European style, may well justify the vanity of the semi-barbarous and simple-minded Malagasy, in bestowing on it so pompous a name. It occupies the summit of a hill, five hundred feet above the level of the adjacent valley, and seven thousand feet above the level of the sea. It commands an extensive prospect of the surrounding country, embracing in the *coup-d'œil* not fewer than a hundred smaller towns and villages.

The customs and manners of the Malagasy are, in many respects, simple and inoffensive; whilst, in others, they resemble all other heathen nations. In social and domestic life they exhibit an easy indolence, the effect, in some respects, of climate and situation. Polygamy is universally practised, every man being at liberty to have as many wives as he can maintain; but the first wife is always looked upon as superior to the rest, and in her case alone the marriage ceremonies are observed. The women are treated with great attention and tenderness, and their society appears to be much enjoyed by the men. Either party is allowed to separate at pleasure; and, on such occasions, a restitution of dowry takes place. The law against infidelity on the part of a wife inflicts the same fine as the law against theft, in the case of a *commoner's* wife; but, in that of the wife of a *Chief* or *Sovereign*, infidelity is punished with death. These laws, however, are rendered obsolete by the universal laxity of morals.

The disposition of the women is cheerful and engaging. Their favourite amusements are singing, dancing, and relating stories, which are often extemporaneously composed, and which generally occupy the evening, after the labours of the day are terminated. The behaviour of the men towards those with whom they are in friendship, is humane, generous, and good-natured; nor will they attack strangers, unless provoked. "I have frequently travelled," says the late General Burn, "for a whole day over the hills unarmed, and met them in the woods with their formidable spears, fully persuaded I had no ill-treatment to fear. They would

shake me by the hand in a familiar manner, jabber a few sentences in their language, and then, when they found we could not understand each other, walk on with a smile."

We have referred already to their practice of circumcision, and their faith in one God and a world of spirits, &c. They have some traditionary knowledge of Noah, Abraham, Moses, and David, amongst the inhabitants of Isle St. Mary, who claim to be descended from the ancient Patriarch. Their prayers and addresses to the Deity are usually confined to periods of sickness, distress, accident, &c.; but appeals are made to him on all ceremonial occasions, where more than ordinary solemnity is required. The burial of the dead is also a religious rite, and is conducted with peculiar ceremonies. Such also is circumcision; only, in the latter case, the proceedings are terminated by feasting and revelry, the men being previously deprived of their weapons, to prevent mischief.

But the most revolting practice in their ritual is that of infanticide, which is carried to a dreadful extent in Madagascar. The condemnation of the child is determined by the Ombiasses, or Priests, who pretend to contemplate the aspect of the planets at the time of its birth, and decide according to the result. The unfortunate periods are the months of March and April, and the eighth day and last week of every month, and also Wednesday and Friday in each week; and even *hours* are sometimes under planetary influence: so that, during nearly half the year, a great number of human beings are liable to be destroyed; and the population is decimated at its very source. The usual method of accomplishing the horrid deed is by exposing them to the wild beasts, burying them alive, or drowning. The former of these methods is the one most commonly employed.

The civil arts practised in Madagascar are those of goldsmiths, iron-founders, carpenters, weavers, tanners, potters, dyers, mat and basket-makers, paper-makers, &c. Before the English artisans had been admitted by Radama, these arts were conducted in a rude manner. Yet the natives have always displayed great ingenuity, considering how few tools they possessed. They make three kinds of wine, and also ink and sugar; and they extract indigo from the plant, of which an abundance is found in the country. The trade is chiefly conducted by barter in the interior; but, in the towns and on the coast, they have now, for a long time, known the use and value of coin as a medium of exchange.

Commerce, however, is at present in its infancy in Madagascar, owing to the wretched policy of the Queen, who prohibited the natives from trading with Europeans. This evil will now be rectified, and a new demand will soon arise for the manufactures of Europe, of which the natives are very desirous of possessing themselves. There is, in fact, an opening for a vast trade with this island, the resources of which are unbounded; and its geo-

graphical position is such as to command, in the hands of a civilized people, a trade with the whole world.

Notwithstanding the severe laws against trading with foreigners, the French have managed to carry on a large contraband trade with some of the provinces, and, in one instance, have even resisted the authorities of the Government, in a way which has led to some executions. In general, however, the officials are very strict, and punish severely any of the natives who are supposed to be favourable to the Europeans.

There is but one language spoken throughout the island, with provincial differences, such as exist in other countries. It is represented by the early writers on Madagascar, as "a mixture of Arabic and Greek, being agreeable to the latter in the manner of speaking, in the order and conjunction of nouns and verbs active, and in being extremely copious." There was no written language in Madagascar until within the last three hundred and fifty years, when the knowledge of letters was introduced by the Arabs. The learning was chiefly confined to the Ombiasses, who also practised astrology, and officiated as Priests on all public occasions. The Arabic characters are the only ones used by them, and are twenty-four in number, written from right to left; but the pronunciation of some of them differs from that of the Arabic.*

They possess a knowledge of numbers, and reckon from one to ten, and then begin again, adding the tens together; and thus they cast up readily large amounts. Intercourse with Europeans, however, is rapidly producing a change in the social condition of the people in this respect, as well as in all others.

We must now take a glance at the history of Madagascar, from the period of its discovery to the present time. This is necessary in order to our being able to account for the suspicion and jealousy displayed by the Government of that country in its intercourse with foreigners; and, more especially, for the conduct of the present Queen, in shutting out such persons from the interior, and prohibiting their innovating customs and religion.

Madagascar was first visited—from Europe—by Lawrence Almeida, the first Portuguese Viceroy sent to the East Indies. This was in 1506, and it then received the name of Isle St.

* Malte-Brun observes, that "the language affords some Arabic words, and others more nearly resembling the idioms of the Caffres; but its principal roots may be traced in the Malay, or in the dialects derived from that language, and spoken at Java, at Timor, in the Philippines, in the Marian Isles, and in all the Archipelagoes of North and South Polynesia. Many of the most remarkable natural objects, and the days of the week, have the same names in the two languages. There is the same want of declensions and flexions,—the same mode of uniting words,—the same abundance of vowels. Notwithstanding what has been advanced by the learned continuator of the German Mithridates, we can affirm, that the Madecasse (Malagasy) appears intimately connected with the Malay language, and particularly with the Javanese and Timorian."

Lawrence; but whether from that of its discoverer, or from the day of its discovery, is not now known. It does not appear to have been noticed by either Pliny or Ptolemy; nor did Vasco de Gama, who first opened the passage to the East by the Cape of Good Hope, discover it; a failure which was probably owing to his keeping near the main-land in going and returning through the Mozambique Channel. By the Moors and Arabs it has been known and frequented from time immemorial, under the name of Serandib; and an extensive trade was carried on by them with some of the provinces, especially with that of Boyana, the country of the Sacalavas.

In 1508, the Portuguese sailed round the island, and afterwards constantly made it a place of anchorage in their voyages to the East Indies. They built a fort in the province of Anossi, on a steep rock, situated on the picturesque bank of the river Fanhere: there they attempted to establish a colony, enclosed a considerable quantity of land, and endeavoured to trade with the inhabitants. The latter, however, became jealous of their designs, and, watching their opportunity, attacked the feeble garrison, and cut them all off to a man.

Neither the Portuguese nor the Dutch, who also touched at the island in their eastern voyages, acquired any knowledge of the interior. But, in 1642, its colonization was seriously undertaken by the French Government, and a patent was granted to Captain Rivault, by Cardinal Richelieu, to send thither ships and forces, to establish a colony, plantations, and commerce, under the name of the French East India Company. The first ship sent, was under the command of Captain Coquet, with whom went two governors, Pronis and Fouquenberg, and twelve other Frenchmen, who had orders to remain there, and await the arrival of further reinforcements.

This first attempt does not appear to have been a very fortunate one. The colonists were weak, both in numbers and resources; and the natives were numerous, jealous, and crafty; in addition, the climate was unhealthy, and the Governor a man not possessing any resources in himself, or any of the qualifications necessary for the undertaking. He was, in fact, superseded in 1648 by Flacourt, who, as a Governor, displayed far more talent than Pronis. He caused a general survey of the island to be made, investigated its natural resources, and acquired a knowledge of the customs, manners, and language of the natives. His great failing—and it was that of the period rather than the man—was his attempting to coerce the natives into subjection, instead of treating with them as a free people. On his return to France in 1655, he published his "History" of the island, which is the best extant, and to which all subsequent writers on the subject are indebted for most of the knowledge they possess. He was again appointed Governor in 1659, and sailed from

France in a vessel laden with supplies for the colony; but he never reached the island, his vessel being wrecked in a violent storm, in which, also, all on board perished.

Chamargou was appointed to succeed Flacourt; but, upon reaching the colony, he found Fort Dauphin burned by the natives, and the colonists reduced to the last extremity; and, had it not been for the energy and prudence of one man, La Case, the whole colony would have been destroyed. Of this man, however, Chamargou became jealous, and set a price upon his head. This circumstance still further alienated the minds of the natives, and they determined, by withholding supplies, to starve the garrison; which purpose they would have effected, but for the opportune arrival of a ship from France, which brought them supplies and reinforcements of men; whilst, through the influence of the Captain, Kercadio, a reconciliation was effected with La Case, who soon brought the affairs of the colony into a prosperous train.

All, however, was spoiled by the imprudence and fanaticism of a Jesuit, Father Stephen, the Superior of the Mission at Madagascar. This man, in a very abrupt manner, commanded a high-spirited Chief to repudiate all his wives but one, and to embrace the Catholic faith. Now, the natives are very fond of oratorical display, and can do nothing, of a public nature, without holding a "*cabar*." Accordingly the Chief, Dian Manangue, assembled his wives and relatives, and made a public harangue before them and Father Stephen, as the most respectful mode of answering him.

"I pity thy folly," said he, "in wishing that, at my age, I should sacrifice my happiness, and the pleasures which surround me in my Donac, to thy will. I pity thee, too, for being deprived of that which soothes the cares of life. Thou wilt permit me to live with one woman; but, if the possession of one woman be a good, why is the possession of a numerous seraglio an evil, when peace and harmony prevail amongst those who compose it? Dost thou see any symptoms of jealousy, or seeds of hatred, amongst us? No; all my women are good; they all endeavour to render me happy, and I am more their slave than their master.

"But if thy maxims be so useful and necessary, why do not thy countrymen at the Fort follow them? They ought to know, much better than I, the merit and value of thy words. Believe me, my good friend, I will not deceive thee; it is impossible for me to change my customs,—I will never quit them but with my life. I, however, give thee leave to exercise thy zeal on the people who are subject to my authority; and I give thee the same authority over my family and my children. But this permission will be of very little avail, unless thou canst suit thy precepts to our manners and usages."

Father Stephen, with characteristic insolence, commanded the Chief instantly to divorce all his wives but one; which so exasperated the women, that they attacked him with blows and imprecations, and would have speedily dispatched him, had not the old

Chief interposed to prevent them. After this, he secretly removed with his whole family to a distant province, where he hoped to be free from sacerdotal interference.

Not so, however; for Father Stephen was so bent upon his conversion, that, frantic with zeal, he set off with one clerical and one lay brother, and six domestics loaded with Popish habits, &c., on a dangerous expedition for that purpose. Upon meeting him, the old Chief treated him with respect, but, at the same time, assured him that his journey would prove fruitless: upon which the Monk, regardless of the safety either of himself or of his followers, denounced him as a heretic, tore off the sacred *oli*, which he threw into the fire, and concluded with a declaration of war.

The consequences might have been foreseen. The Chief instantly ordered the massacre of the whole party, and at the same time swore to effect the entire destruction of the French colony, which he would also have accomplished but for the prudence and courage of La Case, who, a second time, warded off the calamity. As it was, however, a large party of the French were cut off, and the whole garrison were compelled to shut themselves up in the fort, and confine their operations to the immediate neighbourhood, until the arrival of a French frigate and nine other vessels, with a large force, under the command of the Marquis of Mondevergue, who had been appointed to the general command of all the French settlements situated beyond the equinoctial line.

La Fage was now appointed Governor, and Chamargou second in command. But in 1670 these were superseded by M. La Haye, who, in fact, was placed over Mondevergue; but the latter chose rather to return to France, being convinced, from what he saw of La Haye, that no harmony could exist between them. On his arrival in France he was arraigned on charges sent against him by La Haye, and he died a prisoner in the Castle of Saumur, the victim of official jealousy.

Such was the tyranny and oppression of the French under all these Governors, that their yoke became insupportable, and the natives secretly resolved to get rid of them. La Haye left the island in despair; Chamargou and La Case died about the same time; and the command devolved upon Bretesche, who likewise, with his family, retired in disgust to Surat. The Missionaries soon followed his example; upon which the natives, headed by the neighbouring Chiefs, rose upon the garrison, and massacred nearly the whole of them, the few who escaped being taken on board the ship in which were the Missionaries, and which had not left the Bay. Thus was the island again free from its tyrannical invaders.

A fresh attempt was made by the French to colonize Madagascar, which, however, like the previous ones, proved abortive, and from the same causes. This was in 1745, when M. Gosse

was deputed by the French East India Company to take possession of Isle St. Mary. Here the French were first decimated by the fever; and subsequently, upon an insult which was perpetrated on the tomb of an old chief, the widow stimulated the fury of the natives to such a degree, that in 1754, on Christmas eve, the islanders rose in a body, and, falling upon the colonists, massacred them to a man.

On learning this dreadful occurrence, the authorities at the Mauritius sent an armed vessel with troops, who ravaged the whole island, burned the villages, and massacred the inhabitants, whilst the vessel brought its guns to bear upon the piroguas of those who attempted to escape by sea to the main-land, and sank many of them, laden with the natives. In consequence of these events, all commerce with the French was suspended, and the Isle of France, which drew its supplies from thence, was in danger of being reduced to famine. Peace, however, was again restored; but the idea of colonizing Isle St. Mary was abandoned, and its occupation by the French was confined to the establishment of a trading post at Foule Point, (a harbour lying to the southward of St. Mary,) under the direction of Bigorne, who, in acting as interpreter between the natives and the French, acquitted himself with so much tact and address, that he was appointed, by the East India Company, superintendent of the trade and shipping of the whole island. This delicate office he held, with a slight interval, until the celebrated Count Benyowsky was deputed, by the French Government, to establish a new colony in Madagascar.

If the published accounts are to be relied on, this undertaking would probably have succeeded but for the jealousy of the authorities at the Isle of France. The Count appears to have been a man well qualified to treat with the natives, being possessed of the coolness and intrepidity so essential in dealing with a savage people. Those, however, who had the supplying of the enterprise with stores and money from the Mauritius, took care to let him want for every thing, whilst they wrote home to the French Government the most unfounded charges against him. On the other hand, he had to encounter the unhealthiness of the climate and the hostility of the natives; and all these things combined drove him at length to a measure, which eventually was the means of depriving him of his command and his life.

This was no other than to found an independent kingdom, of which he proposed to be the Sovereign, on the pretended ground that he was descended from a Madagascar Princess, who had been carried to the Isle of France and reduced to slavery. The simple natives believed in this absurdity; and, although the neighbouring Chiefs were not unanimous at first, he found means to conciliate and bring them to his own views and purposes. Having withdrawn himself formally from the service of the

French, he was constituted Ampausacabe, and a regular form of government, and a staff of officials, were appointed, the nature of which, however, he had some difficulty in making the Chiefs comprehend. Having made arrangements for the conduct of the government during his absence, he sailed for Europe, with the view of forming a treaty of alliance with the Government of France, and to obtain persons to instruct the people in the arts.

Not succeeding in this object with the French, he made an offer of the same character to the British Ministry, with whom he had no better success. He then sailed to America, where he procured supplies, and a cargo fit for the Madagascar trade, with which he finally set sail for the island, and arrived there in July, 1785. His first act of sovereignty was to seize the posts belonging to the French; but on this becoming known to the authorities at the Isle of France, they sent a frigate to destroy the settlement, and to secure the Count, dead or alive. This was effected; the Count being killed in the first encounter by a musket-ball in the breast, which put an end at once to both his life and his enterprises, and also to the connexion of Madagascar with Europeans.

Whatever intercourse was subsequently kept up between this island and the French, was purely of a commercial character. The Revolution in France called off the attention of the Government to more pressing objects than schemes of colonization; and the loss of the Islands of Bourbon and Mauritius, which were taken by the British in 1810, was followed by the reduction of the French trading posts at Foulle Point and Tamatave, on the east coast of Madagascar. In 1814, by the treaty of Vienna, the Island of Bourbon was restored to the French; but the Isle of France was retained, and has been ever since, by the British; and, shortly after, Governor Farquhar issued a proclamation, taking formal possession of Madagascar, as one of the dependencies of the Mauritius.

At the final ratification of the treaty of peace in 1815, after the battle of Waterloo, there was a considerable degree of altercation between the British and French plenipotentiaries, as to the future occupation of Madagascar; and it is a fact, that no definite conclusion was arrived at on the subject, nor was that island formally ceded to Great Britain by the treaty. But, on the other hand, a clause was inserted in it, by which the French were restricted from *having more than one regiment of the line, east of the Cape of Good Hope*. And as Madagascar was then in the nominal possession of the British, and the French were expelled, the latter can have no claim whatever to that island in future.* This fact proved for a time, and is likely also, in future, to

* On the contrary, an extensive tract of land was ceded to the British by the authorities of Madagascar, in right of a previous purchase, which was publicly guaranteed to them by a solemn act of *cabur*.

prove, of great importance to the inhabitants, as the narrative of subsequent events will show.

At the time when the British authorities at the Mauritius took possession of Madagascar as a dependency of that place, the sovereignty of a large portion of the island was vested in Radama. We have before spoken of this remarkable man, and have now to detail the course which he pursued, and which justifies the high character we have given him.

In the year 1816, the two brothers of Radama, of the respective ages of ten and twelve years, were sent to the Mauritius, for the purpose of receiving an English education. This shows how early, in his intercourse with the British, his acute mind comprehended the advantages that would accrue from cultivating their friendship. The influence of Sir Robert Farquhar prevailed on him also, at this period, to suppress the annual predatory attacks on the Comorro Islands,—Johanna, Mohilla, &c., lying to the north-west of Madagascar; and, at the same time, a proclamation was issued for the suppression of the slave-trade. This latter measure, however, it appears, his authority was not then strong enough to enforce. Had he endeavoured to do so, it is probable his life would have been sacrificed, so strong a hold had the trade upon the institutions of the country. He, however, did not lose sight of it, or give it up. His power and influence daily increased; and, in 1820, Mr. Hastie was appointed commissioner, to negotiate with the Madagascar Government the total abolition of the trade.

That gentleman arrived at Tananarivoo, the capital, on the 4th of October, and received a cordial welcome from Radama and his chiefs. The negotiation that followed is highly characteristic. The semi-barbarous monarch stipulated that twenty of his subjects should be taken by the British Government to England, to be educated; and that artificers should be sent from thence to instruct the natives in the various arts and manufactures. After repeated and long conferences, Mr. Hastie, at his own risk, agreed to the stipulation; and a proclamation was forwarded to the various districts, putting an entire stop to the selling of slaves to merchants for exportation. It speaks volumes for the good faith and moral influence of Radama, that, during his life, not a slave was sent away after the proclamation was issued.

Attached to Mr. Hastie's embassy was the Rev. David Jones, who, in 1818, had gone to Madagascar, in company with the Rev. Thos. Bevan, to establish a Mission there, under the auspices of the London Missionary Society. They landed on the 18th of August, with their wives and families. But, in December, the whole party, with the exception of Mr. Jones, were swept off by the fever; and Mr. Jones himself was also seized with it, and had a narrow escape with his life. Upon his recovery, however, the prospect of success in his Mission was so flattering,

that he determined to remain. But, in 1820, his health having again suffered, he returned to the Mauritius, where he was joined by the Rev. David Griffiths. He remained there until the embassy of Mr. Hastic afforded him a favourable opportunity of an introduction to Radama, of which he determined to avail himself.

Accordingly, with his colleague, Mr. Griffiths, he accompanied the embassy; and, having, on his arrival, explained to the King the nature and object of his Mission, he was most cordially welcomed; and Radama himself wrote a letter to the Directors of the London Missionary Society, to assure them of his support to the Mission. This letter was sent by Prince Rataffè, or Ratefy, the King's cousin; who being introduced at the annual meeting of the Society, in May, an extraordinary sensation was produced, and an interest for the island excited, which has been fully justified and strengthened by subsequent events.

Under the sanction of Radama, the Mission made rapid progress. Schools were established in the capital, in which the English language, as well as the principles of Christianity, and of secular education, was communicated. A printing-press was shortly afterwards set up, and a considerable portion of the Scriptures was translated, and printed in the Malagasy language, which was then reduced by the Missionaries, for the first time, to a regular grammatical system. In 1828, the schools in Tananarivoo consisted of four thousand scholars, and were under the immediate inspection of the King. On one occasion, after examining the children, he addressed them in his characteristic way:—"Tell your parents, that, by attending the schools, and learning the lessons taught you, you not only give me and the white people pleasure, but do honour to yourselves and to your parents. So now go home, and tell them I am pleased with you!"

In the mean time, the religious services of the Missionaries attracted the attention of the people, and were well attended. Various stations were formed; the number of hearers gradually increased; and a deep interest began to manifest itself in the instructions then given. Under the influence of the Missionaries, too, as civilization began to spread, the more barbarous customs, both civil and religious, that had previously prevailed (such as infanticide, and trial by *tangena*,*—both practised on an extensive scale) were fast giving way; whilst the abolition of the slave-trade had opened a channel for legitimate commerce and the extension of agriculture. The prejudices, too, of the people, in favour of their ancient social habits, began to yield, and every thing indicated a rapid change from barbarism

* The *Tangena* is an ordeal by poison, extracted from a plant of that name, and administered to the accused with a portion of the entrails of a fowl. If death ensues, it is considered a proof of guilt; but as the Judges have the power of regulating the strength of the dose, they can produce whatever result they please.

to civilization, when, by an inscrutable Providence, the life of Radama was suddenly cut off, and an entirely retrogressive policy was instantly adopted by his successor.

This was the Queen Ranavalona, who, although she had no title whatever to the succession, managed, by the help of the Priests—to whom she was bigotedly devoted—and of two officers of the army, to remove every obstacle out of the way. Mr. Hastie had died before the King, and was succeeded by Dr. Lyall. This gentleman was dismissed with insult; the Missionaries were silenced; and the people commanded, on pain of death, publicly to abjure Christianity. Rakotobè, the acknowledged heir to the throne, was speared, as was also Prince Ratafiè and his wife, both being of the royal blood; and every one who stood in the way, or favoured the lawful succession, was got rid of, except Ramanètaka, a first cousin of Radama's, who made his escape to the Comorro Islands.

Having thus secured herself against all other claims to the throne, the usurper began to concert measures for preventing insurrection in the distant provinces. Expeditions were sent out in all directions, with peremptory orders to destroy all the male adult population, wherever they were supposed to be favourable to the rightful heir to the throne. These instructions were fulfilled to a fearful extent. Not only were upwards of 100,000 persons thus destroyed,—mostly in cold blood,—but their wives and children were driven off and reduced to slavery.

In the mean while, those who had embraced Christianity were commanded to come forward and confess, or rather accuse themselves, and swear to abjure it; and, moreover, were enjoined to *forget*, for ever, all that they had learned of the Missionaries. Hundreds were destroyed by the spear or *tangena*, or by still more horrible means; whilst numbers escaped to the woods and fastnesses in the mountains, where they were compelled to lead a predatory life. Not a few, however, maintained their Christian profession to the last; and instances of martyrdom occurred in half-savage Madagascar, that would have reflected honour upon any civilized country, and upon any age of the Christian Church. The natives of this island, indeed, appear to be peculiarly susceptible of impressions of the truths of Christianity. With strong natural sense they possess inquisitive minds. Destitute, too, of native literature of any kind, they are perfectly unsophisticated in their ideas; and thus the Gospel went at once into their hearts, as the only system of religion which had ever, in a connected form, been presented to them, and its rationality facilitated conviction. A remarkable instance of this is related by Messrs. Freeman and Johns, in their admirable tract on Madagascar. A married couple went to an idol-maker to purchase an idol. After some delay, the man selected a tree from the forest, and cut down a large bough, from which he prepared his idol,

He then invited the party to partake of his meal of rice, which he prepared *by making a fire with the small branches of the bough of which the idol was made*. After paying him two dollars for the idol, they returned home, where they shortly after received a visit from a young convert to Christianity, who read to them that striking passage in Isaiah xlv., "With part thereof he eateth flesh; he roasteth roast, maketh a fire, and warmeth himself; and the residue thereof he maketh a god," &c. So astonished was the woman at this graphic description, in the sacred volume, of what she had just seen with her own eyes, that she became at once convinced, both of the folly of idolatry and the truth of Christianity; which she embraced with an ardour and sincerity that have gained her—as Ratharavavy—a permanent standing, as one of the most eminent disciples of Christianity in the history of the Madagascar mission.

This, it is true, is an extraordinary instance, but not by any means the only one, of the powerful influence of the truth upon the minds of the Malagasy, and their desire to receive instruction. Subsequent facts have proved, that the principle was generally diffused; and that, wherever the Missionaries had been able to penetrate, their instructions had produced the happiest effects. Throughout the whole period of persecution, extending from the death of Radama over upwards of twenty years, so far was Christianity from being extirpated, that continual accessions were made to the number of converts, until at length the son of the Sovereign, and that of the Prime Minister of the Queen, declared themselves Christians.

We have before mentioned, that Ramanètaka, a brother of Prince Rataffè, had escaped to the Comorro Islands. This was managed with a good deal of characteristic address. A party of two hundred soldiers were dispatched to the coast, to bring him, dead or alive, to the capital. They sent a part of their number forward, to acquaint him with the death of the King, and the summons to appear at Tananarivoo, to take the oath of allegiance, with the intention of assassinating him on the road. Suspecting their design upon his life, but concealing his suspicions, the Prince suggested, that he had better put his effects and himself on board an Arab vessel lying off the coast, to take them to a point much nearer their route. This was agreed to; and the soldiers went on board themselves, under a full conviction that they were now doubly sure of their prey. Being sea-sick, he persuaded them that they would suffer much less, if they would get into the boat which hung at the stern. They accordingly got in, but were no sooner out of the ship than the Captain, at a signal from the Prince, hoisted sail, and, the painter being cut at the same time, the boat dropped astern, and the vessel sped away to the Comorro Islands, leaving the soldiers to shift for themselves; the Prince exclaiming, as a parting salute, "Life is sweet,—I am off!" On

his arrival at the Island of Mohilla, which was his own private property, he emancipated all his slaves, and instituted other measures, in accordance with the changes effected by Radama in Madagascar; thereby proving that he had appreciated the value of those changes.

The knowledge of this excellent disposition of Ramanetaka led to the formation of a Committee in 1840, for the purpose of liberating Madagascar from the despotism of the Queen, and the establishment of the Prince upon the throne. Two Captains in the royal navy, and a Lieutenant in the East India Company's service, were on this Committee; and one of the Secretaries of the London Missionary Society, although not formally a member, also sat at the board, and assisted the Committee with his valuable advice and opinion, as to the best mode of carrying the design into effect. A memorial, containing a statement of the views and objects of the Committee, and of the intended mode of proceeding, was drawn up for publication. This document is now in the possession of the writer, who was one of the Committee; but their proceedings were suddenly rendered useless by the intelligence of the death of the young Prince on whose behalf they had been undertaken; and there being no other known representative of the blood royal of Madagascar, there was no further pretext for their interfering in the affairs of that country, on the ground of the Queen's usurpation.

Since that period, until recently, the vigilance of the Madagascar Government has prevented any regular series of articles of intelligence from transpiring relative to the internal state of that country. But from what has occasionally been communicated, it is believed that the destruction of human life has been fearful. The Queen's son, however, being favourable to Christianity, has been the means, under Providence, of saving the lives of many (sometimes even at the risk of his own) who would otherwise have been sacrificed to the fury of the persecutors. To the overweening affection, indeed, of the Queen for this youth, is to be attributed that happy change which has now taken place in the policy of the Government.

Nor may we entirely ascribe the former conduct of the Queen to an innate love of cruelty. It is rather the natural effect of superstition, working upon a weak mind, coupled with a dread of the influence of foreigners, superinduced by the bad conduct of the French in former times. Destitute of the enlarged views and discriminating mind of Radama, the Queen's fears have been worked upon by the enemies of the late innovations, and especially by the heathen Priests, who saw, in the continued intercourse of the people with Europeans generally, and the Missionaries in particular, that a speedy termination would be put to their own influence over them. They therefore availed themselves of her weakness to crush, so far as they were able,

all that had been effected towards the enlightenment of the people, and their emancipation from the degrading superstition which was the source of their own power and emolument. Happy, indeed, would it be for her and her people, if the example of the young Prince should prove the means of showing her the fearful crimes of which she has been the perpetrator, and should lead her, like Paul,—who was also a persecutor, but afterwards “not behind the chiefest of the Apostles,”—to cast herself at the feet of Him whom she has persecuted, in the persons of His disciples, exclaiming, “Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?”

The neutrality of the British Government in the affairs of Madagascar, after the death of Radama, has been justly censured by those who were acquainted with their previous conduct. Their treaty with that Prince had not only produced a good moral effect upon the people, but had also aided the King in those political and military demonstrations, by which he was enabled to strengthen his power, and extend his dominion. It was they who had instructed the natives in European military tactics: so that, from an undisciplined mass of savages, Radama was enabled to construct a standing army of thirty thousand real soldiers, supplied with arms by the British Government, and commanded by a body of active and intelligent young officers, who had every encouragement to render themselves proficient in the military art; and Radama himself had been encouraged by them to make himself Sovereign of the whole island.

The efficiency thus imparted to the military power of the country by the British Government, was used, as we have already shown, with terrible effect by the Queen, in the suppression of those very beneficial measures, for the instituting of which it had been previously employed; and it was a question, whether, having thus put a new power into the hands of the Sovereign, at a great expense, and for a specific purpose, they were not bound either to prevent their benevolent intentions from being frustrated, by compelling the Queen to adopt a more humane and rational line of conduct; or, if that were impossible, to treat her as a usurper, and assist the rightful heir to recover the throne.

An affecting appeal was made by the native Christians, at this time, to the authorities at the Isle of France. “It is *you*,” said they, “who brought to us that religion, for the professing of which we are now proscribed and persecuted. *You* taught us the folly and sin of idolatry, and the value and efficacy of the death of the Redeemer; and will you now leave us to perish for these opinions, without one effort to save us? Must we see our country wasted, our property confiscated, our children murdered, our relations enslaved, and ourselves hunted like wild beasts in the woods? *You* interfered during King Radama’s reign, and we hailed that event as the commencement of happy times; and is

it only when a ferocious usurper has seized the throne, and, *abusing that military power which you have been the means of placing in her hands*, has reduced us again to barbarism, that your interference is to cease?"

Such was the language of the Malagasy Christians to the British authorities at the Mauritius on this painful occasion; but it was in vain. The Home Government, it is true, remonstrated against the unjust and impolitic conduct of the Queen; but they ought to have done more. They had already gone too far to be justified in stopping; and, in having actually stopped, they are morally responsible for all the atrocities which have indirectly resulted from their previous interference. Their treaty, too, was with Radama as the head of a nation, and not as an individual; and, on behalf of that nation, they were bound to see to the fulfilment of its conditions, whoever might be the Sovereign.

The persecution in Madagascar continued for seventeen years, namely, from 1834, when the Missionaries were expelled from the island, to 1851. During this dark and gloomy period, more than one hundred persons suffered a martyr's death by the sword or the spear, or by being thrown from a rock and dashed to pieces, or burnt alive. Hundreds have been degraded and impoverished, or sent into hopeless slavery; whilst multitudes more have been destroyed by the sword for a disposition to favour or promote the efforts of the Missionaries. But that God who "causes even the wrath of man to praise him," can also restrain the remainder or continuance of that wrath, and convert the persecutor and blasphemer into an humble disciple of the Saviour. The change that has taken place in Madagascar is an eminent instance of this, and is powerfully calculated to strengthen the hands, and confirm the faith, of those who have long been sowing in hope, without any apparent fruit of their labours.

At present, the information obtained of the precise circumstances by which this change has been effected is very scanty. Such has been the seclusion that prevailed in Madagascar, that it has only been by occasional notices, furnished by traders at the Mauritius, that any thing has been made known respecting the movements of the Queen's Government. Recently, however, the Directors of the London Missionary Society have received the welcome and undoubted intelligence that Ranavalona had determined to resign the reins of government into the hands of her son and heir, who is, it is said, a decided Christian; and that the young Prince had appointed the only son of Rainiharo (the late Prime Minister of the Queen, and the most bitter persecutor of the Christians) to succeed his father in that office. This young man, also, if not absolutely a professor of Christianity, is understood to be favourable to it; and one of the first acts of the

young Sovereign—for such, to all intents and purposes, he is, although he refused the title during his mother's life—was to propose throwing open the ports of Madagascar to foreigners, and admitting the Missionaries to resume their important functions.

In the mean time, the people appear to be fully prepared for the reception of Christianity throughout the length and breadth of the land. The former labours of the Missionaries were as “seed sown in good ground.” During the long reign of terror which prevailed, so far was the truth from being extinguished, that the believers multiplied; and those who were once counted in hundreds are now numbered by thousands, and continue “to study the Scriptures, observe the Sabbath, and assemble in the mountains and caverns for united prayer,” being firmly bound together “in love and obedience to Christ as their Redeemer.”

There are many circumstances in the social condition and character of the Malagasy, peculiarly favourable to the extension of Christianity amongst them; and which, we venture to predict, will materially facilitate the labours of future Missionaries. In the first place, the system of Heathenism they have hitherto adopted, is almost entirely an involuntary one. Having neither temples, nor stated periods of public worship, nor fear of punishment after death, there is no important principle involved in their creed, (if such it can be called,) that can attach them very strongly to it. It is, in fact, asserted by some writers on the subject, that the Chiefs and principal men have no faith whatever in their system, and only profess it for the purpose of holding an influence over the lower class. And this is quite in accordance with the constitution of the human mind and its requirements. So far as we know, the whole routine of the religion of the Malagasy consists in offering up a prayer or a sacrifice through the medium of the Oli; which represents a tutelar spiritual being, who is himself an intercessor between the petitioner and “Zanhare.” Their prayers and offerings, too, are wholly referable to temporal blessings, which are still as often withheld as bestowed. In the former case, the anger of the supplicant is frequently excited against his Oli for its ingratitude in not making a proper return for the prayer or sacrifice. So far, therefore, as spiritual considerations are concerned, their religion is entirely secular, the simple belief in one God being uninfluential, as it regards the regulation of the mind and heart, and conveying no definite ideas of his nature, character, or attributes. Such a religion is ill calculated to maintain a strong hold upon the affections of its votaries; and we can, therefore, easily account for the cordial reception given by the Malagasy to the Christian Missionaries, and for the eagerness with which they embraced the Gospel. The case of Ratharavavy, related above, is but one of many cases in which the contrast between the Scripture account of God, and

the ideas entertained of Him by the Heathen, has produced instant conviction of the truth of the former, and of the falsehood and absurdity of the latter.

The observance of a day of rest, too, has no inconsiderable influence in preparing the Malagasy for the reception of the Gospel and its institutions. Although this, in Madagascar, is wholly a civil appointment, and has now no reference to religion, there is not a doubt that it was derived traditionally from the original institution. And it is the more remarkable, as being, we believe, the only instance in the world in which it has been retained by a heathen nation. The transition is easy from a day of rest from secular labour, to one spent in the service of Him who himself rested from the work of creation "on the seventh day," and thenceforth, as we firmly believe, constituted the Sabbath a permanent institution.

Under these favourable circumstances, the London Missionary Society has resolved to re-commence its labours in Madagascar; and, as a preliminary step, has deputed the veteran Missionary, Mr. Ellis, to repair to the island, for the purpose of ascertaining the exact state of affairs, and of preparing the people, and, if possible, the authorities, for the renewed reception of the Society's Missionaries. Should the report of Mr. Ellis be favourable, we have good reason to expect, under God, great things from the Madagascar Mission. There are at the Mauritius five hundred native Christians, waiting for an opportunity of returning to their country. These have all been under the care of the Missionaries at the Mauritius, and many of them are believed to be so advanced in Christian knowledge, as to be capable of becoming Teachers and Evangelists, such as will be powerful auxiliaries to the British Missionaries, of whom it is the intention of the Society at once to send out four, in order to prevent the emissaries of Rome from pre-occupying the ground, as they are preparing to do.

An appeal has been made by the Society to the Christian public on behalf of Madagascar, which has been promptly responded to, and the sum of ten thousand pounds raised towards the re-establishment of the Mission in that island. This is an excellent beginning; and we hope that it will be followed up by continued liberality, and that the Society will thereby be enabled to conduct the Madagascar Mission on a scale commensurate with its vast importance and probable success. To this there is every encouragement; for not only has the truth been retained under the most painful and unfavourable circumstances, but it has extensively gained ground; and the people at large, worn out by the iron despotism of the Queen's government, and disgusted at the cruelty inflicted upon the Christian converts, are anxiously waiting for a change. The patience and fortitude, also, of those who have suffered martyrdom, have made a deep, permanent, and

general impression on the minds of multitudes ; leading them to the conviction that there must be truth in a religion which produces such effects. We shall, therefore, watch with the deepest interest the course of events in Madagascar, and await the report of Mr. Ellis and his colleague, Mr. Johns, both of whom are better qualified than any other men for this task.

We have as yet said nothing of the commercial prospect which this change opens in Madagascar to the nations of Europe. Hitherto the trade with foreigners has been confined to the port of Tamatave, and chiefly conducted, we believe, by the French from the Island of Bourbon. Madagascar, however, presents prospects of commercial advantages, that must now render her an object of consideration with the British merchant. It is one of the largest and richest islands in the world, superabounding in corn, cattle, rice, silk, cotton, indigo, silver, lead, iron, tin, sugar, spices, dye-woods, hard wood, and caoutchouc. In short, it is capable, with proper cultivation, of furnishing the various productions of almost every country and climate in the world. The people, too, are active and enterprising, fond of commerce, and partial to the English, on account of the liberal dealing they exhibit in comparison with the French.

Nor ought the British Government to lose sight of this noble island, of which it was constituted by Radama the protector. And although at the Congress of Vienna the question of appropriation was not formally and finally settled, it was virtually settled by the stipulations of that treaty, and by the retention of the Mauritius and *its dependencies* by the British. According to the acknowledgment of the French themselves, Madagascar, although the superior island, was considered a dependency of the Mauritius, although they had never been able to appropriate it as such. Coupling, therefore, these circumstances, which are well known, with the treaty made with Radama, the British Government are at least bound to see that the French do not make such encroachments upon Madagascar, either commercial, political, or religious, as to exclude, or render onerous, British intercourse with the natives ; and that the latter are not oppressed or coerced by them, as has been the case in Taheiti.

This seems to be of the more importance, too, when we reflect that Madagascar lies in the direct route to our East India possessions ; and that, should the French gain a political footing on the island, they might, in case of war, occasion to our eastern trade a serious annoyance, for which its bays and harbours would afford ample facilities to their cruisers. It therefore becomes a national object with our Government, to place our relations with Madagascar under its new *régime* on the same footing as that on which they stood under Radama, and thus to secure a political alliance with the young Sovereign, whilst at the same time the trade of the island shall be left entirely free to all nations.

Since the above was written, a letter has been received from the Rev. Mr. Ellis, dated from the Mauritius, after his return from Tamatave. By this communication, it appears, that an obstacle has arisen to the fulfilment of the wishes of the young Prince, relative to the resumption of the Mission, from the hostility of a cousin of his, who has attached himself to the heathen party, and with them violently opposes the designs of the Prince; so much so, that at present no opening has presented itself for the Missionaries. But, it is added, the old Queen, who is imbecile, and stands in great fear that the hostile party will attempt to take the life of her son, to whom she is devotedly attached, has determined to abdicate, and to invest the Prince with both the title and the authority of Sovereign; which will enable him to institute measures both for his own personal safety, and for carrying out those improvements and plans for the benefit of his people, which he has so much at heart.

ART. III.—*The Life and Epistles of St. Paul.* By the REV. W. CONYBEARE, M.A., and the REV. J. S. HOWSON, M.A. Two Vols. Imperial 4to. London, 1853.

PAUL of Tarsus is not only the most energetic and elevated Christian, but the noblest and manliest man, of whom we have any knowledge. He stands out before us the image of a fully-developed man of God. He was not only profoundly experienced and divinely taught in the "deep things of God:" he was, emphatically, a Christian workman and warrior,—an indefatigable workman, an indomitable warrior. Nor was he only workman and warrior: he was also the tenderest and most susceptible of friends. How true is his humanity! yet how lofty, and—we need not scruple to say—divine, is that life from above which fills and inspires the soul of that humanity! In him, indeed, we see the highest type of humanity, transfigured by divine grace into the highest style of Christianity. Originally of a character equally profound and energetic, and as manifold in its sympathies as it was single and direct in its conclusions and purposes, he came suddenly and absolutely under the sway of the holiest and most exalted motives,—of truths and principles belonging to the region, not of earth, but of heaven. All his powers were baptized with celestial fire. His whole manhood was thenceforth possessed and ruled by "the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus." Of himself he says, "I live no more myself, but Christ is living in me;*" and the life that I live in the flesh is by the

* Conybeare's Translation.

faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave Himself for me." (Gal. ii. 20.)

About the individuality of Paul there can be no mistake. The features of his character constitute a whole so absolutely unique, and, withal, so beautifully complete and consistent, that it would be as easy to doubt of one's own existence, as of that of Paul of Tarsus. His portrait lives and breathes in his Epistles,—"a portrait painted by his own hand, of which every feature may be 'known and read of all men.'" And although, in the comprehensive, but comparatively slight, sketches of his course given by Luke, he does not, in general, move before us in attitudes so animated and impressive, nor is depicted in colours so rich and vivid, as those which characterize the glowing and impassioned, the profound and pathetic, Paul of the Epistles, yet can no mind of ordinary candour or sensibility fail to recognise at a glance, and in every part of the narrative, the Paul of the Acts as being the very same with the Paul of the Epistles. It is not merely that the narrative of the Acts tallies so wonderfully, according to the irrefragable argument of Paley, with countless minute hints, trifling circumstances, and complicated relationships, stated or implied in the Epistles; but that the doctrine, the tone, the language, the bearing,—in a word, the whole conduct and character,—of Paul, as we see and hear him in the Acts, are in the most perfect keeping with what the unmistakeable and inimitable Paul of the Epistles has therein disclosed of himself.

It is remarkable, that there are some of St. Paul's Epistles, and these the most elaborate and important, the originality and authenticity of which even the hardihood of the extreme German school of destructive criticism has not ventured to assail. Those who have not scrupled to undertake the task of disintegrating the texture of the Gospel histories, and even of the Acts of the Apostles, and reducing the whole to a collection of mythic *nebulae*,—containing, here and there, a *nucleus* of fact in the midst of a wide mist of fiction,—have yet shrunk from hazarding a denial of the genuineness and authenticity of the Epistles to the Romans, the Corinthians, and the Galatians. This would be, even for them, too monstrous a hardihood, too glaring an absurdity. Than this fact we can scarcely conceive of a stronger indirect testimony to the living truth and personality stamped upon these writings by their author. They are the pure efflux of his very life; the mingled tide of thought and feeling—deep, swelling, urgent, and often irresistible—which only a man of the largest capacity of mind, of extraordinary energy of will, of the keenest susceptibilities, and under the influence of the profoundest and most earnest convictions, could have poured forth. That any but a true man, a great man, and a good man, should have written such letters, is a manifest impossibility. Almost equally remote from possibility is it, that two men should have been

found in the same age, or in any age, capable of writing such letters; which, indeed, could only have been written in that very age to which they actually belong. They are the work of one man, who has no second or like,—and that man was Paul of Tarsus.

Hitherto, accordingly, no one has ventured to make St. Paul a merely mythic personage, or to deny the genuineness and authenticity of the most important of the writings attributed to him. But, until this is done, and done effectually, all the efforts of the Tübingen school to resolve Christianity into fable, must be vain. Grant us but the reality of St. Paul, and of his Epistles, and the truth of Christianity easily follows. Paul was, at least, a sincere and truthful man, or he was nothing. Nor can it be doubted that he was a man of powerful and cultivated intellect, any more than that he was originally a proud and prejudiced Pharisee. He would have been no party to an imposture. Nor, in the face of infamy, persecution, and death, would he have sacrificed his worldly hopes and ambition to any new form of religion, the evidence of which did not compel his adhesion. Neither was he the man to be moved from the intrenchment of his Pharisaism by a shadowy tissue of vulgar exaggerations, or baseless fables. Nor, we may add, could any faith but the true, or any power less than the highest, have availed to transform the natural character of the Pharisee Saul,—however generous in certain aspects of it,—into that of the great Apostle of the Gentiles, so grand and yet so tender, so profoundly wise and yet so simple, so full of impetuous energy and yet so deeply imbued with child-like humility.

Yet do we see this transformation actually effected, and effected through the faith of "the Crucified." He who had been brought up "at the feet of Gamaliel," now sits a docile learner at the feet of Jesus. He who, "according to the very strictest sect of his fathers' religion, had lived a Pharisee," now maintains, that "a man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ." He who once "persecuted that way unto the death," now exclaims, "God forbid that I should glory save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ." Every where he proclaims "Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumbling-block, and unto the Greeks foolishness; but unto them which are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God." And, for the sake of "that faith" which "once he destroyed," and the followers of which, in his madness against them, he "persecuted even unto strange cities," he is now content to be "scourged" and "stoned;" to be "in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness;" he is "in labours more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prisons" full often, and familiar with "deaths,"—so that he speaks of himself as "dying daily," and as "always delivered unto death for Jesus' sake."

These are facts which cannot be got rid of, and which render it no more possible for criticism to annihilate St. Paul, than to annihilate Julius Cæsar. And it is equally impossible to bring into doubt the originality and authenticity of his principal letters. In the foregoing paragraph we have quoted only from Epistles, the Pauline authorship and integrity of which have not been cavilled at. And, assuredly, the facts we have referred to, furnish an impregnable ground for establishing not only the truth of the Gospel histories, and of Christianity in general, but also the Pauline authority of the other Epistles bearing the Apostle's name, which the critics above mentioned have the special merit of assailing. We cannot, indeed, but wonder, that a critic* who could impugn the authorship of such Epistles as those to Philemon and the Philippians, the evidences of which, both direct and collateral, external and internal, are so radiantly clear, and in which, especially, we recognise so directly and fully the spirit and (so to speak) the very voice of St. Paul, should have hesitated to deny at once, and *in toto*, the reality of his labours, and the authenticity of all his Epistles. His speculations might then have been safely dismissed to the same *limbo*, to which were long ago consigned the less improbable arguments of that learned Jesuit, who laboured so ingeniously to prove, that the writings of the classical authors of Rome were forgeries of the Middle Ages.

So lofty and unique in his individuality stands St. Paul. So conspicuous and important is he among the pillars that bear up the fabric of Christianity. There is but one character in Scripture more fully portrayed, or more commanding in majestic beauty. It is that of Him with whom none can compare,—who was God as well as Man.

The life of St. Paul, therefore, is a theme, in the illustration of which the most masterly powers and the rarest accomplishments might well be combined; especially because not only the man, but the period, and the great work of the period, of which, indeed, he was, after Christ, the great instrument, must be included in the theme.

"The fulness of the time was come," and God had sent forth his Son into the world. For the deepest and wisest reasons He had predetermined that this should be the last age of Judaism,

* Baur, who finds in Philemon "the *embryo* of a Christian romance, like the 'Clementine Homilies'." We are happy to say that, in the wildness of his scepticism as to the Epistles named in the text, as well as those to the Colossians and Thessalonians, this champion of the Destructives stands altogether or nearly alone. Olshausen, writing some years ago, could say of these writings, that their genuineness was "undeniable," and had "never been questioned, either in ancient or modern days." ("Proof of the Genuineness of the Writings of the New Testament."—Fosdick's translation.) Of the Epistle to Philemon, in particular, he says, "This delightful little Epistle so clearly exhibits all the characteristics of the great Apostle, and is so utterly free from every thing which would make it probable that any person could have a motive in forging it, that no one would ever entertain the idea of denying that Paul was the author."

and the first of Christianity. Now, "the mystery which from ages and from generations had been hid in God," was to be disclosed to all mankind. And St. Paul's was to be the hand commissioned first and chiefly to draw aside the veil. Greek culture had overspread the world, and Greek philosophy had done its best and worst. The iron arm of Rome had subjugated the nations, and repressed their mutual animosities, and her imperial policy had effaced the barriers which had previously held them separate, and had connected them with each other by military roads, and united them under one government. Thus was the world, at this epoch, of one language, (Greek,) and consolidated into one empire, that it might receive one religion. "The way of the Lord was prepared." The valleys were exalted, and the mountains and hills were brought low: the whole world was, so to speak, but one vast plain, at the feet of haughty and imperial Rome. But all this was done, in order that "the glory of the Lord might be revealed, and that all flesh might see it together."

Nowhere have we seen this matter so well set forth as in the opening chapter of the volumes of Messrs. Conybeare and Howson. We can only quote five pregnant sentences.

"He (the Christian) sees the Greek and Roman elements brought into remarkable union with the older and more sacred element of Judaism. He sees in the Hebrew nation a divinely-laid foundation for the superstructure of the Church, and in the dispersion of the Jews a soil made ready in fitting places for the seed of the Gospel. He sees in the spread of the language and commerce of the Greeks, and in the high perfection of their poetry and philosophy, appropriate means for the rapid communication of Christian ideas, and for bringing them into close connexion with the best thoughts of unassisted humanity. And he sees in the union of so many incoherent provinces under the law and government of Rome, a strong framework which might keep together for a sufficient period those masses of social life, which the Gospel was intended to pervade. The city of God is built at the confluence of three civilizations."—Vol. i., p. 4.

Then did the Lord "bend Judah for Him, and fill the bow with Ephraim, and raise up thy sons, O Zion, against thy sons, O Greece, and make thee as the sword of a mighty man. And the Lord was seen over them, and his arrow went forth as the lightning: the Lord God blew the trumpet, and went as with whirlwinds of the south. The Lord of hosts protected them; and they were filled with plenty;* they also drank, and shouted as from wine." (Zech. ix. 13-15.) Foremost of all these sons of Zion, in this contest with the sons of Javan, was Paul of Tarsus.

The extent to which the influence of Hellenistic Judaism had prepared the way for the reception of that Christianity, which is

* An obscure clause is here omitted from the passage quoted, the rendering of a part of which, too, is slightly varied from the Authorized Version. See *Pye Smith's "Scripture Testimony,"* vol. i., p. 280.

itself but the legitimate result and expansion, "the bright, consummate flower," of Judaism, is a subject which has yet scarcely received the attention it merits. Every where were the Jews of the dispersion "sown among the Gentiles," and habituated to the use of that Greek tongue, which was then the universal language of civilization and commerce. And in all their synagogues the Scriptures in the Greek Version were "read every Sabbath-day." The very bitterness and contempt with which they are spoken of by the historians, orators, and satirists of Rome, are in proof of the general influence they had acquired. Cicero and Horace, anterior to the Christian era, and Tacitus and Juvenal,* in reference to the apostolic age, make known to us, how energetic and successful was the proselyting zeal of this remarkable people, even in Rome itself, though appearing there, among its haughty and luxurious citizens, as a strange and subject race, distinguished by the repulsive exclusivism which separated them, even in social intercourse and private life, from the rest of the world. After the conquest of Judæa by Pompey, this influence became greater still; so that Seneca says, "*Victi victoribus leges dederunt.*" Both from the narrative of the Acts, and from the testimony of Josephus, it is evident that their religious influence in many cities round about the shores of the Ægean and the Mediterranean, especially over and by means of female proselytes,—"*devout women,*"—was very considerable. "Nicolas of Antioch" (Acts vi. 5) is only one of that vast multitude of Greeks, who were attracted in that city to the Jewish doctrine and ritual.† According to Josephus, (B. J., ii., 20, 2,) the people of Damascus were obliged to be cautious in their scheme of assassinating the Jews, "being apprehensive that all their wives, except a few, were devoted to the Jewish superstition." And a similar influence, it is evident, was exercised by the Jews of the Pisidian Antioch, of Beroea, and of Thessalonica. (Acts xiii. 50; xvii. 4, 12.) In this way did the truth and sublimity of Jewish monotheism, under every disadvantage, and in spite even of the vices which rendered its professors so generally the objects of dislike and contempt, vindicate its superiority to the corrupt and effete religions of the ancient world. Even Gentile Kings and Queens bowed to its divinity. "The Queen of Sheba, in the Old Testament; Candace, Queen of Ethiopia, in the New; and King Izates, with his mother Helena, mentioned by Josephus, are only royal representatives of a large class."‡ Thus was the prophecy of Zechariah largely fulfilled in Judaism, preparatory to its being afterwards more gloriously fulfilled in Christianity: "There shall come people

* The passages are quoted, or referred to, in Conybeare and Howson, vol. i., p. 20, and vol. ii., p. 379.

† Josephus, B. J., vii., 8, 9. Conybeare and Howson, vol. i., p. 21.

‡ Conybeare and Howson, vol. i., p. 20.

and the inhabitants of many cities; yea, many people and strong nations shall come to seek the Lord of hosts in Jerusalem, and to pray before the Lord. Thus saith the Lord of hosts, In those days ten men shall take hold out of all languages of the nations, even shall take hold of the skirt of him that is a Jew, saying, We will go with you: for we have heard that God is with you." (Zech. viii.)

Thus was the way prepared for the preaching to all men of the true Messiah, the great subject of the prophetic Scriptures, and the "desire of all nations." The Apostle of the Gentiles, and his coadjutors, addressed themselves first, in every place, to the communities of Hellenized Jews, and Gentile proselytes, in a tongue which gave access to the whole civilized world. From these communities, and especially out of the ranks of the proselytes, who from their circumstances were less likely than the Jews to be trammelled by traditional prejudices, Paul gathered his first converts; and these generally formed the *nuclei* of the mingled Churches of Jews and Gentiles eventually founded. By means of these, and the Scriptures which they revered as divine, he gained his introduction, and made good his ground; the persecutions which he suffered being amongst the proofs of his success.

No sooner, however, was Christianity planted any where, than, although "wholly a right seed," it became subject to a thousand modifying circumstances, every locality having its peculiar atmosphere, by the influences of which the development of Christianity was likely to be affected. This would, of course, be most emphatically the case at the commencement of the work. There then existed no resident instructors, no complete and responsible hierarchy, no settled written canon of *Christian* truth. Nor was it a time when sober habits of thought and reasoning prevailed. The general tone of morality also was not only lax, but fearfully corrupt. And the philosophies and speculations of the times were accommodated to the prevailing immorality. The misleading maxims and traditions of Pharisaism, and the absurd inventions of the Jewish Cabbala, the encraving and antichristian dreams of Oriental theosophy, the vain philosophies and lascivious idolatries of the Grecian races and of Italy, —these were the impure and unfriendly elements with which infant Christianity had to contend, and which, in particular places, were aggravated by peculiar circumstances. In Antioch, for instance, there was a fearful confluence of the vices and vanities of both the eastern and the western world. In Corinth, again, and (though by no means in so high a degree) at Thessalonica, the general immorality was heightened by the combination of the evil influences which were sure to meet, wherever a sceptical and vicious philosophy pandered to the excesses prompted by unbounded commercial prosperity, and the vulgar depravity

of the reckless seafarer was kept in countenance by the more refined, but not less guilty, practices of the pleasure-seeking stranger. In Athens, the population of which was poorer, as well as more select and refined, than that of Corinth, there would doubtless be less of reckless profligacy and enormous vice; but the prevalence of a bantering scepticism, and the entire absence of sincerity of conviction and earnestness of purpose, among the curious idlers and conceited *dilettanti* who frequented its schools, or lounged about its *agora*, would render it a yet more unpromising field for Christian labour, than the debased, but still impressible, population of Corinth or Thessalonica: while at Rome evil influences, of all kinds and from every quarter, would converge and centre. Here was the very vortex of the world's impiety and lust, all public and private virtue, with very rare exceptions, being alike forgotten. And the unimaginable debaucheries of the Emperors succeeding Augustus had, during the latter period of St. Paul's ministry, stimulated the general depravity to the highest pitch.

It is only by realizing such facts as these, that those who desire to trace the course of the Apostle's evangelical labours can understand his position in each place, or estimate correctly the difficulties with which he had to contend, or the motives and the wisdom which ever regulated his language and behaviour. But, when thus familiarized with the circumstances of the Apostle's labours, we easily see why it was needful for him to warn the Colossian Church, and the Ephesian Elders and Timothy, of that incipient form of ascetic and Cabbalistic Gnosticism, which found so congenial a home in mystic Phrygia and in magical Ephesus. We find less reason to marvel that, in such a city as Corinth, the flagrant sin which forms so prominent a subject in both the Epistles to the Corinthian Church, should not only have been committed, but, in the first instance, connived at. We perceive also how readily, in such a centre of excitement and vanity, factions might arise among the members of a newly formed and partially organized Church. "Every one of you saith, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ." (1 Cor. i. 12.) We are able to understand, in some measure, the reasons which induced the Apostle, here as in Thessalonica, to refuse support from the people among whom he laboured. We find no difficulty in comprehending the indolent excitability which seems to have been a prominent characteristic of the Thessalonian Church, at the same time that we recognise, in the prevalent carelessness and profligacy of the population of the city, the reason why, in his dealing with them, he dwelt so emphatically (as indicated both by the contents of his two Epistles, and by the brief record in the Acts) on the second coming of Christ to "judge the quick and the dead." We are enabled to perceive the marvellous wisdom with which, in his

address on the Areopagus, he adapted himself to the character of his Athenian audience, while proclaiming, with all fidelity and authority, the Gospel of Christ, and why even *his* ministrations, with *such* an audience, produced so little effect; and we feel, not only how true, in its general application, but how awfully appropriate, as addressed to the Church in Rome, is that description of the idolatry and pollution of the heathen world, which is contained in the first chapter of the Epistle to that Church.

Thus is it clear, that he who undertakes to write the life of St. Paul, must be prepared to paint the character, and to describe the conditions, of the period in which he lived. The scene of his labours was the Roman world; and the Christianity of which he was the messenger impinged upon every prejudice and maxim, and came into contact with every phase of life and civilization, in that world. Its object was to transform all; but, in its outward manifestation, it was liable to be modified by all. No one, therefore, can understand the work itself, or enter truly into the history and character of the workman, who does not understand the conditions under which the work was performed.

Nor is it merely the manners and morals, and intellectual and religious condition, of the various people among whom he laboured, with which, for this purpose, we must be made familiar. It is necessary to be acquainted, also, with their political institutions and forms of local government, and with their relations to the imperial Government under which they were united. Sergius Paulus, in connexion with whose conversion we find the Hebrew name of the Apostle finally disused, and the Roman name, Paulus, thenceforth adopted, was the *Proconsul* of Cyprus. At Philippi, a Roman colony, the Magistrates by whose order Paul and Silas were scourged, and "thrust into the inner prison," were the *Duumviri*, whom our authors suppose to have been styled, by courtesy, *Prætors*. (Στρατηγοί, Acts xvi. 20, 22.) At Thessalonica, a Greek city, gifted by Rome with the privileges of a *municipium*, we find the government of the city in the hands of the *Demos*, or assembly of the "people," and of officers called *Politarchs*, ("rulers of the city,") before whom "Jason and certain brethren," when Paul and Silas were not to be found, were taken by the rabble of the Jews. At Corinth, we notice a *Proconsul*, Gallio, the brother of Seneca, not only ruling the senatorial province of Achaia, but regulating the internal affairs of the city.* At Ephesus, again, the chief city of the Roman province of "Asia," and the seat of a proconsular power, more stringent, perhaps, than that of the *Proconsul* at Corinth, we

* The *Proconsuls* ruled the peaceful provinces, which were, at this period, professedly under the control of the Senate; the *Proprætor* had charge of the armed provinces, which were under the immediate jurisdiction of the Emperor.

yet find that the imperial authority had not set aside the ancient democratic form of local government.* For, in Acts xix., we read of a "lawful assembly" of the people there, and of a civic officer of great authority,—the Recorder, or "town-clerk," (*γραμματεὺς*), whose title, like that of the "Politarchs" at Thessalonica, is still extant on coins of the city. We find, moreover, that, in the peril of the Apostle at that city, some of the *Asiarchs* ("chiefs of Asia") stood his friends.†

In connexion with Syria and Palestine, the history of St. Paul brings us into contact, not only with the Jewish Sanhedrim and Roman governors, but also with two "Kings." One of these is Aretas, "who reigned at Petra, the desert metropolis of Stony Arabia," and who seems to have held Damascus at the time of St. Paul's conversion. There are few passages in the history of the Apostle more perplexing than this, yet, perhaps, none, the investigation of which produces a deeper conviction of the originality and truthfulness of the sacred record.‡ Again, at the period of St. Paul's latest visit to Jerusalem, he was rescued from the tumultuous violence of a murderous mob of *Jewish zealots*, on the very threshold of the Temple, by the *Prefect of the Roman garrison*, stationed at the time of the feasts in the fortress of Antonia, which overlooked the court of the temple; and he saved himself from Roman torture by an assertion of his rights as a Roman citizen, which had long before stood him in some stead at Philippi. Being taken before the *Jewish Sanhedrim*, by order of the *Prefect*, that by them judgment might be pronounced upon him, he was delivered from the danger to which he was exposed because of the fierceness of the dispute, in reference to his case, between the Pharisees and Sadducees, by a second intervention of the *Prefect* and *his soldiers*, who, on this occasion, in order to rescue him, must have passed through the outer court of the Temple, even to the verge of the "holy place." When he was to have been again demanded of the Roman officer by the Sanhedrim, to be given up to their jurisdiction, that they might thus bring him into the hands of the forty conspirators, who, with their good-will and sanction, had plotted his death,—upon the *Prefect's* being informed of this plot by the Apostle's nephew, St. Paul was conveyed away by night, under an escort of soldiers, to the custody of the *Procurator* at Cæsarea. There he pleaded his cause before two *Procurators* in succession, and escaped from his countrymen by an *appeal to Cæsar*. Once

* Verse 38. "Deputies." The office of Proconsul is expressed in the Authorized Version of the Acts by the word "deputy." A difficulty arises from the use of the plural here; as to which, see Conybeare and Howson, vol. ii., p. 78, note 3, and Kuinoël, *in loco*.

† These seem to have been Asiatic Greeks, of wealth and distinction, from the various cities of Ionia, chosen to preside over the annual public games and festivities connected with the worship of the Ephesian Diana.

‡ See our authors, vol. i., pp. 88-90, and Davidson's "Introduction," &c., vol. ii., p. 107.

more, he made a public defence of his faith and conduct, in the presence, not only of the *Roman Procurator*, but of a *Jewish King*, and reiterated his appeal to the judgment-seat of Cæsar. After this, in consequence of his appeal, he was remitted, under military guard, to the *imperial Court of Rome*, and there he awaited his trial, upon questions touching the religious feelings of his Hebrew countrymen and *the law of Moses*.

So wide-spread, various, and complicated, are the political relations with which the history of St. Paul brings us into contact. Nor is a minute acquaintance with the political relations, the administration, and the institutions of the empire and the provinces, at all more indispensable than a full and accurate knowledge of the geography and topography of the countries he visited, of the land and sea-routes, and of the modes and conditions of travelling and voyaging which obtained at that period. On these points, happily, the researches of modern travellers—especially, we are proud to say, of British travellers, tracking, with a more than classic, that is, with a pious, enthusiasm, the course of the Apostle—have, of late years, added very largely to our formerly insufficient stock of knowledge, and, as to many points, have left little more to be desired. Above all, the recent work on the voyage and shipwreck of St. Paul, by Mr. Smith, with the main positions and conclusions of which a MS. essay of the late Admiral Penrose, on the same subject, (first made known to the public, though but in part, by the authors of the work under review,) very remarkably coincides, has for ever dissipated the obscurities and misconceptions which had hung about that part of St. Paul's history, and has afforded one of the most convincing of the manifold proofs of the minutely circumstantial accuracy which distinguishes the narrative of Luke.

All this, and more than this, belongs to the *scenery* of the Apostle's life, without which that life itself cannot be fully understood. But, after all, the noblest and most essential part of the work is, to enter into the very heart and character of the man himself, as a man, as a Jew, ("Hebrew of the Hebrews,") and as a Christian. To conceive the influences which surrounded his childhood at Tarsus, to reproduce him as the youth at Jerusalem, the disciple "brought up at the feet of Gamaliel," the proud and bigoted, but sincere and upright, Pharisee, the impetuous partisan, and the mad persecutor;—then, to depict him with chaste and tender truthfulness, as the stricken Saul, after he had seen "Jesus in the way," to exhibit in his miraculous conversion the sun-bright and irrefragable evidence which is afforded of the truth of Christianity,—next, to trace the course, and paint the circumstances, and realize the position, and review the labours of this "chosen vessel," as, "from Jerusalem round about unto Illyricum," and finally in Rome itself, he proclaimed the glad tidings of the grace of God, until at last

he sealed his testimony with his blood,—this is the work of the biographer of St. Paul.

And this work has been nobly done by Messrs. Conybeare and Howson. All that we have sketched in the foregoing pages, as belonging to the task, and much more than this, has been actually accomplished. The most various and comprehensive learning, including patristic reading and all modern criticism and research, an industry and accuracy as of the olden folio age, combined with masterly powers of historical analysis, the still rarer faculty of vividly realizing the past, and giving others to see it in the light of the present, a most eloquent and, spite of their German learning, a purely English style, a reverent and loving heart for Christian goodness, purity, and truth, a profound sense of the vanity of all human faculty and knowledge apart from Christ,—these are the qualifications which have enabled them to produce this noble work. The volumes, too, are enriched by a very large number of beautiful plates, accurate maps, and appropriate wood engravings of coins, &c. So that we have every possible help furnished to us, to enable us “to live in the life of a by-gone age, and to call up the figure of the past from its tomb, duly robed in all its former raiment.”*

Such a work would certainly not be complete, unless St. Paul's letters were incorporated with it. For, not only are the substance and style of those letters most characteristic of the man, but no small portion of the narrative of his life has to be constructed from the statements and hints which they contain. And, even in other cases, where the events are related in outline by St. Luke, much of the life and colouring must be derived from the same source. The incorporation of these writings, however, with the narrative will render necessary other and more minute explanations of the life and manners of the persons he addressed. We refer to such matters as “the public amusements of the people, whence he draws topics of warning or illustration; the social organization and gradation of ranks, for which he enjoins respect; the position of women, to which he specially refers in many of his letters; the relations between parents and children, slaves and masters, which he not vainly sought to imbue with the loving spirit of the Gospel.”†

Accordingly, Messrs. Conybeare and Howson, besides giving us a new and valuable version of the Epistles of St. Paul, have embodied in their work all such illustrations of manners and customs as those to which we have referred as being necessary.

Of course, these two volumes are costly. But, considering the amount and quality of the matter, and the number and style

* Introduction, p. 5.

† *Ibid.*

of the illustrations, we hold them to be exceedingly cheap. Still they are costly, and hence their circulation will be of necessity comparatively limited. This consideration emboldens us, notwithstanding that they have now been some time before the public, to introduce a few quotations, for the sake of those of our readers who may not have the opportunity of seeing the whole work.

Our first extracts shall be a few paragraphs, culled and partly condensed from the exquisite ideal sketch of the childhood and youth of the young Hebrew at Tarsus and Jerusalem.

"Admitted into covenant with God by circumcision, the Jewish child had thenceforward a full claim to all the privileges of the chosen people. From that time we are at no loss to learn what the ideas were with which his early thought was made familiar.....The histories of Abraham and Isaac, of Jacob and his twelve sons, of Moses among the bulrushes, of Joshua and Samuel, Elijah, Daniel, and the Maccabees, were the stories of his childhood. The destruction of Pharaoh in the Red Sea, the thunders of Mount Sinai, the dreary journeys in the wilderness, the land that flowed with milk and honey,—this was the earliest imagery presented to his opening mind. The triumphant songs of Zion, the lamentations by the waters of Babylon, the prophetic praises of the Messiah, were the songs around his cradle.

"Above all, he would be familiar with the destinies of his own illustrious tribe. The life of the timid Patriarch, the father of the twelve; the sad death of Rachel near the city where the Messiah was to be born; the loneliness of Jacob, who sought to comfort himself in Benoni, 'the son of her sorrow,' by calling him Benjamin, 'the son of his right hand;' and then the youthful days of this youngest of the twelve brethren, the famine, and the journeys into Egypt, the severity of Joseph, and the wonderful story of the silver cup in the mouth of the sack;—these are the narratives to which he listened with intense and eager interest.....When St. Paul was a child, and learnt the words, no Christian thoughts were associated with the prophecy of Moses, when he said of Benjamin, 'The beloved of the Lord shall dwell in safety by him; and the Lord shall cover him all the day long, and he shall dwell between his shoulders.' But he was familiar with the prophetic words, and could follow in imagination the fortunes of the sons of Benjamin, and knew how they went through the wilderness with Rachel's other children, the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh, forming with them the third of the four companies on the march, and reposing with them at night on the west of the encampment. He heard how their lands were assigned to them in the promised country along the borders of Judah; and how Saul, whose name he bore, was chosen from the tribe which was the smallest, when 'little Benjamin' became 'the ruler' of Israel. He knew that when the ten tribes revolted, Benjamin was faithful; and he learnt to follow its honourable history even into the dismal years of the Babylonian captivity, when Mordecai, 'a Benjamite who had been carried away,' saved the nation; and when, instead of destruction, 'the Jews,' through him, 'had light, and gladness, and joy, and honour: and in every province, and in every city, whithersoever the King's commandment and his decree came, the Jews had joy and gladness, a feast and a good

day. And many of the people of the land became Jews: for the fear of the Jews fell upon them.'"—Vol. i., pp. 45-48.

"We have seen what his infancy was: we must now glance at his boyhood. It is usually the case that the features of a strong character display themselves early. His impetuous and fiery disposition would sometimes need control. Flashes of indignation would reveal his impatience and his honesty. The affectionate tenderness of his nature would not be without an object of attachment, if that sister, who was afterwards married, was his playmate at Tarsus. The work of tent-making, rather an amusement than a trade, might sometimes occupy those young hands, which were marked with the toil of years, when he held them to the view of the Elders at Miletus. His education was conducted at home rather than at school; for, though Tarsus was celebrated for its learning, the Hebrew boy would not lightly be exposed to the influence of Gentile teaching. Or if he went to a school, it was not to a Greek school, but rather to some room connected with the synagogue, where a noisy class of Jewish children received instruction, seated on the ground with their teacher, after the manner of Mohammedan children in the East, who may be seen or heard at their lessons near the mosques.....His religious knowledge, as his years advanced, was obtained from hearing the law read in the synagogue, from listening to the arguments and discussions of learned Doctors, and from that habit of questioning and answering, which was permitted even to the children among the Jews. Familiar with the pathetic history of the Jewish sufferings, he would feel his heart filled with that love to his own people, which breaks out in the Epistle to the Romans, (ix. 4-6,)—to that people, 'whose were the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and of whom, as concerning the flesh, Christ was to come;' a love not then, as it was afterwards, blended with love towards all mankind; 'to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile;' but rather united with a bitter hatred to the Gentile children whom he saw around him. His idea of the Messiah, so far as it was distinct, would be the carnal notion of a temporal Prince,—a 'Christ known after the flesh;' and he looked forward, with the hope of a Hebrew, to the restoration of 'the kingdom to Israel.' He would be known at Tarsus as a child of promise, and as one likely to uphold the honour of the law against the half-infidel teaching of the day. But the time was drawing near when his training was to become more exact and systematic. He was destined for the school of Jerusalem."—*Ibid.*, pp. 53-55.

In this way is the career of the young Pharisee traced, step by step. His voyage from Tarsus to Jerusalem, "with his father, or under the care of some other friend older than himself;" his feelings, as a Hebrew boy, on his first visit to the Holy Land; the scenery of his journey towards Jerusalem; the two famous Rabbinical schools of the Holy City, "the rival schools of Hillel and Schammai;" the character of Gamaliel, and the influence which his teaching may be supposed to have had on the mind of Saul; the worship and doctrines of the synagogues at Jerusalem; the development of his religious intelligence and knowledge as an embryo Rabbi under this culture;—all these things are

brought before us with a rare union of historical accuracy, congenial feeling, apt illustration, and felicitous expression.

The conversion of St. Paul is dealt with as such a theme ought to be. No attempt is made to explain away the obvious miracle. The religious truths embodied in the history are well brought out; and the bearing of this miraculous conversion of such a man as Saul to the faith of Christ, upon the evidence of the Christian religion, is clearly and emphatically stated.

One of the passages which we had marked for quotation, but from which we have only space to give a few sentences, is that in which our authors investigate the origin of the title "Christians," first given to the disciples at Antioch. Passing by all violent or extraordinary methods of accounting for the origin of this appellation, they consider it as naturally arising from the position in which the believers in Christ were for the first time placed in the Gentile city of Antioch:—

"When Gentiles began to listen to what was preached concerning Christ, when they were united as brethren on equal terms, and admitted to baptism without the necessity of previous circumcision, when the Mosaic features of this Society were lost in the wider character of the New Covenant, then it became evident that these men were something more than the Pharisees or Sadducees, the Essenes or Herodians, or any sect or party among the Jews. Thus a new term in the vocabulary of the human race came into existence at Antioch about the year 44. Thus, Jews and Gentiles, who, under the teaching of St. Paul, believed that Jesus of Nazareth was the Saviour of the world, were first called 'Christians.'"—Vol. i., p. 129.

Messrs. Conybeare and Howson assign satisfactory reasons for concluding that this appellation was not invented by the Jews, nor selected for themselves by the Christians. It originated among the Gentiles; and "the form of the word," in their judgment, "implies that it came from the Romans, not from the Greeks," being, probably, in the first instance, employed "as a term of ridicule and derision."

One of the most interesting minor speculations in these volumes, and one, at the same time, singularly illustrative of the accomplished scholarship of the writer, is that which refers to the mutual relations of the names "Saul" and "Paul," and to the connexion which has been supposed to exist between the latter of these names and that of the Roman Proconsul, Sergius Paulus, a convert of the Apostle's, and the date of whose conversion so remarkably synchronizes with the change of the Apostle's name in St. Luke's narrative. But for this speculation we must refer our readers to the work itself. (Vol. i., pp. 161–166.)

Of the many historical sketches contained in this work, one of the most beautiful is that of the most ancient remaining city of earth, Damascus, which will be found in the third chapter. And, perhaps, the most valuable geographical disquisition is that con-

tained in the eighth chapter, on the political divisions of Asia Minor. We are mistaken if this is not the only competent description in existence of the political divisions of that region *in the time of St. Paul*. Yet are there few contributions to the illustration of New-Testament geography and history, which have so long been felt by every student to be an essential *desideratum*. Scarcely inferior to this in value is the description of the constitution of a colony, as distinguished from a *municipium*, or a free city, contained in the ninth chapter.

We have quoted the description given by our authors of the childhood of St. Paul: we will now give their description of his death:—

“As the martyr and his executioners passed on, their way was crowded with a motley multitude of comers and goers between the metropolis and its harbour,—merchants hastening to superintend the unloading of their cargoes,—sailors eager to squander the profits of their last voyage in the dissipations of the capital,—officials of the Government charged with the administration of the provinces, or the command of the legions on the Euphrates or the Rhine,—Chaldean astrologers,—Phrygian eunuchs,—dancing-girls from Syria, with their painted turbans,—mendicant priests from Egypt, howling for Osiris,—Greek adventurers, eager to coin their national cunning into Roman gold,—representatives of the avarice and ambition, the fraud and lust, the superstition and intelligence, of the imperial world. Through the dust and tumult of that busy throng, the small troop of soldiers threaded their way silently, under the bright sky of an Italian mid-summer. They were marching, though they knew it not, in a procession more truly triumphal than any they had ever followed, in the train of General or Emperor, along the Sacred Way. Their prisoner, now at last, and for ever, delivered from captivity, rejoiced to follow the Lord ‘without the gate.’ The place of execution was not far distant; and there the sword of the headsman ended his long course of sufferings, and released that heroic soul from that feeble body. Weeping friends took up his corpse, and carried it for burial to those subterranean labyrinths, where, through many ages of oppression, the persecuted Church found refuge for the living, and sepulchres for the dead.

“Thus died the Apostle, the Prophet, and the Martyr; bequeathing to the Church, in her government and her discipline, the legacy of his apostolic labours; leaving his prophetic words to be her living oracles; pouring forth his blood to be the seed of a thousand martyrdoms. Thenceforth, among the glorious company of the Apostles, the goodly fellowship of the Prophets, the noble army of Martyrs, his name has stood pre-eminent. And wheresoever the holy Church, throughout all the world, doth acknowledge God, there Paul of Tarsus is revered, as the great teacher of a universal redemption, and a Catholic religion,—the herald of glad tidings to all mankind.”—Vol ii., pp. 508–505.

In connexion with the history of St. Paul’s labours, there are a number of subsidiary topics, relating to the internal condition of the apostolic Churches, of great importance in themselves, especially as connected with the development of the Church in after ages,

but the minute discussion of which is not essential to a right estimate of the Apostle's life and labours. They are points, in reference to which there may be considerable divergence of opinion, and yet a perfect agreement as to the part which St. Paul took in regard to them, and as to the manner in which they affected him. No view of his labours, however, could be complete without some examination of these subjects. Several of them are thrown together by our authors, and treated of in one chapter. The last chapter of the first volume relates to "the spiritual gifts, constitution, ordinances, divisions, and heresies, of the primitive Church, in the life-time of St. Paul."

On the question of the *χαρίσματα*, or "spiritual gifts" of the primitive Church, our authors do not say much, (for there is not, in fact, much to be said,) nor anything that is new. Succinctness and modesty of statement constitute the merit of what they write on this subject. We extract what they say on the "gift of tongues," as it briefly shows the little that we know on this obscure point.

"With regard to the gift of tongues, there is much difficulty, from the notices of it in Scripture, in fully comprehending its nature. But from the passages where it is mentioned, we may gather thus much concerning it:—First. That it was not a *knowledge* of foreign languages, as is often supposed; we never read of its being exercised for the conversion of foreign nations, nor (except on the day of Pentecost alone) for that of individual foreigners; and even on that occasion, the foreigners present were all Jewish proselytes, and most of them understood the Hellenistic* dialect. Secondly. We learn that this gift was the result of a sudden influx of supernatural inspiration, which came upon the new believer immediately after his baptism, and recurred afterwards at uncertain intervals. Thirdly. We find, that while under its influence, the exercise of the *understanding* was suspended, and the *spirit* was rapt into a state of ecstasy by the immediate communication of the Spirit of God. In this ecstatic trance the believer was constrained by an irresistible power to pour forth his feelings of thanksgiving and rapture in words: yet the words which issued from his mouth were not his own; he was even (usually) ignorant of their meaning: they were the words of some foreign language, and not intelligible to the bystanders, unless some of these chanced to be natives of the country where the language was spoken. St. Paul desired that those who possessed this gift should not be suffered to exercise it in the congregation, unless some one present possessed another gift, (subsidiary to this,) called the '*interpretation of tongues*,' by which the ecstatic utterance of the former might be rendered available for general edification."—Vol. i., pp. 460, 461.

We should think it impossible to reconcile the view, which in the foregoing paragraph is rather hinted than plainly stated, of

* "This must probably have been the case with all the foreigners mentioned, except the Parthians, Medes, Elamites, and Arabians; and the Jews from these latter countries would probably understand the Aramaic of Palestine."

the "tongues" used on the day of Pentecost, with the plain sense of Acts ii. 6-11, from which it would certainly seem evident enough that other tongues and dialects, besides Hellenistic Greek and Aramaic, were heard by the mingled multitude that day. But the rest of the statements contained in the extract seem to be undeniable. Our authors refer, in confirmation of their summary, to Mark xvi. 17; Acts ii. 4, &c.; Acts x. 47; Acts xi. 15-17; and 1 Cor. xii. and xiv.

How a Christian community, in primitive times, grew into a regularly constituted and organized Church, and what precise form the organization assumed in the apostolic age, are questions no less important than interesting. In a mere life of St. Paul, however, the minute discussion of such questions would scarcely find a fitting place. In whatever way they are determined by any orthodox Christian, the view of St. Paul's character and conduct, and of the mutual relations of the Apostle and those to whom he ministered, will not be materially affected. This, perhaps, is one reason why our authors have not entered more fully or profoundly into this subject. Moreover, to do justice to the subject, would have required a treatise such as would far overpass the limits of a subsidiary topic.

The view which they take of primitive Church order is that of liberal and candid Episcopalians. The equivalency, in the New Testament, of the terms "Bishop" and "Presbyter" is, of course, affirmed. But, it is added,—

"The history of the Church leaves us no room for doubt that, on the death of the Apostles, or perhaps at an earlier period, (and, in either case, by their directions,) one amongst the Presbyters of each Church was selected to preside over the rest, and to him was applied emphatically the title of the 'Bishop' or 'Overseer,' which had previously belonged equally to all. Thus he became in reality (what he was sometimes called) the successor of the Apostles, as exercising (though in a lower degree) that function of government which had formerly belonged to them."—Vol. i., p. 465.

Again, in the preceding page, they say of the Apostles:—

"So far as their function was to govern, they represented the monarchical element in the constitution of the early Church, and their power was a full counterpoise to that democratic tendency which has sometimes been attributed to the ecclesiastical arrangements of the apostolic period."—*Ibid.*, p. 464.

"The seven" (Acts vi.) are not allowed to have been "Deacons," in the ecclesiastical sense of that term. "The office of the seven," it is affirmed, "was one of much higher importance than that of the subsequent Deacons." Yet it is at the same time stated, with some apparent inconsistency, that the seven "were only elected to supply a temporary emergency."

"The last of the three orders," [Apostles, Presbyters, and Deacons,] our authors say, "did not take its place in the ecclesiastical organiza-

tion till towards the close of St. Paul's life; or, at least, this name was not assigned to those who discharged the functions of the diaconate till a late period; the Epistle to the Philippians being the earliest in which the term occurs in its technical sense."—*Ibid.*, p. 466.

As to the distinction between "Teachers" (διδάσκαλοι, 1 Cor. xii. 28) and "Presbyters," or "Pastors," our authors admit that it is "possible (as Neander thinks) that at first there may have been sometimes a difference. But," they add, "those who possessed both gifts" [of *teaching* and *ruling*] "would surely have been chosen Presbyters from the first, if they were to be found: and, at all events, in the time of the pastoral Epistles, we find the offices united." (P. 466, note.)

The text, 1 Tim. v. 17, is thus rendered by our authors:—

"Let the Presbyters who perform their office well be counted worthy of a twofold honour, especially those who labour in speaking and teaching."—Vol. ii., p. 472.

Upon which they make the following note:—

"In vol. i., p. 466, we observed that the offices of πρεσβύτερος and διδάσκαλος were united, at the date of the pastoral Epistles, in the same persons: which is shown by διδασκείας being a qualification required in a Presbyter, 1 Tim. iii. 2," [and 2 Tim. ii. 24.] "But, though this union must, in all cases, have been desirable, we find, from this passage, that there were still some πρεσβύτεροι who were not διδάσκαλοι, i. e., who did not [ordinarily] perform the office of public instruction in the congregation. This is another strong proof of the early date of the Epistle."

The view which is here given of the distinction between different Presbyters of the same Church, implied in 1 Tim. v. 17, has the support of the most candid and eminent biblical interpreters and ecclesiastical historians, both of ancient and modern times. Of late, especially, this view appears to have gained ground: it is that which is adopted, not only by our authors, but by Neander, Davidson, and Bünsen. It allows that at first there existed, in some cases, an ordinary *practical* distinction, but denies any *radical* distinction, between the teaching and ruling Elders. In the words of Bünsen, in his recent work, "The Elders are teachers and administrators. If an individual happen to be engaged in either of these offices more exclusively than the other, it makes no real alteration in his position; for the Presbyters of the ancient Church filled both situations."*

From the offices, worship, and ordinances of the primitive Church the transition is easy to its factions and heresies; as, from contemplating the appointed order of any system, we are naturally led to mark the deviations which occur with reference to it. One great cause of faction was at work throughout the apostolic Church,—the opposition of Judaizing Christians to the liberty of the Gospel. Another cause, not unfrequently combined

* "Hippolytus," vol. iii., p. 246.

with this, but yet proceeding from a very different origin, was the prevalence τῆς ψευδονύμου γνώσεως, (1 Tim. vi. 20,) "of the mis-called *gnosis*," or "science falsely so called."

Both these causes concurred to distract the Christian community at Corinth. Here, more than anywhere else among the primitive Churches, the jar and discord of contending parties are heard to resound. The faction-cries were, "I am of Paul; and I of Apollos; and I of Cephas; and I of Christ." Much speculation has been bestowed upon the nature of these various parties; but, from the total lack of collateral and contemporary evidence, (besides that afforded by the New Testament itself,) the subject is so exceedingly obscure, that it would seem to be impossible to determine the question with anything like certainty. As to the mere explication of the text of the Epistles to the Corinthians, the question is not of much importance. Nor, in whatever way it is determined, will our impression of St. Paul's bearing and behaviour in the case be materially affected. But, as related to the internal condition and character of the Church at Corinth, and as illustrative of the influences to which primitive Christianity was exposed, it is a question of great interest and some importance.

We cannot say that we consider the summary view which Mr. Conybeare gives to be at all satisfactory. He represents the Apollos party as being very materially distinguished from that of Paul, and connects with this the presumptuous and antinomian *gnosis* ("knowledge," or "science," 1 Cor. viii. 1) which the Apostle so often reproves, and in which Mr. Conybeare "detects the germ of that rationalizing tendency, which afterwards developed itself into the Greek element of Gnosticism." He thus brings into the train of Apollos those in the Corinthian Church who "defended fornication on theory, and denied the resurrection of the dead." To us this appears a very improbable conclusion. The mere fact that Apollos was a "Jew of Alexandria," and an "eloquent man," affords a very slender presumption in favour of such a view. It would be hard to believe that the taint of "vain philosophy," and Gnostic pravity, clung to every Alexandrian Jew, even after his becoming a believer in Christ, and a follower of St. Paul. And if Apollos was "an eloquent man," yet, when it is directly added, as if in explanation, that he was "mighty in the Scriptures," we certainly have no right to infer that, by mere "wisdom of words," he strove "to adapt his teaching to the taste of his philosophizing hearers at Corinth." All that we know of his connexion with St. Paul, and every allusion of the Apostle to him as his friend and subordinate, is opposed to that conclusion. Much more probable, in our opinion, is the view of Dr. Davidson, in his very able discussion of this subject;* according to which, the party of

* See Davidson's "Introduction," &c., vol. ii.

Apollos belonged substantially to the same section of Corinthian Christians as the adherents of Paul; the two parties differing from each other only as to "the degree of apostolic authority due to the *founder*, as compared to the *builder-up*, of the Church." And, as this view harmonizes with all we know of the character and mutual relations of Paul and Apollos, so, in particular, it seems to be the only one which agrees with the tone in which St. Paul discusses the respective claims of himself and Apollos. (See especially 1 Cor. iii. 6, 7, and iv. 6.)

The party of Cephas undoubtedly was the Judaizing section of the Church at Corinth. But we cannot accede to the view of Mr. Conybeare, that the party whose watchword was, "And I of Christ," represented the most violent portion of the Corinthian Judaizers. The supposition that they may have assumed this motto, "as having either been among the number of Christ's disciples, or, at least, as being in close connexion with the brethren of the Lord, and especially with James, the head of the Church at Jerusalem," is so very far-fetched, as only to prove how exceedingly difficult it is to devise a reason why this particular section of slaves to the letter should have selected as their party-badge the name of "Christ." We cannot but prefer the view which Dr. Davidson has given, as being, in the main, correct. The Christ party were those who professed allegiance to no head or leader but Christ. They conceived themselves to be gifted with a "knowledge" (*γνῶσις*) and a "wisdom," by means of which they could determine for themselves what was right or wrong. This gift they professed to have received from Christ, and by means of it, without the intervention of any subordinate teaching or authority, they assumed to be directly connected with Him, and enabled to know what was according to His will and conformable to His doctrines. They were mystics, possessed, as they pretended, of an inward light; and they had a high-sounding "wisdom of words," very likely to impose upon the ignorant or weakly enthusiastic. Although directly opposed, on most points, to the Petrine party, they would agree with them in decrying the apostolic authority and claims of St. Paul. At the same time, they probably exhibited a tendency to antinomianism. With the party of St. Paul they would so far agree in opposing the scruples of the "weak brethren" of the Petrine party, as to disregard all distinctions of meats; but, "puffed up" with their "knowledge," they would go far beyond all genuine followers of the Apostle, in making no scruple of sharing in heathen feasts in connexion with idol-temples. We do not know that we have any right to attribute to this party any share in the glaring excesses and immoralities which disgraced the Christian Church at Corinth, or in the denial of the doctrine of the resurrection. Perhaps the former may be more naturally considered as the result of the previous habits of

the converts at Corinth, who were surrounded by temptations to vice, and were not yet all of them "purged from their old sins." But the denial of the resurrection was not an improbable consequence of the mystic and presumptuous tendencies which seem to have characterized the "Christ party," as they dared to call themselves. And this tenet would also seem to hint a connexion between the views of some of the errorists at Corinth, and that incipient form of Gnosticism, which, long before the expiration of the apostolic period, began to corrupt the pure doctrines of Christianity.

It is with a discussion of the subject we have last named—the incipient Gnosticism of the apostolic age—that Mr. Conybeare closes the chapter under review. This is, perhaps, at once the most obscure and the most extensive subject connected with the history of early Christianity. Neander's investigation, in the second volume of his "*Ecclesiastical History*," makes one feel this. Bünsen's "*Hippolytus*" will deepen the impression. But, perhaps, no work, to which the ordinary English student can gain access, gives so adequate an idea of the vast literature and range of research connected with this subject, as Dr. Burton's "*Inquiry into the Heresies of the Apostolic Age*," published as the "*Bampton Lectures*" for 1828. Of course Mr. Conybeare, dealing with this subject as a subsidiary topic, could not pretend to treat it profoundly. To do this, indeed, would require an investigation of all Chaldean and Magian angelology and theosophy, of the doctrines of Pythagoras and Plato, and of middle and later Platonism, down to the days of Plotinus and Porphyry, of the Alexandrian Eclecticism, of the Jewish Cabbala, of the obscurities of the Alexandrian Philo, and of all that Justin, Irenæus, Hippolytus, and other Fathers of the first three centuries, wrote about the Gnostics. Mr. Conybeare has, however, given a clear and able summary, yet one with which we cannot altogether agree. It appears to us that he is in error in including, under the same general description, all the profane and violent antinomian heresies referred to in all the Epistles. It is, perhaps, possible that all these may have had some alliance with Gnosticism, under one form or another. But if so, we think a marked distinction should be drawn between the kinds of Gnosticism. Certainly, the heresies which threatened Colosse, and which seem to have been substantially the same with those which made their appearance at Ephesus, differed materially from those to which Peter and Jude refer in their Epistles, and which are spoken of in the second and third chapters of the Apocalypse. As to this point, we venture to think that Mr. Conybeare has fallen into error, in a direction opposite to that of Mr. Stanley,* whose views he controverts. Mr. Stanley classes together "all

* The Rev. A. P. Stanley, in his "*Sermons and Essays on the Apostolic Age*."

the heretics opposed by St. Paul in the Epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians, and to Timothy and Titus, and those denounced by St. Peter, St. Jude, and St. John," and considers them to have been "Judaizers." Mr. Conybeare also classes them all together, but believes that their heresies all belonged to "an incipient form of Gnosticism," of which "the Jewish element was only the accidental, and the Gentile element the essential, constituent." (P. 490.) It appears to us, on the contrary, that although, of the later heresies opposed by Peter, Jude, and John in the Apocalypse this *may* be true, yet the heresy against which the Colossian Church is warned, is demonstrably based upon a traditional Judaism; and that the heresies opposed in the pastoral Epistles must have been, partly at least, of the same general character.

That the false teachers at Colosse were Jews, may be certainly inferred from the tenets which are attributed to them. They held the "tradition of men," and "the rudiments of the world," that is, the principles and observances of the Mosaic law, (Col. ii. 8,) respecting meats and drinks, festivals, new moons, and sabbaths; (ii. 16;) and they maintained the virtue and necessity of circumcision. (ii. 11.) It is true, that with these tenets they had incorporated a variety of superstitions, not properly belonging to Judaism, but derived from oriental speculations, which may be loosely described as of a Budhistical character. There can be little doubt, however, that the form in which they held those superstitions was one which had been moulded by Jews themselves during several centuries after the return from Babylon. There is no need to travel beyond the Cabbalistic system, for any of the corrupt doctrines referred to in the Epistle to the Colossians. The worship of angels, (by a "voluntary humility,") as *internuncii* or "mediators" between themselves and God; (ii. 18;) the denial of Christ's Godhead, involved in his being reckoned in the number of the Sephiroth, "the thrones, dominions, principalities, and powers," which, according to the Cabbala, were emanations from the Deity, and by means of which—and not by the direct *fiat* of the Highest himself—the universe was brought into being; (i. 15–17;) the antipathy against matter, as being necessarily evil, which led to rigid asceticism as the means of avoiding or purging away material defilement; (ii. 20–23;) all these things were either parts of, or immediately deducible from, that compound of oriental and Jewish speculation which was afterwards committed to writing, and, to some extent, systematized, under the name of "the Cabbala."

If, therefore, we regard the false teachers at Colosse as those who endeavoured so to interpret the doctrines of Christianity, as to accommodate them to their own false and disfigured Judaism, this meets the whole case. Most appropriate, in this view of the subject, is the Apostle's warning,—*"Beware lest any man*

spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ." (ii. 8.) Here we have "the rudiments of the world,"—the Mosaic law,—and "the tradition of men,"—the Jewish Cabbala, which (at that time still unwritten) professed to be a collection of ancient and sacred traditions, and signified as much by its very name;* and assuredly here we have "philosophy and vain deceit."

There can be no doubt, indeed, that much of what the Apostle says would apply with equal justness to the speculations of the early Gnostics. But there are two important points which seem to forbid such an application. The Colossian false teachers, it is plain enough, not only practised themselves, but endeavoured to enforce on others, circumcision and the ceremonial observances of the Jewish law. But this was entirely opposed to the genius of Gnosticism, which taught that the God of the Old Testament was an evil demon, or at least a degenerate son, who, without the concurrence of the supreme God, moulded and disposed that essentially evil and malignant substance, matter, (supposed to be co-eternal with the Deity,) into the form of the present universe, and who imposed upon the Jews the bondage of a hard and evil law, from which, and from the dominion of matter, it was the office of Christ to free both them and all men. In consistency with this principle, they rejected the divine authority and inspiration of the Old Testament. Hence, although a few of them may, as Neander supposes, have transferred to their own system some elements derived from Judaism, yet they would not do this on the authority of the law; far less, would they endeavour to enforce this law on others. The only apparent exception to the above statement, so far as we know, (for it is quite a mistake to call the Ebionites Gnostics, the two sects being in their real genius, and as to most practical points, opposed to each other,) is the heretic Cerinthus. He was undoubtedly a Gnostic, or very like one, and yet he passed for a Jew. But, if it is remembered that Cerinthus was, in fact, a Jew by birth and education, and yet that, under the influence of his Gnostic views, he so far modified his Judaism, as to teach that the world was created and the law given, not by Jehovah himself, but, (to use the words of Irenæus,) by some angelic powers "greatly separated and removed from the supreme Power which is above all, and ignorant of the God who is over all," and that he only "paid a partial attention to Judaism,"† it will be seen that this exception only proves the rule. We may lay it down as a principle, that bigoted Judaism is altogether incompatible with fundamental Gnosticism. We find it, then, on this ground, quite impossible to believe, with Mr. Conybeare, that "the Jewish element was only the acci-

* *Cabbala*, "that which has been received." † Burton's "Bampton Lect.," p. 476.

dental, and the Gentile element the essential, constituent" of the Colossian heresies.

The other point which seems to us to forbid the application of what the Apostle says of the Colossian heretics to any Gnostical party, properly and distinctively so called, is the reference to "the tradition of men." Those who trusted and boasted in their *gnosis*, as an inward intuition by which they could discern and decide upon all spiritual truth, would not refer to "the tradition of men" as their sanction and authority for what they taught. Gnosticism was, from the first, "a mystic rationalism," which recognised no doctrinal authority, nor any law of interpretation but its own caprice. Here then, though, in many respects, the speculations of the Cabbala and of Gnosticism nearly resembled each other, (the latter having, in fact, borrowed largely from the former,) yet we find a radical difference of principle, which forbids us to understand the warnings of St. Paul as intended, in this instance, directly to apply to the latter.

If, therefore, the Gentile or Gnostic element entered at all into the heresies of the false teachers at Colosse, we are constrained to come to a conclusion precisely the reverse of that stated by Mr. Conybeare, and regard it as altogether subordinated to the Jewish. The rising *gnosis* may have affected to some extent the Cabbalistic heresies. But there is no evidence that it had done so.

As to the heresies referred to in the pastoral Epistles, we need not, after the above remarks, make any prolonged observations. We assume that in all three Epistles the same class of errors is referred to. They are, in fact, described in identical language. (Cf. 1 Tim. i. 4, 7; iv. 7; vi. 4, 20; 2 Tim. ii. 14, 16, 28; iv. 4; Tit. i. 10, 14; iii. 9.) And it appears equally certain that these heresies were propagated by Jews. Those who desired to be "teachers of the law," must certainly have been pretenders to Rabbinical lore; those who addicted themselves to "Jewish fables and commandments of men," can have been no other than professors of Cabbalistic knowledge: nay, "the unruly and vain talkers and deceivers," whom we at once identify with the Colossian teachers of "philosophy and vain deceit, according to the tradition of men," are expressly described as "they of the circumcision." Such as these, we know well, dealt in "endless genealogies," and in absurdities deserving no better title than "profane and old wives' fables."

So far, then, we have reason to conclude that the errorists referred to in the pastoral Epistles were substantially, as to their origin, the same party with the false teachers at Colosse. Yet there are two marks belonging to the former, which seem to distinguish them from the latter. Among them were found the professors of a "mis-called *gnosis*," (1 Tim. vi. 20,)—a "science

falsely so called," as our translators have rendered it,—from which we cannot but infer, that Gnosticism had already, in some form, begun to make inroads upon the purity of Christian doctrine, adding its evil influences to those of Jewish Cabbalism. Again, we find that some of the heresiarchs had gone to the length of denying or explaining away the doctrine of the resurrection. This was a universal consequence of Gnostic tenets. Those who held matter to be essentially evil and malignant, of course, denied the resurrection to bliss of the material body. We infer, indeed, that hitherto *this* heresy had not found many adherents. Hymenæus and Philetus are singled out, (2 Tim. ii. 17,) as if they alone had embraced it, of those actually belonging to the church. And it is said of the party which had corrupted them, not that they had already prevailed extensively, but that their "profane and vain babblings *will* increase unto more ungodliness," and their "word *will* eat as a canker." How true this was of the Gnostic heresy, the beginning of which we detect thus early, all the remaining records of early Christianity unite to testify.

It appears to us that Mr. Conybeare has allowed himself, in his view of this subject, to be led too exclusively by Dr. Burton, and that he has not bestowed upon it the same amount of original research and independent thought, as that which we have commended in other parts of his work. The note in reply to Mr. Stanley's views is, in fact, superficial, as well as unsatisfactory. Dr. Burton, we may observe, considers all the heresies opposed in the Epistles to which we have referred as Gnostic in their character. He does not, however, relieve the subject of the difficulties which we have urged; and as to Col. ii. 16, (with which verse 11 must be combined,) he passes it by, without any notice whatever, although, of all passages, it is perhaps the most difficult to harmonize with his view.

The next point is that of the chronology of St. Paul's life. The exact settlement of this is, indeed, no more essential to a right understanding and estimate of his character and labours, than it is necessary to a correct impression of the features and course of a great river-valley, that we should know the precise rate of the river's current, as it now rushes through the narrow gorges of the mountains, and then, calmly and benignantly, spreads itself forth through the rich pastures of the expanded plain. Yet, as there may be questions of science, curious certainly, and possibly important too, for the determination of which it is needful that the rate of the river's current, at various points, should be accurately known; so, not only the exactitude required in an annalist, and which is so valuable an aid to the recollection of events in their mutual relations and the order of succession, but also the determination of certain collateral questions of

considerable importance, especially as bearing on the interpretation of some parts of St. Paul's Epistles, requires that, as far as possible, the chronology of his life should be ascertained.

There are, however, but two points in all the chronology of the Acts of the Apostles, which can be considered as absolutely fixed. One of these is the year of the death of Herod Agrippa; the other is the date of Felix's recall to Rome, and of Festus's appointment as Procurator in his place. We know certainly from Josephus, that Herod died at Cæsarea in the seventh year of his reign, that is, in A.D. 44. From this it follows that the date of St. Paul's second visit to Jerusalem, with contributions from Antioch, in anticipation of the famine which had been predicted by Agabus, must have been in 44, or, at the latest, in 45. (*Cf.* Acts xi. 27-30; xii. 1, 19-25.) The famine itself, as would appear from various notices in Josephus, probably commenced in 45, when Cuspius Fadus was Procurator, and lasted for several years. Again: it is agreed by the ablest chronologers, and seems to be demonstrated by our authors in an admirable note contained in Appendix II., at the close of the second volume, that the recall of Felix from his procuratorship took place in the summer of the year 60. About these two points, 44 and 60, the whole chronology of the Acts revolves.

There are, indeed, two events connected with the first visit of St. Paul to Corinth, which are of some value in assisting us to come to a probable approximate conclusion as to the date of that visit. These are,—that Aquila and Priscilla had *lately* come from Rome, in consequence of the decree of Claudius, expelling the Jews from that city; (Acts xviii. 2;) and that Gallio, the brother of Seneca, was Proconsul of Achaia during the time of St. Paul's residence at Corinth. (Acts xviii. 12.) The date, however, of the decree in question (though it is referred to by Suetonius) cannot be fixed; only we know that it must have been earlier than 54, for Claudius died in that year. Neither do we know in what year Annæus Gallio was appointed Proconsul of Achaia; only the relations of his brother Seneca to the imperial family render it improbable that he could have been invested with that office earlier than 51.* St. Paul's visit to Corinth, therefore, probably took place between 51 and 54. The latter, however, is too late a date, since it does not leave time for the events recorded in the Acts, as intervening between the Apostle's arrival at Corinth, and his being left prisoner by Felix at Cæsarea, at the time of the latter's recall to Rome; which, as we have seen, took place in the summer of 60. After his arrival in Corinth, St. Paul passed at least eighteen months there: (Acts xviii. 11;) he was also three years at Ephesus, (xx. 31,) and two years in imprisonment at Cæsarea,

* See, in particular, Bishop Pearson's *Annals Paulini*, anno 53.

(xxiv. 27,) besides all his intervening journeys and itinerant labours. His arrival at Corinth is accordingly fixed by the great majority of chronologers in 52 or 53. The former seems to be the more probable date, and this is adopted by our authors.

The next chronological land-mark whose position and bearings we must endeavour to ascertain, is the visit from Antioch to Jerusalem, recorded in Acts xv. It is impossible, however, to determine, even approximately, how much earlier this was than the first visit to Corinth. St. Luke gives us an account of an intervening "missionary journey" (the second) from Antioch through Cilicia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Troas, Philippi, Thessalonica, Berea, and Athens, to Corinth; and we know not how long, before setting out on this journey, the Apostle remained at Antioch, after returning from Jerusalem. The estimates made by different chronologers, of the time to be allowed for all this, have varied from one year to four or five. Our authors allow between two and three years, and so bring the date of the visit to Jerusalem to the year 50. Dr. Davidson dates it in 51.

And now we must refer to the chronology, with which the Apostle himself furnishes us, of a part of his life. In the beginning of the Epistle to the Galatians, he gives an account of his early relations with the Apostles, and the Church at Jerusalem, for a number of years following his conversion. But this account affords us very little help in our inquiry. We do not know the year of the Apostle's conversion; otherwise, we should be able to ascertain, with sufficient accuracy, the date of his first visit to Jerusalem after his conversion, (Acts ix. 26,) which, he tells us, took place three years after. (Gal. i. 18.) It is exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to decide, whether the fourteen years, after which the Apostle informs us, (Gal. ii. 1,) that he went up again to Jerusalem, with Barnabas and Titus, are to be reckoned from his conversion, or from the visit he had before mentioned. The highest authorities differ upon this point. Ussher, Pearson, Bengel, Paley, Tate, and Davidson, among others, compute from his conversion; while Hug, Hemsén, Burton, and our authors, compute from the first visit. The strength of the case on one side is given by Pearson in his *Annales Paulini*, and on the other by Burton in his "Chronology of the Acts." We incline to the former view. Again: we do not know whether the three years and the fourteen are to be counted exclusively or inclusively. Three years may mean either three full years, or one full year and a part (though possibly but a small part) of two other years. So fourteen years may mean either fourteen full years, or twelve full years and a part of two other years. The latter mode of reckoning is, on the whole, more probable, judging according to the general usage of the Jews, which (to give a familiar instance) led them to say "three days after," or, "after three days," to signify, "on the third day." But then, it is plain, that even if

we reckon inclusively, we cannot be sure whether a year and part of two other years will be only a little more than one year, or very nearly three. And there is a similar uncertainty, of course, as to the fourteen years. Finally, to close this catalogue of difficulties, it has been very much disputed to which of his visits to Jerusalem St. Paul refers in Gal. ii. 1,—to the second, the third, or the fourth, of those recorded in the Acts.

For ourselves, however, we think that this last doubt is now finally settled. In a most able note to the second chapter of their work,* Messrs. Conybeare and Howson seem to have conclusively disposed of the question, by proving that the visit referred to is the third recorded in the Acts, (xv.) when Paul and Barnabas went together from Antioch, to attend what has been called the "Council of Jerusalem," and the conjectural date of which we have already stated as A.D. 50 or 51. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact, that Dr. Davidson, in a very able discussion on the question, has, independently of our authors, arrived at identical conclusions.

From this point, then, it remains to ascend to the date of the Apostle's conversion; and then from that point to retrace our steps to the close of his career. Counting the fourteen years, and the three years, inclusively, Messrs. Conybeare and Howson make the two periods together only actually to amount to fourteen years. Hence they date St. Paul's conversion in 36. Professor Davidson, reckoning fourteen years inclusively from the year 51, the date he assigns to the "Council of Jerusalem," arrives at the year 38, as the date of the Apostle's conversion. The earlier year appears to us the more probable. We should date the Council, with Messrs. Conybeare and Howson, in 50, and counting, with Professor Davidson, fourteen years backward, though scarcely fourteen *full* years, the inclusive reckoning being the more probable, we should arrive at the same result with our authors. The conversion of St. Paul, on this calculation, took place rather more than three years after the ascension of our Lord, that is, in the latter part of the year 36.

His flight from Damascus and first visit to Jerusalem, "three years after," may have been, as it is reckoned in these volumes, in the year 38; or, more probably, in the beginning of the year 39. From this period to the year 44, the Apostle was engaged principally in preaching in Syria and Cilicia, "making Tarsus his head-quarters," (Acts ix. 30; xi. 25; Gal. i. 21,) and may be supposed during these years to have undergone "most of the sufferings mentioned in 2 Cor. xi. 24-26, namely, two of the Roman, and the five Jewish, scourgings, and three shipwrecks." In 44 he came to Antioch, and, in that year or the next, he visited Jerusalem with Barnabas, to relieve the famine. The

years between 45 and 50 he spent at Antioch, and on his "first missionary journey," recorded by St. Luke. (Acts xiii. 14.) Our authors allow less than a year for this journey, whilst about four years are supposed to have been spent at Antioch. We cannot believe that the missionary journey occupied less than between one and two years, since we find that, on his return-journey, St. Paul "ordained Elders" in several of those cities which he had visited in the early part of the same tour. It required more than two or three months to ascertain and prepare persons who should be appointed to the presbyteral or episcopal office. In 52 St. Paul arrived at Corinth; in 58, at Jerusalem, where he was arrested, and conveyed to Cæsarea. In the autumn of 60, he was sent to Rome by Festus, where, after his shipwreck, he arrived in the spring of 61. And there he remained a prisoner two years.

Was he released, and again imprisoned? or was he beheaded at the close of his first and only (?) imprisonment at Rome? Some years ago it would not have been worth while to raise this question. But, unfortunately, Dr. Davidson has, in his "Introduction," rejected the idea of a second imprisonment. We deeply deplore this, because such a conclusion renders it impossible consistently to maintain the authenticity of the pastoral Epistles, or the Pauline authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews. We are aware, indeed, that he has most ably defended the authenticity of the pastoral Epistles and the Pauline authorship of that to the Hebrews. But in so doing, in our judgment, he has put himself to a great disadvantage by the conclusion to which we have referred.

He endeavours, indeed, to neutralize several of the arguments usually adduced from the Second Epistle to Timothy, to prove the second imprisonment. But his success in this attempt is very partial, whilst his positive arguments in favour of his own conclusion are any thing but satisfactory; as we could proceed to show, but that it would carry us beyond our limits.

We must not, however, pass from this subject without saying a word as to the question of the disputed authenticity of the pastoral Epistles, especially as there has been, of late, much controversy on this point in Germany. It is only due to Dr. Davidson to say, that his thorough investigation of this subject results in a triumphant vindication of these precious remains. On the same point, we think Messrs. Conybeare and Howson, though easily rebutting the arguments of the objectors, have yet conceded too much to them. They attach much weight to the peculiar words and phrases, the *ἁπαξ λεγόμενα*, of these Epistles, as broadly separating them from the rest. Yet, (to quote Dr. Davidson,) while "the First Epistle to Timothy is said to exhibit 81; the

Second, 63; and that to Titus, 44; in the Epistle to the Galatians occur 57; in that to the Philippians, 54; and in those to the Colossians and Ephesians, together, 143. Hence, we might consistently argue, from the same *data*, against the authenticity of the letters to the Philippians, Galatians, Ephesians, or Colossians."* Messrs. Conybeare and Howson also allow the style of these Epistles to be inferior, on the whole, to that of the other Pauline Epistles, betokening, as they think, a decline in the Apostle's intellectual vigour. We cannot, any more than Dr. Davidson, allow this. If it were the case, of course the Second to Timothy should show it most. Yet who will affirm this of that noble letter? Schleiermacher, who, as is well known, led the way in disparaging subjective criticism of these Epistles, thought *this* a genuine letter; and that the First to Timothy was forged by the help of this Epistle and that to Titus. Some later critics have rejected them all, on purely subjective grounds. The external evidence in their favour is undeniable. So, in our opinion, is the internal. And, at any rate, we think it very incongruous to maintain their authenticity, and that they were written in the order generally supposed, and yet to concede that they show tokens of decay of intellectual energy, which, if real, must have been progressive. To our feeling—and an argument from feeling is sufficient in reply to all *subjective* criticism—2 Tim. iv. 1-8 is, of itself, sufficient to vindicate the genuineness of all these Epistles.

As we do not think it probable that the Apostle would have written two Epistles to the same person within a very short period, so very similar, and sometimes almost identical, as the First and Second to Timothy, we conceive that the former Epistle was written soon after St. Paul's release, and the latter shortly before his death. This would allow an interval of five full years, if the death of the Apostle be placed, according to the calculation of Messrs. Conybeare and Howson, in the early summer of 68, near upon the last days of the tyrant Nero. The Epistle to Titus may have been written in 64 or 65. Messrs. Conybeare and Howson date them all in the period of the second imprisonment, between the summer of 67 and the early summer of 68.

The greatest blemish in these volumes, in our opinion, is the superficial criticism which rejects the Pauline authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The Epistle is attributed to Barnabas, and supposed to have been addressed to the Jewish Christians of Alexandria. We shall not detain the attention of our readers in criticizing so improbable a supposition as this. Dr. Davidson has given a masterly investigation of the whole subject, in which this, one of the most improbable of the many hypotheses which have been imagined in reference to this Epistle, is, with many

* "Introduction," vol. iii., p. 121.

more, sufficiently discussed. Dr. Davidson, while admitting the marked difference in style between this Epistle and St. Paul's writings in general, can yet come to no other conclusion, after weighing all the evidence, internal and external, on all sides of the question, than that the Epistle is substantially and really St. Paul's. He thinks, however, that there is reason to suppose that Luke may, in the composition of the Letter, have been to the Apostle something more than an amanuensis, and that to his co-operation the difference in style may be mainly due. Still the whole argument of the Epistle was furnished, and much of it may have even been verbally dictated, by the Apostle, and the whole had from him a sanction equivalent to the modern *imprimatur*. This supposition is countenanced by ancient historical evidence, and seems to meet all the peculiarities of the case.*

We have no space for adequate remarks upon the version of the Epistles given in these volumes. For this Mr. Conybeare makes himself responsible, as well as for the biblical criticism in general. The translator is evidently a fine classic, and one who well understands the niceties of the Greek tenses and particles. And this is no ordinary qualification. It is astonishing, how much light, and force, and often beauty, is added to many passages, merely by a correct rendering of these niceties. The rule, too, which the translator has observed of rendering the same word in the same context always by the same word in English, is better than a commentary on some passages, giving clearness and closeness to what in the authorized version seems loose and obscure. Still the style is, on the whole, in our judgment, too paraphrastic. The translation of the Epistle to the Hebrews we think the best. And in regard to this, the translator says, that "in order to mark the difference in style and character, between this and the preceding Epistles, he has adhered, as closely as possible, to the language of the authorized version."† This is a curious, almost an amusing, sentence. The way to mark the difference in question would be to translate all the Epistles as closely into clear and good English as possible. The plan the translator has taken was only likely to show the difference in style between his own somewhat paraphrastic translation of the former Epistles, and that of the authorized version of the Hebrews, as modified and improved by himself. However, we have no hesitation in saying that we consider the translation of the Epistle to the Hebrews to be the most faithful and dignified of all that he has given, better than the rest of his own, and better than the authorized version.

* As we shall not again have occasion to refer to Dr. Davidson's able and learned work, let us say how much we regret the halting conclusion, after much able reasoning, of his introduction to 2 Peter. He seems to have stuck too close to Olshausen. Surely, after first fairly weighing, and then neutralizing, the objections to the genuineness of this Epistle, he has shown that there remains a large overplus of probability in its favour.

† Vol. ii., p. 516.

But, to render St. Paul fully, more is required than fine scholarship; there must be a true entering into the spirit of his doctrine and argument. Here, we think, Mr. Conybeare often fails; as, when he makes justification to be the consequence of sanctification;* and when, again, in the Apostle's designation of baptism as the burial of the (adult) believer with Christ, he discovers, not the grand thought that baptism was the public and ceremonial celebration of the obsequies of "the old man" crucified with Christ, but only a cold and artificial allusion to the immersion of the baptized under water.† Hence, we find, what from such tokens might be expected, that the most defective of the versions given by Mr. Conybeare is that of the Epistle to the Galatians.

On the whole, it will be seen that we think less highly of the biblical criticism of this work, than of its historical, chronological, geographical, and purely biographical portions. These, indeed, the merit of which belongs mainly to Mr. Howson, are beyond all praise. And although we differ from the authors on many matters pertaining to other portions of the work, yet we acknowledge, cordially and gratefully, that they embody, in the new version especially, a highly valuable contribution to biblical literature; and that the work, as a whole, furnishes the best introduction to the intelligent study of the Acts and the Pauline Epistles, apart from the history and criticism of the canon and the original text, with which we are acquainted.

- ART. IV.—1. *The Book of Mormon: an Account written by the Hand of Mormon, upon Plates taken from the Plates of Nephi.* Translated by JOSEPH SMITH, JUN. Third European Edition. 1852.
2. *The Book of Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints: selected from the Revelations of God.* By JOSEPH SMITH, President. Second European Edition. 1849.
3. *The Mormons: or, Latter-Day Saints. With Memoirs of the Life and Death of Joseph Smith, the "American Mahomet."* (Understood to be prepared by M^r. H. MAYHEW.) Office of the "National Illustrated Library."

* Vol. ii., pp. 160, 169.

† Vol. ii., pp. 172, 174. From a note, also, on Col. i. 20, we cannot help surmising that Mr. Conybeare's views as to "the infinite extent of the results of Christ's redemption," and the "need" which "the heavenly hosts themselves" have of "His atonement," are of a peculiar kind. Taking these things in connexion with his now avowed identification with that party in the Church of England, to which Professor Maurice and Mr. Kingsley must be considered as belonging, we confess our apprehensions have been, to some extent, excited.

4. *The Mormons, or Latter-Day Saints, in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake: a History of their Rise and Progress, Peculiar Doctrines, present Condition, and Prospects, derived from personal Observation, during a Residence among them.* By LIEUT. J. W. GUNNISON, of the Topographical Engineers. S. Low and Co., London. 1852.
5. *Mormonism and the Mormons. A Historical View of the Rise and Progress of the Sect self-styled Latter-Day Saints.* By DAVID P. KIDDER. Lane and Scott, New York. 1852.
6. *A Series of Pamphlets.* By ORSON PRATT, one of the twelve Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. Franklin and Richards, Liverpool. 1852.
7. *Principles and Practices of Mormons, tested in Two Lectures.* By the REV. J. H. GRAY, M.A. M. P. Barkwell, Douglas, Isle of Man; Nisbet and Co., and Wertheim and Macintosh, London. 1853.

EVERYBODY knows that the most valuable of the recent territorial acquisitions of the United States is CALIFORNIA. This amazing country is naturally divided into two portions, called the Coast and Inland Sections. The former extends inland from the Pacific Ocean to the Sierra-Nevada Mountains, and varies in breadth from one hundred and fifty to two hundred miles. The latter, comprising at least four-fifths of the area of California, is bounded on the west by the Sierra-Nevada, and on the east by the Rocky Mountains. Its principal feature is an enormous depression between these ranges, five hundred miles each way, known as the Great Interior Basin of California. Many rivers flow from all sides towards its centre, which is "mountainous, the ranges generally from two to three thousand feet high, and parallel with the main ones on the sides; with some partial cross ridges, that form minor basins." It "is desert in character, with some fertile strips flanking the bases of the highest ridges." In the eastern part of this basin, "along the western foot of the Wahsatch range, for three hundred miles, is a region of alluvium, from one to two miles in width," capable, however, in certain localities, of being considerably widened by irrigation from the neighbouring streams.

It is, further, separated from the older portions of the United States; an irreclaimable desert, to the east of the Rocky Mountains, extending almost from their bases to the banks of the Mississippi. Our readers are doubtless acquainted with the suffering encountered in this desert, of late years, by Californian emigrants. But few pilgrimages across it have been more important in themselves, or characterized by more romantic incidents, than those which appertain to our present subject. In the summer of 1847, a band of about one hundred and forty men, with about seventy waggons, and a due proportion of

admirable horses, descended one of the gorges of the mountains, and pitched their tents on the right bank of a river, which runs into the GREAT SALT LAKE, and which, from its striking resemblance to the course of the Jordan into the Dead Sea, and on religious grounds, they called "the Western Jordan." The pioneer band was speedily followed by other companies of emigrants; the site for a large city was selected; and the busy hum of industry broke the primeval silence of the wilderness. Year after year, the steady flow of emigration has since brought vast numbers of people from the States of the Union, and other parts of the world; and the population of the Salt-Lake city, with its circumjacent territory and townships, now falls, probably, little short of forty thousand, the number still increasing in a surprising ratio. Wonders have already been achieved by the associated skill and labour of the community; and so prosperous has the country become, that, at the demand of its inhabitants, the Federal Government has constituted it the "Territory of Utah," preparatory to its erection into an independent and sovereign State of the Great American Confederation,—a dignity which it is hastening to assume, under the designation of Désert, "the Land of the Honey Bee."

This rapid sketch of the present location of the MORMONS, and of the wonderful manner in which it has repaid their industry, appears necessary to redeem the subject from absolute contempt. Most of our readers, probably, have been accustomed to think of this singular people only as an ignorant and fanatical sect, the dupes of one of the most vulgar religious impostors that the world ever saw. No doubt, this view is, in the main, correct. We cannot but despise, while we pity, the half-crazed fanatics, who, at the bidding of Smith and his successors, have been hurrying, from all parts of the world, for nearly twenty years past, to one "Zion" after another, on the American continent. But the intensity of their belief, the severity of their sufferings, the compactness of their organization, the far-sighted policy of their leaders, their equivocal pretensions, and their warlike array,—inspire, at least, the respect which fear implies, and compel thoughtful men in America, whether philosophers, statesmen, or divines, anxiously to ponder their actual progress and future destiny.

The existence of fanaticism is no strange event. It would, therefore, be traversing a much-trodden field, to discuss the reasons why "Joe Smith" has so many devout believers in his claims, in the nineteenth century, and in the two most enlightened of the Christian nations. Love of the marvellous; anxiety to pry into the future; ignorant credulity; aversion to the study of the Scriptures; dislike of the restraints of true religion; the cupidity which favours the success of any scheme proposing to re-construct society on a more equitable basis:—these and simi-

lar causes have always assisted in the production of results like that before us, and have furnished important matter of speculation to the psychologist and the divine. Only, in the present instance, the sagacity and cunning of "the Prophet," and of his still more astute confederates, appear to have given to these causes an unusual intensity of influence. We shall, therefore, abstain from farther inquiry in that direction, and confine our attention to a historical review of the actual origin and progress of Mormonism, and of that strange medley of truth and falsehood, real infidelity and pretended evangelism, which by a questionable courtesy is denominated "*the Mormon Faith*."

The origin of Mormonism is identified with the alleged discovery, by Joseph Smith, Jun., of certain gold leaves or plates, to which the name of the "*Book of Mormon*" has been given. Smith's own account of this discovery was published in the "*Millennial Star*," and relates that, in his fourteenth or fifteenth year, he was involved in distressing perplexity, as to which of the many sects in America possessed the true religion; that, while reading, in the Epistle of James, that passage, "If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him,"—"it seemed to enter with great force into every feeling of" his "heart;" that, after much reflection, he retired to the woods to pray; and, while so engaged, suffered a long and severe conflict with some mysterious evil presence; that, when ready to sink into despair, he saw "a pillar of light exactly over" his "head, above the brightness of the sun, which descended gradually until it fell upon" him. "It no sooner appeared," he continues, "than I found myself delivered from the enemy which held me bound. When the light rested upon me, I saw two personages, whose brightness and glory defy all description, standing above me in the air. One of them spake unto me, calling me by name, and said, (pointing to the other,) 'This is my beloved Son; hear Him.'" In answer to his inquiry, with which of the religious sects he should unite himself, he tells us he was forbidden to join any; for that all were wrong: but he received "a promise, that the true doctrine, the fulness of the Gospel, should, at some future time, be made known unto him."

After a brief relapse (?) into sin, he is represented as having received a still more remarkable visitation, in his own house, "on the evening of the 21st of September, 1823." On this occasion, "a personage," who is minutely described, is said to have appeared to him thrice, (declaring himself to be an angel of God,) and to have informed him that his sins were forgiven, and that he was "called and chosen" to be an instrument in the hands of God to commence "the great preparatory work for the second coming of the Messiah;" moreover, "that the American

Indians were a remnant of Israel;" that, when they emigrated to America, they possessed a knowledge of the true God, &c., and had Prophets and other inspired writers, who preserved a record of their national history; but that they fell into great wickedness, and were destroyed. The sacred records, however, were safely deposited, and he was to be the honoured instrument of bringing them to light. At the same time he was directed to the place of deposit.

Accordingly, he repaired to the spot,—“a large hill, on the east side of the road, as you pass from Palmyra, Mayne County, to Canandaigua, Ontario County, New York.” A hole was dug, and a box, containing the mysterious records, lay exposed to view. Our Prophet, however, was not allowed to gain possession of them, till he had prepared himself “by prayer, and by faithfulness in obeying the Lord.” He continued to receive visits from the angel, and, at the end of four years, “on the morning of the 22nd of September, 1827, the golden plates” were delivered into his hands.

Such, in substance, is the Prophet's own story of the discovery of the Book of Mormon. It is, of course, implicitly believed by his followers, and is circumstantially related by Mr. Orson Pratt, one of the most zealous and able of the Mormon apostles. After a variety of incidents, to be noticed hereafter, the Book was published in 1830, having emblazoned on its title-page,—since altered,—“Joseph Smith, Jun., *author and proprietor.*”

Smith and his friends were soon prepared with direct evidence in favour of the authenticity of the book. But, before examining that evidence, and the character of the parties concerned in “getting it up,” some attention must be given to a previous question,—a question important not so much in relation to Mormonism, as on other and broader grounds. Mr. Orson Pratt, mentioned above,—“one of the twelve apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints,”—has published a series of tracts on the “Divine Authenticity of the Book of Mormon.” Before adducing his direct evidences, he endeavours, according to orthodox usage in another case, to prove that the prospect of a farther revelation than that which is contained in Scripture, is neither unscriptural nor unreasonable; that, in fact, such farther revelation is indispensably necessary. His argument on these subjects is subtle and elaborate, though by no means ingenuous; and he appears sometimes to some advantage in dealing with certain isolated texts, on which the proof of the sufficiency and completeness of the existing Scriptures has occasionally been made to rest. But this great doctrine, like all scriptural verities, does not rest so much on isolated texts, as on the broad principles and general scope of Scripture itself. It must be obvious, for instance, that, in relation to this matter,

there is a great difference between the Old and the New Testament. In the former, the reference to a future and fuller revelation is everywhere prominent; and the whole scheme is "the shadow of good things to come." But, in the New Testament, the stamp of completeness and sufficiency is everywhere seen. And in all cases of scriptural comparison between the New Testament and the Old, such comparison is drawn as between perfection and imperfection,—a contrast wholly delusive, if the New Testament were but another step in a progressive revelation, and not the final disclosure of "the whole counsel of God." This distinction is tacitly admitted by Pratt himself; for he quotes but one passage, in support of his views, from the New Testament, namely, Rev. xiv. 6-8: "And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting Gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth," &c. He professes to make it mathematically certain that this "everlasting Gospel" is Mormonism! As to his quotations from the Old Testament, none but a designing or fanatical mind could interpret them as referring to any revelation posterior to that of the New Testament.

The *direct* evidence of the "Divine Authenticity of the Book of Mormon" rests chiefly on the testimony of certain witnesses to the truth of Smith's statements,—on miracles alleged to have been performed,—and on "the inward light" and personal convictions of the leading Mormonites. The last point is, of course, unworthy of attention; of Mormon miracles we shall have something to say, as we proceed: for the present, let us look at the testimony of the "witnesses," as given in two documents,—one signed by three, and the other by eight, persons:—

"*The testimony of THREE witnesses.*—Be it known unto all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people, unto whom this work shall come, that we, through the grace of God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, have seen the plates which contain this record, which is a record of the people of Nephi, and also of the Lamanites, their brethren, and also of the people of Jared, who came from the tower of which hath been spoken; and we also know that they have been translated by the gift and power of God, for His voice hath declared it unto us; wherefore we know of a surety that the work is true. And we also testify that we have seen the engravings which are upon the plates, and they have been shown unto us by the power of God, and not of man. And we declare, with words of soberness, that an angel of God came down from heaven, and he brought and laid before our eyes, that we beheld and saw the plates, and the engravings thereon; and we know that it is by the grace of God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, that we beheld and bear record that these things are true; and it is marvellous in our eyes: nevertheless, the voice of the Lord commanded us that we should bear record of it; wherefore, to be obedient unto the commandments of God, we bear testimony of these things. And we know that if we are faithful in Christ, we shall rid our garments of the blood of all men, and be

found spotless before the judgment-seat of Christ, and shall dwell with Him eternally in the heavens. And the honour be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, which is one God. Amen.

"OLIVER COWDERY,

"DAVID WHITMER,

"MARTIN HARRIS.

"*And also the testimony of EIGHT witnesses.*—Be it known unto all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people, unto whom this work shall come, that Joseph Smith, Junior, the translator of this work, has shown unto us the plates of which hath been spoken, which have the appearance of gold; and as many of the leaves as the said Smith has translated we did handle with our hands; and we also saw the engravings thereon, all of which has the appearance of ancient work, and of curious workmanship. And this we bear record with words of soberness, that the said Smith has shown unto us, for we have seen and hefted, and know of a surety that the said Smith has got the plates of which we have spoken. And we give our names unto the world, to witness unto the world that which we have seen. And we lie not, God bearing witness of it.

"CHRISTIAN WHITMER,

"JACOB WHITMER,

"PETER WHITMER, JUN.,

"JOHN WHITMER,

HIRAM PAGE,

JOSEPH SMITH, SEN.,

HIRAM SMITH,

SAMUEL H. SMITH."

These documents are prefixed to every edition of the Book of Mormon. But what is their real value? 1. It will be observed, that of the eleven witnesses, five are Whitmers, and three are Smiths. 2. There is no date to either of these documents. In March, 1829, (the book being published with these vouchers in 1830,) the plates were in Smith's possession; but he professed to have been forbidden to show them to Harris. It would be satisfactory to know, *when* and *why* this prohibition was removed, and at what time Harris and his friends were favoured with a sight of the plates. 3. Smith obtained the plates, as he says, in 1827, and published his translation in 1830. Was it during this interval that the "angel of the Lord" showed the plates to the *three* witnesses? And why was Smith so much more gracious than the angel, as to allow the *eight* to handle, as well as see, the plates? The angel is, altogether, a most clumsy contrivance. 4. Granting that Smith did show certain engraved plates to the *eight* witnesses, what proof had they, beyond his bare assertion, that they were what he had translated,—just so many, and no more? or that he had translated them at all? He told them so, and they report to the world what he said. This is exactly the amount of their testimony. As to the statement of the *three* witnesses, that they were assured by "the voice of God,"—who does not see that it stands just as much in need of confirmation as the story of "the Prophet" himself?

This being the whole of the original evidence upon the point in question, our readers might safely be left to judge of its value.

But it is fair to inquire into the credibility of these witnesses, and to refer to other accounts of the origin of the book. Sixty-two "men, of character and standing," in Manchester and Palmyra, testify, that the Smiths were lazy and intemperate, and that their word was not to be depended on; that Smith Senior and Junior, in particular, were entirely destitute of moral character, and addicted to vicious habits; and that Martin Harris was "perfectly visionary on moral and religious subjects, sometimes advocating one sentiment, and sometimes another." It further appears, that he had been connected successively with almost every religious denomination,—having thus been "every thing by turns, and nothing long."

Smith seems at first to have trusted a confidential (?) friend or two with his secret, though he did not, in each instance, tell the same story. One Peter Ingersoll deposes:—

"One day he came and greeted me with a joyful countenance. Upon asking him the cause of his unusual happiness, he replied:—'As I was passing yesterday across the wood, I found in a hollow some beautiful white sand, that had been washed up by the water. I took off my frock, and tied up several quarts of it, and then went home. On my entering the house, they were all anxious to know the contents of my frock. At that moment I happened to think of what I had heard about a history found in Canada, called the Golden Bible; so I told them it was the Golden Bible. To my surprise, they were credulous enough to believe what I said. Accordingly I told them that I had received a commandment to let no one see it; for, says I, no man can see it with the naked eye, and live. However, I offered to take out the book and show it to them, but they refused to see it, and left the room. Now,' said Joe, 'I have got the d—d fools fixed, and will carry out the fun.' Notwithstanding he told me he had no such book, and believed there never was any such book, yet he told me that he actually went to Willard Chase, to get him to make a chest, in which he might deposit his Golden Bible. But, as Chase would not do it, he made a box himself of clap-boards, and put it into a pillow-case, and allowed people only to lift it, and feel of it through the case."—*Kidder*, pp. 22, 23.

Willard Chase confirms, on oath, that part of Ingersoll's testimony that relates to himself; and adds, that he would not make the box because Smith would not show him the book, having been commanded to keep it secret for two years; yet that, in less than that time, twelve men professed to have seen it; that shortly afterwards Smith told a neighbour that he had no such book, and never had, but told the story to deceive "the d—d fool;" that he got money from Martin Harris, "a credulous man," by pretending that God had commanded him to ask the first man he met for fifty dollars, to assist in publishing the Golden Bible. Parley Chase declares that the Smiths hardly ever told two stories alike about the book. Sometimes they said it was found in Canada; sometimes, in a tree; sometimes, dug

up from the earth. Abigail Harris, a Quakeress, affirms, among other things, that all that Martin and the rest appeared concerned about was to make money by the book; that Harris's wife expressed her conviction that the whole was a delusion;—to which he replied, "What if it is a lie? If you will let me alone, I will make money out of it;"—and that, on one occasion, when Joe's mother asked her (Abigail) to lend money, to pay her hopeful son's travelling expenses home, she replied, "He might look in his stone, and save his time and money;" at which the old lady, very naturally, "seemed confused." Martin's wife confirms this affirmation. Joseph Capron states that Smith, Senior, told him that when the book was published, they would be enabled, from the profits, to carry into successful operation the money-digging business. Mr. Hale, Smith's father-in-law, with whose daughter the latter had run away, and whose character for veracity is guaranteed by two "Associate-Judges of the Court of Common Pleas for Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania," relates the following particulars:—

"I first became acquainted with Joseph Smith, Junior, in November, 1825. He was at that time in the employ of a set of men who were called 'money-diggers;' and his occupation was that of seeing, or pretending to see, by means of a stone placed in his hat, and his hat closed over his face. In this way he pretended to discover minerals and hidden treasure....

"I was informed they had brought a wonderful book of plates down with them. I was shown a box, in which it was said they were contained. I was allowed to feel the weight of the box, into which, however, I was not allowed to look....

"About this time Martin Harris made his appearance upon the stage; and Smith began to interpret the characters, or hieroglyphics, which he said were engraven upon the plates; while Harris wrote down the interpretation. It was said, that Harris wrote down one hundred and sixteen pages, and lost them. Soon after this, Martin Harris informed me that he must have a *greater witness*, and said, that he had talked with Joseph about it. Joseph informed him that he could not, or durst not, show him the plates, but that he (Joseph) would go into the woods, where the book of plates was, and that after he came back, Harris should follow his track in the snow, and examine it for himself. Harris informed me that he followed Smith's directions, and could not find the plates, and was still dissatisfied."—*Kidder*, pp. 30, 31.

Of Smith's method of translating at this time, Mr. Hale says, it was—

"The same as when he looked for the money-diggers, with the stone in his hat, and his hat over his face, *while the book of plates was at the same time hid in the woods.*"—*Ibid.*, p. 33.

Finally, he deposes:—

"Joseph Smith, Junior, resided near me for some time after this, and I had a good opportunity of becoming acquainted with him and his

associates; and I conscientiously believe, from the facts I have detailed, and from many other circumstances, that the whole 'Book of Mormon' (so called) is a silly fabrication of falsehood and wickedness, got up for speculation, and with a design to dupe the credulous and unwary, and in order that its fabricators may live upon the spoils of those who swallow the deception."—*Ibid.*, p. 84.

This affirmation is subscribed, "Isaac Hale," and countersigned, "Charles Dimon, Justice of the Peace." The Rev. N. Lewis, a Minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and several other parties, have come forward with similar testimony, and additional statements, on oath, as to the drunkenness and debauchery of the concocters of the plot.

We are thus minute on this part of the case, because the whole question, of course, turns upon the validity of Smith's claims, and the authenticity of his pretended revelation.

But, at this point, another story appears, which, if true, accounts satisfactorily enough for Smith's "inspiration," and for the appearance of his "Golden Bible." It discloses, moreover, a fraud so vulgar and clumsy, and, withal, so unusually impious, that we are almost confounded at its success. According to various testimonies, the Book of Mormon was originally neither more nor less than a dull novel, written by one Solomon Spaulding. We quote the deposition of Solomon's brother, John; premising that it is confirmed by the written declarations of John's wife, of Solomon's widow, of a former business-partner of his, of one who lodged with him during the period of the composition of the book, of one with whom Spaulding himself had lodged, and of others with whom he had conversed about it, or to whom portions of it had been shown:—

"Solomon Spaulding was born in Ashford, Connecticut, in 1761; and in early life contracted a taste for literary pursuits. After he left school, he entered Plainfield Academy, where he made great proficiency in study, and excelled most of his class-mates. He next commenced the study of law, in Windham County, in which he made little progress, having, in the mean time, turned his attention to religious subjects. He soon after entered Dartmouth College, with the intention of qualifying himself for the ministry, where he obtained the degree of A.M., and was afterwards regularly ordained. After preaching three or four years, he gave it up, removed to Cherry Valley, New York, and commenced the mercantile business, in company with his brother Josiah. In a few years he failed in business; and in the year 1800 removed to Conneaut, in Ohio. The year following I removed to Ohio, and found him engaged in building a forge. I made him a visit in about three years after, and found that he had failed, and was considerably involved in debt. He then told me he had been writing a book, which he intended to have printed, the avails of which he thought would enable him to pay all his debts. The book was entitled 'The Manuscript Found,' of which he read to me many passages. It was an historical romance of the first settlers of America,—endeavouring to show that the American Indians are the descendants of the Jews, or the lost

tribes. It gave a detailed account of their journey from Jerusalem, by land and sea, till they arrived in America, under the command of NEPHI and LEHI. They afterward had quarrels and contentions, and separated into two distinct nations; one of which he denominated 'Nephites,' and the other 'Lamanites.' Cruel and bloody wars ensued, in which great multitudes were slain. They buried their dead in large heaps, which caused the mounds so common in this country. Their arts, sciences, and civilization, were brought into view, in order to account for all the curious antiquities found in various parts of North and South America. I have recently read the Book of Mormon, and, to my great surprise, I find nearly the same historical matter, names, &c., as they were in my brother's writings. I well remember that he wrote in the old style, and commenced about every sentence with, 'And it came to pass,' or, 'Now it came to pass,' the same as in the Book of Mormon; and, according to the best of my recollection and belief, it is the same as my brother Solomon wrote, with the exception of the religious matter."—*Kidder*, pp. 37, 38.

To account for Smith's obtaining possession of this "Manuscript Found," we are next introduced to one Sidney Rigdon, who figured conspicuously in the history of Mormonism, almost from its commencement. Solomon Spaulding placed his novel in the hands of Messrs. Patterson and Lambdin, printers, of Pittsburgh, in Pennsylvania. In the year 1823 or 1824, Rigdon came to reside at Pittsburgh, and was either in the office of Patterson and Lambdin, or on very intimate terms with the latter; and Spaulding's widow testifies that he repeatedly spoke of having seen and copied the manuscript. At the end of three years,—or about the time when Smith professed to obtain possession of the plates,—he removed to Geauga County, Ohio, where we shall find him, when his *ostensible* connexion with Smith begins. He resided here during the four following years. During this time he paid repeated and protracted visits to Pittsburgh, and, it is believed, to the Susquehannah, where Smith then lived, digging for money, and pretending to be translating the plates. He professed to abandon every other pursuit *for the study of the Bible*, which helps to account for the profuse quotations of Scripture,—the "religious matter" to which John Spaulding refers, and with which the Book of Mormon abounds. He began also to preach "some new points of doctrine, which were afterwards found in the Mormon Bible;" and "prepared the minds of nearly a hundred to embrace the first mysterious *ism* that should be presented." During this time he had no ostensible connexion with Smith; and Lieut. Gunnison appears to doubt his complicity in the original fraud. But the facility of his apparent conversion, the eagerness with which he seconded Smith's views, his immediate elevation to be second in command, and the removal of the whole party to the neighbourhood of his residence in Ohio, form, together with the facts mentioned above, a chain of coincidences which leave no doubt

on our mind, that he was the author of the Book of Mormon, in the form in which Smith published it; and that the concealment of his connexion with it, and his sudden conversion, were parts of the original plot. Smith's necromantic habits had given him an extensive notoriety, and he was just the man to answer Rigdon's purpose. The latter, indeed, published a formal denial of the allegations of Spaulding's widow and others; but it is little more than a tissue of the most vulgar abuse and recrimination; and we cannot but agree with Mr. Mayhew, that, upon a review of the whole evidence, "the question of the authorship of the original romance, upon which the Book of Mormon was founded, will be decided in favour of Solomon Spaulding."

The period of "translation" extended from 1827 to 1830; and, on this subject, some amusing and instructive stories are told. Mr. J. N. Tucker, a printer in the office of Patterson and Lambdin, at the time of the publication of the Book, relates the following:—

"We had heard much said by Martin Harris,—the man who paid for the printing, and the only one in the concern worth any property,—about the wonderful wisdom of the translators of the mysterious plates; and resolved to test their wisdom. Accordingly, after putting one sheet in type, we laid it aside, and told Harris it was lost, and there would be a serious defect in the book in consequence, unless another sheet like the original could be produced. The announcement threw the old gentleman into quite an excitement; but, after a few moments' reflection, he said he would try to obtain another. After two or three weeks another sheet was produced, but no more like the original, than any other sheet of paper would have been, written over by a common school-boy, after having read, as they did, the manuscripts preceding and succeeding the lost sheet."

It must have been at this time, (May, 1829,) that Smith received a revelation, "informing him of the alteration of the manuscript of the fore part of the Book of Mormon." This is a curious document, very indicative of Smith's shrewdness in at once detecting the trick which the wags at the printing-office were playing upon him. It forbids the re-translation of the abstracted portion, points out to Smith where, "upon the plates of Nephi," a more particular account might be found, commands him to translate that, and adds, "Thus I will confound those who have altered my words." Perhaps our readers will think that the only person "confounded" is the Prophet himself.

We have mentioned Martin Harris's desire, in the commencement of the business, to get a sight of "the plates," and Smith's pretence that this was unlawful. He, however, professed to copy a part of the engravings upon paper; and with this Harris hastened to consult Dr. Charles Anthon, of New York. Some years afterwards, the Mormons reported that Professor Anthon

had pronounced the inscriptions to be "reformed Egyptian hieroglyphics." This drew forth an instantaneous denial from the Professor, whose letter supplies the following information on the method of *translation* :—

"When I asked the person (Harris) who brought it, how he obtained the writing, he gave me the following account: A 'gold book,' consisting of a number of plates, fastened together by wires of the same material, had been dug up in the northern part of the state of New York; and, along with it, an enormous pair of 'spectacles!' These spectacles were so large, that if any one attempted to look through them, his two eyes would look through one glass only; the spectacles in question being altogether too large for the human face. 'Whoever,' he said, 'examined the plates through the glasses, was enabled not only to read them, but fully to understand their meaning.' All this knowledge, however, was confined to a young man, who had the trunk, containing the book and spectacles, in his sole possession. *This young man was placed behind a curtain, in a garret in a farmhouse, and, being thus concealed from view, he put on the spectacles occasionally, or, rather, looked through one of the glasses, deciphered the characters in the book, and, having committed some of them to paper, handed copies from behind the curtain to those who stood outside.*"—*Mayhew*, p. 28.

During the process of "translation," mysterious hints had been uttered about the forthcoming book, and great efforts made to secure for it a favourable reception. Smith began to preach, and success soon crowned his efforts. On the 1st of June, 1831, the first Conference of the sect was held at Fayette, New York, and "the Prophet" found himself at the head of about thirty disciples, including the members of his own family. A mission to the Indians—the "Lamanites" of the Book of Mormon—was undertaken by Cowdery and Parley Pratt; and the second epoch of the history of the imposture commenced.

The Missionaries contrived, on their way to the "Lamanites," to call on Rigdon. At first, he pretended to discredit their story; but, in a very short time, notwithstanding that he had rebuked them for tempting God by seeking "a sign," he committed the same sin, and professed to be converted. He immediately repaired to the Prophet, and became his most zealous and able coadjutor. Smith's previous immorality, ignorance, and impudence, having created many enemies, the whole party were ordered, by "revelation," to remove to Kirtland, in Ohio, (Rigdon's residence,) "the eastern border of the promised land." In the mean time, Cowdery and Pratt had reached Missouri, had reported favourably of the country, (Jackson County,) and had, at the Prophet's instance, begun to purchase land. Hither, after a few weeks, Smith, Rigdon, and some others, proceeded; and Smith published a "revelation," selecting this as the future Zion, although that honour had but recently been assigned to Kirtland. After devising rules for the allotment of land

and the organization of the Church, and laying the foundation-stone of a temple, he returned to Kirtland. Most of his disciples removed to Missouri, while he remained to itinerate and make converts. But he made enemies here, as well as in New York; and at Hiram, on the 25th of January, 1832, he and Rigdon were tarred and feathered, and otherwise maltreated, by an infuriated mob. Upon this, he hastily returned to Independence, narrowly escaping the vengeance of his pursuers, who tracked him to Louisville. He was obliged, however, in a few months, to go back and look after his mill, farm, store, and even the bank (!), at Kirtland. He was solemnly acknowledged, at this time, by about three thousand disciples. Soon, however, a formidable schism, productive ultimately of great calamities, broke out in the community; and Smith, hoping to check, while he appeared to gratify, the ambition of his dangerous coadjutor, and thereby to strengthen his own influence, associated Rigdon and another with himself, as the supreme governing body. In the mean time, the old non-Mormon settlers became alarmed at the increasing numbers, intolerant claims, and infamous practices, of the new sect. Hostilities commenced, and raged so furiously, as to lead to the abandonment of Jackson County by the Mormons, and the purchase—by “revelation” from Kirtland—of lands in Clay County. The towns of Far-West and Adam-on-Diahman were founded, and prosperity began once more to dawn upon the colony. On the 5th of May, 1834, the Prophet set out on a journey to Missouri. Mr. Mayhew speaks of this journey as if it had no object but the peaceable regulation of the affairs of the sect. But from what Dr. Kidder says, it is evident that the Mormonites meditated retaliation upon their enemies in Jackson County, and that Smith's journey, accompanied as he was by nearly a hundred persons, was, in fact, a military expedition on a small scale. The company was called “the army of Zion,” and was regularly drilled and equipped. Smith published a “revelation,” amounting to a declaration of war; and his band was considerably increased, by recruits from Mormon settlements, as he approached Missouri. He was, however, met by a deputation from the old settlers, who protested against his advance, and threatened the army with public vengeance. Smith became frightened; issued a “revelation,” declaring the war at an end; left about one hundred and fifty volunteers in Clay County; and travelled back, “like a gentleman, with plenty of money,” leaving the remnant of his band to return as they could. Many of them were compelled to beg their way back.

“In 1836 they formed among themselves several large mercantile firms, the Prophet, of course, being a partner in each; and continued, by means of falsehood and deception, to procure goods in Buffalo and New York to the amount of more than thirty thousand dollars. With

these the Prophet and his Priests rigged themselves out in the most costly apparel, at the top of the fashions.

"Subsequently, they had a 'revelation,' commanding them to establish a 'bank, which should swallow up all other banks.' This was soon got into operation on a pretended capital of four millions of dollars, made up of real estate round about the temple. By means of great activity, and an actual capital of about five thousand, they succeeded in setting afloat from fifty to one hundred thousand dollars. This concern was closed up, after flourishing three or four weeks. During this period, the land speculation had been fully entered into by the gang. They contracted for nearly all the land within a mile and a half of the temple, laid it out into city lots, and proceeded with the operation of buying and selling lots *to one another* at the most extravagant prices.

"But their career was soon brought to a close. Suits were instituted against them under the laws against private banking, and Smith and Rigdon were fined one thousand dollars each. Their printing-establishment, with a large quantity of books and paper, was taken, and sold to pay the judgment. On the same night the whole was consumed by fire, set by the Mormons. This was followed by the flight of the Prophet and his head-men for Missouri, and a general breaking-up of the establishment in this quarter."—*Kidder*, pp. 128, 129.

In the mean time things were growing worse in Missouri; and, at last, a war of extermination commenced,—the people of the State being determined no longer to tolerate the Mormons among them. A party of Mormons was massacred by a corps of militia, acting, it is alleged, under the orders of Boggs, the Governor of the state. Partly to resist the assaults of their neighbours, and partly to exterminate certain dissenters among themselves, a secret society was formed, called, "The Daughters of Zion," and, afterwards, "The Danite Band." Orson Hyde (an ex-apostle) made affidavit, that the members of this band took "an oath to support the heads of the Church in all things that they say or do, whether right or wrong;" that they appointed from among their number a company of twelve, to burn and destroy the neighbouring towns; that Smith's plan was to take the State; that he pretended to his people, that they would have possession of the United States, and, ultimately, of the whole world; that he had said he would tread down his enemies, and walk over their dead bodies, &c., &c. Hyde professed to leave the Mormons, on account of their immorality and impiety; and Lieut. Gunnison, who resided among them in Utah for a year, and whose gratitude for the kindness of his Mormon hosts induces him to put the most favourable construction on their doings, admits that at this time, according to the confession of the Mormons themselves, this band were sworn to exterminate obnoxious persons; and "that persons suddenly disappeared, or 'alipped their breath;' but they say they were horse-thieves, and vile wretches, who left society for its good."

Before long, the leaders of the sect were betrayed and imprisoned; while their followers were mercilessly hunted from Missouri to the prairies,—men, women, and children,—in the depth of winter. Early in the following spring, Smith rejoined his followers, and induced them to settle in Illinois, just above the Desmoines Rapids, on the river Mississippi. Hither, in a few months, about fifteen thousand souls were collected; and, in a year and a half, they built two thousand houses, besides schools, and other public edifices. The new city was named Nauvoo, or, "The Beautiful."

Smith had now attained the zenith of his power and popularity. He became temporal and spiritual head of the community; and, according to the varied duties which he discharged, he was "Prophet," "President," "Mayor," or "General." It is certain that he meditated great aggressive designs, as is evident from a curious correspondence of his with one James Arlington Bennett, whom the Prophet, quoting Mahomed, designated his "right-hand man." Bennett offered his services, in what Mr. Mayhew drily calls, a "too candid" epistle; that is, he treated Smith's enterprise as a clever and profitable hoax, in the profits of which he proposed to have a share. The latter, in reply, while pretending to reprove the worldly spirit and sinister hints of his friend, most cunningly contrives to accept his offer. Besides the craftiness which it develops, Smith's letter contains some specimens of his *learning*.(?) For instance:—

"Were I an Egyptian, I would exclaim, *Jah-oh-eh, Enish-go-on-dosh, Flo-ees, Flos-is-is*; 'O the earth! the power of attraction, and the moon passing between her and the sun;' a Hebrew, *Haueloheem yerau*; a Greek, *O Theos phos esi*; a Roman, *Dominus regit me*; a German, *Gott gebe uns das licht*; a Portugee, (!) *Senhor Jesu Christo e libordade*; a Frenchman, *Dieu defend le droit*."—*Mayhew*, p. 116.

During this period, Smith actually became a candidate for the Presidency of the United States; and, in that character, issued an address to the people of the Union. This is a very curious document, most comically sprinkled with scraps of bad French, Italian, Latin, Dutch, and Greek.

Meantime, the enrolment of the male inhabitants, under the designation of the "Nauvoo Legion," proceeded vigorously; and American officers became alarmed at their discipline, equipments, and tactics. The foundation-stone of a magnificent temple was laid, with *military* pomp, by "General Joseph Smith." In the plenitude of his pride, he gave to the Nauvoo Corporation a jurisdiction independent of that of Illinois; and this body refused to acknowledge the validity of any legal document, not countersigned by their President. At the same time, the germs of the polygamy which they now practise more openly, began to appear among the leading Mormons. Sidney Rigdon is said to have introduced the "spiritual wife" doctrine; (a mere cover for

any amount of promiscuous licentiousness;) and "Joe" is said to have acted upon it, if more discreetly, not less freely, than his friend. Lieut. Gunnison (always a most reliable authority, when he admits anything disadvantageous to the Mormons) says, that "women impeached him of attempted seduction, which his apology, that 'it was merely to see if they were virtuous,' could not satisfy." We should think not!

It is no wonder that, under these circumstances, public prejudice rapidly increased against the Mormons. Dissenters, too, multiplied fast in Nauvoo, and exasperated the passions of the surrounding population, by the disclosures of violence and sensuality which they professed to make. At last, matters came to a crisis. A Dr. Foster, who professed to have caught the Prophet in an attempt to seduce his wife, set up a newspaper, called the "Expositor," which contained some most shocking accusations. It was voted a public nuisance, and ordered to be abated. The order was executed by the destruction of the printing-office, types, &c. Foster and his partner fled to Carthage, and procured warrants for the arrest of Smith and sixteen other rioters. Smith refused to acknowledge the warrant, and marched the officials, who attempted to serve it, out of Nauvoo. This breach of the law of the State could not be overlooked, and preparations were made for a deadly struggle. The Governor of the State took the command of the militia in person. By his moderation and tact, however, he persuaded the Smiths to surrender and take their trial for the riot; and thus the sackage and pillage of Nauvoo were, for a time, prevented. The prisoners were lodged in the gaol of Carthage. Both the mob and militia were violently excited against them; and, as it began to be rumoured that they were likely, after all, to escape, the brutal rabble took the law into their own hands, overpowered the guard, rushed into the prison, and deliberately shot Joseph and Hiram Smith dead on the spot. The murderers were never arrested; the brothers, of course, were regarded as martyrs; and, as all reasonable men had foreseen, the sect began to spread more rapidly than ever.

Dr. Kidder gives us an outline of the sworn testimony of many witnesses, "on the trial of Joseph Smith, Jun., and others, for high treason, and other crimes against" the State of Missouri. This testimony imputes the most murderous intentions and inflammatory speeches to the Prophet and his coadjutors; and gives specimens of the compliments which the former paid to his Missourian neighbours. The forces of the State were "a d—d mob;" "if they came to fight him, he would play h—ll with their apple-carts;" and very much more, of a worse kind. The Mormons, indeed, allege that the witnesses for the defence were hounded, and driven away. But Smith's refusal to administer state-law is matter of unquestionable history. It is also abun-

dantly clear, that he taught his followers to look forward to the day when they should "spoil the Egyptians," or, as he facetiously termed it, "milk the Gentiles." And what sort of morality does the following "revelation" teach?

"Behold, it is said in my laws, or forbidden, to get into debt to thine enemies; but, behold, it is not said, at any time, that the Lord should not take when He pleases, and pay as seemeth Him good: wherefore, as ye are agents, and ye are on the Lord's errand; and whatever ye do according to the will of the Lord, is the Lord's business," &c.—*Doctrines and Covenants*, p. 156.

It would not be very wonderful, if the more indiscreet and unscrupulous members of the sect should have acted on this hint, and given a very literal interpretation to the promises and denunciations of their Prophet, especially when they saw him quietly accumulating his military force. Indeed, according to Lieut. Gunnison, the Mormons themselves acknowledge that this was the case.

"They allow that mistakes have been made by individuals in carrying out their doctrines: for instance, many have supposed that the time was come when they should take possession of the property of the Gentiles; and that it would be no theft to secure cattle and grain from neighbouring pastures and fields, thus 'spoiling the Egyptians;' and we are told by themselves, that such conduct had to be forbidden from the public desk. This instance of wrong application of the dogma, that they are 'the stewards of the Lord, and the inheritance of the earth belongs to the saints,' shows that some foundation exists for the charges against them, on the score of insecurity of property in Illinois and Missouri; and that abuses can easily arise from their principles, when residing near people of other religious views."—*Gunnison*, p. 66.

Other less exceptionable, but most annoying, modes of dealing with obnoxious residents in Nauvoo, are mentioned by this author. There is something exceedingly grotesque in the following:—

"One of these was called 'whittling off.' Three men would be deputed, and paid for their time, to take their jack-knives and sticks,—down-east Yankees, of course,—and, sitting down before the obnoxious man's door, begin their whittling. When the man came out, they would stare at him, but say nothing. If he went to the market, they followed and whittled. Whatever taunts, curses, or other provoking epithets were applied to them, no notice would be taken, no word spoken in return, no laugh on their faces. The jeers and shouts of street urchins made the welkin ring; but deep silence pervaded the whittlers. Their leerish look followed him every where, from 'morning dawn to dusky eve.' When he was in-doors, they sat patiently down, and assiduously performed their jack-knife duty. Three days are said to have been the utmost that human nature could endure of this silent annoyance; the man came to terms, sold his possessions for what he could get, or migrated to parts unknown."—*Gunnison*, pp. 116, 117.

We put it to our readers, whether a community, in which such doctrines and practices prevailed, could avoid making enemies, or hope to escape the vengeance of those whom they had injured or annoyed? America is not a persecuting nation; the utmost latitude of religious opinion being permitted throughout the Union. Why should Mormons form an exception? Why should they be persecuted, while Shakers, Millerites, Campbellites, and the whole brood of sectaries, for which the land is famous, escape? For ourselves, we believe the true answer will be found in the statements now given. As to the *anti-social* tenets and practices of "the Prophet" and his disciples, candour, surely, obliges us to allow, that, among communities on the frontiers of civilization, and in so rude a state as the population of Missouri and Illinois, the absence of persecution against such a sect as this would have been more wonderful than its presence. With all moderate men in America, we deplore the lawlessness of some of the enemies of Mormonism; but we cannot be surprised at it; nor can we acquit the leaders of the sect from the charge of having wilfully and deliberately provoked it.

The murder of the Prophet greatly excited the people of Nauvoo; and, as might have been expected, curses and threats of vengeance were muttered against their neighbours. By the influence of the Governor, however, and, still more, by the tact and address of the leading Mormons, the crisis passed over quietly; and, after "the martyrs" had been buried, amid sincere and general lamentation, the sect proceeded to elect a successor to "the Seer." There were two or three candidates, including Sidney Rigdon, Smith's second in command. The usual electioneering tactics appear to have been adopted by "the Saints." The choice finally fell on Brigham Young, the present head of the Mormon Church; who, according to Lieut. Gunnison,—

"With a mien of the most retiring modesty and diffidence in ordinary intercourse in society, holds a spirit of ardent feeling and great shrewdness; and, when roused in debate, or upon the Preacher's stand, exhibits a boldness of speech, and grasp of thought, that awe and enchain with intense interest,—controlling, soothing, or exasperating, at pleasure, the multitudes that listen to his eloquence."—*Gunnison*, p. 129.

But there was to be no rest for the new sect, so long as they remained in the vicinity of their fellow-countrymen. "From January to October, 1845, they lived a life of sturt and strife;" and, at last, after much deliberation, it was agreed to "retire into the wilderness to grow into a multitude, aloof from the haunts of civilization." The first movements westward were made in the spring of 1846; and the bands of emigrants had to encounter the most heart-rending sufferings. Meanwhile, the work of erecting the temple at Nauvoo was perfected. On the day of consecration, Priests, Elders, and Bishops, even from among the

pioneers of the desert-pilgrimage, were present; and "from high noon to the shade of night was there a scene of rejoicing and solemn consecration of the beautiful edifice, on which so much anxiety and thought had lately been expended." But as soon as the consecration was finished, all the ornaments, symbols of faith, &c., were removed in haste, and the temple deserted. Then commenced the general emigration; but, as the Mormons did not remove quickly enough to satisfy their enemies, the remnant in Nauvoo, in spite of an agreement allowing the exodus to take place in successive detachments, had to sustain a regular siege, and, after three days' bombardment, were finally driven out by fire and sword.

The pioneer-band started for the Great Salt Lake in the spring of 1847. They arrived on the 21st of July; and were followed on the 24th by the Church Presidency, headed by "Brigham, the Seer." The latter day is their grand epoch, and its anniversary is celebrated with great solemnity. Their progress since their arrival in the mountains has been truly marvellous. "The dignity of labour" is an article of their social faith; and they seem to have literally adopted, and universally applied, the scriptural rule, that "if a man will not work, neither shall he eat." Notwithstanding the almost total destruction of their first crops by locusts, and the consequent pressure of famine; and in spite of repeated conflicts with the predatory Indian tribes around them, their indomitable perseverance has been rewarded with complete success. Their great city on the Salt Lake—

"Was laid out into squares in 1847: the streets are one hundred and thirty-two feet wide, with twenty-foot side walks; and the City Creek, divided to run along each walk, and water a colonnade of trees, and also to be led into the gardens. The lots contain each nearly an acre, and face on alternate streets, with eight lots in each block. The site is on a scarcely perceptible slope, except the northern part, which rises upon the first natural terrace, and lies in the angle of the main Wahsatch range, running north and south, and a giant spur that makes out directly to the west, and terminates one half-mile from the Jordan River. The city is four miles square, and touches the river bank on the west side."—*Gunnison*, pp. 32, 33.

Besides this, they have spread themselves over the adjacent country, built several towns and cities, and are fast developing the agricultural and mineral resources of a region which, six or seven years ago, was a mere desert. In July, 1852, Lieut. Gunnison estimated the population of Utah at about 30,000; and it has surprisingly increased since then. The "travelling college" is compassing sea and land to make proselytes; and the Mormon apostles have been very successful in Europe, especially in Germany. They have Missionaries even in the Pacific Islands; and, except in this last instance, wherever they go, they expend all their energies in stimulating the emigration of the

faithful to Zion, where the grand "gathering" is to take place, preparatory to their final triumph, and the advent of the millennial glory. Their progress in our own country has been wonderful indeed. They first appeared in England in 1837, and in sixteen years they profess to have won over 300,000 souls. From two to three thousand persons, on an average, annually leave our shores for the great Salt Lake Valley, "principally farmers and mechanics, with some few clerks," &c. They are described as generally intelligent and well-behaved, and many of them highly respectable. Their arrangements for the maintenance of order, cleanliness, &c., on board, are admirable; and, altogether, it is quite clear that this system is, year by year, abstracting a large number of our most valuable fellow-countrymen.

It is this consideration which gives importance to the subject, and renders an analysis of the history and faith of Mormonism something more than a disgusting task; as will farther appear, if we turn our attention to the Mormon faith, and to the practices that have grown out of it. Would to God that our remarks might deter some of our farmers and mechanics from committing themselves, and especially *their wives and daughters*, to the "tender mercies" of this shocking compound of infidelity, heathenism, immorality, and cant!

And, first of all, the Mormons are avowed Materialists. They utterly ridicule the notion of spiritual, as distinct from material, existence; and remorselessly apply their doctrine to the Deity himself. Thus, among them,—

"'God the Father' is held to be a man perfected; but so far advanced in the attributes of his nature,—his *faith*, intelligence, and power,—that, in comparison with us, he may be called 'the Infinite.'"—*Gunnison*, p. 43.

"First. God himself, who sits enthroned in yonder heavens, is a man like unto one of yourselves: that is the great secret. If the veil was rent to-day, and the great God, who holds this world in its orbit, and upholds all things by his power, if you were to see him to-day, you would see him in all the person, image, and very form as a man; for Adam was created in the very fashion and image of God: Adam received instruction, walked, talked, and conversed with him, as one man talks and communes with another.....I am going to tell you how God came to be God. God himself, the Father of us all, dwelt on earth, the same as Jesus Christ did; and I will show it from the Bible. Jesus said, 'As the Father hath power in himself, even so hath the Son power,' to do—what? Why, what the Father did; that answer is obvious: in a manner to lay down his body, and take it up again. Jesus, what are you going to do? To lay down my life, as *my Father did*, and take it up again."—*Smith's Last Sermon*, as quoted by *Gunnison*, pp. 43, 44.

Again: they say,—

"Now, God, our Father, dwells on his planet, (*Kolob*.) and mea-

sures time by one of its revolutions.....*Being finite*, he employs agents to bring and communicate information through his worlds; and all the material agents of light, electricity, and sound, or attributes, are employed in this thing."—*Gunnison*, p. 56.

Once more, we quote a passage from Orson Pratt, as given by Dr. Kidder:—

"Here, then, is the Methodist God, without either eyes, ears, or mouth!!! And yet man was created after the image of God; but this could not apply to the Methodists' God, for he has no *image* or *likeness*! The Methodist God can neither be Jehovah nor Jesus Christ; for Jehovah showed his *face* to Moses and to the seventy Elders of Israel, and his *feet* too: he also wrote with his *own finger* on the tablets of stone. Isaiah informs us that 'his *arm* is not shortened; that his *ear* is not dull of hearing,'" &c.—*Kidder*, p. 238.

Of Jesus Christ they hold, that he—

"Is the offspring of the Father by the Virgin Mary. The eternal Father came to the earth, and wooed and won her to be the wife of his bosom. He sent his herald-angel Gabriel to announce espousals of marriage, and the Bridegroom and bride met on the plains of Palestine; and the Holy Babe that was born was the 'tabernacle,' prepared for, and assumed by, the Spirit-Son, and that now constitutes a God."—*Gunnison*, p. 43.

Of the Divine Spirit Pratt says,—

"The Holy Spirit, being one part of the Godhead, *is also a material substance*, of the same nature and properties, in many respects, as the Spirits of the Father and the Son. It exists in vast, immeasurable quantities in connexion with all material worlds. This is called God in the Scriptures, as the Father and the Son. God the Father and God the Son cannot be every where present; *indeed, they cannot be even in two places at the same instant*. But God the Holy Spirit is omnipresent: it extends through all space, intermingling with all *other matter*; yet no one atom of the Holy Spirit can be in two places at the same instant."—*Pratt's Kingdom of God*, pp. 4, 5.

It is not without a sickening shudder that we have compelled ourselves to transcribe this farrago of abominable blasphemy; but our duty requires us to expose the real character of Mormonism. We shall not insult the judgment and piety of our readers by any attempt at refutation, but shall leave these declarations to make their own impression.

The Mormon notion of FAITH is very peculiar, and, in one aspect, profane. It is thus defined:—

"Through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God; so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear."

"By this we understand that the principle of power, which existed in the bosom of God, by which the worlds were framed, was faith.....

"It is the principle by which Jehovah works, and through which he exercises power over all temporal, as well as eternal, things."—*Doctrine and Covenants*, pp. 2, 3.

Thus, by a most ridiculous perversion of Scripture, that faith in divine testimony, by which we learn the creation of the universe out of nothing, is transferred to God, as if it were "the principle of" creative "power" in him! We are surprised to find that Mr. Mayhew is half captivated with this nonsense. He says,—

"On this point, Mr. Bowes, the author of a pamphlet entitled 'Mormonism Exposed,' and a public debater against the Saints in the manufacturing districts of England, has not been fortunate in attacking their theology. He charges them with ignorance of the word 'faith:' he has only proved his own. Faith, he says, is crediting testimony, and asks, 'What testimony God had to credit?' and therefore concludes that faith is not an attribute of God, but of believers. Mr. Bowes has here confounded speculative belief with practical faith. With the Mormons, on the contrary, 'faith is the principle of power,' both human and divine."—*Mayhew*, p. 291.

We confess we do not understand Mr. Mayhew; and we doubt whether he understands himself. Of all vague expressions, nothing can be more so than to call faith "the principle of power." This explains nothing. Let us be told that faith in the divine testimony, (concerning Jesus Christ, for example,) while it stops short at mere credence, is *speculative* faith; but that, when it so receives that testimony as to trust in him for salvation, and to work by love, and purify the heart, it is *practical* faith; and we can understand what is said: but to say that "belief in testimony" is speculative, and "the principle of action in all intelligent beings" is practical, faith, is to utter so much unmeaning nonsense. Mr. Mayhew decries the Reformation of Luther, as "directly opposed to the mystical spirit that lies concealed in the bosom of all religious communities;" and prefers the authority of "the great American sage, Mr. Emerson."

Upon the subject of BAPTISM, they teach the necessity of immersion, by a properly-qualified person, (that is, one of themselves,) for the remission of sins. This is an element of "Campbellism," and is adduced as an internal evidence of Rigdon's original complicity in the fraud, inasmuch as he officiated as a Campbellite Preacher during the "translation" period. But Smith early improved on the original notion, and taught a strange doctrine on the subject of "baptisms for the dead." The following is Lieut. Gunnison's outline of this doctrine, drawn from the "revelations" in "Doctrine and Covenants," p. 300, *et seq.* :—

"The further peculiarity of the subject consists in a vicarious immersion of living persons for their dead friends, who have never had the opportunity, or neglected it, while living. This is called 'Baptism for the dead.' There being, according to their view, a probationary state in the spiritual world while that on earth exists, so that by proxy one can fulfil all 'righteousness,' by submitting to all prescribed rites, of which baptism is one, it is presumed that those gone before have repented, and are now desirous of baptistic benefits; and hence

it is enjoined, that the 'greatest responsibility that God has laid on us, is to look after our dead,' and ordered, that a man be baptized for deceased relatives, tracing back the line to one that held the priesthood among his progenitors, who, being a saint, will then take up the place of sponsor, and relieve him of further responsibility. All those who are thus admitted to salvation will be added to the household of the baptized person at the resurrection, who will then prefer his claim, or do as our Lord did at the grave of Lazarus, and call them forth in the name of Jesus; over whom he, as the most distinguished of the line, will reign as Patriarch for ever; and his rank and power among kingly saints will be in proportion to the number of his retinue."—*Gunnison*, pp. 45, 46.

It is only necessary to add, that, after sufficient time has been allowed to build a temple at Zion, or any appointed "stake," no other places are permitted to be used for the baptisms for the dead. The design of this is obvious. Members, as they gather to "Zion," or its "stakes," are required, under severe penalties, to contribute largely for the service of the temple, and the maintenance of "the Presidency." The above doctrine, therefore, appealing to the sympathy of survivors for the unquiet souls of their departed friends, is admirably fitted, like the kindred doctrine of purgatory, and its associated vicarious masses, to fill the coffers of the priesthood, and to promote the aggrandizement of the leaders of the sect. There can be no baptism but by a *proper* person in the *proper* place; and of course the faithful will hasten to "gather" to that place; where they must pay handsomely for their privileges.

We may pass over all that is said of Mormon cosmogony, and of their views as to the *millennium*. But we must not forget to mention that the continuance of the power of working miracles is an essential article of the faith of this sect; and that its Missionaries every where pretend to exercise that power. But, even were we unable, in any case, to prove collusion and jugglery, we should refuse to be convinced by *apparent* miracles, wrought by bad men, in confirmation of unscriptural dogmas. The world has often been cheated by "lying wonders," and the "deceivableness of unrighteousness;" and, considering the vicious character of the authors of this imposture, and the nature of their peculiar tenets, we pronounce their success to be only another instance of the same melancholy kind.

"The gift of tongues" was early exercised by the more zealous Mormons; but, at that time, Smith found it convenient to denounce these gifts, by revelation, as "works of the devil." Nevertheless, when his *prophetic* stock in trade ran low, in consequence of some unfortunate guesses, he began to speak with tongues himself. The following is a specimen of his "gifts:"—
"Ak man oh son oh man ah ne commene en holle goste en haben en glai hosanne hosanne en holle goste en esac milkea Jeremiah,

Ezekiel, Nephi, Lehi, St. John," &c. &c. A seceder testifies, that he himself, on one occasion, "was at length called upon to speak, or sing, 'in tongues,' at his own option. Preferring the latter mode, he sung, to the tune of 'Bruce's Address,' a combination of sounds which astonished all present." One Higbee, formerly an Elder, gives this as the rule: "Rise upon your feet, and look and lean on Christ; speak or make some sound; continue to make sounds of some kind, and the Lord will make a correct tongue or language of it." This is "the-gift-of-tongues-made-easy," with a witness.

Great pretensions have also been made to the gifts of healing, and of casting out devils. The specimens of the latter are too silly and profane to be inserted here; and, as to the former, when we find that, whether the patient recover at once, or only by slow degrees, or whether he die quietly, the miracle is equally genuine, we know what value to attach to these supernatural pretensions. A Mr. Bachelier, during the progress of a discussion with a Mormon teacher, investigated three cases of pretended miracles, and, in every instance, compelled his opponent publicly to confirm his testimony, that there was nothing miraculous about them.*

A singular story is related by Mr. Tucker. He says, that on one occasion a stranger, who had obtained accommodation for the night at the house of a farmer, awoke the family by the most dreadful cries and groans; and, in spite of all that could be done for him, expired before morning. At an early hour, two travellers came to the gate, and requested entertainment. On hearing of the disaster which had occurred, they requested to see the corpse; and, after looking at it for a few minutes, one of them said they were Elders of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, and empowered to work miracles,—concluding by offering to bring to life the dead man before them. At their request the neighbours were summoned, and,—

"The Mormon Elders commenced their task by kneeling and praying before the body with uplifted hands and eyes, and with most stentorian lungs. Before they had proceeded far with their prayer, a sudden idea struck the farmer, who quickly quitted the house for a few minutes, and on his return waited patiently by the bedside until their prayer was finished, and the Elders were ready to perform their miracle. Before they began, he respectfully said to them, that, with their permission, he wished to ask them a few questions upon the subject of their miracle.' They replied, that they had no objection. The farmer then asked, 'You are quite certain that you can bring this man to life again?' 'We are.' 'How do you know that you can?' 'We have just received a revelation from the Lord, informing us that we can.' 'Are you quite sure that the revelation was from the Lord?' 'Yes: we cannot be mistaken about it.' 'Does your power to raise this man to

life again depend upon the particular nature of his disease, or could you now bring any dead man to life?' 'It makes no difference to us; we could bring any corpse to life.' 'Well, if this man had been killed, and one of his arms cut off, could you bring him to life, and also restore to him his arm?' 'Certainly: there is no limit to the power given us by the Lord. It would make no difference, even if both his arms and his legs were cut off.' 'Could you restore him if his head had been cut off?' 'Certainly we could.' 'Well,' said the farmer, with a quiet smile upon his features, 'I do not doubt the truth of what such holy men assert, but I am desirous that my neighbours here should be fully converted, by having the miracle performed in the completest manner possible; so, by your leave, if it makes no difference whatever, I will proceed to cut off the head of this corpse.' Accordingly, he produced a huge and well-sharpened broad axe from beneath his coat, which he swung above his head, and was apparently about to bring it down upon the neck of the corpse, when, lo and behold! to the amazement of all present, the dead man started up in great agitation, and swore he would not have his head cut off for any consideration whatever.

"The company immediately seized the Mormons, and soon made them confess that the pretended dead man was also a Mormon Elder, and that they had sent him to the farmer's house, with directions to die there at a particular hour, when they would drop in, as if by accident, and perform a miracle that would astonish every body. The farmer, after giving the impostors a severe chastisement, let them depart, to practise their imposition in some other quarter."*

The most succinct and intelligible account of the discipline and polity of Mormonism which we have found, is thus given by Dr. Kidder, from the summary of Mr. Corrill:—

"There are in the Church two priesthoods: first, the Melchisedec, or high, priesthood, also called the greater priesthood; second, the Aaronic, or lesser, priesthood. In the first, or Melchisedec, priesthood, were ordained High Priests and Elders; in the second, were ordained Priests, Teachers, and Deacons. Each different grade chose one of its number to preside over the rest, who was called 'President,' and whose duty it was to call together those over whom he presided, at stated times, to edify one another, and receive instruction from him. The first, or high, priesthood was to stand at the head of, and regulate the spiritual concerns of, the Church; the second, or lesser, priesthood was to administer in the ordinances, and attend to the temporal concerns of the Church. Three of the High Priests were chose[n] and set apart by the Church to preside over all the Churches, of that order, in all the world, and were called 'Presidents,' and constituted what is called 'the first presidency.'.....The Church that was to be established in Jackson County was called 'Zion,' the centre of gathering; and those established by revelation, in other places, were called 'stakes of Zion.'.....Each stake was to have a presidency, consisting of three High Priests, chosen and set apart for that purpose, whose jurisdiction was confined to the limits of the stake over which they took the watch-

* For this, and the story about the abstraction of part of the Book of Mormon, we are indebted to our very valuable contemporary, "The British and Foreign Evangelical Review."

care. There was also to be a high council, consisting of twelve High Priests, established at each stake; also a Bishop, who stood at the head of the lesser priesthood, and administered in temporal things; he had two Counsellors, who, with himself, formed a court to try transgressors. If two members had a difficulty, they were to settle it between themselves, or by the assistance of another, according to the Scriptures; but, if they could not do this, then it went before the Bishop's court for trial; but, if either party was dissatisfied with the Bishop's decision, he could appeal from it to the high council. There was also a travelling high council, consisting of twelve High Priests, called 'the Twelve Apostles,' or 'THE TWELVE,' whose duty it was to travel and preach the gospel to all the world. They were also to regulate the Church in all places where it was not properly organized. One of their number presided over the rest in their councils. There were other bodies formed, called 'the seventies,' consisting of seventy Elders each, (not High Priests,) seven of whom presided over the rest in their councils. These seventies were to travel and preach in all the world, under the direction of the twelve, who were to open or lead the way, and then call upon the seventies for assistance. There were three of these bodies formed, called the first, second, and third seventies. The first presidency, the high council, the twelve, and each of the seventies, were equal in power; that is to say, each had a right to discipline their own members, and transact other business of the Church within their calling; and a decision of either one of these bodies, when in regular session, could not be appealed from to any other; for one had no right or power to reverse or overthrow the judgment or decision of the other, but they could all be called together and form a conference, consisting of all the authorities, to which an appeal could be taken from either one, and the decision reversed. These were the regular constituted authorities of the Church; but, besides this, Smith and Rigdon taught the Church, that these authorities, in ruling or watching over the Church, were nothing more than servants to the Church, and that the Church, as a body, had the power in themselves to do any thing that either or all of these authorities could do."—*Kidder*, pp. 121-123.

We are not told how far this privilege is reconciled with the prerogatives of the Seer and others, in receiving and issuing "revelations;" but we know that Smith and his colleagues always exacted, and generally secured, implicit obedience to their orders. It must be borne in mind, too, that the prerogatives of these various orders extend to civil, as well as ecclesiastical, administrations. The Mormons delight to call their system a "Theodemocracy," but it is quite evident that Brigham Young is "the most autocratic ruler in the world." By means of his high council, he knows as much about the private opinions and concerns of all around him, as a French Minister of Police, and probably far more; and, backed by the authority of "revelation," can easily secure the obedience of his vassals.

But one of the darkest features of Mormonism remains to be mentioned. We have hinted at the personal profligacy of the Prophet and his coadjutors; and in the system, as practised in

America, we find the image of the debasing lusts of its originators. This is a heavy charge, constantly denied by English Mormons, and, no doubt, disbelieved by many of them. But it can be abundantly made good.

The troubles at Nauvoo were immediately occasioned by the "spiritual wife" doctrine of Sidney Rigdon, and its application by the Prophet in the instance of Mrs. Foster. The charges then urged on this head were indignantly denied; but subsequent events have corroborated them. Indeed, Lieut. Gunnison testifies that equivocation on this subject is quite common:—

"An intelligent lady informed me that she had considered it right, when asked by her friends, during an eastern visit, to say, that 'it is no doctrine of ours to have spiritual wives;' and this, although the interrogators may have had in their minds nothing more than plurality and its supposed abuses."—*Gunnison*, p. 67.

The following statements on the subject of polygamy are from the same pen:—

"That many have a large number of wives in Deserét, is perfectly manifest to any one residing among them; and, indeed, the subject begins to be more openly discussed than formerly; and it is announced that a treatise is in preparation, to prove by the Scriptures the right of plurality by all Christians, if not to declare their own practice of the same."—P. 67.

"They go so far as to say that our Saviour had three wives,—Mary, and Martha, and the other Mary whom Jesus loved,—all married at the wedding in Cana of Galilee."—P. 68.

"That polygamy existed at Nauvoo, and is now a matter scarcely attempted to be concealed among the Mormons, is certain.....It is a thing of usual and general conversation in the mountains. I have often heard one of the Presidency spoken of with his twenty-eight wives; another with 'forty-two, more or less;' and the third, called an old bachelor, because he has only a baker's dozen."—P. 120.

It is not for us to enter further into this disgusting subject, nor to discuss the reasons which, according to the above friendly author, are adduced in justification of the practice. It should be enough to have established the truth of the accusation. The Missionaries of the sect in England continually deny it; and no wonder: for, were they to preach and practice polygamy among us, they would not make many converts. But there cannot be a doubt that Mahommedanism itself is not more remarkable for this form of licentiousness. And is it into a system like this, that our English matrons and virgins are to be enticed? And will our "farmers and mechanics" abandon the severe and holy virtues of the Christian commonwealth, for a people among whom the honour of their daughters and sisters is a thing of so small account? How will they feel when commanded by "revelation" to hand over their beloved ones to the harem of one of

the High Priests of this scheme of sensuality and lust? O that their eyes could be opened to see the social and moral perils into which so many of them seem disposed to rush!

Of course, such a practice poisons the very sources of society, and the moral taint affects all classes. Listen again to Lieut. Gunnison:—

“Of all the children that have come under our observation, we must, in candour, say, that those of the Mormons are the most lawless and profane. Circumstances connected with travel, with occupations in a new home, and desultory life, may in part account for this: but when a people make pretensions to raising up a ‘holy generation,’ and are commanded to take wives for the purpose, we naturally look at the quality of the fruit produced by the doctrines; and surely they would not complain of the scripture rule,—‘By their fruits ye shall know them.’”—P. 160.

In like manner, profaneness and extreme vulgarity are common among them, “both in the pulpit, and out of it.” Smith could swear like a trooper; and so, it seems, can his successors, the only caution used being, not to mention the name of God in their swearing.

These statements are confirmed by letters from emigrants to their friends in this country. The writers, in many instances, bitterly bewail their folly in being duped by the Mormon apostles. They represent them as “a gang of speculators and gamblers, who don’t value a man’s life more than that of a cat;” “unsatiated despots;” addicted to “gaming of every description on the Sabbath, such as horse-racing, rolling the ten-pins, playing cards, dancing, swearing, and every thing else that is beyond decency.”

Such is Mormonism:—“of the earth, earthy,” a religion of sensuality and blasphemy. Its steps “go down to death; its feet take hold on hell.” The rapid spread of such a plague among our agricultural and manufacturing population is a portentous occurrence. We are glad to find that the Religious Tract Society and the Wesleyan Book Room have issued tracts on the subject. In this country there has been, there will be, no persecution; but the surprising growth of the system shows that it is as unsafe to ignore, as it would be unwise to persecute, it. Let us, depending upon God, use all the weapons that reason and religion allow, to effect its suppression.

In the United States, Mormonism is felt to be a threatening political fact. The Territory of Utah has been recognised by the Federal Government; and already the Government officers have come into collision with the inhabitants. Indeed, it could not be otherwise. Their settled policy, in such matters, is thus described:—

“Their President of the Church is the temporal civil governor, *because* he is the seer of the Lord, and rules in virtue of that pro-

phetic right over the home and catholic 'Latter Day Saints of the Church of Jesus Christ,' usually styled 'the Mormons.' And should one be assigned to them not of their creed, or other than their chief, he would find himself without occupation. He probably would be received with all due courtesy as a distinguished personage, cordially received in social intercourse, *so long as his demeanour pleased the influential members and people*; but, as Governor,—to use their own expressive phrase,—'he would be let severely alone.' Were he to convoke an assembly, and order an election, no attention would be paid to it, and he would be subject to the mortification of seeing a legislature, chosen at a different time, enacting statutes, or else the old ones continued, and those laws enforced, and the cases arising from their conflict adjudicated, by the present tribunals of justice, under their own Judges."—*Gunnison*, p. 24.

Accordingly, the Judges originally sent from Washington either fled, or were recalled; and Mormon functionaries now administer Mormon law in the Territory of Utah. But how long will the inhabitants be content with the inferior position of a Territory? And, when they shall claim to be incorporated with the other States of the Union, how will the difficulties arising from their peculiar views and polity be adjusted? These difficulties have recently been forcibly put by the New York correspondent of "The Times" newspaper. He says,—

"There is rising into view, in the very centre of the American Republic, a structure of spiritual despotism, which puts to blush the pretensions of Hildebrand.....The whole system of Mormonism is utterly repugnant to all our moral, religious, and political ideas; and incompatible with the scope of all our institutions. The Church is every thing, and intermeddles with every thing. It utterly blots out private conscience. It controls the bodies, the souls, and the fortunes of its followers. The ascendancy of the priesthood treads under foot the great principle of popular suffrage. Let the popular voice take what direction it may, it is at once overborne by the awful and imperative voice of the heresiarchs at the head of the community. The Mormon district has already been inaugurated as a Territory, and in this capacity sustains important relations with our Federal Government. They send a Delegate to Congress, who may participate in debate, without the right to vote. The President also appoints their principal officers,—Governors, Judges, Marshals, Postmasters, &c. These officers are sworn to obey the laws and constitution of the Republic. Some serious conflicts have already arisen between the Mormons and the Federal officers. The laws and the authority of the Republic have been openly set at defiance, and its agents driven from their posts; while the President yielded so far for the time as to recall his official delegates, and intrusted Mormons with the execution of those laws which they had defied.....Utah will soon display a new phase: it will, in accordance with our constitution, become a sovereign State, but owning, thereby, a higher, more clearly defined, and far more sacred allegiance to the Federal Government."

The writer then goes on to show that its constitution must be

in accordance with that of the United States; that, therefore, religious intolerance must cease, polygamy be abandoned, and the country be open to settlers from every part of the earth; that not a vestige of the priesthood can be admitted into the civil government, nor the slightest interference of the ecclesiastical power be for a moment tolerated; and that, when any Mormon law tolerating polygamy, or any other social vice, comes up on appeal before the Supreme Court of the United States, it will be declared immoral and unconstitutional. He anticipates the most determined adherence to their own laws and usages on the part of the Mormons; and certainly their past history favours this anticipation. For a time, this may retard the incorporation of the Territory as a State; but, in the end, "the laws of the nation must be rigorously carried out in Utah, or the Republic submit to the utter prostration of its authority, which it will never do."

We hope that the serious aspect of affairs presented in the above remarks of an able and impartial American writer, will be deemed a sufficient apology for the length to which our own observations have extended. A question arises, as to what will be the solution of the difficulties enumerated. The writer suggests the probable good effect of that intercourse with their fellow-men, which the Mormons had intended to escape, but which Divine Providence has forced upon them by the discovery of gold in California, and by the measures in progress for constructing the high road from the eastern States to the American El Dorado through the very heart of their territory. The contact with modern ideas and influences, and the transforming power of steam, which the Great Pacific Railroad will introduce, may gradually ameliorate the character of the Mormons, and assimilate them, in spite of themselves, to the enterprising and progressive community, in the midst of which they are compelled to live, and may even effect the entire destruction of the system.

To this estimate of the influence of external circumstances must be added a still more comforting consideration arising out of the elements of disruption contained in the system itself. The student of Providence is often called to adore that retributive justice by which various evils, by the law of their own development, are made to work out their own cure. In the present case, Lieut. Gunnison enumerates at least five elements of disturbance in the social condition of the Mormons:—1. Polygamy, with its uniform attendant, *the social degradation of woman*. These men say,—

"That to give the post of honour or of comfort to the lady is absurd. If there is but one seat, they say, it of right belongs to the gentleman, and it is the duty and place of a man to lead the way, and let the fair partner enter the house or room behind him. The glory of a woman is constantly held forth to be a 'mother in Israel,' or, literally, a child-

tender. The delicate sentiment of companionable qualities and mental attachments finds no place in the philosophy of plurality of wives, separate from grosser sensuous enjoyments. While introducing this great cause of disruption and jealousies into families, they cultivate in schools the arts of peace, that tend to soften and elevate a community; and the antagonistic principles, one of rolling back to Asiatic stationary civilization, the other of progressive enlightenment, must come into collision."—*Gunnison*, p. 157.

Our readers will join with us in saying, "The sooner the better!" 2. Another cause is, the want of sympathy among the young with the views of the adult members of the community. The former are, generally, "no fanatics," care nothing for doctrines, are many of them quite opposed to "plurality," because of the mutual insecurities inseparable from it; and, by their liberal education, and occasional contact with Christian influences, are acquiring a dislike to the sensual and despotic hierarchy, under whose government they are living. 3. There is a project for publishing an edition of the Bible, "amended" by Joe Smith. This will be "no more the Christian book of the present Churches than the Alcoran, or the Zendivesta;" but will "necessitate an apostasy from one religion to a different creed, and to the worship of a different God." Then, many who have embraced Mormonism, under the belief that it was the purest form of Christianity, having their religious principles shocked by such impiety, may be expected to abandon the system. 4. The system of tithes is another element of disruption.

"By this engine, immense sums are accumulated, and put at the disposal of the Presidency; and its corrupting influences of irresponsible expenditure will, sooner or later, be developed. It cannot be long before those restless, ambitious, and talented persons, who are denied the great privileges which untold treasures secure, will become dissatisfied at the sight of ease and luxury in the managers of what they may consider a *religious speculation*; and some may envy the harems of the shepherds of the flock, supported indirectly by the labours of the hirelings," &c.—*Gunnison*, p. 162.

5. A fifth cause arises from the probability of disunion in the Presidency itself, as illustrated by the quarrels of Smith and Rigdon in the earlier history of Mormonism. Indeed, internal dissension has generally been the forerunner of the external assaults to which the people have been exposed. In fine,—

"All these seeds of distrust, ambition, and discontent are sown in a fruitful soil; and, if they are left quietly to germinate by the powers at a distance, cannot fail to destroy that unity which renders the Mormon community so formidable to any that might seek to control it."—*Gunnison*, p. 163.

We hope that these anticipations will be speedily realized. That Mormonism can exist for any great length of time, now that it is, in spite of its promoters, once more brought into contact

with the advancing civilization of the nineteenth century, we by no means believe. This and all similar outrages upon the common sense and religious convictions of the Christian world are under the ban of Him who has said, "I will overturn, overturn, overturn it: and it shall be no more, until He come whose right it is." *Until He come!* Are we near His coming? Is the hideous brood of heresy, contention, superstition, and infidelity, now arising in the bosom of evangelical communities, an evidence that "the last days" have already begun? a presage of the approach of the last and greatest conflict between truth and error, Christ and Belial? Questions of religion are now, more than at any former time, awakening the attention, arousing the passions, and marshalling the forces, of the world. A war of religious opinion impends over Europe; China is convulsed to its centre, and the throne of its Tartar Emperor, and the religion of the country, are tottering with the shock of an insurrection; the Churches of our beloved fatherland are torn by strife and division; and (let not our readers smile at the anti-climax) behind the rampart of the Rocky mountains, Mormonism is accumulating its resources, and preparing its array, for a conflict, not so much with the Republicanism, as with the Christianity, of America. "Not the earth only, but the heavens," are shaken. Let us pray and hope for the advent of "the Desire of all nations," and for the universal establishment of that "kingdom which cannot be moved."

- ART. V.—1. *Elements of Meteorology: being the Third Edition, revised and enlarged, of "Meteorological Essays."* By the late JOHN FREDERICK DANIEL, D.C.L., OXON., &c., &c.
2. *Annales de l'Observatoire Royale de Bruxelles, publiés aux Frais de l'Etat.* Par le DIRECTEUR A. QUETELET, Secrétaire Perpétuel de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, &c., &c. Tom. VII.
3. *Quarterly Reports on the Meteorology of England, the South of Scotland, and Parts of Ireland.* By JAMES GLAISHER, F.R.S., Secretary of the British Meteorological Society. (Published with the "Quarterly Reports" of the Registrar-General.)
4. *Observations in Magnetism and Meteorology, made at Makers-toun, in Scotland, in the Observatory of General Sir Thomas Macdougall Brisbane, Bart., &c., &c., in 1844.* Edinburgh, 1848.
5. *Observations made at the Magnetical and Meteorological Observatory at Toronto, in Canada.* Printed by order of Her Majesty's Government, under the Superintendence of COL. EDWARD SABINE. Vol. II., 1843, 1844, 1845. London, 1853.

6. *Nouveaux Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Sciences et Belles-Lettres de Bruxelles. Observations des Phénomènes Périodiques.*

MR. LAWSON, a gentleman resident at Bath, has devoted his time and wealth for many years to meteorological researches. He has accumulated numerous valuable instruments of research, and is himself the inventor of several. Amongst these latter we find catalogued, "the Atmospheric Recorder, which is a mechanical wonder, worked by clock-work ; by which the amount of rain, amount of evaporation, amount of electricity, direction and force of wind, height of barometer, height of thermometer, and degree of humidity, are constantly writing themselves down *day and night*, each change being recorded at the precise moment of occurrence, without the aid of an observer." The entire collection, and the sum of £1,000, were offered by Mr. Lawson to the public, on the condition that £10,000 more be subscribed, and a central observatory founded at Nottingham. It is almost unnecessary to remark, that the project was warmly taken up, especially at Nottingham, and that an ample proportion of the required sum has been subscribed. This movement may be considered as, in some degree, marking an epoch in the history of Meteorology, being the first in which a municipal body has had a share : we will, therefore, take our stand upon it, and, looking backward at earlier efforts, and forward to probable results, put our readers into possession of some facts as to the progress and practical applications of the science.

The first and most important researches into Meteorology were those which had reference to the influence of atmospheric changes on the health of individuals and the prosperity of nations. These will always, indeed, be considered of primary importance. Nothing is of such vital national interest as the supply of food : it is not astonishing, therefore, that the greatest political changes recorded in history have resulted from defective crops, the consequence of wide-spread and destructive atmospheric changes. All the nations whose history constitutes the history of ancient and primæval civilization placed Meteorology amongst their practical sciences. As a science, however, it can never exist except on the wide basis of astronomical knowledge. Hence it was that Astronomy and Meteorology constituted but one science amongst those nations, under the designation of "Astrology." This united science passed from the Egyptians and Chaldeans to the Greeks and Romans ; but, with the loss of the Pythagorean theory of the universe, it degenerated into empiricism, and has remained an empirical art to this day. So recently, however, as the close of the seventeenth century, that is to say, until the rise of the Newtonian philosophy, Astrology was cultivated by the learned, and constituted an important branch of the physical and medical sciences of the

day. It presents, indeed, in this respect, the same relation to Astronomy and Meteorology which Alchemy bears to Chemistry. Founded upon dogmatic assertions, as to the influence of the sun, moon, and planets, and their conjunctions, both upon the health and happiness of individuals and the prosperity of nations, —many of them fanciful, all of them traditional,—it was distasteful to the rising school of inductive philosophy, at the head of which Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, &c., were found, and was therefore repudiated by them. Nor were some of those who cultivated the study of Astrology as a branch of physics ignorant of the doubtful basis on which it rested, or silent as to the best methods of strengthening its foundations, and harmonizing it with the rising spirit of the age. One of the earliest propositions for an extended and combined system of meteorological observations was advanced by an astrologian, with the hope of founding thereon “the restoration of Astrology.” In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Parisian, Jean Baptiste Morin, a Doctor of Medicine, and Physician to the Duke of Luxembourg, proposed to himself this object. A notice of his views is to be found in Gadbury’s Collection of the Works of Sir George Wharton, an astrologian of the Great Rebellion.* In 1628, Morin printed “Epistles to the South and North Astrologers, for Restoring of Astrology.” He also delivered Six Articles, &c., “as necessary for the confirmation and demonstration thereof by principles,” which we subjoin as a curious document in the history of Meteorology :—

“1. To collect from the histories of several nations of the world the most eminent and notable changes that have therein happened, in respect of sects, empires, kingdoms, wars, famines, deluges, &c., with the exact times of their changes, and the true posture of the constellations and planets preceding the same.

“2. To observe the changes of the air, in respect of heat, cold, moisture, and draught; as also the winds throughout the whole latitude of the earth; and then the different places of longitude, in their natures and qualities, at the same and at several times, erecting celestial figures most congruous for that purpose; and to mark well how from thence plants, brutes, and men are affected: and all these observations to compare one with another.

“3. To erect the several nativities of such as died not long after they were born; of those that be sickly, or any ways hurt, blind, lame, ulcerated, wounded, burnt, mutilated, &c., diligently observing the parts so affected; the which may most conveniently be done in a spacious city, (such as Paris is,) where are many hospitals, and poor people innumerable, many chirurgeons, and every day various casualties.

* “The Works of the late most excellent Philosopher and Astronomer, Sir George Wharton, Bar., collected into one entire Volume. By John Gadbury, Student in Physick and Astrology. London, 1663.”

"4. By the help of the physicians, to find out (if possible) the beginnings, species, accidents, and solutions of all acute and daily diseases, that every where abound; erecting celestial schemes to these beginnings; and that especially at Paris, where the exorbitant practice of frequent blood-letting does much disturb Nature's motions and crises in diseases, and very often elude and frustrate the astrological predictions of the ancients concerning them.

"5. What the ancient astrologers have delivered on every subject, the same to collect and observe in several, by diligent reading thereof, and to correct the figures of their experiments, in respect of the errors of the old Astronomy.

"6. To argue and determine, by physical and astronomical reasons, concerning the system of the world, now so much controverted between the Copernicans and Tychonists," &c., &c.

Morin, the proposer of this comprehensive scheme of meteorological observation in relation to Astrology, was no obscure empiric. He was Professor Royal of Mathematics, had high court patronage, as the intimate friend and confidential adviser of the two great French Cardinals, Richelieu and Mazarin, and occupied, therefore, a most influential and responsible position. In support of his scheme he argued that, if this plan were followed, Astrology would be demonstrated "in a more excellent method than either Natural Philosophy or Physical have hitherto been by any man whatever." A century later, Newton fulfilled the object of the sixth "Article:" in 1783 a Meteorological Society was established, to carry out the objects set forth in the second; and, during the second half of the present century, statistical inquiries have been instituted, to determine the influence of diurnal and seasonal changes on health and disease. The object of the third, fourth, and fifth Articles, Astrology itself, has disappeared from the cycle of the sciences.

Previously to 1774, meteorological observations were made by numerous private individuals as well in England as on the Continent; but in that year a "Meteorological Journal" was kept, for the first time, at the Royal Society's House, by order of the President and Council, which included observations of the variations of the magnetic needle. This was printed in vol. lxxv. of the "Transactions." In the same volume is a paper entitled, "An abridged State of the Weather at London in the year 1774, collected from the Meteorological Journal of the Royal Society. By S. Horsley, LL.D.;" which is followed by a notice (by Dr. Horsley) of a Meteorological Journal for 1774, kept at Bristol, by Dr. Samuel Farr. In this Essay Dr. Horsley remarks, that although the practice of keeping Meteorological Journals is, of late years, become very general, no information of any importance has yet been derived from it. This he imputes to the want of proper tabulation of the observations made, and subjoins tables, "as an example of the method that may be taken in future to

remedy this neglect." The greater portion of this Essay is an interesting disquisition on lunar influence, full of classical research, commencing with the earliest Greek writers. His eighth table is entitled, "For Trial of the Moon's Influence."

In 1780, a few years after this date, the Meteorological Society of the Palatinate was established, under the auspices of the Elector Charles Theodore, who not only gave it the patronage of his name, but furnished the means of defraying the expenses of instruments of the best construction, which were gratuitously distributed to all parts of Europe, and even to America. One of the first acts of the Association was, to write to all the principal Universities, Scientific Academies, and Colleges, soliciting their co-operation, and offering to present them with all the necessary instruments, properly verified by standards, and free of expense. Professor Daniel informs us, that this offer was immediately accepted by thirty Societies; and the list of distinguished men who undertook to make the observations, shows the importance which was attached to the plan, and the zeal with which it was promoted in every part of the Continent. The Secretary (Hemmer) appears to have been indefatigable in his exertions to perfect this truly princely plan of operations; and, even now, but little could be added to the precautions taken in the preparation of the instruments which he describes, or to the ample instructions for their use which he transmitted with them. Some idea may be formed of the comprehensive scale of the Register, when it is known that it contains observations, three times a-day, of the barometer, magnetic needle, direction and force of the wind, quantity of rain and of evaporation, the height of any neighbouring water, the changes of the moon, the appearance of the sky, and the occurrence of meteors and of the *Aurora Borealis*. To these must be added, in some places, observations upon the electrical state of the atmosphere, upon the progress of vegetation, the prevalence of disease, changes of population, and migration of animals. The field of observation extended from the Ural Mountains in the east, to Cambridge, in the United States, in the west; and from Greenland and Norway in the north, to Rome in the south. Unfortunately for science, the Secretary died in 1790, and from that time the Society languished, until it became extinct amidst the troubles and the wars of the French Revolution.

The Transactions, or *Ephemerides*, of this Society, extending from 1781 to 1792 inclusive, contain very interesting Essays upon various branches of Meteorology, and, according to Professor Daniel, especially the first exemplification of the method of representing the oscillations of the barometer by a curved line upon a scale,—a method of the utmost consequence in connecting detached observations, and exhibiting their mutual relations. Professor Daniel

extends this plan to show (in three plates) that, within certain limits, the movements of the barometer coincide, by some general law, over large portions of the globe, using the observations recorded in the *Ephemerides*. It is very remarkable, and, to an Englishman, somewhat mortifying, that the answer of the Royal Society to the invitation of this Society is the only one, out of a vast number, which does not appear in the Transactions. Strange to say, too, during the years of these recorded observations, no Meteorological Journal was published in the "Philosophical Transactions;" and thus an important break in the series of observations is made, and the comparison of them fails at a point which, for many reasons, is one of the utmost interest and importance. It would be curious to ascertain the true reasons of this conduct on the part of the Royal Society.

In the year 1839 the Royal Academy of Brussels led the way in a further extension of a part of the plan of observation; namely, the influence of meteorological changes upon living things. The PERIODIC CHARACTER of these changes has always been strongly impressed upon the observer, and has been exactly that character which gives the stamp of utility to the science, —the character which endues man with the gift of prescience in this as well as others of the physical sciences. Numerous medical writers have, in all ages, traced a connexion between physiological and pathological changes and soli-lunar influence, and few naturalists have omitted to note the periodic phenomena observable in Natural History. The various calendars and dials of Flora are founded upon observations of this kind. The great Linnæus turned his attention, in 1750, 1751, and 1752,* very particularly to this point, and estimated highly the utility which might be derived from simultaneous researches in the calendar of Flora in different countries. His views were carried out by individual observers, amongst the more note-worthy of whom are the Fosters, father and son, who, in 1838, had kept records for fifty years.

We have seen how the last of the scientific astrologers struggled to fix the relations of periodic change to vital actions; we have seen, too, how this point occupied the attention of the first scientific meteorologists: it is not surprising, therefore, that the establishment of a more widely-extended and more systematic method of observation should have been developed. In this respect, Quetelet, the Perpetual Secretary to the Royal Academy of Brussels, is a worthy successor of Hemmer; and it may be granted, we think, that the more systematic observation of periodic vital changes, in relation to meteorological changes, will have received as great an impulse from him, as meteorological observation received from Hemmer. It was in 1839 (as

* *Vide Amenitates Acad.*

we have remarked) that Quetelet first developed a system, of which the Royal Academy at Brussels should be the centre, for the observation and registration of periodical phenomena in animals and plants. Observations on the time of flowering were commenced in that year, and continued in the following, in the garden of the Royal Observatory at Brussels. At the end of 1840, towns in Holland, and Frankfort, Paris, Geneva, Parma, and Bologna, were in correspondence with Brussels. In 1841 Cracow, Warsaw, Lemberg, Milan, &c., were added, and simultaneous observations throughout Belgium were commenced, which have since enabled Quetelet to publish, in the *Annales*, an Essay on the Climate of Belgium. In 1842 the system was still further extended into other countries. It then included numerous observers in France, Russia, Germany, Italy, England, Holland, the United States, &c. In the following year (1843) Quetelet brought his plan under the notice of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, at its Meeting at Plymouth, when a Committee was appointed to report upon it. This Committee presented its Report to the Meeting of 1845, adopting the plan, together with "Instructions"—mainly founded on those drawn up by Quetelet and his continental associates—for the proper observation and registration of periodical phenomena. A noticeable and very serious defect in these "Instructions" is, that they refer solely to such phenomena as are within the domain of Natural History, (and to these, indeed, imperfectly,) while those belonging to Physiology proper are wholly omitted. For example: we are instructed to observe the time of moulting of the genus *Mustela*, but not the duration of the moult; the period at which the magpie commences its nest, but not the period occupied in the completion, &c.; while the oviposition, incubation, &c., of all animals are wholly omitted.

It would be a long—although not wearisome—task, to trace the later progress of meteorological observation throughout the civilized world. Our space will not permit us this work of pleasure; nor is it within the scope of our present object. Suffice it to say, that there is no civilized Government which has not its Meteorological Observatory, and that scientific Societies vie with the Governments and with individuals, in the development of Meteorology by careful, systematic, daily observation. The Quarterly Report alone, by Mr. Glaisher, is founded on returns from FIFTY Observatories, the Royal Observatory being the only one maintained at the public cost; and the list undoubtedly does not contain the names of all the Observatories in the United Kingdom. But there is another kind of Observatory which we must notice, as having important relations to our subject.

TERRESTRIAL MAGNETISM is not so ordinarily included in the course of general education, as to render it altogether superfluous to remind the reader, that the earth and air, singly or

jointly, undergo periodic changes; that terrestrial and atmospheric phenomena are materially modified by what is known as "the magnetic force." The earth acts on iron as though it were a bipolar magnet; but the geographical and magnetic poles are not ordinarily coincident; so that the needle of the compass rarely points due north, but to the east or west of north, constituting the magnetic declination, or the *variation* of the needle. There are, in fact, only two lines on the earth's surface upon which the needle points due north and south. Further: the end of the needle is depressed towards the earth at different points, so as to be directed towards it (in *dipping*) at different angles. At all places in the northern hemisphere the north pole of the needle is thus depressed, in the southern the south pole. In the neighbourhood of the Equator there is an irregular curve upon which the needle is perfectly balanced: from this line northwards the needle *dips* more and more until, at a point in the vicinity of Hudson's Bay, discovered by Sir James Ross, it is actually vertical. The *intensity* of the magnetic force varies, as well as the declination and dip, being feeble near the magnetic Equator, and increasing as we approach the Poles.

Now it has been observed, that there are important changes constantly going on in these magnetic relations of the earth. About the year 1600, the needle in Europe pointed to the east of north; in 1663 it pointed due north; from which date it deviated westward more and more till the close of the last century. For a short period after the commencement of the present, the needle remained stationary; but for the last twenty years its declination has decreased, turning, as if it would again become due north, and then deviate to the east again. Besides these *secular* variations, the needle shows *diurnal* and *annual* changes also, in evident relation with the sun's progress.

It is not surprising that a desire to know more of this interesting department of physics has been strongly felt, and that the collection of facts wherewith to lay the foundation of the science on inductive principles, has been a favourite passion with some of the most eminent philosophers of the day. The "Introduction" to the first volume of the "Toronto Observations," written by Colonel Edward Sabine, the veteran magnetician of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, is an interesting summary of the progress of magnetic research. It was in the year 1741, on April 5th, that Celsius at Upsala, and Graham in London, discovered, by contemporaneous and preconcerted observations, that magnetic disturbances occurred simultaneously over large portions of the earth's surface. The fact lay dormant, until its re-discovery by Arago in Paris, and Kupffer in Casan, by means of a series of observations made in the years 1825 and 1826. Singular interest was attached to this discovery by the scientific world; and sanguine expectations have been entertained

that co-operative and simultaneous observation in different parts of the globe would lead to a knowledge of the cause of these variations, and thus contribute an important chapter to the physical history of our planet. Humboldt, Hansteen, and Ermann, on the Continent, undertook journeys to remote parts of the globe, with the special object of collecting facts as to the direction and intensity of the magnetic forces at different points of the earth's surface. Especially, the *periodical variations* of the magnetic direction and force, and their comparison with meteorological variations, also of a periodical character, was an object of great interest; not greater, however, than the relation of those *secular changes*, which, (in the words of Colonel Sabine,) with slow but systematic progression, alter the whole aspect of the magnetic phenomena on the surface of the globe from one century to the next; and which, in their nature, are not improbably connected with the cause of the Magnetism of the globe itself.

The phenomena of Terrestrial Magnetism, it is evident, like those of Meteorology, could only be successfully investigated by uniform, widely-extended, and long-continued observations. This conviction led, in 1834, to the formation of an Association for the purpose, the forerunner of which was the veteran Alexander von Humboldt, and which has since extended itself throughout the world, under the direction of Gauss of Göttingen. Already, (in 1828,) Humboldt had established a system of simultaneous observations on a small scale, and in 1829 he extended his operations, under the patronage of the Emperor of Russia. Under the protection of Count von Cancrin, and "the superintendence of Professor Kupffer, magnetic stations were fixed over the whole of the north of Asia, from Mirlajeff, by Catherinenburg, Barnaul, and Verlaskinsk, to Peking."

Continental Governments speedily responded to the call of the Göttingen Association; and in France, Russia, Germany, and Italy, public establishments were formed for the purpose of aiding in the accomplishment of this object. But Great Britain did not move, except through the desultory efforts of individuals, until, at last, in 1826, the attention of British philosophers was specifically drawn to the undertaking, (we quote Colonel Sabine,) by a letter from Baron Alexander von Humboldt to his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, President of the Royal Society, relative to the claims which magnetic science must be considered to have on a nation possessing such extensive dominions in all parts of the globe, and such unrivalled means of contributing to the advancement of the physical sciences, by the formation of suitable establishments in the localities in which researches might be carried on.

This letter had the desired effect. In the spring of 1837 the *University of Dublin* voted the necessary funds for the establishment of an Observatory, in which all the researches connected with the sciences of Terrestrial Magnetism and Meteorology

might be systematically conducted. In the summer of that year a site was allotted at the Royal Observatory at Greenwich for a *Magnetic Observatory*; and, in 1841, a *Magnetical and Meteorological Observatory* was erected and maintained at Makerstoun, in Roxburghshire, by Sir Thomas Macdougall Brisbane, at his sole expense.

But an impulse to increased and extended research was also given from another quarter. From an early period of its history, the British Association for the Advancement of Science gave to Terrestrial Magnetism considerable attention. It commenced in 1834 a magnetic survey of the British Islands, which was carried through in the two following years, although not a national work, in the sense of being at the national expense; and it was followed by similar surveys in other countries, made, however, at the expense of their respective Governments. This spirited proceeding on the part of the Association enabled it to address Government with effect, for aid in the prosecution of the inquiry into the geographical distribution of the magnetic forces, especially in remote parts of the earth; and thus originated the naval expedition, equipped at the public expense, in the year 1839, for the purpose of a magnetic survey of the high latitudes of the southern hemisphere. Certain points of prominent magnetic interest were also selected; and fixed Magnetic and Meteorological Observatories, at the instance of the Association, were ordered to be established at those points; namely, in Canada and Van Diemen's Land, near the points of greatest intensity of the magnetic force in the southern and northern hemispheres respectively; at St. Helena, the point of least intensity on the globe; and at the Cape of Good Hope, where the secular changes presented features of peculiar interest. These Observatories were placed under the management of the Board of Ordnance. While they were in preparation, the Royal Society made an application to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, to secure the co-operation of that body in India; the result being, that Observatories were ordered to be constructed at Simla, Singapore, Madras, and Aden,—the latter subsequently changed to Bombay.

Closely related to Terrestrial Magnetism are the phenomena of the *Aurora Borealis*,—that, to our ancestors, most portentous of all atmospheric phenomena, appearing to them as flaming swords, or as terrible armies in battle array in the air, or joined in fight with hurtling noise, and even cries of the wounded. At the Cambridge Meeting, the Committee of the British Association drew up special directions for observing these phenomena; and Professor Phillips proposed that York should be the centre to which such observations, at least, those made throughout the north of England, should be referred; urging, in favour of his proposition, that Yorkshire is not far from the southern limits

of vertical arches, is situate inland, and has a regular climate. Renewed attention has been given to these beautiful phenomena of late years.

It would be an interesting point, to ascertain exactly the total number of Meteorological Observatories, including those which are devoted to magnetic observations, and to map them out, so as to indicate, in some simple way, the activity and extent of the work of observation thus undertaken. Few persons, if any, are aware how widely they are spread, how much they have increased, even within recent years, and what large results are promised from their operations.

We have said nothing, in this general sketch, of the numerous *Astronomical* Observatories which have been established by the munificent zeal of individuals, by Chartered Societies, and by Governments; nor have we referred to the sedulous and widely-extended observations which have been, and are being, made,—at home as well as in remote regions,—on the *tidal movements* of the great masses of water which occupy so large a portion of the earth's surface. These researches have all an important bearing on the great principles of Meteorology, and should have their place in a history of periodical physical science. That history it is not our province to write; but we desire to lift a corner of the veil of retiring modesty and silence which enshrouds that army of observers, whose very existence is unknown to the heedless multitude,—men who, through the livelong day and night, watch with untiring assiduity the most trivial, as well as the most magnificent phenomena of earth, air, and ocean; gazing here through a telescope of gigantic dimensions at some far distant universe of suns and planets; there noting, with attentive and microscopic eye, the silent and mysterious movements of the magnetic needle, the index of mighty and deeply-hidden terrestrial forces: now looking every moment into ether for the first glance of the flashing meteor; now listening to the first notes of the lark and the thrush, carolled at early dawn: at one moment recording the flash and the peal of heaven's artillery; at another, measuring the speed of the hurricane, or the force of the electric lightning; at another, marking the weight of dewy moisture, the genial force of the solar rays, and the date of birth of the sweet flowers. If the simultaneous labours of twenty-four hours of this army of observers were made the subject of a panorama, (as well they might,) it would be, perhaps, as wonderful and stirring a spectacle as was ever presented to human gaze. We should see men climbing with wearied but undaunted step the highest attainable summits; travelling trackless deserts; voyaging in frail canoes on the wandering waves of unknown rivers; plumbing the depths of wide-spread oceans; encountering the "thick-ribbed ice;" enduring cold, thirst, hunger; watching

with eyes that long have known no slumber;—nay, perishing variously, amidst their labours; for science has also its martyrs.

There are higher motives for these labours than aspiring ambition or insatiable curiosity. Many of the labourers know that the deeper the inquiry, the clearer the knowledge of the nature and attributes of God. The ignorant impatience of science, betrayed by not a few professedly religious people, would never be felt, or, if felt, would not be so rudely expressed, if they were aware that, by a large proportion of scientific men, the book of nature is felt to be not less a revelation of God than the written word; and that it is perused by them in a deeply religious spirit.

We need only turn to the posthumous edition before us of the late Professor Daniel's "*Researches*," for evidence to this effect. We subjoin a quotation from the first volume as an example of this, and as, at the same time, in some degree indicating the progress of meteorological science:—

"In tracing the harmonious results of such apparently discordant operations, it is impossible not to pause, to offer up a humble tribute of admiration to the designs of a beneficent Providence, thus imperfectly developed, in a department of creation where they have been supposed to be most obscure. By an invisible, but ever active, agency, the waters of the deep are raised into the air, whence their distribution follows, as it were, by measure and weight, in proportion to the beneficial effects which they are calculated to produce. By gradual, but almost insensible, expansions, the currents of the atmosphere are disturbed, the stormy winds arise, and the waves of the sea are lifted up; and that stagnation of air and water is prevented, which would be fatal to animal existence. But the force which operates is calculated and proportioned; the very agent which causes the disturbance bears with it a self-controlling power; and the storm, as it vents its force, is itself setting the bounds of its own fury.

"The complicated and beautiful contrivances by which the waters are collected 'above the firmament,' and are, at the same time, 'divided from the waters which are below the firmament,' are inferior to none of those adaptations of INFINITE WISDOM which are perpetually striking the inquiring mind in the animal and vegetable kingdoms. Had it not been for this nice adjustment of conflicting elements, the clouds and concrete vapours of the sky would have reached from the surface of the earth to the remotest heavens; and the vivifying rays of the sun would never have been able to penetrate through the dense mists of perpetual precipitation.....

"It is foreign to my present purpose to enlarge upon the power, wisdom, and goodness of God, as manifested in the creation of the atmosphere,—a subject full of interest, which has been already most ably illustrated in the '*Bridgewater Treatises*' of Dr. Prout and Professor Whewell; but it never can be beside the purpose to show that, as we extend our acquaintance with the different departments of nature, so the proofs of the most exquisite and perfect design multiply, and thus to manifest, to the best of our most humble ability, that the great Creator is not only wise, but 'in wisdom infinite.'"

Before attempting to illustrate some of the practical uses and applications of Meteorology, it will be well to state a few particulars of the science itself. The atmosphere is a hollow sphere of matter in an elastic fluid state, which rests and presses upon the liquid and solid surface of the earth. It is the province of Meteorology to investigate the changes which take place in this aerial ocean,—the source of life to every living thing in it, or on the earth, or within the waters. The thickness of this sphere of fluid elastic matter is about fifty miles, or, in proportion to its superficial extent, in the ratio of 1 to 4,000,000; that is to say, is equal to about one five-hundredth of the proportions which the sheet of paper pasted upon a twelve-inch globe bears to the surface of that globe. Light and invisible as the atmosphere may appear, it has weight, and has been calculated to be as heavy as 8,448 cubic leagues of quicksilver. It is compressible, and is, therefore, heavier and more elastic in proportion as it is nearer the earth.* Just as in the watery ocean, so in this, the aerial, there are great streams or currents of different temperatures flowing in different directions, often turned aside by hills or by mountains,—here chilled by ice-bergs, there heated by the burning desert,—now loaded with aqueous vapours from the ocean, now deprived of the last particle of moisture by the dry land. The force of these currents varies, and, so varying, constitutes the various grades of wind from the zephyr to the hurricane. The velocity or force of these is indicated by the *anemometer*; their changing temperature is shown by the *thermometer*, their varying moisture by the *hygrometer*, their varying elasticity or weight by the *barometer*; and, inasmuch as the direction, temperature, degree of moisture, and density of these currents have a most important influence on the health and life of the organisms bathed within them, a knowledge of the variations which the atmosphere undergoes in these respects, is of the highest practical importance in medicine, agriculture, and navigation, and constitutes a large part of the science of Meteorology. Of all these the most important to know is the order of changes of temperature, since these affect and influence all the others.

The sun is the great source of heat. Hence the Meteorologist notes the temperature of day and night, and of the circling year, in different degrees of latitude from the Equator to the Poles; the changes of which constitute the changes in the *seasons*, the variations of climate, and the prevalent winds. Less directly these changes influence the hygrometric condition of the atmosphere, or, in other words, the amount of cloud, rain, and snow. There are two or three special points first treated of by Professor

* If the altitudes above the surface of the earth be taken in arithmetical progression, the densities of the air at these altitudes will be in geometrical progression decreasing.

Daniel, which we will notice, to illustrate the uses of meteorological science.

We have said that the sun is the great primary source of heat. For obvious reasons the amount received by the earth is greatest at the Equator and least at the Poles. Now if the air at any particular spot be heated, it is rarefied and ascends, and its place is occupied by the less rarefied or cooler air contiguous to it. It is in this way that a "draught" is caused in rooms. Hence it follows that a draught or breeze will be caused whenever the earth is heated, as it is within the tropics. This is the *primary* cause of the trade-winds. If the operation of this law were not modified, there would be currents setting in the direction north and south from the Poles to the Equator. But there are important modifications. Air is heated by radiation of heat from the earth's surface, and much more, therefore, by dry land than by water. It follows, necessarily, that where an open ocean is found, as the Pacific, the air will be less heated and consequently less rarefied than where there is continent, as the Mexican. This circumstance, therefore, modifies the direction and force of currents of air (winds) generated by the sun's heat. Again, the atmosphere is itself revolving with the earth on the axis of the latter; moving most quickly round at the Equator, hardly moving in the highest latitudes: at 30° latitude its movement is at the rate of 860 miles per hour, at the Equator at the rate of 1,000; so that the air has an easterly direction impressed upon it. From these two sources of motion, namely, thermal expansion and diurnal rotation, the atmosphere is moved between the tropics in currents (winds) in such a way that south of the Equator there is a south-east (trade) wind, north of it a north-east. This theory of the trade-winds (of which this is the slightest possible sketch) has been well worked out by Captain Basil Hall, who, in a letter to Professor Daniel, clearly illustrates the importance of a knowledge of the theory to the navigation of the intertropical waters. The monsoons in India and the westerly gales of the Atlantic have a similar origin. The land and sea breezes of the tropics are easily understood by an analogous theory.

Another point elucidated by Professor Daniel is the theory of hurricanes, water-spouts, and other similar phenomena, in which the air acquires a rotatory motion. Every one must have noticed, when travelling on a hot summer's day, the little whirlwinds which passed him or met him on the road, carrying up particles of dust and straw into the air as he travelled on. These are the representatives of the mighty tornadoes and hurricanes of the hot equatorial regions. From certain characteristics, (which we need not stop to explain,) air has a tendency to move in a rotatory direction, when put in motion in a certain way. This is shown very well by the rings of vapour arising from

ignited bubbles of phosphuretted hydrogen, or, still more familiarly, by the circling wreaths of smoke arising from the bowl of a lighted pipe. Now, whenever there is a column of air intensely heated by radiation from the earth's surface at a particular spot, it will be in the position of the hot air passing from the lighted pipe. As it rises into the upper *strata*, it meets with a current blowing in a contrary direction, or else moving in the direction of the earth's rotation, and it is immediately thrown into a *whirl*. If the mass of air thus put in motion extend over a large space, it is a *hurricane*; if over a less space, a *whirlwind*; if it be very small, and pass over water, it constitutes a *water-spout*; if it be on the sandy desert, it speeds forward as a vast *pillar of sand*. The present Governor of Malta (Sir W. Reid) was one of the first to lay down the "law of storms." By a knowledge of this law, the navigator, on finding himself *within* the skirt or circumference of a hurricane, may very soon ascertain the bearing of the *centre* of the vortex or whirl; and, knowing also the direction in which that centre is moving, he knows how to steer so as to get to the *outside* of the vortex in the readiest manner, and so to escape the hurricane altogether. On the other hand, for want of such knowledge, whole squadrons have perished in a single hurricane. Even in this country whirlwinds are sometimes dangerous. They are of frequent occurrence in valleys enclosed by lofty mountains, as the Lake Districts of England. Several years ago a respectable farmer, residing at Bowshall, near Mosdale, was carrying a large "shut" full of hay on his back, wherewith to feed his sheep on Carrock Fell, when he was suddenly taken up with his load by one of these whirlwinds. Fortunately he had the presence of mind to disentangle himself from the shut before attaining any great height, or he must have been killed, as the shut was afterwards found amongst the mountains at a great distance.

A third point, which well illustrates the uses of Meteorology, is the applications of the science developed in Professor Daniel's Essay, "On Climate, considered with regard to Horticulture," for which he received the medal of the Horticultural Society. In this Essay the laws of action of the aqueous vapour contained in the atmosphere are practically developed, and in so lucid a manner, as to render the subject very comprehensible to men of ordinary intelligence. A certain amount of fluid is necessary to the vital action of plants. This amount depends not wholly on the supply of water to the roots; for the leaves both absorb moisture largely from the air, and exhale it freely. This exhalation is specially increased, and absorption diminished, when the atmosphere is dry; and if it be very dry, the quantity of fluid may be so diminished as to destroy, or at least seriously impede, vital action in the plant. It is in this way that the *easterly* winds in spring are so destructive to vegetation, they

being the driest of the year. If, while these winds are blowing, the tender blossom of spring be exposed also to the direct rays of the sun, the result is doubly injurious. In this way, the fruit of the coming year may be nipped in the bud in a few hours. Now Professor Daniel not only devoted his energies to the invention of an instrument (his hygrometer) which should enable the gardener to read off the quantity of vapour floating in the atmosphere, as he would read off the temperature, but pointed out its practical applications to the due saturation of artificial atmospheres in green-houses and hot-houses, and to the protection of plants in the open air. No one can fail to see that, to the thorough gardener, the hygrometer is quite as important an instrument as the thermometer. It is not possible to enter into details, but, with Professor Lindley, "we strongly advise all who have the means, to study this paper with much diligence. They will still find it a store-house of valuable facts, and still more valuable suggestions."

Turning now from these applications of meteorological science to some more nearly affecting every man, let us examine its uses in reference to the health and well-being of the human organism living within its domain, and influenced by every variation of that atmosphere upon which man's existence depends. A very familiar illustration presents itself at once in the operation of the easterly winds upon the health. A familiar proverb contains the essence of much meteorological science:—

"When the wind is in the west,
The weather is the best;
When the wind is in the east,
It is bad for man and beast."

The difference in the influence of the two winds on health is, doubtless, to be explained, to a great extent, at least, by the difference in their hygrometric condition; for, although a low temperature is very injurious, whatever wind may blow, a dry wind at a low temperature is most injurious of all. Such a wind takes effect principally upon the skin and pulmonary *mucous membrane*, inducing inflammation by its action on the one, and affections of the muscular and nervous systems by its action on the other. The influence of an excessively moist atmosphere is also injurious by an opposite effect, that is to say, by checking perspiration through the skin and pulmonary *mucous* surface, and so impeding the excretory action carried on by means of the aqueous vapour they give off, and which can find no outlet in an atmosphere already at the dew-point, except by condensation on the surface. It is probable that various fever-poisons are rendered harmless by being carried out of the blood through these surfaces; and it is from the arrest of this protective process, that epidemics suddenly acquire a destructive violence concurrently

with a saturation of the still summer air, or as suddenly cease their ravages with the blowing of a cool dry wind.

It is the *periodic* phenomena in the domain of Meteorology which are the most interesting, whether to the statesman or to the physician, because a relationship, in the way of cause and effect, may be ultimately traced between these and periodically recurrent morbid states, not less of individuals than of nations, and so the latter be predicted and prevented. We shall only notice briefly two of these,—the *diurnal* and the *secular*.

The diurnal periodic changes in the atmosphere have had much attention directed to them, and have been satisfactorily ascertained. For the most part they depend directly or indirectly on the sun, although the variations in the barometric tension do not *apparently* follow this law, and the fact has even been doubted. Attempts have been made to determine how far vital action, whether in plants or in animals, has any relation in the way of effect and cause to these periods, and not without some degree of success. On one point, namely, the cessation of vital action, or death, at certain hours in preference to others, extensive statistical researches have failed to show any difference. Amongst those who have tried to illustrate this point, may be specially mentioned Quetelet, Buek, Virey, Metzler, and Casper. The latter concluded, from his own large statistical *data* in combination with those of the other inquirers, that the *maximum* mortality occurred in the hours before noon, and the *minimum* mortality in the hours before midnight. Now the defect in the arrangements of all these statisticians is this,—that they do not arrange their *data* in reference to the meteoric hours, or to the hours singly, but take ter-horal periods. The consequence of this is, that if a *minimum* and *maximum* hour come within the same ter-horal period, an average only is shown. We have ourselves ascertained the hour of death in 2,880 instances of all ages, and, by avoiding the mistakes indicated, have arrived at different and more interesting conclusions. We may remark that the population from which the *data* are derived, is a mixed population in every respect, and that the deaths occurred during a period of several years. If the deaths of the 2,880 persons had occurred indifferently at any hour during the 24, 120 would have occurred at each hour. But this was by no means the case. There are two hours in which the proportion was remarkably below this,—two *minima* in fact,—namely, from midnight to one o'clock, when the deaths were 53 *per cent.* below the average, and from noon to one o'clock, when they were 20½ *per cent.* below. From three to six o'clock A.M. inclusive, and from three to seven o'clock P.M., there is a gradual increase; in the former of 23½ *per cent.* above the average, in the latter of 5½ *per cent.* The *maximum* of deaths is from five to six o'clock A.M., when it is 40 *per cent.* above the average; the

next, during the hour before midnight, when it is 25 *per cent.* in excess ; a third hour of excess is that from nine to ten o'clock in the morning, being 17½ *per cent.* above the average. From ten A.M. to three o'clock P.M. the deaths are less numerous, being 16½ *per cent.* below the average, the hour before noon being the most fatal. From three o'clock P.M. to seven P.M. the deaths rise to 5½ *per cent.* above the average, and then fall from that hour to eleven P.M., averaging 6½ *per cent.* below the mean. During the hours from nine to eleven in the evening there is a *minimum* of 6½ *per cent.* below the average. Thus the least mortality is during the mid-day hours, namely, from ten to three o'clock ; the greatest during early morning hours, from three to six o'clock. About one-third of the total deaths noted were children under five years of age, and they show the influence of the latter still more strikingly. At all the hours from ten in the morning until midnight, the deaths are at or below the mean ; the hours from ten to eleven A.M., four to five P.M., and nine to ten P.M. being *minima*, but the hour after midnight being the lowest *maximum* : at all the hours from two to ten A.M. the deaths are above the mean, attaining their *maximum* at from five to six A.M., when it is 45½ *per cent.* above. To show the meteorological relations of this excess and diminution in the mortality of the twenty-four hours, we subjoin a table of meteorological hours, adding the ratio of the total deaths at each hour.

Hour.	Meteorological Changes.	Ratio of Deaths above or below Mean.
8-10 A.M. ...	<div> <div>Barometer at Maximum.</div> <div>Maximum Electric Tension.</div> <div>Maximum Magnetic Variation.</div> </div>	— 19½ <i>per cent.</i> (Corrected.)
8-10 P.M. ...	<div> <div>Barometer at Maximum.</div> <div>Maximum Electric Tension.</div> <div>Maximum Magnetic Variation.</div> </div>	— 6½ <i>per cent.</i>
4-5 A.M. ...	<div> <div>Barometer at Minimum.</div> <div>Minimum Temperature.</div> <div>Minimum Electric Tension.</div> <div>Minimum Magnetic Variation.</div> </div>	+ 23½ <i>per cent.</i>
4-5 P.M. ...	<div> <div>Barometer at Minimum.</div> <div>Minimum Electric Tension.</div> <div>Minimum Magnetic Variation.</div> </div>	+ 5½ <i>per cent.</i>

The apparent exception in this table, namely, from 8 to 10 A.M., (as shown by the preceding statements,) disappears, when it is taken into consideration that the operation of meteorological changes on the vital powers is not instantaneous, but consecutive. We therefore find that the effects of the meteorological *maximum*, from 8 to 10 in the morning, are shown by a ratio of deaths during the following hour (10 to 11 A.M.) of 19½ *per cent.* below

the average, which in the table is placed as the corrected ratio. Doubtless the early morning hours are influenced, in addition to their lower temperature, by *physiological*, as well as meteorological, changes; the action of sleep being usually, in the first instance, of a depressing character; so that the combined action of *all* causes is much more energetic previously to the morning *maxima*, and, therefore, not only more influential, but more prolonged.

It would not be difficult to multiply illustrations of this kind. In M. Quetelet's "Essay on the Climate of Belgium," we have an induction founded on the observation of periodic changes in animal and vegetable life, in relation to meteorological changes; and in the "Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Brussels," commencing with volume xv., and in the "*Annales*" of the Observatory, abstracts of most extensive series of periodic phenomena. These constitute an ample source of illustration, to which we would rather, however, refer the curious reader, than occupy our space with extracts. There is one class of phenomena of the periodic kind, to which we would more especially call attention, principally on account of their bearing on the welfare of mankind in general, and on national prosperity. These are the changes which influence the harvests, and the rising and spread of epidemics.

The solution of the problem of recurring good and bad harvests, and their concomitant, or consequent, circumstances of commercial prosperity and depression, has been attempted in various ways. One method may be termed the *empirical*; namely, to determine by simple observation at what *periods of time* they recur, independently of their causation, or of meteorological phenomena. The records of history are not very precise, but they are sufficiently accurate to indicate a cycle of seventeen to nineteen years. Another method is, to determine the periods in reference to meteorological phenomena, or, in other words, to investigate the relation of cause and effect. This has branched out into some curious subordinate inquiries. To those who have traced imperfect harvests to an usually severe winter, the subject has presented itself in a point of view different from that taken by the inquirers who trace them to incessantly wet weather during seed-time and harvest, to volcanic disturbances, to mysteriously arising "blights," &c. Mr. Howard, a veteran meteorologist, thinks he has discovered a cycle of the seasons, occupying a period of about nineteen years, during which the mean annual temperature increases and decreases according to the principle following: "While the moon is far south of the Equator, there falls but a moderate quantity of rain in these latitudes; while she is crossing the Line towards us, our rain increases; and the greatest quantity falls while she is in full north declination, or most nearly vertical to us; but during her return to the south the

rain comes back to its lowest amount." Mr. Howard has also discovered a similar cycle of years in the movements of the barometer. It cannot but be allowed that when a sufficient number of these cycles have been noted and established, the principle will be of great importance ; at present, however, the sequence is by no means clear. Toaldo made extensive researches into the moon's influence, and we think modern meteorologists have had them in too little estimation. He proposed a cycle of nine years, or nearly the semi-lunar revolution of the lunar zones and apogee ; and it was remarked, some years ago, by a writer in the "*Edinburgh Review*,"* that years remarkable for the extremes of temperature followed each other in cycles of this length. Thus, the year 1621-2, remarkable for a frost so intense, that the Venetian fleet was frozen up in the lagoons of the Adriatic, and the Hellespont and Zuyder Zee were covered with ice, was followed in four periods (thirty-six years) by the years 1658, 1659, and 1660, all remarkable for intense frost. In 1658, Charles X. of Sweden crossed the Little Belt on the ice with his whole army, artillery, and baggage. The price of grain was doubled during these years ; and this, it is thought, contributed, with other circumstances, to the Restoration. In four periods more we reach 1695, another famous year for cold : in five periods more we come to 1740, when the Zuyder Zee was again frozen over, and the thermometer fell to 10° Fahr. : three periods more carry us to another sequence of three cold years,—1766, 1767, and 1768,—corresponding to 1658 and following years. Twelve periods, therefore, elapsed between these sequences of cold years. If we go back twenty-five periods, we come to another similar sequence ; namely, 1432, 1433, and 1434 : twelve periods further back than this bring us to 1323, when the Little Belt was again frozen ; and twenty-four periods (from 1432) to 1216, when the Po froze fifteen ells deep, and wine burst the casks. Returning to modern dates, one period from 1767 brings us to 1776, a very cold year ; and another to 1785, which, as well as 1784, was equally severe : three periods from 1785 bring us to 1812, a very cold year. These were not by any means the only cold winters ; many others are chronicled ; as, for instance, that of 1709, which appears to have been the most severe and destructive on record. Twelve periods (or 108 years) ago, a sequence of five cold years began with 1745 ; in one period after, (1754,) a sequence of two cold years occurred ; and in five periods from thence, another sequence of two cold years ; namely, 1799, 1800. Of the hot years occurring in periods of nine years, the chronicles mention 1616, 1652, and 1679 ; then, 1701, 1718, 1745, 1754, and 1763. The years 1784, 1793, 1802, and 1811, were also hot years at intervals of nine years.

Amongst the influential periodic agencies yet to be investigated, are those which determine or accompany the phenomena of *aurora*, *meteors*, and *falling-stars*. The relations of these to important changes in the weather have been noticed perhaps from the earliest period of history, and are often referred to by classical writers. Thus Virgil, in his first Georgic:—

—“ Oft before tempestuous winds arise,
The seeming stars fall headlong from the skies,
And, shooting through the darkness, gild the night
With sweeping glories and long trains of light.”

Within the last few years, the periodic recurrence of these stars in large numbers, at annual and secular periods of seventeen years, has been fully established. The two most remarkable of the annual periodic displays are those of the second week in August and November, or about the 10th and 14th respectively,—epochs known by tradition, those of the 10th being the “fiery tears” of St. Lawrence. In November, 1789, and 1833, these stars fell in vast showers, the interval being thirty-four years; it is therefore expected that a similar display will occur in November, 1867. It is probable that there are other annual periods, namely, January, March, April, July, October. What is noticeable is this,—that the date when the sun enters the opposite point of the ecliptic presents important meteorological changes. Thus in February and May, corresponding to August and November, there is *always* a sudden decrement of temperature, more or less remarkable for its extent, but occasionally very singularly intense. There is also a concurrent unusual rise in temperature, before or after the cold. August the 10th is equally remarkable for its violent thunder-storms, and November the 12th for its “Indian” summer, or commencing winter.

The connexion between auroral phenomena and these periodic showers of meteors has been also observed, and is now fully established. The appearance of large solitary meteors belongs to the same group. The most interesting phenomenon of all, if its practical relations be considered, is that of the *obscuration of the sun*, which has been observed to occur at intervals. In the historical fragments of the elder Cato there is a reference to an official notice of the high price of corn, and an obscuration of the sun’s disc, which continued for many months. A chronological record of this phenomenon is given in Humboldt’s “*Kosmos*,” under the head of “the Sun’s Spots.” Some of these dates correspond to seventeen-year periods. Remarkable fogs seem to have also a connexion with these meteoric displays. Whether the *sun-spots* be the source of these obscurations of the sun’s rays or not, these latter also are found to be periodic in their occurrence, so far as they have been hitherto observed. Now it is of great importance to remember that a high temperature only is not

sufficient to ripen the fruits of the earth. Indeed, it seems to be established that a warm humid atmosphere, by which the sun's rays are intercepted, is rather injurious than beneficial to the vitality of the cereals, the vine, and the olive. The past year (1853) was unfruitful, quite as much from the want of sunshine as from the ungenial seed-times. In no year during the last twenty-eight was there so little sun or so much cloud. It follows, therefore, that the means of the *actinometer* are as important to be observed as of the rain-gauge and thermometer, in the discovery of a cycle of the seasons, and of fruitful and unfruitful years.

The seventeen-year period is one of some importance in the animal world. Epidemics are known to recur at this period, the cholera being one of these. In 1816-17 it commenced its ravages in India; it was prevalent in Europe in 1832-33, and again in 1848-49. Humboldt mentions a similar cycle as having been observed in South America in the prevalence of the small-pox. In the United States locusts have appeared every seventeen years in larger quantities, concurrently with the epidemical diffusion of cholera, namely, in 1832 and 1849. There is a species of *Cicada* which has its trivial name from its periodical recurrence at this interval of time,—the *C. septemdecem punctata*.

Amongst the phenomena intimately related to our subject, are those terrestrial changes which are the immediate cause of wide-spread volcanic action. That there is some relation between these and destructive diseases and atmospheric changes, is a doctrine which has long been popular, and will probably remain so, although the meteorological relation is doubted by so eminent an authority as Humboldt. The great earthquakes of Cumana, 1764-66 and 1799, were accompanied by showers of falling stars; and (as we have seen) these were years of extreme cold. The great earthquake at Calabria in 1783 (a seventeen-year period) was followed, in 1784 and 1785, by extreme cold. The great eruption of Cotopaxi in 1744, and the earthquake at Lima in 1746, occurred in the midst of a series of cold winters,—a series in cyclical relation to that of 1766. It is noticeable that the summer of 1745 was very hot. These coincidences might be multiplied. A more important relation of earthquakes to atmospheric phenomena is to be found in the fact, that the days of the periodic annual recurrence of falling stars, and their complementary days, as August and February, November and May, July and January, are also the days on which earthquakes and volcanic eruptions have most frequently occurred. On this head we would specially refer to Quetelet's researches.*

* *Nouveaux Mém. de l'Acad. Roy. de Brux.*, tom. xv.

We are inclined to think, with Quetelet, that the *ærens* of phenomena so widely different and dissimilar will be found in the study of Terrestrial Magnetism. The mysterious oscillations of the magnetic needle in what have been termed "magnetic storms," clearly indicate the wide-spread action of some mighty agent. "When the tranquil hourly motion of the needle is disturbed by a magnetical storm," (we quote the words of Humboldt,) "the perturbation frequently proclaims itself over hundreds and thousands of miles, in the strictest sense of the word, simultaneously; or it is propagated gradually, in brief intervals of time, in every direction over the surface of the earth." The observation of auroræ, shooting-stars, &c., is necessarily imperfect, because at night they may be obscured by clouds, and are rarely visible by day; they may therefore often occur and be never seen. It is different with the magnetic needle; and it is by no means impossible that, ere long, the oscillations of this delicate instrument may tell to the observers that mighty changes are occurring in the earth, in the ocean, and in the air, with more certainty as to the time and the place, than the practised eyes of the keenest watcher. Already important and unexpected results are being brought out by the reduction of magnetic observations under the able superintendence of Col. Sabine. In particular, it is expected that the magnetic influence of the moon on the earth will be demonstrated; and, probably, from the same *data*, the magnetic axis of the moon herself determined. The Makers-toun observations contain important illustrations of the connexion between the moon and magnetic changes.

In the present Article, we have limited ourselves almost exclusively to historical and empirical *data*, because the science of Meteorology is little advanced beyond them. The dawn, however, of a brighter day is manifest; and it cannot be doubted, we think, that this important branch of physics will advance in a geometrical ratio. Discovery will follow after discovery; unseen and hitherto unknown relations between physical phenomena will be made manifest, and their philosophy simplified. Popular ignorance and superstition will recede before the light of science, so soon as its foundations are laid in simple grand principles; and it is not too much to hope that, in another century, man will know more of the agencies which most nearly affect his well-being, than in any previous period of his history.

In a former Article we endeavoured to show how important to the national welfare was a popular knowledge of public and private hygiene, and we suggested that that science should constitute a branch of popular education. We would equally urge, and on the same grounds, the propriety and necessity of making the elements of Meteorology a part of a school course, in connexion with Geography and Astronomy. This alone would secure the general establishment of Observa-

tories, the progressive development of the science, and the application of it to the arts of political economy, medicine, navigation, and agriculture and horticulture. It is only by a multitude of conscientious and diligent observers, that phenomena so multiform, so extensively connected, and so varied, can be observed sufficiently for the purposes of philosophical deduction. We have seen how constantly the desire for combined observation has been manifested, and its necessity recognised, in proportion as the observers have multiplied. This is a lesson taught us by our present brief history. We cannot doubt, therefore, that when once Meteorology has become a branch of popular education, and the circle of those interested in it is enlarged, observers will be indefinitely multiplied, and combined observation extended, until at last no hour of the day or night, and no spot of earth, will be left unwatched.

- ART. VI.—1. *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai, and Arabia Petræa : a Journal of Travels in the Year 1838, by E. Robinson and E. Smith, undertaken in reference to Biblical Geography : drawn up from the original Diaries, with Historical Illustrations.* By EDWARD ROBINSON, D.D., Professor of Biblical Literature in the Union Theological Seminary, New York, &c., &c. In Three Vols. 8vo. With Maps. London, 1841.
2. *Reise in das Morgenland, u. s. w. (Travels in the East, in the Years 1836 and 1837.* By DR. G. H. VON SCHUBERT. With a Map, and a Ground Plan of Jerusalem. Three Vols. 8vo. Erlangen, 1840. London: Nutt.)
3. *Reise in Europa, Asien, und Africa, u. s. w. (Travels in Syria, forming part of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa ; undertaken with special Reference to the Natural History of the Lands visited, in the Years 1835 to 1841.* By JOSEPH RUSSEGGER. With an Atlas. Three Vols. 8vo. Stuttgart, 1846–1849.)
4. *Die Erdkunde. (Universal Comparative Geography. The Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Parts : Western Asia.* By CARL RITTER. Three Vols. 8vo. Berlin, 1848–1852.)
5. *Atlas von Palästina. (Atlas of Palestine and of the Peninsula of Sinai ; intended to accompany Ritter's "Erdkunde," Vols. XIV–XVI.* By C. ZIMMERMANN. Large Folio. Berlin, 1850.)
6. *Narrative of the United States' Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea.* By W. F. LYNCH, U.S.N., Commander of the Expedition. With Maps and numerous Illustrations. One Vol. Crown 8vo. London, 1849.
7. *Voyage autour de la Mer Morte. (Journey around the Dead Sea and in the Lands of the Bible ; executed from December, 1850, to April, 1851.* By F. DE SAULCY, formerly a Pupil in

- the Polytechnic School, and now a Member of the Institute. Published under the auspices of the Minister of Public Instruction. With Maps and Plates. Two Vols. Small 4to. Paris, 1852. London: Nutt.)
8. *Reisebilder. (Travelling Pictures from the East.* By DR. F. DIETRICH. Two Vols. 12mo. Berlin, 1853.)
 9. *Sinai and Golgotha; or, Journey in the East.* By F. A. STRAUSS. Translated from the German. With an Introduction by HENRY STEBBING, D.D., F.R.S. One Vol. 12mo. London: Blackwood. 1849.
 10. *Wanderings in the Land of Israel, and through the Wilderness of Sinai, in 1850 and 1851; with an Account of the Inscriptions in Wady Mokatteb, or "the Written Valley."* By the REV. JOHN ANDERSON. One Vol. 12mo. London: Collins.

INDEPENDENTLY of its religious associations, Palestine is a land of the deepest interest. Look at its position, in the centre of ancient and modern civilization, in the eastern hemisphere. The line that connects it with the Ganges, on the south-east, is nearly of the same length as that by which it joins Britain on the north-west. In its immediate vicinity lie the three great centres of primæval culture. Contiguous to its southern border is Egypt, the mother of letters; on its north-eastern side is Mesopotamia, whose highlands afforded a cradle to our race, and in whose luxuriant plains grew up and bloomed the first seeds of human society; while its northern border is a continuation of the lovely region where eastern culture found a new soil, preparatory to its passing westward to Greece, Italy, France, Germany, and England. Then, let it be observed, how easy Palestine is of access. Washed by the Mediterranean, and so connected with the Atlantic and the western hemisphere, it is open to Northern Europe by the Black Sea; while, by the Caspian, it is accessible to those who inhabit the inland steppes of Asia. The Arabian Gulf furnishes a channel of intercommunication with the coasts of India, with the islands of the Indian Archipelago, and even with the recesses of China; while the Persian Gulf opens to it the means of intercourse with the widely-stretching kingdom of the Medes and Persians.

Or, let a glance be cast on the interior of the country. Of its superficial characteristics we shall shortly speak a little in detail. A general remark may suffice for the present. Let the surface of the land be looked at with the eye of science: what does it resemble? It is a natural fastness,—a stronghold erected by God's own hand. Upon that ridge of lofty hills Civilization might build a safe nest, and in the prolific bosom of that deep valley might rear its young to maturity. Along the eastern side of that valley the Almighty has thrown up a wall, whose huge and towering rocks presented an effectual breakwater against the savagism of the

desert; the pressure into Canaan of the inferior races of Africa was hindered by a wide waste and steep ascents; a group of mountains was its northern defence; and the sea checked incursions from the west. One look at the map suffices to show that the position of Palestine is unparalleled. The land might have been made on purpose to be the great focus of light and heat for mankind. Or, to put the matter somewhat differently, no spot on earth could have been so well chosen for a centre of universal radiation. Imagine a Palestine, if you can, on the Don, or the Rhine, or the Clyde, or the Indus.

Accordingly, it is a very distinguished part that Palestine has played in the history of the world. Its deep and fertile vales, its bare and rugged hills, gave strength, energy, and independence, to the earliest conquering tribes, who, under the name of Hyksos, subdued the Delta of Egypt, and founded there a dynasty which bore sway for centuries. A handful of the natives of its soil bestowed on the same country a deliverer, by whom it was saved in a wasting famine, and from whose administration it received new strength. The descendants of that handful of men, when oppressed by the swarming myriads of Egypt, vindicated their liberty, and established their independence; and, from being a horde of slaves, became "a great nation," under the divinely appointed leadership of one who, as a patriot, a hero, and a legislator, has no equal in the annals of our race, and whose influence still remains, after the lapse of some four thousand years. Politically, indeed, Syria is the key of the East, as it is the link between the East and the West. So it was regarded by Alexander, and, at a later period, by Buonaparte. Commercially, it is the great *entrepôt* of the old world. Close on its southern border is the route which joins India to England; and on its northern coast stood Tyre and Sidon, which were the Manchester and Liverpool of primæval ages, connecting Ceylon with the Straits of Hercules in the bonds of civilizing commerce, and sending out explorers, who colonized the northern and southern shores of the Mediterranean, discovered Britain, and circumnavigated Africa.

These facts themselves are sufficient to justify special attention to the study of Palestine. But we cannot forget the peculiar claims the country prefers in its religious relations. The district of which it forms a part is the earthly birth-place of religion. Eden, Ararat, Sinai, Bethlehem, Nazareth, Zion, Calvary,—spots hallowed by the most distinctly-marked footsteps of God,—are all in or near Palestine. Thither are our thoughts carried when we speak of Abraham, Moses, Christ. The mutually related and divinely true religions of the Circumcision and of the Cross sprang up in the district. Within its limits, too, the false religion of the Crescent had its origin. No wonder Palestine is regarded with loving eyes and yearning hearts by all who value the Bible. There were its blessed truths revealed to the

world. Thither does every page of God's word direct the thoughts. Around its localities gather and dwell the holiest reminiscences and fondest hopes of the Christian's heart. Were not its hills, valleys, and plains, trodden by His sacred feet, who brought redemption to the world? Every spot is hallowed, on which His eyes fell; every scene is endeared, which witnessed a display of His benignity. Even the cold surface of the country, and the dark impressions of the map, seem to kindle into points glowing with light, when one reflects,—“Here Jesus pronounced the Sermon on the Mount; here He fed the famishing thousands; here He rescued the sinking Peter from the waves; here He recalled the widow's son to life; here He took repose amid the endearments of the home of Lazarus, whom He called from the tomb; here He endured His agony; and here He gave His life a ransom for the world.”

The wonder is, that more attention has not been paid to the study of the Holy Land. Thither, every seventh day, do minds and hearts turn from every part of every Christian nation, people, and community, over the wide surface of the globe. Around that one point are grouped all the lights, all the grandeurs, and all the promises, of the Bible. And what is the Bible but the great charter-book of Christendom, and the chief hope of the world? Surely, whatever makes Palestine better known, throws light on the Bible. In its essential operation, indeed, the spiritual power of the Bible is independent of any earthly thing. The salvation of the soul is not wrought out by Geography. Nevertheless, whatever makes the Bible known, makes the Bible loved; and whatever makes the Bible loved, helps forward the work of God, who disdains not the employment of instruments in the production of the highest results. But the Bible—so to say—is inseparable from the soil of Palestine; and, if we would have an intelligent acquaintance with it, we must be familiar with the land, the water, the air, the sky, the productions, the animals, the inhabitants, of that region; for they come and go, appear and tarry, act and are acted on, in the pages of the Bible. There certainly is not a chapter—scarcely, indeed, a verse—of the sacred records, which may not receive illustration, or acquire point and emphasis, from discoveries regarding Palestine. In one view the Bible is a history. How can a history be understood, how can a vivid impression of a history be gained, apart from the ordinary aids of history? and is there any one science which may not throw light on history? What is history in its essence, but the earth and its inhabitants in times gone by?

How, then, is it that Palestine is not the chief point of convergence for the scientific interest of the world? Thither are directed the hopes of mankind, as well as the finger of Providence; and around it, and on it, consequently, might we expect the sciences to gather. What more proper than for Christian

nations and Christian Governments to direct their efforts to the lands of the Bible, in such a manner that every thing knowable respecting them should become known? What an expenditure of effort, of property, and of life, has been made in the regions near the North Pole! Fruitless as the result has been, the aim was laudable, and noble the heroism its pursuit has called forth. But a nation that has attempted so much, to achieve the North-Western Passage, might not inconsistently have explored the lands of the Bible, in every part and every relation. Nay, for the former object there has been a combination of nations:—why not for the latter? Could any thing be more seemly (few things could be more beneficial) than for the chief Christian Governments to unite in a well-digested and systematic effort to carry the torch of scientific inquiry from the summit of Lebanon to that of Sinai, and from the Tigris to “the great sea?” If such a union is impossible, then why does not England alone undertake the work? A Society is now forming to promote and give effect to the recently-born zeal for the study of Assyrian antiquities. We rejoice in the fact, if only because it affords a sure promise of bringing to light fresh illustrations of the Holy Scriptures. But why is Assyria preferred to Palestine? Or, at any rate, why should not Palestinian archæology have the patronage of a Society of its own? We must, however, candidly confess that neither individuals, nor an association of individuals, can, in our judgment, effect what is required. Individual effort has been profusely bestowed. It has had its reward. Deep and numerous are the obligations which the biblical student owes to such names as Reland, Robinson, Schubert, Russegger, and De Saulcy. Nay, one Government has earned for itself the distinction of sending an expedition to explore a portion of Canaan, namely, the Dead Sea. And if the United States could effectually place explorers on its waters, why cannot England plant scientific investigators in every part of the land? For such a work our friendly relations with Turkey afford us special advantages. One word from the Earl of Clarendon would obtain the requisite *firman*s. Or, if an overture of the kind were likely to increase the perplexities of the “Eastern question,” then let France and Austria and Prussia, too, enter into partnership with Britain, to set on foot a full, systematic, and thorough exploration of “the holy places,” in which all have a common interest. Nothing short of national efforts can accomplish what biblical science requires. How much might be expected from the well-directed endeavour of even one nation, may be inferred from the great results achieved by the scientific corps which accompanied Napoleon Buonaparte in his expedition into Egypt; and by the learned men, with the eminent Egyptologist, Lepsius, at their head, whom the King of Prussia, not long since, sent into the same country. Examples of the kind will surely not be lost. Let England send a scientific expedition to Palestine

and Sinai. If needful, let "the British Association" press the undertaking on the attention of the Government. None know better than many of its members, how insufficient individual attempts have been, and must be. What can be done for a thorough and intimate knowledge of a country by the hasty tourist, or the unscientific visitor? Only by such a lengthened residence in the land, as would secure a close and familiar acquaintance with the peasantry, and so lead to a knowledge of the native traditions, in opposition to the ecclesiastical;—only by the possession of such power and authority as might, wherever necessary, turn up the soil, and minutely investigate heaps of real, or apparent, ruins;—only by such systematic scientific arrangements as could accurately ascertain heights, depths, lengths, and breadths, of both land and water; and, in addition to the geology, geography, and meteorology of the country, could study its natural history, the ideas, customs, and manners of its present inhabitants, as well as their relation to the ancient inhabitants;—in a word, only a full and complete investigation, under the light of pure science, and with the aid of the Government, and the sanction of the nation,—nothing short of this,—could satisfy the case, or ought to satisfy any sincere lover, or intelligent student, of the sacred records.

Meanwhile, we welcome any contribution to our knowledge; and by no means is it to be denied that many, and very valuable, contributions have been already made. The result has been proportionately satisfactory. Palestine is no longer, to the extent it was, a *terra incognita*. The mists of fable do not lie so thick upon it. The clouds, gathered during the dark ages, have partly passed away, and the land lies open to the eye.

One very marked, and very beneficial, effect has ensued from investigations in the Holy Land. That land appears, in the scriptural records, rich and fertile, as well as beautiful and attractive, and as sustaining, at times, a very large population. A superficial view of the country scarcely bears out these implications;—hence, questioning and doubt. The opportunity was too enticing to be let slip by infidelity; and Voltaire and his disciples began to chant a *pæan* of victory, as if the inspired writers had been convicted of mendacity. How short the triumph! As soon as the peace, concluded in the early part of this century, threw open Europe and Asia to the enterprises of research, piety and science led traveller after traveller into Syria and the adjoining lands, who came back loaded with exact and reliable information, which they gave to the world. As a consequence, we know that for all those biblical implications there is the broadest and surest foundation. Even after the neglect of centuries, and under the iron heel of Moslem despotism,—and although the land has been again and again wasted by conflicting armies, "from Dan to Beersheba,"—Palestine is yet "a good

land,"—a land worthy to be "the land of promise,"—a land for whose revival nothing is needed but, under the Divine blessing, a wise and benign Government.

With equal effect have other sceptical objections been confuted. What idle derision and unseemly pleasantry has unbelief poured out on biblical representations of manners and customs ! The Patriarchs ate, drank, walked, and talked, in a different way from that in which these acts are performed in Paris. Consequently, "the narration is an old wives' fable." The rash and unworthy conclusion has received the most signal confutation. On its own soil the patriarchal life was seen and studied. Transcripts thereof were published. The infidel wittlings were confounded. Yes ; the biblical every-day life may still be contemplated in the biblical lands by every intelligent traveller.

A determined scepticism is, however, not easily reduced to silence. So recent and so learned a writer as Von Bohlen endeavoured to throw doubt on the historic reality of an event, on which we shall presently speak somewhat at large,—namely, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah,—by representing the Kings of those and the other "cities of the plain," spoken of in Genesis, as the mere figments of poetic invention.* Five Kings within the circuit of the Dead Sea ! How absurd ! What is a King ? Ask Prussia ; or let France reply ; or look at the dominions of the Kings of England. There are kingdoms, and those are Kings. Five such around the shores of the *Lacus Asphaltitis* ! We can imagine the mocking sneer with which the objection was put to paper. Yet is it not the learned Professor alone that merits rebuke ? The earlier books of the Bible are full of illustrations of the sense in which it employs the term "King ;" and a slight acquaintance with Western Asia might have informed the objector of the fact, that, even down to his own days, such *Kings*, under the name of "Sheiks," bear sway there in great numbers. Nay, the shores of the Dead Sea itself, at this very hour, are governed by five (or more) petty Kings, or Sheiks, who, within defined limits, exercise each an unqualified despotism. The reader may find proofs of the assertion in the work of M. De Saulcy, who, in his tour on "the Dead Sea shore," passed through the territories, as well as the hands, of three or four of these biblical "Kings."

In none of its attacks has unbelief been more signally unsuccessful, than in those which it has made on what may be termed "the outer world of the Bible." That "outer world" is now known to be a reality. Familiarity with the lands of the Bible, the result of popular travel and of learned investigation, has put its reality beyond the possibility of question, as well as thrown

* *Die Genesis Historisch-Kritisch erläutert.* Von P. VON BOHLEN. Königsberg, 1825.

floods of light on scriptural narratives. Make a map of the physical sciences, and apply that map to Palestine, and we say that not one department, scarcely one corner of that map, is there, which has not received illustration from recent discovery. Very true it is, that these are but beginnings; but they are beginnings of high promise.

The province in which most has been accomplished, is that of geography. The identification of biblical names with their several localities, has been prosecuted most successfully. Very numerous are the names of places in the Scriptures. If those names represent realities, the populousness and the fertility of the land are at once made unquestionable. But are those names mere names? Till recently, a large number of them had no assigned place on the map. A change has come. Dr. Robinson's classical work, the "*Biblical Researches in Palestine*," has produced a new era. Adequately furnished for the labour, by varied knowledge, and specially by an acquaintance with the contents of the Bible, the languages in which it was originally written, the languages spoken at present on its soil, and actuated by a spirit equally remote from credulity and scepticism, that eminent scholar and profound theologian, in 1837, undertook a lengthened journey in the Levant, the results of which proved pre-eminently instructive and interesting, and supplied means for fixing to their proper spots the names of many biblical places. The process of identification was continued by himself and coadjutors, after Dr. Robinson's return home to the United States, in the valuable periodical which is conducted under his patronage; namely, "*The Bibliotheca Sacra*." Last year Dr. Robinson again repaired to Syria. He shall state his reasons himself:—

"Ever since the publication of my work on Palestine, I had cherished the desire of once more visiting that interesting country; partly for the purpose of examining some points anew; but still more in the hope of extending my researches into those portions which had not yet been explored."*

The fruits of the journey are various and considerable. The following extract contains important facts. Dr. Robinson is on the plain of Esdraelon,—the great battle-field, as well as the granary, of Palestine:—

"The next morning (April 21st) we crossed the Mukutta, (the Kishon,) running over a gravelly bed, between banks from fifteen to twenty feet high. Passing through tracts of the utmost fertility, we came at last to the great Tell el-Mutesellim, which stands out in front of the hill, on the back of which Lejjun is situated. This Tell affords a

* See "*The Journal of Sacred Literature*," No. ix., October, 1853, p. 9. The paper there copied from an American publication, first appeared in German, in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*; having been read before that learned body, at their annual meeting, held at Göttingen, October 2d, 1852.

magnificent view of the rich plain, (Esdraelon,) and, as we looked toward Taanach, we became fully persuaded that we had before us the battle-field of Deborah and Barak. Whether Megiddo lay upon this Tell, as some suppose, although there is now no trace of it; or whether it lay upon the hill-back, the south side of which is now occupied by Lejjun; it was, at any rate, a slightly and important place, and might well give name to the plain.* The stream flowing down from Lejjun is still the largest perennial tributary of the Kishon. That Lejjun is the representative of the more ancient Megiddo, there can be little doubt. Near Lejjun passes the great road from Damascus to Ramleh and Egypt. We followed it to the top of the pass; and then, without descending, took a more south-easterly course to Um el-Fahm, on the brow of a hill looking towards the western plain. Hence we proceeded on high ground, south-eastward, along the water-shed, between the heads of valleys running to the northern and the western plains; and came for the night to Yabud, on a hill overlooking another beautiful plain, extending far to the E. and N.E., and bending round Yabud towards the W. Far in the N.E. we had before seen Kubatiyeh; and in the northern part lies Kefr Kud, the ancient *Capharcotia* of Ptolemy. Here, too, in the eastern plain, we were delighted to find the name of *Dothán*; (Dothan;) it is now a fine green Tell, with a fountain in its southern base, corresponding entirely to the position assigned to it by Eusebius, twelve Roman miles north of Samaria. In this connexion, we were told at Yabud, that the great road from Beisan and Zerín, to Ramleh and Egypt, still leads through this plain, entering it west of Jenin, passing near Kefr Kud, and bending south-westward around Yabud to the western plain. It is easy to see, therefore, that the Midianites to whom Joseph was sold in Dothan, had crossed the Jordan at Beisan, and were proceeding to Egypt along the ordinary road. It is obvious, too, that Joseph's brethren well knew the best places of pasturage. They had exhausted that of the Mukhna, by Shechem, (Nablus,) and had afterwards repaired to the still finer pastures here around Dothan. On the day after, (April 22d,) we followed the road by which Joseph was carried away to Egypt, down to Zeita and Attil, on the borders of the western plain, and then turned up again into the mountains, on the way to Sebastieh and Nablus. We supposed we were here upon Herod's road from Cæsarea to these places; and in many parts there were evident traces of an ancient road, but we saw nowhere any paved way."—Pp. 16–18.

The following deserves special notice:—

"At Hablah I was gratified at finding, close by our tent, an ancient wine-press, hewn in the rock. It was complete, with the upper shallow vat for treading the grapes, and the lower deeper one to receive the liquid; and might still be used, were there here grapes to tread."—P. 19.

Let those who doubt the ancient productiveness of Canaan read this passage; which we quote the rather, because it serves to illustrate that luxuriant fertility of the Valley of the Jordan, to which reference will shortly be made:—

* "'The waters of Megiddo,' Judges v. 19. Consult the context, and compare 1 Kings iv. 12; ix. 15; also 2 Kings ix. 27; xxiii. 29."

"We now turned north-west through a lower portion of the plain, (of the Jordan,) exhibiting the utmost fertility, and covered with the rankest vegetation. The grass and weeds came up to our horses' backs, and the taller thistles often rose above our heads, as we rode along. On the higher plateau, nearer the western mountains, the inhabitants of Tubas and other villages cultivate wheat. They were now in mid-harvest; and we pitched our tent by the side of a colony from Tubas, who were dwelling in tents and booths, with their women and children, horses and donkeys, dogs and poultry. What struck us here especially, were the many fountains and brooks in this part of the Ghor, furnishing an abundant supply of water, and giving rise to the most luxuriant fertility."—Pp. 27, 28.

The highest service, however, rendered on this visit by Dr. Robinson, is the identification of the ancient Pella, to which trans-Jordanic town the primitive Christians fled on the downfall of "the holy," then the doomed, city of Jerusalem, actuated by the awful warnings and express admonitions of their prescient Master. (Matt. xxiv. 16; compare Mark xiii. 14; Luke xxi. 21.) We quote what relates to the point:—

"We now turned to descend the mountain by a more northern path, leading directly towards Beisan; computing that if the ruins at Tabakat Fahil were those of Pella, we ought to reach the spot in about two hours. Our road to Beisan passed ten minutes north of the ruins, and we were opposite to them in just two hours. But our guides knew them only as el-Jerm, and we went on ten minutes further before turning off to them. They lie upon a low hill, or mound, having a broad area on its top, surrounded by higher hills, except on the west, where is a plain, which also runs up on the north side of the hill, or mound, described. As we approached from the north, we came upon ruins in the low plain, with many fragments of columns. The area on the hill is covered with like remains; and others are also seen below, in the western plain. Below the hill, in the south-east quarter, there is a large fountain, which sends off a stream towards the south-west. Near it was a small temple, of which two columns are still standing; and the valley below is full of oleanders. From men on the spot we learned that the name of the plain is 'Fahil;' (Pella;); the word 'Tabakah' (meaning 'a story of a house, a terrace') being here applied to the narrow plain which stands out like a terrace in front of the hills, several hundred feet above the Valley of the Jordan below. The situation of this spot in relation to Beisan and Wady-Yabis, (Jerash, Jabesh-Gilead,) the extensive remains, obviously, of a large city, the copious fountains, and also the name, left no doubt upon our minds that we were standing on the site of ancient Pella. The ruins were discovered and visited by Irby and Mangles, in 1817; but no idea of any connexion with Pella suggested itself to their minds. Since that time no Frank traveller has visited the spot. The first public suggestion of the identity of the place with Pella was given in Kiepert's 'Map of Palestine,' in which the name of Pella is inserted with a query. Our main object was now accomplished, in thus verifying the correctness of Kiepert's suggestion."—Pp. 29, 30.

With those who are not minutely acquainted with the struc-

ture and outlines of the country, a doubt may arise as to the alleged success, on the ground that our Lord commands His disciples to flee into "the mountains;" whereas the ruins of Fahil are here described as being "upon a low hill or mound." That low hill, however, forms part of a line of mountains, running along the eastern side of the Jordan, whose average height is near four thousand feet, and which is very appropriately described as "the mountains," especially by one who had been brought up at Nazareth, a comparatively low spot, lying in nearly the same latitude. To Jesus, "the mountains" would specially be the lofty range of *plateaux* which, branching off from Lebanon, line Galilee and Judea on the east. These are the high lands, to a portion of which—the north-east coast of the Lake of Galilee—reference is made in Matthew xiv. 23; Mark vi. 46; and John vi. 3; where the district is described as τὸ ὄρος, "the mountain," that is, the mountainous group or range. The reason, too, why the particular spot on which Pella stood was chosen as the place of refuge, may be inferred from the fact which appears in our citations; namely, that the high road from Jerusalem to Damascus, across the Jordan, in a north-easterly direction, ran near Pella, to which, consequently, the fugitives would have a comparatively easy access.

In speaking of the altitude of the mountains which line the Jordan on its eastern side, we have adverted to a new and very valuable source of biblical illustration, connected with the geography of Palestine. The elevations and depressions of the country in various parts have been measured, by scientific processes, with more or less exactitude. From the somewhat varying results, an average unit has in several instances been gained, which approaches to the reality with sufficient precision for general purposes. The task, indeed, instead of being completed, is only just commenced. But, so far as it has proceeded, reliable *data* have been gained; and these *data*, pertaining to leading districts, and running in several directions, give us the means of acquiring an exact knowledge of the general *contour* of the land, and of applying to biblical statements and implications a severe and rigid test.

In order that the reader may understand the application of that test, and intelligently appreciate its results, we must briefly describe Palestine, under the light thrown thereon by the measurements in question. For this purpose we ask attention to four lines of country. We further ask the reader to suppose himself on the southern extremity of Mount Lebanon, with his back turned toward the north. Let him carry his eye in the line of that river. It is the Jordan. It runs through one of the most extraordinary dykes or *crevasses* in the world, now known by the name of the *Ghor*. The bed of the river, deeply sunk below the country through which it flows, and inclining south-

wards with a general fall of 623 Parisian feet between the Sea of Tiberias and the Salt Sea, suddenly drops in the first of those lakes to the depth of 900 feet below the level of the ocean, and in the second to the depth of 2,662 feet below that level, though the intervening distance is not more than some sixty miles. The general character of the stream in spring—which, in a space of sixty miles of latitude and four or five miles of longitude, traverses at least 200 miles, including twenty-seven threatening rapids—may be learnt from these words employed by Lieut. Lynch:—

“For an hour or more we swept silently down the river, and the last tints of sunset were resting on the summits of the eastern mountains. The brief remainder of the day was rendered more perilous than even the commencement, from the frequency of the rapids, and the difficulty of navigation in the fast fading light. The swift current, as we sometimes turned a point of land, would seize us, and send us off at a salient angle from our course, as if it had been lurking behind that point like an evil thing, to start out and clutch us suddenly, and dash us upon the opposite bank. The scenery became also more wild, as we advanced; and as night, like a gloomy Rembrandt, came throwing her dark shadows through the mountain gorges, sobering down the bright tints upon their summits, the whole scene assumed a strange and savage aspect, as if to harmonize with the dreary sea (the Dead Sea) it held within its midst, madly toward which the river now hurried on. But altogether the descent to-day (April 14th) was much less difficult than those which had preceded it. The course of the river formed a never-ending series of serpentine curves, sometimes dashing along in rapids by the base of a mountain, sometimes flowing between low banks, generally lined with trees, and fragrant with blossoms. Some places presented views extremely picturesque,—the rapid rushing of a torrent, the song and sight of birds, the overhanging trees, and glimpses of the mountains far over the plain. Here and there a gurgling rivulet poured its river of pure water into the now discoloured Jordan. The sacred river!—its banks fringed with perpetual verdure, winding in a thousand graceful mazes; its pathway cheered with songs of birds, and its own clear voice of gushing minstrelsy; its course a bright line in this cheerless waste.”—*Lynch's Narrative*, pp. 216, 233.

The Dead Sea, to which reference has just been made, about fifty miles long and eight broad, is the last piece in the great water-system of Palestine, receiving the contents of the river Jordan into its bosom; the general level of which it preserves, with some variation of elevation and depression, by means of the intense evaporation produced in the deep narrow caldron, shut in on the west and on the east by limestone mountains. This spacious lake, for a knowledge of which we are chiefly indebted to Lieut. Lynch and M. de Saulcy, fills up the entire basin in which it lies, leaving only a narrow rim on most of the western, and a part of the eastern, side; while, at the two extremities, there

is a wide open space, the middle portion of which is marsh and swamp. Sterility is all but universal, and the whole aspect of the district is as if wasted by fire. Yet, where fresh water flows down in Wadys from the hills, rich and smiling scenes arise. The specific gravity of the water is extraordinarily great, owing to the mineral salts with which it is largely impregnated. Very briny in taste, it is also corrosive. But neither the water nor the environs are, as fable has said, fatal to animal life; which, however, by no means abounds in either the lake or the mountains; yet in the former fish have been found, and in deposits procured from its bottom Ehrenberg discovered the remains of microscopic animals. One name that the lake bears, *Lacus Asphaltitis*, is a permanent proof that it abounded in asphaltum of old. Still does the appearance of asphaltum in its waters justify the designation, though the supply seems to have fallen off considerably. In the presence of this bituminous substance, as also in that of sulphur, in the odours of certain gases, in luminous appearances on the surface of the water, as well as in the occurrence of volcanic rocks and signs of volcanic agency in the mountain ranges and in thermal springs, we are presented with indubitable tokens of a great and sudden revolution of nature, of which fire was the principal agent.

On the east of this line of water may be seen a long chain of table lands, forming, in succession, three or four chief *plateaux*, on whose hills "the bulls of Bashan" fed, and "the oaks of Bashan" grew, and on whose plains Amorite and Moabite contended, and in one of whose vales was enacted the lovely and touching episode of Ruth.

- Thence let the eye be carried westward to the deep blue waters of that sea. It is the Mediterranean. Along its shore runs the third district, from the once fruitful plain of Phœnicia to rosy Sharon and luxuriant Philistia; a narrow strip of sea-board, broken by the promontory of Carmel; where civilization reaped some of its earliest fruits, and where commerce heaped up its rich rewards.

For the student of the Bible, however, most important is the fourth range of country, being a continued succession of highlands, extending, with one or two interruptions, from Upper Galilee to the very borders of the Wilderness of Sinai, in ridges of varying height, but generally rising as they go southward, until, at Hebron, they reach their pitch, in the elevation of 3,020 feet above the Mediterranean. Along this ridge extends the water-shed of the country, streams from which run down, on one side,—the shorter, and, of course, the steeper,—into the Jordan; and, on the other, into the Mediterranean. Along the same ridge stood of old the chief cities and towns of the country; the high position being preferred, as a means of safety against invaders and marauders. This long and broken range of lime-

stone hills, forming not so much the backbone, as the body, of Palestine, is frequently intercepted by vales, or broken by ravines, or opened into plains, within whose shelter, and in virtue of whose streams, vegetation luxuriates in a profusion of beautiful, lovely, and useful products.

Scarcely, however, can one have a full conception of Palestine, unless we carry our thought beyond the southern limits of the Dead Sea, and through the Arabah to the Ælanitic Gulf, the Red Sea, and thence, along a chain of mountains, to Sinai in the southern extremity of the peninsula of that name. There we have the counterpart of Lebanon, the highest points of the two running up to near 10,000 feet above the level of the sea; and thus, within the distance of some hundred miles, we find a difference of level which, including the depth of the bottom of the *Lacus Asphaltitis*, is little, if at all, short of 13,000 feet. This very peculiar stretch of country, extending from Lebanon to Sinai, bears features of identity of origin; and there is now perhaps sufficient reason for the declaration, that the sinking of the Vale of the Jordan was contemporaneous with the elevation of the Arabah, which rises from the southern end of the Dead Sea to the height of 495 feet above the ocean, and then falls to the Ælanitic Gulf; and that both the sinking and the elevation were produced by the same convulsion of nature. That catastrophe may be held to have involved the formation of the Vale of Siddim, or the Dead Sea, before the vale was overflowed. The inundation seems to have been produced at the same time, and by the same agency, as that which destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah.

There is one universal scriptural implication which may here be noticed and exemplified. Ruin—thorough and enduring ruin—fell on the cities of the plain, and desolation made the vale its permanent abode. Such is the clear declaration of the Bible. The declaration is repeated by non-inspired writers. Had we space, we would give their testimonies *in extenso*. Here it must suffice to say, that Josephus, Tacitus, Strabo,—not to mention inferior authorities,—combine to describe the condition of the locality as barren, desolate, and gloomy. And of modern reporters the declaration, in substance, is, “God’s curse lies on the district.” Those who would fully appreciate the desolation that reigns around those shores, and over those dark mountains, should peruse the details given by the Commander of the American Expedition. The following are a few of his descriptive words:—

“At one time to-day,” he says, “the sea assumed an aspect peculiarly sombre. Unstirred by the wind, it lay smooth and unruffled as an inland lake. It was enveloped in a thin transparent vapour, its purple tinge contrasting strangely with the extraordinary colours of the sea beneath, and, where they blended in the distance, giving it the appearance of smoke from burning sulphur. It seemed a vast caldron

of metal, fused, but motionless. The sea continued to rise with the increasing wind, which gradually freshened to a gale, and presented an agitated surface of foaming brine; the spray, evaporating as it fell, left incrustations of salt upon our clothes, our hands, and faces; and, while it conveyed a prickly sensation wherever it touched the skin, was, above all, exceedingly painful to the eyes. The boats, heavily laden, struggled sluggishly at first, but, when the wind freshened in its fierceness, from the density of the water it seemed as if their bows were encountering the sledge-hammers of the Titans, instead of the opposing waves of an angry sea. At 4.55, the wind blew so fiercely that the boats could make no headway, and I began to fear that both would founder. At 5.58, the wind instantaneously abated, and with it the sea as rapidly fell; the water, from its ponderous quality, settling as soon as the agitating cause had ceased to act. The northern shore is an extensive mud-flat, with a sandy plain beyond, and is the very type of desolation: branches and trunks of trees lay scattered in every direction; some charred and blackened, as by fire; others white with an incrustation of salt. The eastern coast is a rugged line of mountains, bare of all vegetation. On the north-western coast the scene was one of unmingled desolation. The air, tainted with the sulphuretted hydrogen of the stream, gave a tawny hue even to the foliage of the cane. Except the cane-brakes, clustering around the marshy stream, which disfigured while it sustained them, there was no vegetation whatever. Barren mountains, fragments of rocks blackened by sulphurous deposit, and an unnatural sea, with low dead trees upon its margin,—all within the scope of vision, bore a sad and sombre aspect. We had never before beheld such desolate hills,—such calcined barrenness. The weather was intensely hot, and even the light air, that urged us almost insensibly on, had something oppressive. The sun glared on us, but the eye dared not take cognizance of his presence. The black chasms and rough peaks, embossed with grimness, were, around and above us, veiled in a transparent mist, like visible air, that made them seem unreal; and, 1,300 feet below, our sounding-lead had struck upon the buried plain of Siddim, shrouded in slime and salt. While busied with such thoughts, my companions had yielded to oppressive drowsiness, and now lay before me, in every attitude of a sleep that had more of stupor in it than repose. In the awful aspect which the sea presented when we first beheld it, I seemed to read the inscription over the gates of Dante's *Inferno*: 'Ye who enter here, leave hope behind.' Since then, habituated to mysterious appearances in a journey so replete with them, and accustomed to scenes of deep and thrilling interest at every step of our progress, those feelings of awe had been insensibly lessened, or hushed by deep interest in the investigations we had pursued. But now, as I sat alone in my wakefulness, the feeling of awe returned; and as I looked upon the sleepers, I felt 'the hair of my flesh stand up,' as Job's did, when 'a spirit passed before his face;' for, to my disturbed imagination, there was something fearful in the expression of their inflamed and swollen images. The fierce angel of disease seemed hovering over them, and I read the forerunner of his presence in their flushed and feverish sleep. Some, with their bodies bent and arms dangling over the abandoned oars, their hands excoriated with the acrid water, slept profoundly;—others, with heads thrown back, and lips cracked

and sore, with a scarlet flush on either cheek, seemed overpowered by heat and weariness, even in sleep ;—while some, upon whose faces shone the reflected light from the water, looked ghastly, and dozed with a nervous twitching of the limbs, and now and then, starting from their sleep, drank deeply from a breaker, and sank back again to lethargy. The solitude, the scene, were too much : I felt, as I sat thus, steering the drowsily-moving boat, as if I were a Charon, ferrying, not the souls, but the bodies, of the departed over some infernal lake, and could endure it no longer ; but, breaking from my listlessness, ordered the sails to be furled, and the oars resumed : action seemed better than such unnatural stupor.”—*Lynch's Narrative, passim.*

Yet, while sterility and gloom are generally spread around these inhospitable shores,—as if to show what the district was, ere it was struck by the avenging thunderbolts of the Divine wrath, bright days shine sometimes over its heavy waters and gloomy rocks, and vegetation here and there flourishes. We have space for only one example. It is taken from De Saulcy's volumes, and refers to a spot on the south-eastern shore, occurring to the notice of the travellers immediately after they had passed the eastern extremity of Mount Sodom :—

“At the end of a few minutes the reeds disappeared, the ground became a little firmer, and we entered the Rhor-Safieh. There we were in a veritable forest,—but what a strange forest ! It consists of bundles of slender trunks of trees, intermingled and pressed together, like a bundle of faggots ; thousands of branches, bristling with pines, are intermingled, in every possible way, around those inextricable thickets, which form numberless masses, each several feet in diameter, which you cannot pass without being caught in some part of your dress or other. Between those thickets the moist fat earth is covered with withered stumps, the gigantic stubble of the last harvest. Every where the soil is deeply furrowed by wild boars, which abound in the Rhor, and which protect themselves there, as well as they can, from the panthers. On all the higher branches are perched delightful rose-coloured turtle-doves, who quietly look at us as we pass, and who obviously live on good terms with the Bedouins. Here and there, snakes, with necks frilled with ruby and emerald, leap from tree to tree.”—Vol. i., pp. 257, 258.

To attempt to furnish the *data*, supplied by the measurements of the inequalities of the surface of Palestine, to which we have referred, would lead us too much into detail, and unduly lengthen this paper. We must, however, be allowed to give one instance illustrative of their value, and to state their general effect. The scriptural student is well aware that he constantly meets in the Bible with the phrases, “he (they) went up,” “he went down,” and similar expressions. The older commentators passed these forms of speech as of no moment ; or, if they undertook their explanation, proceeded on inapplicable *data*, or indulged in unwarrantable assumptions. These forms of speech, however, represent actual inequalities ; and, what is of great consequence,

they prove, on investigation, to correspond with the measurements recently taken and published by men of science. Wherever altitudes have been exactly ascertained, there Scripture, if it mentions the places at all, uses words conformable to the discoveries; never speaking of a place as lying *up*, when it really lies *down*, nor as lying *down*, when it really lies *up*, but always employing a verb of ascent or of descent, as the comparative heights demand. The measurements alluded to have been taken in the chief spots, and along the main lines, of the country. The language of Scripture referring to those localities, has been minutely studied. The result is, that generally, and in relation to Palestine at large, the one exactly accords with the other.* Now, could this agreement have existed, had not the biblical authors lived on the spot, and seen the events which they reported? What so easy as to commit a mistake in such a matter? How natural for a stranger,—indeed, for any one,—to employ an ordinary verb of motion, instead of a verb specifically describing the surface, as to whether it rose or sank! Yet the scriptural writers adapt their phraseology to the ground on which they stood, and of which they spoke; and that, too, not merely in regard to the greater altitudes and depressions, but also to the minor and the inconsiderable. And this they do unconsciously. The exactness of the description falls from their pen unawares. They describe the land in its inequalities, without knowing that they are geographers as well as historians. Here is an evidence of reality against which objection seems impossible. There can be no collusion here. No designed coincidence can be suspected. The description dates back two or three thousand years before the scientific measurement which attests its exactitude, and converts a word into a demonstration.

We will give an example,—one that we have not seen previously noticed, and one that refers to a character and an event we are about to speak of in the termination of our task. Let us go back to Abraham and Lot,—an epoch in the dawn of civilization. Abraham came out of Egypt, and settled at Bethel. Bethel has been found at Beitin, twelve Roman miles north-east of Jerusalem. Others, and, we think, with more reason, have placed it at Sindshil, lying between Jerusalem and Samaria. Whichever may be the spot, Abraham, when in Canaan, obviously occupied a part of the central high land which we have described as running through the middle of the country. The elevation may be safely stated as being, on an average, 2,500 feet above the Mediterranean.† Along this lofty ridge the Patriarch seems to have

* See "Scripture Illustrated from Recent Discoveries in the Geography of Palestine;" and, "Scripture Vindicated against some Perversions of Rationalism," both by the author of "The People's Dictionary of the Bible." London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. 1849.

† The exact height of Sindshil is given as 2,520 Parisian feet; that of Jerusalem as 2,642; that of Bethlehem as 2,705; and that of Hebron as 3,029 English feet.

lived, wandering in unrestrained freedom. Now, in proceeding thither from the Delta of Egypt, where he had previously tarried, and which is nearly on a level with the ocean, he would have to ascend, within comparatively a few miles, a height of at least 2,500 feet. The fact is imprinted in indelible lines on the Scriptures; for, in the narrative of his journey, it is expressly said, "Abram *went up* out of Egypt to Bethel." (Gen. xiii. 1-3.) Shortly after, he and his nephew Lot divided the land between them.

Of course, the journey from the heights of Samaria or Judah into the Vale of the Jordan, would be a descent,—a descent varying, according to the point where it began, from 3,000 to 5,000 feet, and that within a few miles taken in a direct line. Accordingly, the Divine Presence that appeared on the plains of Mamre, (Hebron,) and there warned Abraham of the coming punishment of Sodom, employed these accurately descriptive terms: "I will *go down* now, and see," &c. (Gen. xviii. 21.)

After the same manner may we understand the graphic term employed to describe the journey made by the King of Sodom, in order to thank Abraham for the service he had rendered in the defeat and slaughter of Chedorlaomer. The emphatic word is, "*went out*:" "And the King of Sodom went out and met him at the valley of Shaveh." (Gen. xiv. 17.) The place whence the King of Sodom proceeded, was the ravine of the Ghor; the place where he met the conqueror, was a spot somewhat north of Jerusalem, in the highlands of Samaria. How could such a journey be described more appropriately than by the words employed? It was literally a *going out*. Indeed, the only appropriate terms that can even now be employed, if we wish to speak of passing from either the east or the west, the north or the south, side, to the Valley of the Jordan, and, specially, the caldron of the Dead Sea, are *up* and *down*, *into* and *out of*; no other words express the local relations of the district.

And thus are we led to the borders of one of the greatest and most important discoveries—should it be finally confirmed by the voice of impartial science—that any traveller has had the privilege and the distinction of making. We allude to the discovery of the five cities in the Vale of Siddim, claimed by M. De Saulcy, in the work specified at the head of this composition. We have advisedly employed the term "claimed;" for our own mind is not fully satisfied. Our hesitation is not a little connected with certain moral defects which we have been grieved to meet with in the work. M. De Saulcy obviously thinks it a good and clever thing to cheat a wandering Arab, forgetting, or not knowing, that sin does not lose its criminality by difference of latitude and longitude. While, too, we are compelled to doubt whether this learned "Member of the French Institute" possesses all the high quali-

fications requisite for his task, we are quite sure that he employs terms of self-confidence and asseveration which hardly befit the subject, and which, in the mind of the calm and impartial scholar, will beget distrust rather than conviction. In justice, however, we must add, that, though we question whether, as he triumphantly believes, he has discovered at Jerusalem King David's sepulchre, he has, beyond a doubt, made a valuable contribution to geographical science, by identifying many scriptural localities, and specially by laying open districts and portions of the Dead Sea, hitherto but little known. So important are M. De Saulcy's researches in that hitherto little-explored locality, and so severe was the endurance of labour through which the explorer passed, that we owe it alike to him and to the subject to bestow thereon a little special attention.

Without entering into the geological and scientific questions which offer a solution of the ruin visible in the Dead Sea, M. De Saulcy professes to have discovered the five cities connected with it, of which Scripture speaks. Denying that these five cities stood in the plain, he finds them on the shore, Sodom at the south-west end of the lake, with Zoar a little to its north, and Admah somewhat up the highland and in the interior, still more to the north; Zeboiim on the south-east, near Wady Kerek, at a point where, in recent maps, Zoar stands; while Gomorrah is discovered at the other extremity of the lake, on its north-western limits, not far from Feshkah. Before entering into the necessary particulars, we remark, that the author has quite needlessly burdened himself with an hypothesis; namely, that the Vale of Siddim was not overflowed by the causes which destroyed the Pentapolis, and that in its destruction water played no part. As, however, the subject is attended by misconceptions which encumber the problem, from the influence of which M. De Saulcy himself is not altogether free, we shall first endeavour to set forth, in a few words, the result of a critical investigation of the sacred text, and show exactly what the biblical statements are.

In proceeding to do so, we may resume the thread of our remarks by referring again to the local terminology of the Scriptures. In the battle which took place in the Vale of Siddim, between the Mesopotamian invaders and the Kings of the vale, the latter are said to have gone out: "And there *went out* the King of Sodom, and the King of Gomorrah, and the King of Admah, and the King of Zeboiim, and the King of Bela (the same is Zoar;) and they joined battle with him in the Vale of Siddim." (Gen. xiv. 8.) Very clear from this statement is it, that the Vale of Siddim was uncovered with water then. Equally clear is it, that the places whence the Kings went out into the battle-field were not the same as that battle-field into which they went: consequently, the Vale of Siddim is different from the locality on which the condemned cities stood. And yet these cities were within

the mountain enclosure. Where, then, could they have been but along the margin of that which is now the lake? On the higher levels of that margin were those cities likely to be built; for, as we have seen in the case of the chief cities of Palestine, which stood at different points on the summit of the central line of hills, a due regard to safety compelled the earliest races to construct their dwellings on heights more or less difficult of access. Yet the cities of the plain would not be placed in the recesses, or on the greater elevations of the mountain; for they were, as they are still, barren, and wholly unsuitable for human abodes. If, then, as was the fact, the luxuriance of the valley attracted human tenants, where could they fix their homes but on the margin? That margin may have been larger than is the present margin; it may also have extended round the whole plain; for there is reason to believe that the present margin differs from that of former times, the sea having contracted its limits, if it has not also altered its depths; and, before the sea inundated the plain, the habitable portion—the margin in question—may have been of greater breadth. But the actual margin offers space sufficient for the five cities, and much to spare. We seem, then, justified in conceding to M. De Saulcy his position, namely, that the cities stood on what is now the margin of the lake.

The bed of the lake was then a plain. What appears in our version as “the Vale of Siddim,” is properly rendered as “*the Vale of the Meadows*.” The condition is indicated, in part, by the name. Those meadows may be held to have resembled rather the American prairies, than our treeless fields so called. Those meadows, like the Vale of the Jordan in general, were visible to Lot; consequently, the soil had not sunk. That soil must have been very productive, for it was a virgin soil; it was also well watered; and, as it appears to have lain above volcanic fires, certainly its fertility would be much quickened and augmented by the heat of the vale operating in conjunction with the water. Bituminous pits covered much of its surface, rendering many parts sterile. Like the Vale of the Jordan in general, the Vale of Siddim was, however, a tract of country more desirable than the uplands of Samaria and Judah; for Lot, who had the option of the one or the other, took the former by preference, on the ground that, in consequence of its being well watered, it resembled the luxuriant plains of the Delta. We may, then, represent the general condition of the Ghor, understanding by that term the Vale of the Jordan in its entire length, as abundantly irrigated by the stream, and as in consequence covered with a luxuriant vegetation, after the manner of the rank growths which, as we have seen, at present cover a portion of the south-eastern angle.

And here comes into view an argument—unanswerable, as it

appears to us—in favour of the view which supposes that the Jordan, before the catastrophe, had an outlet in the south. Otherwise, the waters of the river would have produced, in the lower part, a swamp or lake—or both. Then the vale could not have been “*well*,” but, rather, *ill*, “*watered*,” and no object of preference to Lot. But if the waters of the Jordan found an issue southward, the elevation which now rises from the southern extremity of the Dead Sea into the Arabah, could have had no existence, and the Jordan was united with the ocean by means of the eastern arm of the Red Sea.

The rank luxuriance of the Vale of Siddim—the “*Vale of the Meadow-lands*”—appears to have acted upon its inhabitants in the way of a temptation to relaxation of morals. Licentiousness of the grossest kind prevailed; until wickedness, having reached its height, brought down the vengeance of the Ruler of the world. The cities of the plain were destroyed! The nature of the destruction may be learned from the terms employed to describe it: “*The Lord rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven; and he overthrew those cities, and all the plain, and all the inhabitants of the cities, and that which grew upon the ground. And Abraham gat up early in the morning to the place where he stood before the Lord:*” (the uplands of Judah:) “*and he looked toward Sodom and Gomorrah, and toward all the land of the plain, and beheld, and, lo, the smoke of the country went up as the smoke of a furnace.*” Of the cities destroyed, Sodom and Gomorrah are the only ones mentioned in the Book of Genesis in connexion with this “*overthrow.*” Hence it is natural to infer that these were the principal places. Not altogether without logical foundation is the conclusion that Sodom was at one extremity, and Gomorrah at the other extremity, of the blasted region. (Gen. xiii.–xix. Compare Jer. xx. 16.) And this bad pre-eminence was permanently retained; for it is found in the books of the New Testament. (2 Peter ii. 6; Jude 7. Compare Matt. x. 15; Zeph. ii. 9; Amos ix. 11; Isai. i. 9; Deut. xxxii. 32.) In the Book of Deuteronomy, however, (xxix. 23,) two other cities are mentioned, namely, Admah and Zeboim. Zoar, the fifth city, is omitted, agreeably with the original narrative, which states that Zoar was spared.

Four cities, then, with the region in which they stood, were utterly and suddenly destroyed, leaving “*the whole land thereof brimstone and salt and burning, that it is not sown, nor beareth, nor any grass groweth therein;*” (Deut. xxix. 23;) and in this condition, as appears from the language of Scripture, to much of which reference has been made, the country remained before the eyes of the Israelites from the days of Abraham to those of the Apostles. Such as it was then, such is it still.

And thus are we brought to the question,—whether M. De Saulcy has, in truth, discovered the five cities. Of chief conse-

quence is the identification of Sodom ; for, its locality ascertained, that of Zoar cannot be doubtful. Now Sodom is a name (in the shape of Usdum—Sdm, Sodom) which has remained attached to a considerable space, including the well-known mountain of salt, which stretches upwards from the south-west angle of the Dead Sea. On this spot De Saulcy found ruins, which the natives still call *Kharbet-Esdom*, (Es-Sodom,) that is, “the Ruins of Sodom.” The identification, then, of Sodom seems satisfactorily effected. For details we refer to M. De Saulcy’s interesting pages.

Zoar was not far from Sodom ; for, as the reader may ascertain by consulting the sacred record, it was within sight of Sodom, and at so small a distance, that it could be reached from Sodom in the interval (shorter in the East than here, for in the East there is scarcely any twilight) between the dawn of day and the appearance of the sun in the horizon. Now, about a mile and a half north of Sodom M. De Saulcy found the name *Zouera*, which belongs not only to a Wady, but to ruins on the margin of the lake, and other ruins somewhat within-land. Here, again, there is little to object to ; though Zoar, if its locality has been ascertained, can have been little else than a suburb of Sodom. This, however, instead of a difficulty, may be pleaded as a recommendation : for Zoar (then Bela) was a small place, and was spared on the very ground that it was small. How the place escaped the general overthrow, except by the sustaining hand of God, no one can say. Clearly, however, has our author proved that Zoar could not have stood on the opposite margin of the lake ; for the distance was far too considerable to be traversed by Lot in the brief space allowed for his flight : that distance it took M. De Saulcy and his company two days and a half to travel.

Yet the broad plain on which recent geographers have placed Zoar, M. De Saulcy, as other travellers before him, found strewed with ruins, obviously the remains of a considerable city. It was reserved for that enterprising explorer to ascertain that a spot near the sea bore the name of *Sebaan*. In *Sebaan*, then, he recognised Zeboim.

Gomorrhah remained hidden. No trace of the name could be found on the southern shores. On the northern, however, a light seemed to dawn. On his way back, and when near Feshkah, M. De Saulcy discovered immense heaps of ruins, bearing the name of *Goumran*, (*Kharbet-Goumran*, “the Ruins of Goumran,”) which, from the similarity of the name, he took for the remains of Gomorrhah. Some doubt, however, is expressed in the narrative, whether the heaps in question were ruins at all,—that is, the remains of a ruined city. And we confess our conviction is not increased by the dogmatic tone of assurance taken by the author.

Still less is our confidence, that M. De Saulcy has discovered the fifth city, namely, Admah ; the rather, as the place where,

from similarity of name, (*Thamah*,) he fixes it, is not within the Ghor, but somewhat high up in the mountains on the road to Hebron; nor did our traveller himself see on or near the spot any ruins at all. Yet is there no want of confidence in the terms employed by him, in claiming the additional honour of having identified the last city of the Pentapolis.

And here comes into play that lessened reliance which ensues from a tendency to undue claims, and a proneness to exaggeration, too obvious in his work. In inquiries such as these, much must depend on the capacity and reliableness of the explorer and narrator; and had it been Dr. Robinson who wrote these narratives, our belief would have been prompt and unqualified. As it is, we must withhold our assent from the two last alleged identifications. M. De Saulcy, however, has achieved enough to deserve and command our gratitude and admiration; and we do not doubt that his researches will call into the vineyard other labourers, by whom the subject will be prosecuted, and the truth be brought to light. Meanwhile, by one labourer after another, facts so numerous and so important have been ascertained and communicated to the public, as greatly to enlarge and improve our acquaintance with sacred geography, and to enhance, in the same degree, its importance as a source of scriptural illustration. At the same time, and by the same means, the Scriptures receive *incidental* confirmation of their Divine authority and truthfulness. Not that they *need* such confirmation. The Bible, historically considered, is an independent authority of the highest kind: as such, its function is to give, rather than receive, confirmation. And we are firmly convinced that, the more thoroughly the Bible is known, and the more carefully it is compared with ancient books and modern discoveries, the more will its historical value shine forth and be acknowledged. Here, as in every other department of God's truth, it is only scanty or imperfect knowledge that occasions doubt, or creates danger.

- ART. VII.—1. *Canada in 1848*. By CAPTAIN HENRY MILLINGTON SYNGE, R.E. London: Effingham Wilson.
 2. *The Isthmus of Darien in 1852*. By LIONEL GISBORNE, C.E. London: Saunders and Stanford.

AFRICA on the eastern, and South America on the western, shores of the Atlantic interrupt navigation, and greatly increase the danger and the duration of many voyages. Their form suggests a remedy. They are attached by narrow necks of land to adjacent continents; and the intersection of these necks by navigable canals is practicable. The two continents present some common features. They occupy corresponding positions, are

thinly peopled, yield similar productions, and have been inadequately explored. In some other important respects they are remarkably dissimilar. Africa has long had its classic regions, famed for their commerce and artistical civilization; while Southern America is almost new ground; for when the Incas of Peru perished, only fragments and wrecks of their history survived. Africa has a small supply of water on the surface; while South America is intersected by many navigable rivers, which, joining, in some regions, form a vast net-work of natural canals, and supply the means of perfect irrigation.

The Spanish discoverers of South America made Panama the capital of a district in 1519. They then crossed the Isthmus of Darien without extreme difficulty; and for more than three centuries they made no improvement on the road. We know that the continent at a point near the Isthmus was once crossed by a navigable channel, formed on the annual overflowing of the Atrato and the Rio San Juan; but the route was prohibited for political reasons.

Communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific may be effected by different means and routes. It may be accomplished by road, by rail, by water, or by a mixed system. It may be formed, on certain conditions, over the broadest part of the continent; but a thorough navigation appears to be advisable only in the soil of New Granada, of Nicaragua, or of Mexico; while the two latter countries can only be intersected by expensive works, calculated to cause a tedious passage.

Captain Henry Syngé, of the Royal Engineers, published in 1848 a plan of mixed communication through British North America; devised partly to extend colonization, and partly to guard the frontiers, endangered by imprudent cessions of territory to the United States. It embraced railway and water portage from Quebec to Lake Superior; and onwards by the Saskatchewan, —a river unknown even by name to three-fourths of the British people, although it is one of their own waters, navigable by boats for fourteen hundred miles from the lake; and would bring the communication to the last of five sections, embracing the entire breadth of British North America; leaving one-fifth, or nearly six hundred miles, for a canal or railway through British Oregon.

Major Carmichael Smyth, at a subsequent date, urged the construction of a railway by nearly the same route; proposing the employment of convicts on the earth-work, to reduce the outlay and render them useful. The recent mineral discoveries on Lake Superior, and the progress of Canada in commercial importance, will advance these great schemes. Canada rises more rapidly than any State of the Union. In 1838, its exportation of wheat was limited to 37,002½ quarters; in 1847, urged by high prices in England, it reached 485,394½ quarters; but in

1852, it amounted to 687,089½ quarters; while the Canadians expect to beat the whole Union for this staple in 1856.

The owner of a property resembling British North America should divide it by parallel railways, at distances of twenty miles, not to accommodate existing traffic, but to open his land; and a nation should pursue a similar course. Some citizens of the United States have resolved to construct an Atlanto-Pacific railway through their territory, and have received more sympathy in England than Captain Syngé, or Major C. Smyth. In August last, they agreed to form a capital of £20,000,000 for the work, and British capitalists, or contractors, are said to be engaged in the speculation. The capital is inadequate for the entire distance; but the promoters intend to commence at St. Louis, using the lines already constructed to that point. Their capital is, therefore, equal to £10,000 per mile for the remaining two thousand miles; but the mountains on the way can only be tunnelled at an enormous cost. In the meantime, without much agitation or Government aid, the Canadian lines are progressing; and a line to the extent of 1,200 miles is partly finished, in preparation, or under contract. It will not stand at 1,200 miles from Halifax; but, as the remaining 1,800 miles have easy gradients, will move on at a cost of £5,000 per mile, or £9,000,000 for the 1,800 miles not yet surveyed, and become our quickest route to China or Australia. The distance from British ports to Halifax may be steamed within six days. The passage on a railway from Halifax to the shore opposite Vancouver's Island will require five days; and the distance thence to an Australian port will permit the great journey to be closed within thirty to thirty-five days. All railways in North America increase the importance of Halifax, the nearest harbour to Europe on the eastern shores of America, which, with ample accommodation, open at all seasons, and surrounded by coal-fields, will become the central port for Transatlantic steamers.

The mixed or railway schemes will not pass vessels from ocean to ocean. They all involve the delay, expense, and inconvenience of trans-shipping goods and passengers, or they do not cut off the stormy and tedious navigation around the southern capes. Four grand routes have been proposed for the accomplishment of this cosmopolitan object:—the Mexican scheme, by Tehuantepec; the Nicaraguan, by the lake of that name; the Panama canal; and the Atrato river and canal.

The Mexican or Tehuantepec project is now converted into a mixed scheme, and therefore cannot supply the want. The number of plans affording perfect navigation is, therefore, reduced to three. The Nicaraguan, commencing on the Mosquito coast, and destined to pass through Lake Nicaragua, is partly completed. This line originated with Mr. Vanderhilt. A few years ago, a boy conveyed passengers to and from the New York

steamers for a cent. He was economical, and bye and bye purchased a large boat. Some years afterwards the young boatman bought a steamer, which soon provided a consort. The two gradually multiplied into a little fleet of well-conducted boats on the line to Stettin Island, where their owner built houses; but he was seized by the Californian mania, and sold boats, houses, and lands for £40,000. He did not emigrate to the gold regions, but established a line of communication from New York to San Francisco by Nicaragua; and the affair has been remarkably profitable. Navigation is practicable through the lake to a point within a short distance of the Pacific; but an intervening range of high and rocky mountains interferes with thorough navigation, although it did not prevent the accumulation of that large fortune, which enabled Mr. Vanderhilt to visit the maritime capitals of Europe in his magnificent yacht last summer; as the Californian diggers appreciated and paid for the regularity of his line.

The Nicaraguan route is in a direct course from Britain to Australia; is nearer to the eastern ports of the United States than the Atrato or the Panama routes: and yet the mountains between the lake and the Pacific will either prevent the formation of a navigable canal, or impose the necessity for enormous dues. The labour and outlay already incurred are not, however, on that account lost; for a wide tropical country will be opened to the Atlantic, the conveyance of its productions to markets will be facilitated, and the navigation of the Colorado will rapidly promote the prosperity of Nicaragua.

Mr. Gisborne discusses in his work the merits of the Panama route from Chagres. Dr. Cullen suggests the construction of a ship canal between those points; and Mr. Gisborne was deputed, by some capitalists of London, to survey the ground. He repudiates for himself a professional intimacy with geology, although in different pages he discourses on abstruse geological questions, if not with the skill possessed, certainly in the hard words used, by persons learned in a science which should be familiar to every man who professes to supply an estimate of the cost of cutting excavations, some hundreds of feet in breadth and depth, and many miles in length.

The frequenters of Capel-court were cast into a state of morbid excitement, on one of the last spring mornings, by the projection of a Company, with a capital of £15,000,000 sterling, for the intersection of the Isthmus by a ship-canal without locks. The scheme was backed by heavy names on 'Change and in scientific circles. It was known as Sir Charles Fox's project, and, therefore, its success was considered certain; yet its Prospectus was a rash production. The promoters state therein that Mr. Gisborne and his assistant, "after surveying the coasts on both sides, and the intervening country, ascertained, beyond doubt, that between the Bay of Caledonia, on the Atlantic, and

the Gulf of San Miguel, on the Pacific, there is a distance of only thirty miles between deep water, on either side, consisting of land generally level, and which in no case is of considerable elevation." They do not support this statement with any facts; but in the next paragraph,—after asserting that "the practicability of forming an inter-oceanic navigation without locks has thus been ascertained," namely, by Mr. Gisborne and his assistant,—they recommend the public to invest £15,000,000 sterling in the formation of this lockless navigation.

Mr. Gisborne's book does not sustain the Prospectus of his friends. He appears to have passed only a day and a night on the Atlantic Coast, near Port Escosses. He ascended two hills, descended into one valley, found a stream thirty feet wide,—“the deep water” on the eastern coast,—lost his way in the jungle, spent the night in the woods, and in the morning was turned off the grounds by the Indians, with the intimation, that if he was ever “found there again, he would be prosecuted to the utmost rigour of the law,” as a trespasser, and that this utmost rigour amounted to a summary mode of capital punishment. This was the extent of the survey, and the “deep water” found on the Atlantic side of the question. Doubtless Mr. Gisborne was in “deep water” enough on that morning, but not of the kind of water necessary to float “a homeward-bound” from Australia.

The two surveyors, having then crossed the Isthmus by the beaten and vulgar road, proceeded to San Miguel Bay, entering the Rio Darien, and, subsequently, the Rio Savannah. They found in this river, at the mouth, a breadth of two miles, and a depth of nine fathoms, at low water. Five miles farther, the breadth decreased to one mile, and the depth was from five to nine fathoms; and yet, immediately above this point, they were left high and dry, upon a gravel bank, by the retiring tide. The Savannah has a course of only thirty miles, and the great breadth and depth at its mouth must have been found by carrying the latter beyond its proper place into an arm of the sea. The adventurers abandoned the stream at a distance of fifteen miles from the Pacific, and cut their way five miles farther to the summit of a low hill. They then found a stream running to the north-east; and, assuming that it was the thirty-feet-wide river on which they had been so inhospitably treated on the eastern coast, they concluded the survey, and returned home to use the strong terms which we have quoted from the Prospectus, and advised an expenditure of £15,000,000 sterling.

A great work was never before proposed on a survey of this extent, which was entirely inadequate for the tile-drainage of a large farm. The volume affords no good reason to believe that on his journey from the western coast Mr. Gisborne came within sight of the second hill reached on his journey from the eastern. The stream which flows from the single eminence, reached on the

western journey, may not enter the Atlantic. The party had lost their way twice in a few days; and it is probable that the stream from the hill was a tributary of the Lara, or the Savannah, flowing, therefore, into the Pacific. Mr. Gisborne, in conjunction with Dr. Black of the United States, and some other parties, has undertaken a more minute survey, which is unnecessary, if the statements in the original Prospectus be correct; for if any matter is once ascertained "beyond a doubt," no further "doubt" exists on the subject. The promoters of this route have adopted Dr. Cullen's idea of an artificial strait, endorsed by Sir Charles Fox, and so far favoured by the New Granadian Government, that their consent has been obtained, with a concession of 200,000 acres of land, and the right to construct a canal, railway, or road, commencing at any locality, from the western mouth of the Atrato to the Mosquito Point on the eastern coast, in return for a loan of £24,000, repayable, without interest, on the completion of the works. The Government of New Granada, pressed for funds, want the loan; but they honestly refer the applicants to the Panama Railway Company for further arrangements, because that Company have obtained a prior concession of the same ground for similar purposes, and, by Article xlix. in their agreement, the right to bar any other carriers from that portion of the Isthmus.

This Company had a paid-up capital of £438,812 at the 30th of June last. Their earnings, although only one-half of their line was completed, with a balance of £4,997. 10s. from the previous account, afforded a dividend at the rate of 5 per cent.; leaving a balance of £12,288, after paying the royalty of the New Granadian Government and the working expenses. The Company will require a paid-up capital of £1,000,000, or more, to complete their line. In forty-nine years from the date of their concession, the lease will lapse, and the works merge to the Government. They must provide a sinking fund to meet this event, and replace their money. Their prospects are thus of a mixed character; but £1,000,000 will be required to buy their consent, which must be purchased.

The estimate for excavations on the canal is £12,000,000; for incidentals and preliminaries, £1,000,000; for interest during the progress of the works, £2,000,000: in all, £15,000,000 sterling. The promoters say that the work can be executed in five years from its commencement. The capital will be expended in equable proportions; and the charge for interest forms nearly a sixth part of the cost. But if a free and open navigation could be formed, equally accessible and more useful, for a trifle over the interest required during the progress of these works, it should be preferred. The world does not need a new wonder, but a canal or a river navigation. No estimate of the cost of the straight cut can be made. A guess has been given,—a very rough one,—but we can never

have a precise contract. The distance between the tides, according to Mr. Gisborne, is thirty miles. Expensive works may be required within, and must be wanted without, their currents. The diggings proposed are 150 feet wide, 30 feet deep from the tidal level, and variable above it. For the latter, Mr. Gisborne's *maximum* is 150 feet, which may be translated into 800 feet. If we assume an average of 50 feet to the surface of the water, with the depth of 80 feet, we have an excavation 30 miles long, 80 feet deep, and 150 feet wide, with all the work to be done within the tides; forming a dark, deep, long, tropical ditch, for the conveyance of passengers. A prudent contractor would examine the material before he gave an estimate for the excavations. Mr. Gisborne says that he has reckoned all rock, and has the gravel and sand in his favour. But rocks vary in hardness. The bill for this cutting in granite would be an affair for the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Mr. Gisborne affords few *data* respecting the traffic. "Statistics," he says, are "almost superfluous." "The progress of commerce is," he holds, "a safer" guide. From that opinion we expressly dissent; but we need not argue the point, for the author comes at last to statistics. The passengers numbered 150,000; who, he says, would last year have used the canal if it had been made: and the goods that would have been sent by it weighed 8,000,000 tons. We shall discount the passengers, because few persons would steam voluntarily through a tropical canal, with occasional walls of 150 feet, and an average of 50 feet on each side; and improve the goods' return, by an official statement of the tonnage between the Atlantic and the Pacific, for twelve months ending in 1852:—

	Tons.
British vessels	1,697,370
United States ditto	1,125,340
Continent of Europe Ports	677,290
Total	3,500,000

A dividend of 5 *per cent.* upon a capital of £15,000,000 is £750,000; but the working expenses may be taken at 40 *per cent.* on the proceeds, and the reserved fund should be 10 *per cent.*; consuming a revenue of £1,500,000 annually, or 8*s.* 7*d.* per ton on all the vessels at present in the Atlantic and Pacific trade. They might not all use the canal; but if six-sevenths of them adopted that route, 10*s.* per ton would supply the requisite revenue. A charge of 8*s.* 7*d.* on the entire trade would give the money,—nominally a high rate, although one which even guano vessels might pay advantageously: yet, if a cheaper route can be devised, its adoption would be more beneficial to commerce.

A concession was executed at Bogota, on the 12th of August,

1852, by the Government of New Granada, to the Senator for Socarro, M. Gonzalez, who conveyed the deed and its powers to parties in London. It embraces the right to construct inter-oceanic communication, by the Atrato and its tributaries, to Cupica Bay; generally expressed as from Point Garachino to Point San Francisco Solano, on the Pacific, combining over two degrees. The Atrato scheme has been under negotiation for some years in Europe, and was mentioned to Sir Charles Fox in 1851. The concession was conveyed by M. Gonzalez, for the behoof of any Company that might be formed to execute the works. Louis Philippe, the late French King, obtained a survey for his own guidance. And, generally, the promoters of this scheme negotiated, talked, wrote, and spent money, without materially advancing their project.

Dr. Cullen and Mr. Gisborne, at different dates, submitted their works to M. Humboldt. Europe is more indebted to that celebrated author for the knowledge of South America which we possess, than to any other traveller. He has now passed the eighty-third year of his age; but he answered each of the gentlemen named, in long letters, which, in the ordinary course of trade, were published. In both, but especially in the last, addressed to Mr. Gisborne, the aged writer commends the zeal of his correspondents; but plainly says that Cupica Bay must be the outlet in the Pacific of an inter-oceanic canal. It might, indeed, be further south, but must not go further north. Cupica Bay is not within the limits of their concession, and is not, therefore, recommended in their volumes. But, fifty years ago, M. Humboldt recommended the Atrato route, which appears to have been under consideration at the commencement of this century; for, in his work, he says, in reference to Cupica Bay:—

“The name of this bay has acquired celebrity on account of a new plan of communication between the two seas. From Cupica we cross, for five or six leagues, a soil quite level and proper for a canal, which would terminate at the *embarcadero* of the Rio Napipi. This last river is navigable, and flows below the village of Zitara, into the great Rio Atrato, which itself enters the Atlantic Ocean. We may almost say, that the ground between Cupica and the mouths of the Atrato is the only part of all America in which the chain of the Andes is entirely broken.”

This description of the Atrato route was written by M. Humboldt half a century since. During that period he has not changed his opinions,—because mountains, oceans, and rivers, continue unchanged. The scheme, however, was not then new. Three hundred years since, the Atrato navigation was open and used from sea to sea. The head waters of that river, flowing into the Atlantic, were, for several months in each year, during the rainy season, united in the ravine of Raspadura to the head waters of the Rio San Juan de Chirambua, which flows into the

Pacific. Captain Cochrane states, in his "Travels in Colombia," that he examined the ravine, proposed to re-open the channel, and dredge both rivers, at an expenditure of £120,000,—a smaller sum than £15,000,000. Alcedo, in "The Geographical Dictionary of the Western Indies," describes the Atrato as "a river navigable for many leagues; but its navigation is prohibited to all persons on pain of death, to avoid those evils which would follow to the provinces of the new kingdom, from the facility with which one might enter it." This sentence of gloom was passed on the poor Atrato by Philip II. of Spain, who had no crime to charge against his victim except its usefulness.

Mr. Patterson, the founder of the Banks of England and Scotland, and the best commercial authority of his time, originated the Scotch Colony of Darien. We may be satisfied that he contemplated the canalization of the Isthmus, or the navigation of the Atrato; although, for obvious reasons, the first body of settlers were located north of its mouth. The effort was zealously supported, in men and money, in 1695; but it was defeated by the jealousy of persons at the Court in London, whose narrow views, corresponding with those of Philip II. of Spain, cost the world all the lives, the property, and the time lost in circumnavigating Cape Horn, for the last hundred and fifty-three years, and entailed on us the existing dispute with the United States respecting Central America. William Pitt endeavoured to correct this error fifty years since, and the obstruction of his plans is one of the evils chargeable on the great war. Fifty years before the time of Pitt, a Biscayan pilot suggested a navigable line from Cupica Bay to the Napipi; but the Spanish Government was then incapable of action. The revival of this plan attracted Pitt's attention, and is recorded in Humboldt's work. The same scheme is again offered to the commercial world.

Dr. Cullen admits that the Gulf of Darien offers, in deep water, a safe anchorage at all seasons; but he asserts that the bar of the Atrato has only two feet of tide, and five feet of water; and he considers it an insuperable obstacle: yet by persons who propose cuttings of 180 feet in rock, the operations of a steam-tug for a few days should not be deemed impossible; nor a bar of the most auriferous sand in the world be thought to be insuperable. A few gold-washing machines, on a large scale, would probably do the work, or pay the cost of its performance. The promoters of this scheme can avoid the bar by cutting a new channel for a few miles, and thus drain the delta of the river, which would amply repay the outlay. But the bar is not an obstruction that prevents the Magdalena Steam Navigation Company from contemplating the navigation of the river by their steamers; yet the Chairman of that Company is intimately connected with New Granada, and has before him the best and fullest information on topics of this nature. The proposal shows that a

considerable local traffic may be developed; and we dismiss the shallow water, the accumulations of gold dust, and other obstructions at the mouth of this river, with the confident assurance that our engineers can cut a channel for a few miles through mud.

No difficulty exists within the Atrato, although, as it is occasionally named "the Darien," some misunderstanding has occurred regarding its internal character. The Atrato falls into the Gulf of Darien; but the river Darien, which has many banks and shallow places, flows into the Pacific. This confusion is increased by their proximity; but Dr. Cullen states that the Atrato has great depth of water within the bar. M. Landreau, who was officially employed by the late King of the French to investigate the line, gives its depth at fifteen fathoms; the Napipi, at its junction, ten fathoms; and, on "the shallowest" bank above Cupica Bay, four fathoms. The breadth of the first river narrows gradually from one mile at the separation of the channels, to one quarter of a mile at its junction with the Napipi. Captain Friend, R.N., navigated the Atrato for 300 miles, and the Napipi to the point where the proposed canals might join, in 1827, with a steamer drawing six feet of water. M. Landreau, in his Report to the French Government, describes the land between the Napipi and the Pacific as "generally alluvial and marshy;" and the bank which intervenes between the ocean and that river, as one mile in breadth, and forty feet in height. Another French gentleman struck a ridge, which, in his opinion, was not more than twelve feet high. Other authorities have been less fortunate. Captain Friend considered the summit of the Cordilleras, where he passed between the Napipi and the Pacific, 200 feet above the level of the ocean. Captain Wood, R.N., made the measurement from 200 to 300 feet; but he observed lower ground. Lieutenant Chimmo, R.N., says that "the Cordilleras fall out at this point in banks of 200 to 400 feet;" adding, that "in this gap there will, no doubt, be found a plain, not very elevated, but of a circuitous route." Mr. Robinson appears to have found this plain; for he says that "the country is a dead level." Captain Robert Fitzroy, R.N., considers it shown, that "the Atrato and Cupica Line is the most suitable for a canal." More implicit reliance may be placed on the statement of M. Landreau than on those of the other gentlemen named. He visited the country, at the command of his Sovereign, upon this special mission, and undoubtedly discharged his duty by taking correct altitudes; but either of the measurements given presumes an entirely different cutting from Mr. Gisborne's magnificent scheme.

The internal navigation, according to M. Landreau, would consist of six leagues from Cupica to the Napipi, ten leagues on the Napipi, and fifteen leagues on the Atrato; in all, thirty-one leagues, or ninety-three miles. The canalization on the first sec-

tion would be eighteen miles; the second section involves dredging casual shallows on the Napipi for thirty miles; and the third, a new cut for the Atrato of six to seven miles. M. Grieff, an engineer of Sweden, now employed by the New Granadian Government, considers "the new cut" unnecessary, as, in his opinion, the Coquito mouth of the Atrato can easily be kept open by dredging.

The anchorages and sites for harbours at each side form an important topic for inquiry; but those on the east coast are unquestionably good; while Dr. Cullen has a bad opinion of Cupica Bay, which is, he says, "a harbour of very small extent." This opinion is not supported by its general visitors. M. Landreau calls it a small bay, with which, however, he is perfectly satisfied. Captain Kellet considers it "one of the finest harbours," which Lieutenant Chimmo deems "both safe and spacious;" and, according to M. Berthold Seeman, it would furnish "fine accommodation for shipping." Lieutenant Chimmo says that it is "capable of containing any number of vessels during the northerly winds," has "three fathoms close to the rocks, with regular soundings out to forty and fifty fathoms, and good holding ground of sand and mud." The Admiralty chart gives this bay a breadth of six miles, and an indentation on the coast of eight miles, with soundings of from four to forty fathoms. The professional gentlemen thus emphatically contradicting Dr. Cullen's testimony, we are bound to believe that Cupica Bay may be a very comfortable locality for vessels.

The sanatory circumstances of the two projects cannot be widely different, but already a small population resides on the Atrato route. The Indians on the Panama Line are unfriendly, and the climate is a delicate subject for invalids. M. Landreau allows that both objections have been applicable to the Atrato Line, although they are now partially removed. M. Grieff, who lives in the country, reports the climate on the Atrato "hot, but sufficiently healthy." Captain Friend found the temperature of the valley during the day 80° Fahrenheit; and on the land between Cupica and the Napipi 75°. Lieutenant Chimmo marked the ranges of the barometer in December, January, and February, from 29·86 inches to 30·08 inches; and of the thermometer from 76° to 81° 5'. These figures do not imply an intolerable degree of warmth.

The Atrato route has a decided preference over that by Panama for local traffic. The latter, indeed, can obtain nothing that the railway will take; while the former must be already of some value, since the Magdalena Company propose to navigate the river by their steamers. The Rio Andageda, the Quito, and the Zatura unite at Quibdo, and form the Atrato. The Andageda is notoriously a golden river. The province intersected by these rivers is the most auriferous in New Granada. This region,

Choco, once had 3,000 slaves regularly employed in gold-hunting ; and a century since, its yield of gold was worth £600,000 to £700,000 annually. New Granada now contains no slaves. Civil and religious freedom to all men is its practice. "*No hai ni habra esclavos en la Nueva Granada*," is its watchword, to shame the North. This advantage will not prevent miners from striking veins of gold, and increasing indefinitely the yield of the precious metals. They all abound in Choco, where platina was first discovered. The Atrato drains a region of nearly 400 miles in length, exceedingly fertile, and capable, under cultivation, of supplying cotton for all our manufactories.

The outlay necessary to complete the works on the two plans is a most important consideration, in which the Atrato has a decided advantage over the Panama. The cost of the latter has been guessed at £15,000,000, and the estimate for the former is one-sixth of that sum, or £2,500,000. We have no details of the probable expenditure on the Panama Line, but contracts to complete the Atrato can be obtained in three sections; namely, for cutting the canal, one million; for dredging the rivers and building piers, a second million; for contingencies, plant, and machinery, half a million; forming the total of two and a half millions sterling.

Dividends of five *per cent.* are agreeable to parties wishing merely an investment, but speculators want a more florid attraction than this modest return; but, reckoning ten *per cent.* for the reserve fund, and forty *per cent.* for working expenses, on the Panama scheme, a revenue of £1,500,000, or 8*s.* 7*d.* per ton on 3,500,000 tons of shipping, will be required to pay five *per cent.* on the capital. The concession for the Atrato route is perpetual; and the only condition affecting the property is, that at the end of ninety-nine years the Government of New Granada may accept offers from competing lines, within the region now secured to the Company, if it do not interfere with the property of the latter. The ten *per cent.* for a reserve fund is, therefore, unnecessary in this case; but, upon the same calculations adopted for the Panama scheme, we find that 1*s.* 5*d.* instead of 8*s.* 7*d.* per ton of dues will pay the proprietors of the Atrato system five *per cent.* The difference to a vessel of 1,000 tons passing twice, out and in, by the canal, in one year, would be £1,433. 5*s.* 4*d.* The extra cost of the Panama Line to the shipping trade, at its existing amount, would be rather over £1,200,000 *per annum.* This is the sum asked for permission to make an engineering achievement of doubtful success. Even if the Cupica Canal were increased in breadth from 100 to 200 feet, and the returns to the shareholders from five to ten *per cent.*, a rate of 3*s.* per ton would meet the expenditure, without that local traffic which will ultimately repay all the outlay. The only reduction from this estimate, in favour of the Panama Line, proceeds upon the assumption that it will

not require forty *per cent.* from its revenue for working expenses. If we, therefore, confine this calculation entirely to interest, the Atrato Line will cost £125,000 annually, and the Panama £750,000.

The land secured to the Atrato plan for ever, will ultimately pay a full dividend on the stock. This scheme, moreover, carries civilization into the heart of a great country, while the Panama Canal only intersects its neck. The open route by Cupica would bring a fruitful region into the competition between free and slave-grown tropical produce; and it is possible that for this reason the United States may oppose the development of these resources.

The shortest route for passenger traffic, by Halifax and Vancouver's Island, on British land, should not be forgotten. The distance to Sydney from Panama is 8,000 miles, and to Jeddo 8,250 miles; but from Vancouver's Island to Sydney the distance is only 6,500 miles, to Jeddo 4,500 miles, and to Pekin 5,500 miles. The journey from Jeddo, the capital of Japan, to London, might thus be completed in twenty-six or twenty-eight days; and from Pekin, in thirty-two to thirty-five days; while the quickest passage yet made from China to this country has occupied seventy-five days. This acceleration of travelling between the ends of the earth would aid commerce, and advance religion; for, wherever the merchant penetrates, the missionary can travel; and short routes for the conveyance of perishable, but precious, bales, may carry the imperishable and more precious word of God.

The inter-oceanic railway will not reduce the value of the inter-oceanic navigation; but, by increasing our commerce, will render even more necessary than ever a free way for our vessels on the waters. It will be a substitute for the North-western Passage, which Britain has expended so many millions of money, and thousands of lives, to discover. It will throw over the broadest part of the American continent a belt of cultivated land, studded with towns and villages, inhabited by our fellow-subjects, and yet, we may hope, fellow-workers in the faith, who will support and strengthen by the way our Christian missions to the East.

Our pressing and present duty, for the day or the year, relates to the inter-oceanic navigation. Extensive contractors and great speculators may wish to sell the Panama Railway, and make the world pay its price. We have only to look for the best and cheapest route; actuated by the desire to promote freedom, intelligence, morality, our faith, and even the world's "every-day" business. The Chambers of Commerce, whose members are associated to promote mercantile transactions; the Anti-Slavery Societies, formed to aid in breaking bonds and bursting chains that still gall millions of men; and the Churches, which should be Missionary Societies; all interests and all men in this country, so intimately associated with Australia, so closely connected with

the eastern Pacific, are warranted in asking from our Government a careful survey, by its professional servants, of the two schemes now proposed for securing deep water from sea to sea; that the best and the cheapest route may be adopted, constructed, and opened, without further expenditure of time than the works absolutely require: and, if a guarantee be necessary, the European maritime powers should give the requisite security for the independence of New Granada,—the first of the South American Republics that has consecrated political freedom by its association with religious liberty.

ART. VIII.—*The Works of the Rev. Richard Watson: with Memoirs of his Life and Writings.* By the REV. THOMAS JACKSON. In Twelve Volumes. 8vo. London: John Mason.

OUR intention in the present article is not to review the Works of Mr. Watson, but to endeavour from them to form some estimate of his mental character. The writings of a man are the best *memento* of his mind and of his intellectual *status*, as well as of his attainments. The soundness of his views, the strength of his reasoning, the depth of his feelings, and the characteristics of his genius, must appear in these imperishable impressions of thought and sentiment. There, too, must stand embodied the principles involved in his theories, whether of religion or of any other branch of knowledge. The author may be said to live as long as his works are read; he has secured for himself a species of immortality on earth; and though his form is no longer seen, yet his spirit lives and speaks amongst men.

Neither do we intend, except in the most cursory manner, to treat of the biography of Mr. Watson. The details of his life, as amply drawn by Mr. Jackson, are much read and extensively known; and we have not the means of adding any thing material to those records. Mr. Watson's "Life" is an ample account of his passage through the world, and is full of interest; but, in forming our opinion of his mental character and theological opinions, we prefer going to his own writings.

The remarkable man, whose mental character we thus wish to examine, rose to eminence in despite of many appalling difficulties in the commencement of his career. He seems to have owed little to birth, to his original position, or to education; and still less to the smiles and favours of the world. He had to begin at the beginning,—to work his way upward,—to struggle hard and long with adverse circumstances, and, by his own skill and energy, to enlist in his favour such assistance for the acquisition of knowledge, as, by a succession of casual

opportunities, fell in his way. The growth of the cedar, from its root to its gigantic proportions, may be considered a fitting emblem of the growth of the mind, the moral elevation, and the public usefulness of Mr. Watson, from the germ of life. We have unmixed pleasure in tracing the development of character from its starting-point, and willingly accord to those men our meed of admiration, who, in despite of untoward circumstances, have succeeded in reaching the height of that excellence which deserves and insures the affections and homage of their fellow-men.

The intellectual character of Mr. Watson seems to have been very much developed by the religious element. Placed in this element by his conversion and connexions, its effect was, to draw forth his powers, and to give them expansion, polish, and direction.

The religious and purely intellectual worlds differ as to their respective capabilities of eliciting mental power; and, as we think, the difference is greatly in favour of the former. In the latter case, the soul itself, with the use of the appliances that lie within its reach, being the basis of such strength as is found to exist, the mind may be morally bad, and yet be strong; the faculties may be all perverted to evil, and yet be vivid and acute; the imagination may revel in scenes of debauchery, and yet be poetic;—or, to put the same thing another way, the powers of perception may be penetrating and elevated, and yet be limited to the scenes of earth; the beautiful and sublime may be seen and appropriated, whilst all that belongs to these sentiments in morals and religion may be repudiated; the affinities of the soul to terrestrial objects may bring it into harmony with whatever in those objects touches the sympathies of human nature, and yet the wonderful loveliness of Christianity may leave this heart of susceptibility untouched. This shows that human nature, even in its ruin, is still great; and that, when circumstances are favourable, it can rise, in its own sphere, to beauty and eminence. But it shows, also, that this sphere is limited. The barriers of sense, of the material, cannot be passed by the unaided mind of the most gifted; and, as a consequence, all that belongs to the Divine must be lost to the consciousness of such persons. There is, no doubt, much in which the soul may expatiate, below things sacred; but an infinitely more expanded region is opened up, when the spiritual world, too, is within reach; since its enjoyment does not preclude or interfere with the true enjoyment of the earthly.

The religious character, then, rests on a double basis,—the mental powers, possessed in common with all other men, and that "faith of Christ," which so greatly quickens and enlarges them. None of the individual characteristics are lost, in their fullest and most perfect absorption of the religious influences pass-

ing into the soul. If nature has given genius, this remains in its peculiarities ; if philosophical intuitions are found, these continue in their vividness ; if men are born poets, the poetic fire continues unextinguished ; if those passions which unite with reason to make the orator, are the gift of nature, they are undestroyed ; if judgment and common sense, they are left in their practical vocation ; and, even in case a man be an economist, a mechanist, or a politician, he may remain so, for any influence upon him by the Christian faith.

But whilst nature is left intact in all her gifts, religion, like the morning, brings many secret powers into beautiful promineney and vigorous activity,—which might otherwise have lain in perfect dormancy, covered over and hidden in the obscurities of an imperfectly developed manhood, as the world is lost to view in the dark. It exhibits persons and things in their true colours and dimensions ; presents to view the odious nature of vice and of crime ; rebukes folly and evil, by placing them on their own level of debasement ; and unveils the exaggerations and showy fripperies of worldly gaiety, and non-substantial pleasures. The truths of Holy Scripture and the dissemination of the Gospel must, as a general rule, do two things :—they must antagonize the depravity and ignorance of human nature, and, with more or less success, lay a new deposit of truth and principle in the public mind. How far society is affected by this twofold action, it is impossible to know ; but that a process of amelioration must be constantly going on, is certain. Men cannot be the same in the midst of the light of the Gospel, as in a state of pagan darkness. The intellect must be roused from its slumbers ; and though, perhaps, it may not be drawn into the *focus* of spiritual truth, yet the fact of its being awakened from torpidity, and put in motion, will, in the issue, lead to elevation of mind. In the nature of things, nothing can be so calculated to produce even mental activity, as that teaching which places man in the highest position of his being ; presents to him the most stirring motives to seek for himself intelligence and wisdom ; leads him to become conversant with the greatest objects ; and connects immortality with wisdom, goodness, and piety. As the genial influences of the heavens cannot descend upon the earth, without giving life to vegetation,—tints, colouring, and fragrance to flowers,—ripe harvests to the husbandman, and plenty and gladness to all,—so the light of the word of God cannot descend on a community, without mental effects of the most beneficial nature. These effects are twofold, namely, the entrance of the truth into the soul, though, perhaps, neither acknowledged nor recognised, producing a wholesome agitation of the faculties, and the presentation to the mind of the perspective of everlasting progression of being and of happiness. Men who are not living for immortality, are, nevertheless, influenced by

the idea; and this idea of itself must be a mighty stimulus to mental energy.

But our race is not made merely intellectual; other elements enter into the mysterious compound that we call "Man." In the operations of Divine grace, it is certain that the sentient powers are not always the first to be moved. On the contrary, the *primum mobile* is often to be found, not in the affections or conscience, but in the intellect; it is not a passion, but an idea. In this case truth, beaming upon the intellect, awakens emotion,—and not emotion the intellect. In the highest order of minds we are led to believe that this is the common process; it is analogous to the movements of our rational nature in other cases; it places faith on its valid ground of conviction; and it thus makes the feelings follow, and not lead, the intellect. It must, however, be confessed, that the phenomena of religious life give us no precise rules on the subject; only it appears to be granting more than the argument requires, to admit that, in all cases, the mind is agitated by the sentient emotions produced by religion, to the exclusion of the opposite,—the agitation of the feelings by the intellect.

We have been speaking, first, of the general effects of Christianity on communities;—next, of its effects on individuals, with an especial reference to the distinguished person now before our attention. Yet we trust our former remarks are not misplaced, as the general good is essential to the specific,—individual eminence always pre-supposing that which lies below, the substratum of moral worth amongst the masses. The amount of this is greater than we can imagine; and its effects on characters who ultimately rise above the common level, must, when examined with care, be seen to be very great. When we see men passing from the ranks of the people in any department, and obtaining the great prizes of the world for themselves, we may be certain that this could not have occurred but in English or some other similar society. The building supposes the foundation; the outspread branches of the tree, the root; the man, the child;—and ultimate eminence of character supposes a starting-point, corresponding to the final elevation. When Christianity is well diffused; when religious freedom prevails; when societies of Christians exhibit the virtues of our holy religion;—it will always happen that, every now and then, great minds will be attracted to the Cross, and become the pillars of the Church, the ornaments of their profession, and the lights of the age. Such was the case with Richard Watson.

It was well that he had to work his own way: the faculties are brightened by the uses of necessity, and the virtues of early life are deepened by trials. We shall give no more of the biography of Richard Watson, than to inform the reader that he was born at Barton-upon-Humber, in Lincolnshire, February 22nd, 1781;

that, after attending a dame-school, he was put under the tuition of the Curate of the parish at the age of six years, and remained two years, in which time he began Latin; that, on his father's removal to Lincoln, he was placed in the seminary of a Mr. Hescott, where his classical studies were suspended; that he then passed into the grammar-school of that ancient city, where he resumed these studies, and continued them till he was fourteen years of age, when he was withdrawn from school altogether; that he was soon afterwards awakened to a sense of religion, and united himself with the Methodist Society; and then, at the age of sixteen, was called to the ministry, and began his public career. Such, so far as outward things are concerned, were the germs from which grew all that followed. They are perfectly insufficient to account for the fruit which afterwards adorned his character. Something more profound must be sought as the basis of his attainments, than any thing which appears in the above enumeration. Where are we to look for this? Unquestionably, in the first place, to the riches of the grace of God, to the anointing and call of the Holy Spirit, to the effective influence of Divine truth upon his heart, to the sovereignty of God's providence; and then, in the second place, to the innate powers of his own mind. The precocity of his genius appears in the fact that he began to preach at so early an age; but precocious genius does not always turn out to be enduring, or of much strength. Many promising saplings which for a time spring up with great rapidity, soon expend their vigour and strength, and afterwards appear before the world as feeble and sickly plants. Not so with Richard Watson. The disproportion betwixt his boyhood and his mature manhood; his base and his altitude; his starting-point, and the goal he reached; his morning and evening of life; his scanty stock in the beginning, and his riches in the end; his first crude essays, and his finished performances; his unfledged efforts, and his eagle flights; his stammering addresses at sixteen, and his burning eloquence in the zenith of his pulpit power; his undigested knowledge when he first took pen in hand, and the breadth, strength, beauty, and sublimity of his style and sentiments, when he laid it aside;—the distance, we say, in his favour, betwixt these several points must have been as great as can well be conceived.

We have been furnished with the history of many remarkable men, who have surmounted great impediments in their career, and become very distinguished, without much school training; but we know of no instance equal to the gigantic strides made by Mr. Watson. Most men who are indebted to themselves alone for their success,—although they may attain to much massiveness, vigour, tone; and amass great stores of knowledge, and often a creditable amount of learning,—yet retain through life a certain rusticity, and possess but little power of arrangement

or analysis over their acquisitions. In the case of Mr. Watson, strength and elegance grew together : the expansion of his mind was like that of the morning into the brightness and glories of day. He turned everything he touched into gold. No truth, however great,—no subject, however practical,—no detail, however dry,—could pass into his mind, or from his lips, but a trace of beauty appeared.

We have no doubt Mr. Jackson is perfectly correct in saying, that "it was not till after his conversion that his true intellectual character appeared : up to that period, his mental faculties had never been fully called forth." But even after that event, although, no doubt, the spiritual change was complete, yet the mind of Mr. Watson could not at once be formed.

The chief mental effect produced seems to have been an ardent thirst for knowledge. The new power found a willing, an eager, and a glowing mind as its instrument ; only unpractised, like a bird attempting to mount the heavens for the first time. But the religious element is well calculated to produce intellectual activity, and to assimilate to itself every kind of truth ; and can adopt and receive into its own sphere all other forms of knowledge. To suppose that it is limited to questions of orthodoxy,—to creeds and symbols,—to Church-observances,—to the contemplative and mystic,—is to take a very narrow view of the matter. As the faculties of the soul have some relation to all existing things,—and religion has some relation to all these faculties,—it follows, that religion, through the soul as its organ, stands connected with all nature. The question is, in reality, whether a Christian man can so influence his own pursuits and acquisitions, as to bring them into the circle of his spiritual life. Certainly he may. If the spiritual life is ubiquitous in the soul,—if it reaches to the whole intellectual nature,—if it touches every faculty,—then it must be equally ubiquitous externally. The sensible may pervert the spiritual ; the natural, the Divine ; the philosophical and scientific, the devout ; but our position supposes that the religious power remains unimpaired, and, that being the case, it must be supreme ; mastering all other things by its own potency, and bringing them into its service, as God makes nature obey the behests of His will.

The philosophy of mind abounds in curious and difficult questions ; and the mind of Mr. Watson is a fine subject for this philosophy to try its principles upon. Both Scotch and German professors have tried to solve all difficulties connected with this intricate matter, and to reduce the phenomena of mind to the form of a science. With what success this has been attempted, it is not for us to determine ; but the common-sense English people have not, till recently, troubled themselves much about it. That men possess faculties in common, is certain ; but the difference in degree is so obvious, that it seems to us that

no standard can be fixed, no scientific classification of men can be scientifically made, no complete muster can be effected. We know not, for instance, to what class of men to reckon Mr. Watson as belonging: he was *sui generis*; he was not like any of his contemporaries; he possessed an individualism of a peculiar stamp: and his faculties moved in a sphere into which none entered. There is nothing singular in this,—it belongs to all great men. In the period in which Mr. Watson lived, there were other eminent persons, as well as himself, belonging to Christianity: but they occupied, each one, an intellectual and moral ground of his own. Who could fill the sphere that was occupied by the mind of Chalmers? He became the head of a school: he had many imitators in style and language, who, more or less, succeeded in their attempts to Chalmerize themselves; but no one got into his orbit, or thought, reasoned, and philosophized, on his elevation. Who trod in the track of Robert Hall? No one. He occupied a place of his own. His oratory, his writings, his imagery, are all unique; and no other mind of his day could have thrown off the same brilliant and pure light, the same glowing and burning coruscations of sublime thought, the same torrents of profound, but, at the same time, beautiful and polished, eloquence, as this extraordinary man. Mr. Watson belonged to the class of gifted and first-rate men, as much as these two lights of their age: but he was distinguished from both by characteristics of his own. He did not possess the vehemence of Chalmers,—that internal mental force which drove him along the line of his argument as an express-train is driven by the superior power of its fire and mechanism. An argument of Dr. Chalmers is very much like a journey by one of these trains: he neither gives himself nor his auditors opportunity to look about; for the time being, we have nothing but the argument; and from the earnestness with which it is impelled forward upon the attention of the listener, there might be no other in the universe than the one truth embodied in this specific theme. A sermon of Dr. Chalmers is like Paganini's playing of a fiddle on one string: *his* was, no doubt, a magnificent piece of cat-gut, and the touch of the artist exquisitely fine; he could make his one string utter many sounds,—but still it was but one string. The eloquence of a one-stringed instrument excites you, indeed, drives you mad, for the time: but when sober reflection returns, you discover that, in your eager following of your guide, you have left much more behind you than you have gained in the chase; and, moreover, that the one truth enforced upon your attention, has, by its undue prominence, been thrown out of harmony with other cognate truths. Hall was different from Chalmers, and, as we think, superior, in mental power, in beauty, in pathos, and in the balance of the faculties: and yet he was less effective; and he was probably so, because of the harmonious blend-

ing of one excellence with another ; it being found in experience, that the mind, like a fortress, soonest yields to the assaults of a battery, which plays upon it a succession of shot and shell in the same direction ; by this process, striking the soul at the same point till a breach is effected, and an entrance prepared for the admission of the principle enforced. Robert Hall did not possess this power as Chalmers did ; and hence, though his productions are amongst the most philosophical, broad, and beautiful of the human intellect, yet, because they strike not one sense alone, but every sense,—gratify not one taste in particular, but every taste,—administer not merely to one moral sentiment, but to all,—lift up not one faculty only to the ethereal regions of pure and heavenly light, but carry forward the whole nature alike,—the same effect is not perceived as when one of Chalmers's powerful batteries is playing upon one point. Through nature, the principle of equilibrium is always at work ; and, as the heavens resume their serenity after a tempest by the force of this law, so, after being agitated by one of the mental explosions of Chalmers, we are delighted to repose in the sunshine of Hall.

There seems to be a difference between the Church celebrities, and those found in the ranks of Nonconformity. Owen, of the Bible Society, was one of the most eloquent men we ever listened to ; and yet we are not aware that he had much fame beyond that of the platform. He was an extemporaneous preacher, and must have been an eminently accomplished one ;—Bishop Porteus saying, as we heard at the time, that Owen was the only man in his diocese fit to preach extemporaneously. And yet we hear nothing of his pulpit performances. What can be the reason of this ? Is it because in the "Church" pulpit eloquence is held cheaper than amongst others ? Is it because the people are more advanced in intelligence, and thus are less influenced by talent,—this gift only approximating to their own state of advancement ? We can understand how it may be essential for an Oxford or Cambridge man to possess very extraordinary attainments in order to his excelling amongst his fellows ; but the people are not of this class, and, consequently, remain open to the influence of popular oratory. They seem not, however, so much affected by it, as the people on the outside of the "Church ;" and the problem must remain unsolved. How it came to pass that, in the period of great preachers amongst the Dissenting bodies, no one rose to the distinction of Hall, Chalmers, and others, we know not. It augurs well, however, that, as a rule, distinctions in the "Church" arise from piety, simplicity, laborious exertions. Men possessing these requisites are invariably popular, whilst extraordinary talents and attainments seem only to have a limited sphere.

Be this as it may,—in the age of Chalmers, Hall, and Owen, Watson took rank amongst them as their equal. He had not the earnestness and force of Chalmers ; but he possessed much

more thought, philosophy, calm ratiocination, and harmonious fulness. He had not, perhaps, the metaphysical subtilty and rapid combination, the burning affections, and elegant diction of Hall; but he possessed as keen a reason, a more lofty imagination, an equal or superior power of painting, and, as we think, a much more vivid perception of the spiritual world, and a richer leaven of evangelical sentiment. Owen's oratory seemed to be more flowing, spontaneous, and impassioned, than that of Watson; but the latter exceeded Owen in stretch of thought, sublimity, beautiful imagery, and deep and touching pathos. We do not make these comparisons for the sake of exalting one of these men at the expense of the other. Each was great in his own sphere; they had few points of resemblance; and it would be illiberal in the extreme to judge one by the other. But it must be seen that one who can bear comparison with the greatest of his age, in mental power and the essentials of eloquence, must himself be great; and although party feeling and sectarian bigotry may cause the genius of Watson to be neglected or unknown, yet those who knew him, and those who have read his works with impartiality, will be ready to confess that he belonged to the highest order of humanity; and that, though his genius was different from that of his most gifted contemporaries, yet, in fact, it was second to NONE.

The mind of Mr. Watson seems to have been a *universal mind*,—universal, that is, in its sympathies. Let us be understood in this. No man can know all things; and even the attempt to master too many subjects must produce feebleness. But the universal mind will, at any rate, have a *passive* side for all things, if not an active. The *active* side of nature is developed in real pursuits; but they who attain to eminence in their own particular line and department, may, nevertheless, possess the universal mind in question; may listen to the hum of the world in their chamber; participate in all the ebbings and flowings of society; sympathize with the pulsations of the public mind; give their prayers and their help to all philanthropic exertions for the amelioration of our humanity; commingle their faith and zeal with the efforts going on amongst all Christians for the diffusion of the Gospel; and, moreover, though they may not be able to overtake all the improvements of the age, to speak *ex cathedra* on every subject, keep abreast of literature in its exhaustless creations, or be equal to the task of tracing all the radiations of science, yet they may have a love for all; and their own peculiar profession will receive accessions from every quarter, as one truth invariably strengthens another.

Some men possess this catholic idiosyncrasy. The sects claim them as their own, whereas they belong to universal humanity. By birth and language they are English, French, or German, but in fact they belong to the whole human family; the pro-

fession or science to which they happen to be devoted gives them a name, when, in reality, they, more or less, stand identified with all kinds of knowledge. The *universal* man is at home on every ground, in every sphere; the *sectarian*, only in one region. In this he may be eminent,—may argue with clearness and force,—set forth his dogmas with great confidence, and be a perfect master in his line. But bring him on untrodden ground, and he is bewildered, puts forth his powers in the dark, guesses at principles and conclusions with ludicrous indecision, and hastens with eager step back again to his old habitation. But, to do him justice, the world is much indebted to him. His one ideal, or line of mental action, having the effect of absorbing all the resources of life, gives him great strength. The man of general ideas and study is rarely an enthusiast; whereas the man of one pursuit is almost always so. But this enthusiasm is admirably adapted to carry him forward in his career. And as it must, of necessity, limit him to his one object, it enables him to devote all the energies of his mind to his vocation; and when charged only with such sentiments, passions, and knowledge as belong to one department, the soul becomes a mighty engine.

No doubt, theology has been much promoted by Professors who have given their attention not merely to this one object, but even to one view of it. Nothing could be more entire than the devotion of the Puritan Divines to their theories, both doctrinal and ecclesiastical. In their ponderous writings, biblical criticism, metaphysical subtilty, logical acumen, historical research, analogical deduction, the laws of human nature, the experiences of the Church, the nature of God, all are brought with infinite skill and industry to support the theory of the Genevan theology. And equal talent, and singleness of purpose, were displayed to demonstrate the *jure divino* claims of the Genevan platform of Church-government. We do not object to this; it has brought the whole case before us; we know, apparently, as much as we can know respecting the Calvinistic theory in both branches. It is easy for sectarian divines to make their single truth as prominent as the Pyramids on the plains of Egypt; but, in the end, other truths, neglected or repudiated for the time, will claim their place and find their position, as the waters of the estuary, dammed up for a season in some inland nook, rush back again to embrace the parent ocean.

Isolations can only be partially successful, and remain in their pristine state but for a season. This has been the case with Puritanism. It was, in its best days, a majestic structure, and seemed to bid defiance to opposition. Time, however,—with the progress and changes of the human mind; with its studies and discoveries; with its swell of events and developments; with the altered convictions and sentiments of mankind,—has, at length, undermined this noble system. We turn to the

piles of theology created by Puritanism, with a zest and a pleasure which few other writings produce. When we have any longing for the holy, the experimental, the beautiful, the profound, the sublime; when we desire to become better acquainted with the cross of our Lord; with the ways and works of God; with the soul's mysterious walk in the spiritual world; with the exercises of the religious life; with the modes of triumph over our sins and miseries; when we desire to get away from the cares and perplexities of this shadowy state, to converse with heaven and eternal life;—when these emotions are felt, we instinctively turn to these teachers. And the men were as great as their works: their spiritual life was a concentration of the truths they held in their own souls; their devotional exercises embraced the loftiest aspirings after God; their morals were austere and strict; their character as men amongst men, conscientious, firm, courageous, and eminently practical; and their devotion to God seems to have partaken of the nature of an offering, constantly presented on the altar of His will. But Puritanism is gone! Its age has passed away, never to return; and no class of religionists possesses its spirit. In accounting for this, we are willing to adopt the best theory within our power,—that is, the most charitable. May we not, then, consider Puritanism as *basal*,—the foundation-work of God, on which much, though not all, which has followed has been built? In this view of the case, it still occupies a most important position in our existing Christianity. The massive, granite-like character; the logical compactness and skilful bevelling of one doctrine into another; the depth and breadth of their great work; all this, considered as a foundation for succeeding ages, gives to their labours the highest place that can be given to men. Would the Protestant religion have been safe in the perils through which it had to pass, had it not been for Puritanism? Would religious liberty and the rights of conscience have been secured in Great Britain and in America, had not Puritanism uttered its voice? Would science, civilization, commercial enterprise, liberal legislation, and ameliorated laws, have found place in our national state, without Puritanism? Especially, would the Christian cause, in all its departments of home evangelization, educational progress and activity, and missionary enterprise, have been in its present position without Puritanism? One thing always springs from another; and in looking back for the motive power of the ever-progressive advance of Christianity, next to the Bible and to God, no sufficient cause can be found but Puritanism. We do not, by any means, undervalue the truth, as developed at the period of the Reformation; but the Puritans consolidated, amplified, and gave life and vigour to, the doctrines then elicited.

But Puritanism, though, as a foundation-system, admirably

adapted to serve the interests of Christianity, was, nevertheless, much too exclusive. It could not, for this reason, become a universal system. That which is too narrow to become general itself, may, however, put other principles and agencies in motion, by which universal effects may be reached. After securing the conservation of Protestantism in the world by its heroic spirit, is it too much to believe that Puritan piety has unveiled the mysteries of prophecy, and put men to work out the great results predicted; has given a practical turn to those glorious evangelical doctrines, on which they dwell with so intense an interest; has touched the springs of all Christian hearts, and drawn them forth towards their fellow-men in compassion and love? May it not have produced a spirit which has passed beyond its own doctrinal standard, and taken a more benign mould, a more catholic type, and exhibited a less restricted benevolence? This, we may believe, has led its disciples from the dogmas of man to the Word of God; from theories to principles; from metaphysical and logical demarcations to the broad and open evangelical system; and thus from the sectarian to the Christian spirit.

Methodism followed Puritanism, as an earnest religion, some sixty or seventy years after the noble-minded Puritans had quitted the Establishment on St. Bartholomew's Day. But, before this time, a great change had manifested itself in the theology of all religious parties, as well as in the thinkings and manners of the people in general. Calvinism sank to a discount in public estimation; and men in general seemed disposed to adopt a more expanded and charitable system. This process led gradually to the abandonment of evangelical doctrine itself, with the peculiarities which had served as its foundation. Methodism was the re-assertion of these doctrines, dislodged, in the case of the Wesleys, from the narrow foundations on which it had previously rested;—an event which not only inaugurated a revived religious life and feeling, put in motion new agencies to accomplish its purpose, and formed societies to preserve the piety of the disciples thus gained, but introduced what seemed at the time a new theology. This theology was planted on the principle of universality,—a universal love, a universal redemption, a universal visitation of grace to man; in fine, on the principle that the Gospel wears a catholic aspect, and invites to its privileges all the human race.

Mr. Isaac Taylor remarks, that "*Wesleyan Methodism*, so far as it was the product of its founder's mind, and the representation of his individual experience, and the symbolical record of his personal religious history, came forth—A CRAMPED Christianity." Again: "We must think that he, less clearly than many, apprehended the height, and depth, and length, and breadth of the Christian scheme. If he had been less argumen-

tative, and less categorical, and more meditative, he would have set Wesleyan Methodism upon a broader theological basis." We cannot help thinking that Mr. Taylor, in this latter passage, confounds theology with religion; that is, with the religious spirit and religious observances. No doubt, with his views, Mr. Taylor would consider the latter as "*narrow*;" and, in a certain sense, this may be admitted, without any disparagement to Wesley and his opinions. What is distinctive in religion, must always be limited; and as primitive Methodism had this characteristic, aimed but at one object, the salvation of mankind, and neither the establishment of a Church-system, nor the promulgation of a theology, in the proper sense of the term, its oneness of purpose would give it the aspect of a "*cramped*" religion.

Be this as it may, we are at a loss to conceive how a "theological basis" can be "*broader*" than universal. The principle involved in this, it is well known, led to a long and somewhat fierce controversy, the Calvinistic party in Methodism desiring to place it on the old foundation, whilst Wesley, and those who thought with him, as strenuously laboured to free it from the bonds and "*cramped*" action of the dogmas of Geneva. But he did not attempt to establish a theological system scientifically worked out. His theology is found only in his religious teaching; which, as it was designed to be popular, and for the benefit of the common people, did not admit of an elaborate and systematic classification. But the elements of a theology on the broadest basis possible were introduced by the teaching of Mr. Wesley and his coadjutors. The process is the same with every system of science, and even of social and moral principle. Nations remain in a normal state often for many generations; during which period, one truth after another is brought to light and established; and it is not till these have been long tested, that the political philosopher can find a sphere for the exercise of his skill in bringing the undigested mass into form and harmony. This was very much the case with early Methodism. It elicited great truths,—it threw these truths upon the surface of the world,—it employed them in its mission to mankind,—it effected its work of conversion by their faithful enunciation,—and it saw the fruit of the whole in the union and fellowship of a people who heartily embraced them.

The time came, however, when these disjointed and fragmentary elements admitted of a cohesive, expanded, systematic, and scientific arrangement,—and Mr. Watson's Institutes sprang into existence. Will Mr. Taylor say, that the Methodist theology, as here expounded, rests on a "*narrow basis*," or that it stands out as a "*cramped Christianity*?" We observe that this gentleman limits his remarks to the theology of Wesley himself, and does not extend his censure to others; but it must be

recollected that the rudimental principles of whatever has followed, belonged to Wesley's own theology. Mr. Watson did not strike out any new path; did not originate any unrecognised doctrine; did not pretend to found his system on a basis of his own. The simple fact is, that Methodism from the beginning freed itself from the trammels of the old limitations of prescriptive churchism, both in doctrine and ecclesiastics, and sought for itself the open spaces of the entire Christian religion, making the Bible alone its foundation.

We are perfectly aware that Mr. Watson's Institutes are not the *legal* standard of Methodist doctrine, and never can be; yet it may be unhesitatingly asserted that they constitute the *moral and scientific* standard of that doctrine, and that they are worthy of the position which they occupy.

In the mean time, every period will have its type in living men,—the predominant opinions, doctrines, and spirit of the age, embodying themselves in persons, who, by their faith, talents, and susceptibility, become the representatives of the times in which they live. Mr. Watson was one of these men. When found, however, they are not limited to party, to professions, to sects. Each division will have its own chief; who, though not elected to the function, will be supported by the spontaneous suffrages of all who concede to him the acknowledgment of a mental superiority, and consider him the type of their class. Throughout all nature, we find that feeble creations are supported by strong: and in the world of mind we witness the same. Some are too idle to think for themselves, and require others to do their thinking work for them; some are too feeble to exercise their faculties with any thing like energy, and demand the support of stronger minds than their own; some are devoid of all volition in this polemic state, and look out for others to lead them to safe conclusions; some are placed in circumstances in which scholarship is impossible, and they need the help of those more learned than themselves; and, even in religion, the Priest is sought as an essential personage, to settle the faith, the scruples, and the embarrassing doubts, which hang upon the minds of the half-enlightened.

There could be no great men without little men,—the greatness of the one class arising out of the diminutive stature of their fellows, as the altitude of the mountain is measured from the plain below. The approximation of the many to the standard of the leading minds of the day would have the effect of lessening the distance, and bringing about a state of equality. Great men never reckon their equals to be great: there must be some distinction, some elevation above themselves, or this honour is sure to be refused. Men who feel themselves to be on a level with others—whether in mental power, or scientific attainment, or taste and literature, or reason and eloquence, or force and energy—will, of course, never concede the palm to their equals.

The contest of mind with mind never takes place, but between persons who are on a par, or think themselves to be so,—the masses always doing reverence to those above them in mental qualities, so as to limit the strife for superiority finally within a very narrow compass. What occasioned the long gladiatorship betwixt Pitt and Fox in the political arena of the House of Commons?—Merely their equality. Neither could be subdued, because each felt himself equal to the renewal of the combat; after each intellectual struggle, in which the eager listeners on both sides felt it difficult to award the prize of victory, the heroes of debate were constantly prepared to meet each other again, and nothing could decide the question of superiority, or ungrasp the hold of one of these *athletæ* upon the other, but that Power which unlooses all bonds and puts an end to all rivalries.

But in our analysis of the character of Mr. Watson, it is necessary to go into particulars. In mind, as in other things, the universal must be made up from the particulars. The body is one, but consists of many parts; and as to the mind, the perfection of the unit which we call by that name takes place by the harmonious operation of its several powers. In our attempt to arrive at something like a true notion of the mind of Mr. Watson, we may mention the *perceptive or intuitive faculty*. Only, in order to the better understanding of our subject, we may institute a previous inquiry into the nature of the faculty itself, and its relation to the other parts of our intellectual organization. Perhaps the *retina* of the eye, in its connexion with the brain, may present an analogy that may assist us. Light, form, colour, will necessarily produce an effect upon the soul, in agreement with the delicacy, acuteness, and truthfulness, with which they strike the eye. An obliquity, an obtuseness, a distortion of the medium, must have the effect of causing exaggerated or defective impressions; so that the estimate of the judgment will necessarily be influenced by the colouring given to objects by sensation.

This analogy may serve to illustrate the nature of intuition, which stands intimately connected with perception, the latter being defined as the knowledge of outer things gained through the senses. If we add to the *sensorium* the faculty of fancy, from which the *nebulae* of mental creations are continuously arising, it will be seen that the intuitive is an underlying power, connected with all the other faculties, and that all difference or degree of mind must primarily depend upon the comparative perfection in which this is enjoyed.

But in forming an estimate of the ultimate conception of the mind, we must by no means forget the influence of the moral part of our nature, from which our ideas receive a tinge, as surely as from perception itself. If we adopt the division of our nature,—referred to by St. Paul,—of body, soul, and spirit, may we not imagine that the spirit is peculiarly the centre or

determinator of the intuitions which are presented by the soul;—and then, again, that the body in its entire constitution is the organ of the soul? The order, then, of these faculties and sensations on this scheme will stand thus:—The phenomena of the visible universe, in all its forms, have relations to the senses of the body, the one being formed for the other: the senses have a relation to the faculties of the soul: and these, again, stand in the position of communicating *media* with the spirit. Now, the spirit, according to a late eminent philosopher, consists of the understanding and the will; the latter, of course, being accessible to such moral motives as we have mentioned. Thus, then, we have the moral nature as joint arbiter with the understanding over the conceptions of the soul,—or, that part of our organization which lies most directly open to the appeal of the spiritual, the supernatural, the Divine.

If, then, our principle be right, it follows that intuition can hardly be considered the function of a faculty, but the consequence and effect of all the faculties of body, soul, and spirit. In case our intuitions relate to the mind itself, or to the ideal world, or to the spiritual and Divine, or to the moral system, or to the hidden agency at work in nature and in religion; even then, they must be greatly modified by the organization of the entire man. In our present state, we see that the spirit is not alone, it is the companion of the soul: the soul is not alone, but is indissolubly united to the body: the body is not alone; for every breath of heaven, every rising and setting sun, every agent at work in the universe, every object in nature, is constantly pressing upon its nerves, and sending their thrill of pleasure or pain through the whole manhood, to the depths within, where the spirit sits enthroned in intellectual majesty.

In the actual exercise of the intuitive faculty, the *subjective* and the *objective* necessarily meet. Even in the case of those perceptions which the mind exercises upon itself, this must be the case: the mind then becoming the object of its own reflections; in meditating upon its own powers, analysing its own operations, examining its own motives, judgments, and passions, it is itself objective—the subject-object, as the metaphysicians call it. There may be action and reaction in this, as, in fact, there is; but the principle mentioned cannot but be in operation. The invisible, the spiritual, the Divine, the ideal, is subject to the same law. God is an objective Being, to the mind exercising itself to comprehend His nature, to form an idea of His perfections, to trace His ways and will, to apprehend His grace and love. The acts of trust and adoration are of the same nature, inasmuch as faith must always have an object. The several elements implied in the notion of religion, so subtle, so ethereal, so impalpable to the senses, are all objective truths and agencies which the mind has to apprehend as it best

can. The eternal and immortal—so important to us—is also in the distance : we may have affinities of feeling and of nature with these glorious perspectives, but still they belong to the objective. The independent action of the intuitive power is a pure impossibility ; we might as well think of sensation without the objects of sense, as imagine that intuition can exist at all without the influence of objective nature and truth to put it in motion.

Whatever intuition may be in itself, it is generally thought to be the element of the philosophical character. Was Mr. Watson a philosopher? We hardly know how to answer this question, because of its indefinite nature. There are so many philosophies in the world, that when a person is said to be a philosopher, it is necessary to inquire what kind of philosophy is meant. A general philosopher is usually a muddy, dreamy gentleman, who lives in a murky, unreal region ; and, filling this region with the *genii* of his own fancy, considers these as the creations of his philosophy, whereas they are merely the indistinct conceptions of a diseased imagination. There is, however, a real philosophy, and, consequently, such a thing as a philosophic mind. Theology has its philosophy, as well as other departments ; and no one can be a great theologian, who is not a great philosopher. But theology is a mixed science, embracing many elements ; so that the conceptions of the divine may not be presented in separate analysis, as is the case with the professors of particular branches of knowledge ; and, consequently, his philosophy can only be found in his general teaching. A writer on natural religion, if competent to his task, as Howe, Butler, Paley, will, we presume, be ranked among philosophers. Men who have composed treatises on the philosophical method, as Locke, Stewart, Reid, Hamilton, Morell, and hosts of German authors, will have this honour accorded them. Others who have dealt with the question of ethics, as Plato, Aristotle, and the Christian writers, will also be considered philosophers. Why, then, should not the theologian, who teaches all this in his constant ministrations,—or, if he embody his opinions in a general system of theology,—why, we ask, should he not be ranked among the fraternity? Now it so happens that Mr. Watson is the author of “*Theological Institutes*” of great value and importance ; and although he has not written separate treatises on the subjects enumerated, they all have a place therein. Do we find on these points a vein of philosophy running through this work? or is it a production of dry detail and common-place? The answer is easy. The mind of the writer grapples with them all, with a masterly power ; a vast amount of original matter is introduced on every question ; new thoughts, new arguments, new deductions are found ; and the whole is given to the world in a style of perspicuity, beauty, and freshness, such as is rarely met with. It

is true that this work follows in the track of our best divines; but will it be said that novelty is essential to philosophy? And is there no philosophy in the productions of the elder writers? Are questionable theories the test of the intuitive power? Must some new deity be found, some new law of mind, some novel code of morals be propounded, some unrevealed spiritual world laid open, some region discovered, peopled with creations of spiritual essences, unthought of before? Must these things attest the claim of a writer to the intuitive faculty, and to the philosophy which is supposed to spring therefrom? We are sure that Mr. Watson would have repudiated any claim to intuition on such conditions as these; and we now repudiate it for him, for ourselves, and for all our friends.

But, in truth, the old landmarks are far enough apart to allow the soul of the most gifted free scope; the field of revelation is sufficiently ample for the range of the most elevated genius; the realms of nature are deep and wide enough to find occupation for the studies of the most learned and industrious; and the spiritual and moral system, as opened to us by inspiration, is equal to the loftiest aspirings and conceptions of the human intellect. If the modern notion of intuition means an independent power of the mind by which things sacred, true, and effective, can be apprehended, without the teaching of the Bible, and the influence of the Holy Spirit; a central power from which a true religion, a true morality, a true social state, can be woven as the silk-worm weaves its web from itself,—then we entirely repudiate this notion, and deny its sufficiency: but if the range of the intuitive power is admitted to be the "*things which are freely given to us of God,*" then we adopt the theory, and believe that Mr. Watson possessed this intuitive and philosophical power in a very eminent degree.

He was distinguished, indeed, in nothing more than an entire deference to the teachings of the word of God. The Bible constituted the basis of all his theological opinions. He would have been afraid of any sentiment not in entire harmony with the sacred oracles. He was decidedly a man of one book, in all that related to "the faith." Did he not find scope for his intuitions here? Were his notions of sacred things jejune, little, and unphilosophical? If we rightly apprehend him, his mind was kept in constant contact with revelation; his eye ranged in its ample fields of light; his soul delighted to expatiate in these regions of unsullied truth and beauty; his moral sense was constantly refreshed and invigorated at this fountain; and all his powers were preserved in intense activity by the genial influences of the great and holy subjects thus brought before his attention. And why may not the intuitive power employ itself in fathoming the depths of things revealed, as well as in attempting to fathom the depths of things unrevealed! Why may not this faculty

work from itself upwards towards God by the light and grace of the Christian dispensation, as well as attempt this task without it? Why may not intuition become the centre of a faith which shall collect around itself the elements, the blessings, and the holiness of true religion, as well as involve itself in a web of unreal sophisms? What authority, even to itself, can there be in the intuitions of the mind, unsupported by revelation? Is it to be understood that we have in this a new infallibility,—that intuition is a Pope,—that man is a God to himself?

We cannot in this place forget an old-fashioned doctrine,—that of the fall of man, and its result, original sin. Has original sin corrupted everything in man, save his intuitive power? This is unintelligible. In point of fact, this—we believe—German dogma is only a new phase of a very old opinion. In all periods of Christianity there have been men who have failed to apprehend and acknowledge the teaching of Holy Scripture, on the subject of the fallen state of our nature. The Gnostic and Pelagian sects of ancient times were of this class; many of the Roman theologians and schoolmen, and the extreme Arminians of this country, adopted similar sentiments; the object all along being to discover a power in human nature, unassisted by grace, to recover itself from the degradation of ignorance and sin. In some of these theories, natural religion, as a whole, has been relied upon; in others, the will has been considered as the unfallen power, and by its exertions every thing was to be set right; in others, the conscience has been the demi-god of the soul, with the power of independent action; and now, intuition is the substitute of all the rest; and man, by its means, is supposed to be capable of rectifying his moral course when wrong, and working out for himself a sort of human salvation, embracing the knowledge of God, the line of his own being, the spiritual world, and all the great interests of religion. The theory seems to be, that all this is from within; that the Holy Spirit has nothing to do with the process, but that the mind does everything for itself; that *objective* truth has the smallest share possible in forming the character to piety and virtue, the intuitive faculty supplying the place of God's revelation; that, in fine, this central power of the soul, like the chrysalis, throws off the incrustations of error, darkness, and vice, one after another, till the open firmament is gained, and the perfectly fledged soul wings her way through the spaces of light and wisdom, as the eagle cuts the air.

In the mean time, may we ask,—Is intuition a power or faculty in the soul? If so, then how comes it to pass that this intuitive faculty, or whatever it may be considered to be, does not share in the catastrophe of the fall,—that in the midst of the general ruin it continues in unimpaired perfection? Or, if it is said that the intuitive power does not belong to the indivi-

dualism of the man, but is an element, an atmosphere, a halo, distinct from this individualism,—a sort of oil supplying the lamp with light,—then we ask, What is meant by this? Here we get back again to our starting-point; we have been moving in a circle; and, after all, on this principle, intuition is, in effect, the super-sensual; that is, as we should say, the Spirit of God, giving instruction and power to the spirit of man.

It is thought that the intuitive and philosophic mind is creative; and that those who fail to create, have no claim to this distinction. But, properly speaking, there can be no such thing as human creations. The poetic art is generally considered as such; this is a mistake,—the inspiration of the poet is an intuition, but cannot be said to be creative, in any other way than mechanical genius. The man who made the steam-engine was a poet in his way: he gave life, embodiment, motion, to dead masses of material, on the ideal of his intuitions. The poet does the same. The "*Paradise Lost*" is an epic castle,—if the reader will,—an epic world; but the material was prepared by God,—some on earth, some in heaven, and some in hell. It turns out, in reality, that all fictitious things presented in the works of the most imaginative writers, consist of things that are known,—just as the strange figures found by Layard, in his interesting researches at Nineveh, are nothing but monsters made out of the union of several animals, so as to form one fanciful nondescript. In like manner, a close analysis of the imagery of Milton will be found to partake of this character: his most sublime, beautiful, or frightful pictures, are made up of a skilful grouping of nature, or a horrible combination of elements and agents, all of which are known, but thrown by his masterly hand into new positions.

Things sacred do not admit of this fanciful distortion. The religious mind feels itself impelled to keep within the limits of the truth, as taught in Holy Scripture; so that, in reality, all that is left for intuition to do, is to follow out this radiant path as far as it can be followed. Is not this sufficient? In fact, does not this path lead infinitely farther than any one can go by his unaided intuitions? But let us not be mistaken in this. We do not refer merely to the letter of the word of God, but to those things which stand out in these wonderful discoveries.

The Divine revelations do not terminate in themselves; they are not the *objective* of the Christian faith, but the *media*, the light, through which objects are seen. The truth taught us respecting man himself, as a starting-point, leads us to an interminable destiny. Is there nothing in man's spiritual and moral life, as revealed in the word of God, to engage intuition, as well as faith? Again, there is God himself,—God in his being,—in his providence, or relation to man,—in his kingdom,—in his inscrutable decrees and will,—and in the whole unfolding of his perfections. Can the full powers of the mind fail to be

called forth in grappling with this sublime idea,—or could any unassisted exertion of the intuition have attained to it? And the light of revelation places the world itself in a peculiar aspect; so that it appears not merely as a natural, nor yet as a moral, but as a Divine, system; inasmuch as it is made the theatre of the greatest and most glorious interposition of which we can have any conception. Now let us look at the difference between things considered through the medium of philosophy alone, and of philosophy assisted by revelation. In the one case, human nature is a riddle; the nations of the earth appear the slaves of despotism, of cruel laws, of economical schemes,—as if made for tariffs,—as rushing without guidance upon some fearful destiny: in the other, it appears the subject of God, directed by laws equally wise and good, and as approaching the goal of a happy emancipation and redemption. In the one case, a great system is seen to be at work without meaning, without any adequate result,—the world seems an ocean, affording no landing-place for the millions embarked upon it: in the other, by the simple connexion of eternity with time, of heaven with earth, a bright shore is seen in the distance, satisfying desire and producing content. The darkness thrown over all things is, without Redemption, impervious to philosophy; the light imparted by this great fact penetrates every where. Nothing can be more alien to the truth, than the notion that the spiritual mind is incapacitated to form an enlightened and philosophical opinion of things around. The fact is, that all that is beautiful, true, great, moral, in the human systems of our day, has been borrowed from Christianity; and the puerile, the confused, the abortive, is to be placed to the account of unaided intuition. In the separation of the one from the other, the pure gold would be found to belong to Christian, the refuse to infidel, philosophy. Let the latter take what is its own; we grudge not the treasure, but claim for ourselves and our cause all that is true and Divine.

Mr. Watson, then, was a *Christian* philosopher. His taste, and, doubtless, his inclinations, led him to go over the whole ground of Christianity. We read the productions of his profound and sanctified genius with the consciousness that we are following a great mind through all the regions open to human observation. There is a difference, as we have seen, between theology and religion. Theology is a science; religion, a spirit. The mere theologian may prosecute his task in a logical and exact manner, but the system he erects may be as dry and lifeless as a statue or a skeleton. Not so with the religious theologian. His science may be as complete and elaborate as that of the other, but it will be kindled with the warmth and animation of his better feelings. Mr. Watson is a theologian of the latter class. Though exact and scientific, argumentative and profound, yet every where you meet with his spirit, and are conscious that his is not

a mere professional performance, but that he is unveiling the whole with his spiritual perceptions. These invariably carry him as far as revelation leads, and there he stops. But he saw more in revelation than the mere theologian can do ; and this is invariably the case with the religious mind. His practice is to follow every doctrine to the utmost verge of demonstration, and to clothe it in the clearest language ; never seeking to establish one position to the neglect of another. Hence the admirable harmony of his system. Truth, in his hands, is a beautiful whole,—a stately and exquisitely-proportionate temple. He is equally distinguished for the breadth of his views, the profundity of his thoughts, the strength and clearness of his reasoning, the calm but vigorous spirit of his conceptions, the brilliance of his imagination, and the piety of his aim.

There has been much discussion as to the relation of religion to science in general, to nature, and to politics. In the midst of the corruptions of Christianity by science, “falsely so-called,” caution has been commendable. In the presence of a catastrophe so fearful as a fallen Church,—a catastrophe originally owing to the influence of heathen philosophy and idolatry, which introduced the sublimations of Gnosticism, sullied the lustre of Christian faith, bedizened the Church in meretricious finery, and made the priesthood the officials of unmeaning and idolatrous ceremonies,—it behoves Protestant Christianity to be on its guard. But there surely must be a right use of the philosophy of the world, the laws of nature, and the political developments of nations. So, we presume, Mr. Watson thought ; for his productions are enriched from all these quarters. It may, perhaps, be thought that one who wrote so much on one subject, must have spent his life in the study of it alone. This is a very erroneous conclusion. He was conversant with every thing. Politics, the social state of nations, the doctrines of economists, the progress of trade, the balance of interests, alike engaged his attention. On some of these subjects he wrote copiously and ardently, at the very time that he was preparing his most recondite theological works. His opinions quadrated with those of his country ; he felt as a true patriot during the eventful struggles of the nation and the world for existence and freedom ; and he contributed his *quota* of support to the cause of enlaved and suffering humanity. Besides this, he was occupied with general literature, the arts, the advancement of science, and cognate subjects. And what is there in the cross of our Lord to prevent converse with the beautiful and sublime in nature ? Must not the vast realms of God presented to our view, seem more lovely, more nearly perfect, from this point ? Must not the religious sentiment throw its own light and fragrance over all things, making the believing soul to join in every melody, and to rejoice in every form of beauty ? What, again, is there in art and metaphysical philo-

sophy to injure the work of revealed grace, while the Bible is pressed to the bosom, and a firm hold maintained by faith on its leading truths? And what of political and economical truth? So long as the kingdom of God is possessed, and the higher interests of the spiritual world preserve their supremacy, it seems that these questions can do no harm. The only danger is in the desertion of evangelical ground.

The theology of Mr. Watson, so far from being weakened or diluted, is rendered firmer and stronger, by the rich infusion of all kinds of knowledge, which he brings to bear upon its doctrines. Every thing in nature and science must, rightly considered, be the exponent of theological truth. The book is the same through all ages, but its illustrative evidence is always increasing; the text remains, but the commentary accumulates; fundamental principles remain, but their development is constantly going on. It is somewhat singular that the sceptical tribe, and some of the most sincere friends of Christianity, have laboured together to exclude religion from every department of science, and to limit it to a conventional and narrow system. We can account for this proceeding in the infidel: in the Christian it seems a strange oversight. Do not all things emanate from the same Being? Are not all events and circumstances under the control of the same Providence? Is not the will and sovereignty of God a living power? Is not the equity of Deity an eternal equilibrium, a balancing influence over the discordant elements of the universe? Do not the doctrines of revelation relate to God, on the one part, and to the world, on the other? Are not these doctrines designed to produce certain moral results, to be tested by facts? Is not the prophetic volume always evolving its truths, and becoming manifest by events? Is not the kingdom of God on earth, though spiritual in its nature, yet visible and palpable in its growth? The answer to each of these questions will show that religion embraces all things, and must be increasingly illustrated and confirmed by the progress of events. We would speak in particular of the connexion of Christianity with politics. Political societies may pass by the religious element, and strive to build their fabrics without it,—but this course of action soon fails. All history is a faithful, but sad, comment on the miserable consequences of banishing religion from the government of the world. How often do we hear, in our House of Commons, the assertion that *that* is not a proper arena for the introduction of religious questions! But there is a religion above party-spirit and sectarian level; a religion of truth, equity, honour, wisdom, love, which constitute the peculiarities of Christianity. The history of nations is a progressive illustration of the truth of the Bible, not only in its predictions and narrations, but in its imperishable moral sentiment and teaching. In these respects it is the law of society, never to be transgressed with impunity. Pride,

ambition, hypocrisy, cunning, states'-craft,—the idea that man is made for government, and not government for man, leading to the practical deification of the heads of states,—war, devastation, pomp, idleness, luxury, and the unbounded gratification of the passions, at the expense of the blood and labour of the millions ; and then the entire demoralization of the people in the midst of its splendours and crimes ;—these are among the lessons of history ; these have, again and again, majestically illustrated the moral truth of the word of God.

But in a direct manner, as well as incidentally, is history the expositor of Scripture. It is Christianity that is the peculiar subject of prophecy,—Christianity in its corruptions as well as its triumphs. The rise of the former, their progress, the dominance of the “man of sin,” the cruelties of this anti-Christian power, under the guise of religion itself, the slavery of the nations, the overthrow of this system, and, finally, the triumph of the Gospel,—these things are specially the subjects of Divine prediction. The great truths of Christianity come out in the history of these events. Violation of the moral system, established by the Deity, in the name of the Church, is seen to have the same result as in secular states. Wrong can no more be sanctified by religious ceremonies than by temporal power. Iniquity, chicanery, hypocrisy, profligacy, is as hollow in the Church state as in the political state. The fabric built by fraud has no more foundation to rest upon, because spiritual, than if it were secular. In the presence of God, and the immutability of his greatness and equity, the daring outrages committed against his holy laws, and the principles of his kingdom, in the name of religion, are no more safe from retribution, than similar crimes committed in the name of Atheism. The injuries inflicted upon bleeding humanity, the fetters placed upon the limbs and faculties of mankind by priestly despotism, the imposition of a burdensome and costly yoke, the drain upon the property and resources of nations to pamper a luxurious and sensual caste,—all the wrongs done to the human race are done to God, inasmuch as the rights violated are rights bestowed by him ; and the vengeance of mankind on their oppressors is the vengeance of God, asserted in his offspring by the exercise of those instincts of right which he has planted in their hearts.

Now, for the theologian to neglect all that may be gathered from these sources, is to shut out the most impressive, if not the most fundamental, knowledge belonging to his task. We distinguish between fundamental and illustrative truth. The former is always the same ; and it is impossible to construct a theological system, but from fundamental doctrines. But it is clear that a body of divinity, formed upon the principle of a mere statement of doctrines, would be as dry as a book of law ; whereas, if enriched with the illustrations belonging to its several departments,

whether from nature, from science, from history, from the social state, or from the developments of Churchism, it will be a body instinct with life. This is the excellency of Mr. Watson's "Institutes." The advanced knowledge of the age has been blended with the work, and few men have known better how to avail themselves of these stores. The breadth of his own views, and the strength of his genius, not only gave him a very sufficient ideal to serve as a basis, but led him to see how the superstructure should be built; whilst his accumulations of knowledge, skilfully adapted, and his untiring activity, enabled him to finish what he undertook.

It is not our intention to examine all the teaching of this work. The question for our consideration is, whether the work is true to the primary idea of the author, namely, Evangelical Arminianism. It is easy to see that this idea, if consistently ramified through an entire system of theology, must not only place that theology on a basis of its own, but present it, under peculiar aspects, in its more elaborate and finished details. The argument must affect every thing. The Divine Nature itself,—in purpose, in counsel, in predestination, in grace, and love;—the redemption, if not in the person of the Redeemer, yet in the extent and objects of his atonement;—the spiritual kingdom, together with the functions and influences of the Holy Ghost;—all these questions, as well as the modes of interpretation of the Sacred Oracles, must necessarily be profoundly affected by the first idea. We do not stop to settle the moot point, whether this idea itself is true or false; but we ask, whether Mr. Watson has succeeded in building a massive and finished fabric on the foundation chosen? We are making no novel statement, nor do we desert the province of the reviewer for that of the panegyrist, in expressing our conviction, that, in harmony, in coherence and unity of facts, this book is complete; and proves demonstratively that an Evangelical Arminianism is not only a possible system, but also a true theory.

We have much doubt, indeed, whether the Christian economy, considered as a whole, can be reduced to the conditions of a science, properly so called; it seems to us that the kingdom of God is too ethereal, too complicated, too sublime, too sovereign,—to allow of all its elements and agencies being so defined. But the standpoint of Mr. Watson is *UNIVERSALITY*, which seems to be the only principle of interpretation that admits of every species, form, and mode of truth.

In avoiding the shoals and rocks of one extreme, there can be no necessity to rush into another. The rejection of the Supralapsarian scheme can surely be no good reason for adopting the Pelagian or the Socinian heresy. This has often been done to the detriment of religion, and the pestiferous extension of fatal error. We believe, however, that in these "Institutes" this

was perfectly avoided. The universal love and grace of God is seen to be consistent with all we know of his perfections, with the language of Scripture respecting the redemption of Christ, and with the doctrines and promises of the Gospel, as well as with the phenomena of human nature.

But it must be seen that none but a mind of peculiar intellectual power could bring into harmony all the elements of universal truth, so as to present to the student a consistent and luminous system. Can the word of God be rightly studied, or properly understood, unless this catholic principle be adopted? As it strikes us, the great bane of religion, even amongst its true disciples, has been a partial and sectarian belief of the truth. By the process of textuary isolation, we find that, in all ages, classes of men have held to a hot-house Christianity, and have grown up sickly plants; whereas, had they placed themselves under the teaching and influence of the entire Bible, their mental and spiritual growth would have been very different. The mind of Mr. Watson sought the open spaces of the kingdom of God; yet not as a vagrant, rambling at hazard, but to meditate upon the beauties and glories of the entire scene, to imbibe the spirit of the universal Gospel, to embody all its truths, hopes, and joys; and the productions of his pen are the result of the faith wrought in his own mind. We only know of one Christian divine who seems to us to be in any way like or equal to Mr. Watson, in grasp of mind, in the power of apprehending and bringing to a focus the greatest truths of Christianity,—in penetrating into the hidden and Divine,—in his lofty flight into the purest heaven, sunshine, and glory of the kingdom of God, so as to be able to reflect in his teaching the great things he had seen and heard;—we say, we only know one spirit like, or equal to, Mr. Watson,—John Howe. The "Institutes" are imbued with all this. As the palace or the temple is the architect;—that is, his mind, his ideal, his science, in material shape;—so these works are Mr. Watson;—his faith, his spirit, his conceptions, thrown into the form of a theological system.

These "Institutes" are not dogmatic in their spirit. We presume that the Protestant principle which lay at the foundation of the Reformation, namely, the right of private judgment and free inquiry, had its weight with Mr. Watson: for we find, he reverts in every statement of truth to the obligation of furnishing proof. Nothing is assumed, or made to rest on the authority of the Church, or of "catholic truth." Creeds and Confessions, if appealed to at all, are appealed to only as human productions; and every doctrine is supported by evidence, the word of God being always the test.

In offering this evidence in support of the Christian system, Mr. Watson found much prepared to his hands. In the nature

of things, the demonstrations of truth, are constantly increasing ; the assaults of its enemies themselves, by their refutation and defeat on the part of its supporters, tending to this result. The arguments in support of Christianity may be considered, in some of their aspects, as exhausted ; and all that remains to be done is the selection of the most conclusive, the condensation of the vast stores of learning found on the subject, and then a luminous arrangement. In all this Mr. Watson was eminently successful. The difference betwixt the technical and commonplace mind and that of the philosopher, is as much perceived in the use made of the labours of others, as in the production of original matter. In the one case these productions stand alone as disjointed fragments ; in the other they cohere with the entire argument and design : in the hands of the mere compiler, quotations are without life, as branches separated from the tree ; in the hands of a master, they are brought into the sphere of his own mind, and blend with his thinkings and feelings. With ordinary writers, employing the learning and reasonings of others, it is seen that the level is lost ; the citation being in ridiculous contrast to the lucubrations of the author himself, as if he were ambitious to exhibit the meanness of his own performance by flashes of dazzling splendour from a foreign source. These contrasts are never seen in Mr. Watson ; and though he quotes largely from the highest authorities, it is never perceived that his book is less his own on that account,—that his own reasonings fall short of others',—that he moves on lower ground, or is only able to pace the field of universal truth as he is led by a borrowed lamp. In expressing his opinion of these "Institutes," an eminent Clergyman once remarked to the present writer, that they "contained all the learning in the world." Without subscribing to this observation in all its breadth, we may venture upon the opinion, that they contain all the research, argument, criticism, evidence, essential to the undertaking, and stand, and will long stand, a luminous proof of the vastness of the genius of the author.

The key to the principle adopted by Mr. Watson, as the basis of his theology, is found in a series of arguments to show the insufficiency of reason in matters of revelation. We shall refer to this subject again ; and it is rather as a specimen of the manner in which he treats his subject, than as a full elucidation of his principle, that we give the following extracts :—

"The opinion that sufficient notices of the will and purposes of God, with respect to man, may be collected by rational induction from his works and government, attributes too much to the power of human reason, and the circumstances under which, in that case, it must necessarily commence its exercises. Human reason must be taken, as it is, in fact, a weak and erring faculty, and as subject to have its operations suspended or disturbed by the influence of vicious principles and

attachment to earthly things ; neither of which can be denied, however differently they may be accounted for.

"It is another consideration of importance, that the exercise of reason is limited by our knowledge ; in other words, that it must be furnished with subjects which it may arrange, compare, and judge ; for, beyond what it clearly conceives, its power does not extend.

"This (the descent of all religious truth from God) is rendered the more probable, inasmuch as the great principles of all religion,—the existence of God, the immortality of the human soul, the accountableness of man, the good or evil quality of the most important moral actions,—have, by none who have written upon them, by no legislator, poet, or sage of antiquity, however ancient, been represented as discoveries made by them in the cause of rational investigation ; but they are spoken of as things commonly known among men, which they propose to defend, explain, demonstrate, or deny, according to their respective opinions.

"If such facts prove the weakness and insufficiency of human reason, those just thoughts respecting God—his providence, his will, and a future state—which sometimes appear in the writings of the wisest Heathens, are not, however, on the contrary, to be attributed to its strength. Even if they were, the argument for the sufficiency of reason would not be much advanced by them ; for the case would then be, that the reason, which occasionally reached the truth, had not firmness to hold it fast ; and the pinion which sometimes bore the mind into fields of light, could not maintain it in its elevation. But it cannot even be admitted that the truth, which occasionally breaks forth in their works, was the discovery of their own powers.

"The subject to be examined is, the truth of a religious and moral system professing to be from God..... We are not, in the first instance, to examine the doctrine, in order to determine, from our own opinion, of its excellence, whether it be from God ; (for to this, if we need a revelation, we are incompetent ;) but we are to inquire into the credentials of the messengers, in quest of sufficient proof that God hath spoken to mankind by them..... If that be satisfactory, the case is determined, whether the doctrine be pleasing or displeasing to us. If sufficient evidence be not afforded, we are at liberty to receive or reject the whole or any part of it, as it may appear to us to be worthy of our regard ; for it then stands on the same ground as any other merely human opinion. We are, however, to be aware that this is done upon a very solemn responsibility.

"The proof of the Divine authority of a system of doctrine, communicated under such circumstances, is addressed to our reason ; or, in other words, it must be reasonable proof that in this revelation there has been a direct and special interposition of God.

"On the principles, therefore, already laid down, that, though the rational evidence of a doctrine lies in the doctrine itself, the rational proof of the Divine authority of the doctrine must be external to the doctrine ; and that miracles and prophecy are appropriate and satisfactory attestations of such an authority whenever they occur ; the use of human reason in this inquiry is apparent.

"Another distinction necessary to be made, in order to the right application of this rule, is, that a doctrine which cannot be proved by

our reason is not, on that account, contrary to the nature of things, or even to reason itself. This is sometimes lost sight of, and that which has no evidence from our reason is hastily presumed to be against it. Now rational investigation is a process by which we inquire into the truth or falsehood of any thing, by comparing it with what we intuitively, or by experience, know to be true, or with that which we have formerly demonstrated to be so. 'By reason,' says Cicero, 'we are led from things apprehended and understood to things not apprehended.' Rational proof, therefore, consists in the agreement of that which is compared with truths already supposed to be established. But there may be truths, the evidence of which can only be fully known to the Divine mind, and on which the reasoning or comparing faculty of an inferior nature cannot, from their vastness or obscurity, be employed; and such truths there must be in any revelation which treats of the nature and perfections of God, his will as to us, and the relations we stand in to him and to another state of being.....If our natural faculties could have reached the truths thus exhibited to us, there would have been no need of supernatural instruction; and if it has been vouchsafed, the degree depends upon the Divine will, and he may give a doctrine with its reasons, or without them; for surely the ground of our obligation to believe his word, does not rest upon our perception of the *rationale* of the truths he requires us to believe.....This, surely, is conceivable; for that is similar occurs among men themselves. The conclusions of Sir Isaac Newton have been understood and admitted by thousands whose minds were utterly incapable of pursuing the processes of calculation and reasoning by which they were reached, and who have never, in fact, become acquainted with them. They have been received upon the authority of a superior mind; and, if he were right, his followers are right, though their reason, properly speaking, has had no share in illuminating them. In like manner, there are truths in the revelations, the evidence of which is withheld; but they are received under his authority; and as the eternal reason of God is absolutely perfect, the doctrines we thus receive are true, though neither in this nor in another world should we be able, for want of evidence, to make them subjects of rational investigation, and ourselves work out the proof."

The reasoning powers of Mr. Watson came out in their greatest strength in his polemic writings. These are pretty numerous, consisting of his "Letter to Roscoe," his "Letter on the Eternal Sonship," his "Defence of the Methodist Missions," his "Observations on Southey's Life of Wesley," his "Letters on the Witness of the Spirit," and of many Reviews. They present an almost endless variety of topics, requiring a corresponding extent of information and intelligence. And in this mood, Mr. Watson appears to great advantage. His philosophical and penetrating genius enabled him to see all sides of every subject, whilst, at the same time, his general knowledge threw a beautiful light upon the questions discussed. As a polemic, he is fair, but sometimes severe; his mode of warfare is hardly ever defensive, and usually his artillery is sufficiently heavy: not content with beating an enemy, he seems to consider his work as incomplete, unless he crush man and argument together. We have some-

times shuddered at some of these thunder-claps, these bursts of withering flame, this rolling lava, carrying destruction before it; and have involuntarily wished that arguments so consummate had been left to their own bright demonstration, without these finishing strokes of devouring rebuke. But even in this we have a noble trait developed. Mr. Watson never attempted to crush a little man. To persons of simple mind, unpretending bearing, and honesty of purpose, he always manifested kindness, both in personal intercourse and in his writings. But when what he considered grave and serious error was maintained by those whose position seemed likely to give currency to their opinions, against them he bent all his powers; and, it must be confessed, showed them but slight mercy. Milton was a polemic as well as a poet, and, of all the writing in the English language, the polemics of Milton are perhaps the most eloquent, and, at the same time, the most sarcastic, biting, and abusive; the splendours of his vituperation being equal in their way to the splendours of "*Paradise Lost*."

But with or without severity, the reasoning powers of Mr. Watson, as seen in his writings, must be acknowledged to be of the first order. There is, indeed, little or nothing of the technicality of logic in these productions. That fine art had, no doubt, been cultivated by him; but the reasoning faculty is, in the noblest natures, independent of the art. This, too, seems to be intuitive; with perfect ease these natural logicians reduce every thing brought before them to the test of reason. But here again we encounter a difficulty,—except as relieved by Mr. Watson's principles in the above extracts. What are the true *data* of reasoning? Are they the innate power of this faculty itself? Is reason the ultimate judge of truth and error, good and evil? or is it under an obligation of deferring to a law beyond itself,—in fine, to the Word of God? This, we conceive, is a primary question in all such considerations as this. We confess that we cannot perceive that a logic, working on merely human conceptions, can possibly be either true or adequate, as respects the Divine. Reason can go no further than the intuitions of the mind; but the mind cannot apprehend the infinite, the spiritual, the Divine, by its own unaided powers. Conclusions argued from human nature must be in agreement with this nature; they cannot rise above it, they cannot go beyond it. Hence a ratiocination constructed upon this principle must, it seems, exclude the Divine. Reason may judge of the evidences of the supernatural, but the supernatural itself cannot be apprehended by reason. Reason may analyse its own powers as an instrument, may scrutinize the phenomena of nature, may, moreover, judge of morals, determine many of the questions of right and wrong, justice and injustice, truth and falsehood; but can it pass into the invisible state, and judge God? All the things enumerated above may

belong to a natural logic, and, passing through this crucible, their truth may be eliminated: but the being of God, the manner of the Divine Existence as in a Trinity of Persons; the agencies at work in the Divine government; the conditions of religion, and religion itself; the future destinies of man, and the invisible state,—cannot be conceived by reason alone: they belong to the supernatural, and the idea of the supernatural excludes them from this sphere. It is only on the hypothesis that these things are adopted as absolute, that what lies beyond them has been considered as untrue.

It is undeniable that reason can work only on the material of its own conceptions;—that is, on that collected from experience, or from the visible phenomena around. But as all that we have mentioned belongs to things natural, does it not follow that things supernatural must lie beyond its sphere? Human nature is uniform; the same essentially in all ages and amongst all people: the savage is a man, and the most civilized is only a man: the faculties are the same; the material for these faculties to work upon, the same: and yet we find that instead of this reason operating with anything like the same results, the differences amongst men are infinite. What can occasion this, when in their nature all are alike? It is certain the cause lies in the difference of the position of the parties as to supernatural assistance. Historically it is found that the peoples living nearest the primitive stock of the human family, as to time and location, were the most intelligent. It is equally found that when peoples have lost their intelligence, whether through the lapse of ages, or the wearing away of their divine traditions, science, laws, and religious beliefs, they have sunk into barbarism; and that—what is material in this case—they have never, as far as we know, recovered their lost standing-point. How is this? Reason, it is thought by some, is self-existent in the soul; its basis so deep and broad as to be beyond the accidents of time and events; its underlying power indestructible and immutable; its conceptions certain, and sufficient for all the purposes of knowledge and faith. In the estimation of philosophers holding these sentiments, faith must pervert reason, as all alien elements destroy health. Well, in the great majority of cases, this perversion has not taken place. Reason exists in all its unsophisticated purity amongst vast tribes of men,—it is alone, it is free to do its best: neither Priests nor Bible are found amongst them, to mutilate reason. How is it, then, that these people do not rise from their prostrate state, assert their dignity, clothe themselves in the bright robes of intelligence, work themselves up into the open and spacious fields of knowledge and virtue; and, as there is a God, apprehend Him; as there is such a reality as religion, attain it; as there is a bright immortality, prepare for it? Facts are the best test of theories; induction is the best form of demonstration on

these questions, as well as on those of physics; "the tree is known by its fruits," in the region of mind, as well as in the region of faith; and the long-continued and unbroken barbarism of tribes and nations, who, having sunk into mental imbecility, never rise again by any reason of their own, fully shows the insufficiency of this faculty when left to itself.

Looking, then, at the question of reason in any light, we arrive at the same conclusions. No doubt this faculty is found differently both among various peoples, and in individuals of the same race. But since all men are endowed with understanding, we are warranted in our conclusion, that unassisted reason cannot "find out God" in any manner which can be sufficient for his worship; find out religion, so as to attain its knowledge and enjoyment; find out the true moral system, so as to embody it in real life; or find out immortality, so as to be impressed with its grandeur, and be prepared for its bliss. If reason could, working from its own centre, raise the individual to the elevation of intelligence and goodness, why, we may ask, is not this process constantly going on? Reason in all ages has busied itself with things sacred; religion has engaged its attention as intensely as philosophy; its resources have been tasked to the full; and all the aids of external nature have been brought into requisition; and yet the whole has issued invariably in the adoption of a grovelling system of idolatry. The sages of Greece have confessed that they received the principles and elements of whatever was true in their philosophy from foreign sources; so that, although their systems possessed some radiations of light, yet, according to their own confessions, this was derived, not from their own reason, but from the traditions they had picked up. Do we decry reason by these remarks? Because we refuse to make reason God, shall we be accused of undervaluing it? Inasmuch as we believe it incompetent to the task of producing mental miracles, does it follow that it can produce nothing? Reason is the great distinction of man; the lamp of the soul; the centre of mental power; the faculty recipient of truth; the organ of intelligent volition; the eye by which our race ponder the path of life; and the instrument of all just conceptions of religion itself.

To deify reason has been the fault of what are considered philosophical Christians. In this process a distinction has been made betwixt reason and faith,—the one being represented as inimical to the other. Fairly examined, it will appear that faith is the highest reason,—reason ennobled by the sublimest truth. Faith is perception, persuasion, consciousness, or assurance, all combined. In case religion had no better evidence to rest upon than any other system, it must be more exalting and purifying, inasmuch as it is in itself more influential and sublime. The mind is affected by the objects with which it is brought into contact;

and since Christianity is the greatest, as well as the most holy and benevolent, objective truth, of which we can have any knowledge, its effects upon the mind must harmonize with its own nature. The Deity of Christianity is not only revealed as Almighty; He is also revealed as the God of love, as the Father of the human race, as the Fountain of grace, as the Hearer of prayer, as pardoning sin, and as admitting to his own communion. In the midst of the mysteries of redemption, we are made acquainted with the person of Christ,—the embodiment of all virtue, goodness, and mercy; with his life of humility, patience, and magnanimity; with the sacrifice he made for our sins by his death; and with his ascension to heaven in our nature, and as our forerunner. The Christian religion teaches us the purest morals, as it propounds to us the holiest duties; it invites us, nay, incites us, by the highest considerations, to the exercise of charity and mercy to all men; it places before us the race of immortality, and presents before us a crown that "*fadeth not away*;" it opens to us the dazzling future, the visions of God,—the world of unsullied purity and glory; and it assures us of the certainty of the prize. The faith of the Gospel is the admission of all this into the moral consciousness. Must not reason be made divine by the process of transformation? Must not the intellect be lifted to the highest point by receiving these truths? Can a man's faith embrace all these noble and magnificent objects, and his mental *status* remain the same? Even allowing for a moment the truth of human theories, yet, inasmuch as faith so much transcends these theories, it follows that faith is the perfection of reason.

It is curious to observe the identity of many of the errors of men, *in principle*, though modified by the progress of time. This is seen in the old notions of the *à priori* theory on the Being of God, and the immortality of the soul,—as well as the *universal sense* of God, supposed to exist, entertained by many persons a hundred years ago,—and the new theory of intuition. The only difference is, in the objects to which the principle is applied. The first class contented themselves very much with limiting the *à priori* principle to the Divine Nature alone; whereas the German philosophers, and their followers in this country, apply the intuitive theory to the whole spiritual life. And, if the *à priori* principle was admissible and valid in the first-named case, we see no ground, in reason, why it should not be equally so in the latter: for, after all, intuition and the old mode of reasoning are exactly the same; the *formule* only of the two methods are different. Where is the difference betwixt Dr. Samuel Clarke attempting the demonstration of the Being and Perfections of God, without any reference to the phenomena of nature or the teaching of revelation, and the German Neologist constructing an entire religious system on the principles of intuition?—between the idea of a universal sense being found in man, leading

him to the knowledge and belief of God, and a similar sense existing in all men, leading to the knowledge and belief of religious truth in general?—betwixt a proof of the soul's immortality founded on the *à priori* argument, and the discovery of the soul's path to this state of highest being by the process of intuitive inspiration and guidance? We confess that we can see none. If man can do without teaching in the highest points of religion, he can also do without it in the lowest; if he can see the end, he can see the means to the end.

Mr. Watson deliberately, as we have seen, renounced the one system of reasoning, and adopted the *à posteriori* principle as the basis of his theological opinions. Indeed, he argues as strongly against the one, as he does in favour of the other. This placed him entirely on the ground of revelation,—of nature,—of fact,—and gave to his logic its legitimate range; inasmuch as logic can have nothing to do with principles, but must be limited to phenomena, whether found in the word of God or in the universe. Hence, the premises of his reasoning being thus recognised, the processes and conclusions are fairly established. The strength, compactness, coherence, and unity of his ratiocinations, are as remarkable as the brilliance of his diction and imagery. The basis of all his conclusions being laid in the truths of Scripture and of nature, the structure built upon it is seen to be most majestic. His deference to, and jealousy for, the integrity and truth of the word of God caused him to assail every opponent who had the temerity to adopt the other principle. Criticism is another matter; and he used his best endeavours, and made it his constant study, to understand the sacred text.*

Many of the subjects discussed by Mr. Watson had a national and general importance; others had a more limited bearing, and referred as well to certain principles of reasoning, and doctrinal sentiments arising out of those principles, which in his day began

* We might adduce examples from various parts of his writings, especially the *Reviews*, in which the science of logic, though not its technicalities, is finely exhibited. We refer to *Erskine on Faith*, No. iii.; the three *Reviews of Dr. Chalmers*, Nos. vii., viii., x. of the Series; *An Inquiry into the Doctrines of Necessity and Predestination*, by Dr. Copleston; *Judicia Analogica*, by Grenfield, &c., No. xi.; *Mahometanism Unveiled*, by Forster, No. xvi.; *Works on Popery*, No. xx.; *The Works of Arminius*, No. xxiii. Here we have calm, lucid, and majestic reasoning on many of the most vital questions; showing Mr. Watson's intimate acquaintance with the most abstruse subjects of religion and philosophy, as well as of political economy, the science of government, and the principles of society. At the same time, these *Reviews*, compared with his discussions in the "*Institutes*," of all the great questions designated by the terms, "*Atheistic*," "*Deistic*," "*Socinian*," and "*Calvinistic Controversies*," all of which he has most ably elucidated, will give some idea of the extent of his inquiries, and the profundity of his mind.

We do not adduce these examples to show that Mr. Watson was right in all his conclusions; but to indicate the characteristics of his intellect; the extent of his information; the sort of questions which occupied his attention; and to prove that his mind was so constituted as to have a fare to look upon all quarters of truth and knowledge.

to tell upon the state of the Methodist community. Without any designed disparagement of the talents, the learning, or the virtues of any one, we may say that bases of opinion,—rules of criticism and interpretation, claims of mental independence, irrespective of Divine authority and guidance,—somewhat after the manner of the German Rationalism, had begun to disturb the quiet faith of the Methodist body. All this turned upon one point,—the principles of reasoning; and these it was Mr. Watson's aim to place in their true light, and employ in their legitimate use. At the time he began his literary labours, a sort of Eclectic school in theology was beginning to exercise some influence in the body. Arguments, *à priori*, on the Being and Perfections of God were put forth; the person of Christ was judged of by these rules of reasoning, and his Eternal Sonship denied; the Divine Prescience was subjected to a similar process, and similarly repudiated; many of the miracles of Scripture were resolved into natural causes; the immortality of man was held to be demonstrable from mental phenomena; and the whole series of Scriptural truth, in some degree, made to pass through the crucible of a rationalistic examination. Allowing the legitimacy of the starting-point in this process, the *à priori* principle, in respect to the Being of God, it must follow that the revelations of God must be subjected to the same process. If reason is competent to judge of God, then reason must be competent to judge of what God does and teaches; his counsels, working, and revelations must, as a matter of course, be subjected to the same scrutiny. We cannot see how it is possible to stop in this career at any half-way house. Hence reason is made, in this theory, first, and God second; she becomes the primary authority, and judge of all things; instead of submitting herself to faith, she schools faith to her own standard; and, in place of keeping steadfastly to things revealed, she holds things revealed as subject to herself. Mysteries must be discarded; miracles must be reduced to the level of things natural; the influences of grace on the mind must be stripped of all inexplicable elements; the spiritual world and the agencies at work must lie within the ken and compass of the intellect; and all divine operations must be in exact agreement with the laws of nature. In this sphere there can be no room for a personal and particular providence of God, which does not harmonize with man's conceptions; nothing can be given, nothing done, nothing interposed, by the favour and grace of God, which does not square with an intellectual ideal. If reason cannot reach the Incarnation, the Redemption, the Intercession, then all these must be fables; if the Holy Ghost exercises an agency, produces a regeneration, and confers gifts, which reason cannot fathom, then all such agency, together with the existence of the Agent, must be repudiated; if sin is the growth of elements essentially human, then it is fallacious to conclude that there can

be any future punishment ; and in case man's reason is his all-sufficient guide, then the idea of anything imputed, whether the sin of the first Adam, or the righteousness of the Second, must be a dream of fanaticism. We cannot imagine that the *a priori* principle of reasoning can possibly admit any thing miraculous. It must, to be consistent, reduce every thing to one dead level :—nothing can rise higher than itself. •

The thin end of the wedge had entered the religious system of Methodism at the time in question. The matter had not gone very far, or gained many converts ; but it had proceeded far enough to produce alarm. The time had come for some one to replace the theological edifice upon its old foundations ; and, by a singular providence, Mr. Watson had been prepared for this service. It seems pretty clear that the loose opinions of the period had engaged much of his attention, and were the *occasion* of his entering upon this controversial path, and, in fact, of his becoming a systematic writer of theology. It has often been said that circumstances make men ; and there is some truth in this, though, if the men were destitute of the requisite qualities, they could not perform the services demanded by great exigencies. We have no doubt but that the “Theological Institutes,” and the Controversial Papers, together with many of the Reviews, sprang from the circumstances alluded to : the design being to place, or keep, the theology of Methodism on its only legitimate ground,—the Holy Scriptures.

The events here referred to will explain the reason of the caution and decision with which Mr. Watson propounds his principles ; the controversial form into which many portions of his works are thrown ; and the elaborate argumentation employed to refute the opposite notions. The times were critical, the task delicate, the errors to be refuted portentous. The form adopted for the embodiment of his refutations gave him the means of establishing the great truths of Christianity without entering upon personal controversy, except in one or two instances. The Methodist body is very much indebted to these writings for deliverance from a danger which began to be imminent,—from a leaven which was gaining influence, especially amongst the younger Ministers,—from a corruption of doctrine, which, though entirely alien from the purpose of the upholders of the Germanizing principle, must have led, at no distant period, to serious consequences, in the hands of less skilful and more adventurous parties. Let a false principle be once admitted, let an inclined plane be once entered upon, let a human dogma take the place of divine truth ; and then a descent from the elevation of the pure Gospel into the quagmire of a bewildering heterodoxy is certain. Mr. Watson had the double merit of providing the Methodists with a body of divinity ably and lucidly arranged,—a *desideratum* to them of vast importance,—and then, of rescuing their religious system from an impending

danger. His efforts were entirely successful. His writings became a healing element; and, demonstrating the consistency, coherence, and extent of the Scriptures as the only foundation of theology, he settled the opinions of those who had been shaken, and gave proof to all of the invulnerability of the Christian system.

It follows that these writings have an historical importance as respects the Methodist body. Crises will arise in all religious communities; but a doctrinal crisis is most to be dreaded. This was approaching, if it had not actually arrived; old men were alarmed, and young men were on the *qui vive*; orthodoxy trembled, and free-thinking exulted; the lovers of the "*old ways*" stood aghast, and the men of progress and development were looking forward to some grand consummation. Mr. Watson stepped in to the rescue, and, though a philosopher himself, and a man of vivid intuitions, yet he renounced philosophy for the Gospel, and bowed his own intuitions before the revelations of God. We see in his case that reason is a noble faculty, when legitimately applied; is capable of lofty flights in the clear and bright sky of God's revelation; is competent to build a noble structure, when lawful materials are selected; and, in the panoply of sacred truth, is able to meet any enemy, and surmount any difficulty. Mr. Watson's intellectual capacity was great; but it was the evangelical system itself, which he so tenaciously held, that gave him his power.

The greater number of Mr. Watson's published sermons were collected from the manuscripts of friends who had taken them in short-hand. The few written by himself are on special occasions, but they are sufficient to give a clue to his peculiar power in this department. Here that lofty imagination, which was one of the chief characteristics of his genius, found free scope. He never devoted serious attention to the art poetic, but in all its essentials his beautiful and sublime conceptions are poetry; without effort or design, he was in the habit of thinking in its language. But he never allowed himself to run riot. The theme of his lofty musings being religion, he gave himself no licence to revel in regions unilluminated by the sacred oracles. Taking his stand on God's own truth, he sometimes suffered his fancy to adorn and beautify that truth by gorgeous imagery, but never to hide it or endanger its sense; he found ample range for his perceptions of the beautiful and the sublime in the Gospel. The imagination can never rightly perform its functions without taste, without the power which directs it to its proper sphere,—the beautiful. The latter faculty is, doubtless, connected with the physical organization, the ear; but the inner soul must be its real seat, though reached only through the organs of sense. On this principle there will be an original power of taste, just as of judgment and understanding; and this power may be as susceptible of education and

training as the others. This being the case, there can be no training and education equal to religion,—the influence of divine grace purifying the soul from the grossness of corruption and sin. It should never be forgotten that the spiritual and divine present an ideal of beauty as well as of holiness. But with the majority of true Christians, it must be acknowledged, and without blame, that no disposition exists to separate the two,—to look at the “beauties of holiness” æsthetically, and compare them with the beauties of the world of sense. This course has produced many most estimable men,—men who have been the ornaments of religion and the benefactors of their age. Let us not mistake them. They are not devoid of taste, but the range of their taste is the spiritual alone. Many in the lower conditions of life possess this gift, and, amidst their daily toils and privations, their cares and sorrows, are in possession of a delicate sense of the excellencies of religion. Still it by no means follows that the study of nature is to be excluded, or that Christianity is irreconcilable with art. In the ears of the Christian, music is the voice of God; and to his vision, the different forms of life, the orders of created things, the hues and colours flung in rich profusion around, the infinite diversities of beauty, are the embodiment of His glorious perfections. Neither is religion an enemy to art. Indeed, she has contributed more to it than any thing else. Take away the *religious* from art, and little of value would be left. The æsthetic principle, through all the languages it has uttered,—poetry, painting, sculpture, architecture, and music,—has striven after a spiritual ideal. It is rooted in religion; without this it could find no adequate development.

But have not the arts been prostituted to superstitious and idolatrous purposes? Have they not been given up to the world, and by common consent excluded from the evangelical system? An affirmative answer must be returned. Whether this state of things should be, is another question. We are of opinion that the evangelical canon admits of the appropriation of all belonging to taste and imagination; and that the kingdom of God embraces all that is beautiful, as well as what is “lovely and of good report.” Nay, we go further, and say that the Holy Scriptures contain the elements of true science, the models of the most exquisite art, and the most perfect examples of poetic beauty and sublimity to be found in human language.

To give up the regions of taste and art to the world, is to abandon much of all that interests and engages the human mind to the enemies of religion. It is perfectly Utopian to imagine that men, as at present constituted, will ever resign these things. It would require a new formation of human nature to detach it from the sphere of the beautiful: its innate taste, its passions and sensations, its imaginative faculties, must necessarily attach it to the region of art. Then, as nature cannot

be changed, would it not be judicious in the lovers of sacred things to carry the purity and truth of the Divine into these departments? If religion is to progress in the world, must it not bring every thing into its own element? Will the world be less scientific when it is more enlightened? Can it be supposed that taste, imagination, and art will be barbarized by the advance of knowledge and the elevation of our race? Will the souls of men be less poetic by becoming more pure, believing, and replete with love? Is it possible for the echoes of melody to be less impassioned, and the world less jubilant, by its increased enjoyment of God and the blessings of salvation? To suppose an affirmative reply to these queries, is to suppose that science and art are not laid in the depths of nature, but are merely an accident.

The solution awaiting the social and political world is the acceptance of the Gospel as the basis of society; and the solution awaiting the sensuous world is the acceptance of Christianized art in the place of its corrupt rival. Does the social state admit of the *morale* of the Gospel passing into its domains? of modifying all legislation, all law, all government, all international transactions, all commercial affairs, and all domestic arrangements? Does it admit of human life becoming the embodiment of Christian faith, wisdom, holiness, instead of being the embodiment of selfishness, pride, passion, avarice, and chicanery? If not, then the world must go on in its old track of war, anarchy, tyranny, and misery; if it is, then we have the prospect of a regenerate earth,—of peace, justice, good-will, love, and brotherhood. Again we ask, Is the Gospel competent to refine and purify the souls of men? because, if so, taste and imagination—the parent of all that we have referred to—must partake the purifying process. We do not say, “destroy taste and imagination;” for, in reality, religion does not destroy the faculties, but refines them. Time must solve this problem; but, in truth, if religion cannot enter this region, if it cannot take hold of the sentient in man,—if it cannot sing as sweetly, paint as vividly, model as truly, and poetize as tenderly and sublimely, as the old artists,—then, infallibly, the human race must remain under the dominion of its old masters.

We entertain no such notion. There is scope enough in religion for the full and eternal development of whatever is true in taste. We do not desire to see Christianity adopt the practice of the sensuous world, as the Jesuits put on the dress and imitated the manners of the Brahmins; but what we do wish to see is, the establishment of a Christian system of art, of so elevated a nature as to have the effect of rescuing the minds of men of taste and refinement from the purlieus of vice. But the ancient and only true models remain. Yes, these models remain, and must remain. Who would destroy them? Let them stand in all

their glory. But their real beauty does not consist in their objectionable appendages. The ideal is always true to nature; and this is the secret of their immortality. This ideal belongs to all times, all people, all systems,—because the true and the Divine does so. The progress of Christian art could, consequently, destroy nothing essentially belonging to ancient art. Even a new æsthetic development on the purest principles of Christianity might, as we conceive, embrace all the excellencies of former times, without at all destroying any intrinsic quality belonging to the past. Our principle is a very simple one; it is, that all nature belongs to the domain of God,—that all that is true and beautiful belongs to nature,—and that, consequently, all this is admissible in Christian art. But we attach an important alternative to this; namely, that if this department is not occupied by what is Christian, it will be occupied by that which is unchristian,—just on the principle that art is nothing else than the expression of the tastes and feelings of mankind in visible or oral form.

The writings of Mr. Watson show that he was a man of refined and exquisite taste. Purity and clearness, connected with strength and majesty, are the ordinary characteristics of his thoughts. A confused perception is as impossible to a man of taste as an inelegant expression. In the sense of perspicacity he is simple; and simplicity is an attribute of taste. Great thoughts may be simple as well as little ones; but then it requires a great mind to make them so. A common mind grappling with great ideas is sure to produce confusion, and the very effort itself is a violation of good taste. We never see Mr. Watson attempting any thing beyond his powers; he never falters, never bends beneath the pressure of an unmanageable subject, never falls to the ground, like an eagle wounded in the wing. Every mental labour must have its aim and purpose; and it belongs to good taste not to overload the instrument employed to effect this purpose, just as it is wise not to attach to a machine appliances unnecessary to its proper design. The admission of extraneous material into a process of thought, is like the rush of the land-flood into the river,—it swells the volume of water, but it muddies the stream at the same time. For a productive mind to know how much to leave out, is a difficulty,—perhaps greater than the process of production. It must have cost an author so voluminous as Mr. Watson some pruning, that is, some exercise of taste, to leave in the mind of his readers the thought that they know not where to put their finger and say, “This had better not have been written.” We believe few of the readers of Mr. Watson have expressed this desire. But its absence is proof of the taste of the writer. His keen sense of what was proper to his theme preserved him from all superfluous and exaggerated detail; and voluminous as the productions of his pen are, we do not recollect

to have met with an inconclusive argument or a vapid passage in the whole series.

But the taste and imagination of Mr. Watson went much further than clearness and perspicuity. His mind travelled through all nature, all art, all literature; not, however, as an empiric or a plagiarist: he entered into the philosophy of the one, and the elements of the other, to enrich his own stores, and polish and enlarge his mental powers. All nature lay at his command, and he collected from this inexhaustible storehouse of thought and imagery a rich profusion of illustrative material. His writings are full of elegant tints and beauties, drawn from every thing on earth and in heaven. The rich and glowing, often gorgeous and sublime, decorations which adorn his most eloquent and poetic effusions, are truly enchanting. We cannot help referring to a passage or two illustrative of this felicity of elucidation.

The following passage from a Sermon preached on occasion of the Peace of 1814, will have some interest at present:—

“But it may be asked, Will the Peace, as we expected, quicken our commerce and increase our wealth? Are there not both fears and indications to the contrary? There may; but they are founded on partial facts and narrow views. The affairs of the world, for so long a time diverted from their proper channel, will not at once revert to it. In the mean time, temporary and partial inconveniences are to be expected. But, if no moral causes prevent it, peace must be favourable, not only to our commerce, but to that of the world. It evidently enters into the plans of Providence to foster commerce in all nations. By this the Almighty brings them together to improve and moralize them. It is an important instrument in his hands of civil and religious improvement. As long as the sun shines obliquely upon the Poles, and directly on the Tropics; as long as his unequal effusions of light and heat shall create a variety of climate and productions; so long will one country remain dependent upon another, either for its necessities or its comforts. This mutual dependence is the basis of commerce; and as long as the earth can be rendered more productive, and human ingenuity still find room for its exhibition in impressing upon its productions new and improved forms, (and no limit has hitherto been assigned to either,) so long, if peace be used to promote Christianity among mankind, the wealth and refinement of every nation under heaven may be indefinitely increased, till civil refinement and happiness, and religious light and influence, shall become the equal portion of all the inhabitants of the globe. We trust in God to continue prosperity to this land; and that portion of our wealth which is offered in acts of benevolence will consecrate the rest. We rejoice in peace, as it will give us better opportunities to prosecute the glorious idea of Christianizing the world.”—*Sermons*, vol. i., p. 32.

In the Sermon on “Religion a Part of Education,” we have the following passage:—

“We undervalue neither useful nor elegant acquirements; but if education comprise not instruction in the ‘things’ which, before all

others, 'belong to our peace,' it is a venerable name unfitly and deceptively applied. From a process so partial and defective, no moral influence can spring; it gives no virtue to the individual; it corrects no evil in society. To this the refined nations of antiquity bear mournful but instructive testimony; and why, on a subject so solemnly important to our children and to our land, is not the voice of history regarded? She has written them refined, learned, and mighty; but she has recorded their vices, and points to their desolations. If learning could have preserved them, why has their science survived their political existence, and why does it live only in other climes? Were they without that knowledge, the attainment of which we have too often considered to be the chief or the exclusive end of education? Were they destitute of genius, and taste, and arts, and philosophy? In all they are the confessed models of modern nations; and that state has the highest fame which most successfully, though still distantly, approaches them. These they wanted not, but they wanted a true religion, and a people instructed in it. The politics they erected and adorned were built like Babylon, the capital of a still older state, with clay hardened only in the sun, and which has long become a mass of ruin undistinguished from its parent earth. They were without perpetuity, because they were without the elements of it. The fabric of their grandeur has tumbled down, because it was not combined with the imperishable principles of virtue; and their want of virtue resulted from their want of religion. Shall examples, so frequently suggested to our recollection by the books of our boyhood, the studies of our riper years, and the very terms and allusions of our language, admonish us in vain? Yet, if reflection fail to teach us the absolute inadequacy of knowledge, however perfected, to sustain, without the basis of religion, either the virtues of private life or the weight of national interests, let us suffer ourselves to be roused into conviction by evidences which are ocular and palpable. Go into your public libraries, enriched by the literature of the classical states of ancient times, and see them crowded also with their mutilated marbles, brought from the fallen monuments of their greatness, and saved from the final wastes of time and barbarism, to be placed in monitory collocation with the 'wisdom of this world,' mocking its imbecility; as though Providence had thereby designed to teach us, that length of days is the sole gift of that wisdom whose beginning is 'the fear of the Lord,' and whose great lesson is 'to depart from evil.' Athens mourning along the galleries of our public Museums, over the frail ægis of her Minerva, admonishes us to put our trust within the shadow of the impenetrable shield of the truth of the living God."—*Ibid.*, p. 49.

On the Divine Love, we have the following passage, in the Sermon, "Man magnified by God:"—

"The philosopher of this world leads us to nature, its benevolent final causes, and kind contrivances to increase the sum of animal happiness; and there he stops,—with half his demonstration! But the Apostle leads us to the gift bestowed by the Father for the sake of the recovery of man's intellectual and moral nature, and to the cross endured by the Son, on this high behalf. Go to the heavens, which canopy man with grandeur, cheer his steps with successive light, and

mark his festivals by their chronology; go to the atmosphere, which invigorates his spirits, and is to him the breath of life; go to the smiling fields, decked with verdure for his eye, and covered with fruits for his sustenance; go to every scene which spreads beauty before his gaze, which is made harmoniously vocal to his ear, which fills and delights the imagination by its glow, or by its greatness: we travel with you, we admire with you, we feel and enjoy with you, we adore with you, but we stay not with you. We hasten onward in search of a demonstration more convincing, that 'God is love;' and we rest not till we press into the strange, the mournful, the joyful scenes of Calvary, and amidst the throng of invisible and astonished angels, weeping disciples, and the mocking multitude, under the arch of the darkened heaven, and with earth trembling beneath our feet, we gaze upon the meek, the resigned, but fainting Sufferer, and exclaim, 'Herein is love,'—herein, and nowhere else, is it so affectingly, so unequivocally demonstrated, —'not that we loved God; but that God loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins.'"—*Ibid.*, pp. 74, 75.

We give one other passage from the Sermon on the "Religious Instruction of Slaves:"—

"In the second class are our minute philosophers, who take the gauge of intellectual capacity from the disposition of the bones of the head, and link morality with the contour of the countenance; men who measure mind by the rule and compasses; and estimate capacity for knowledge and salvation by a scale of inches, and the acuteness of angles.

"And yet, will it be believed, that this condemned race can, as to intellect and genius, exhibit a brighter ancestry than our own? that they are the offshoots—wild and untrained, it is true, but still the offshoots—of a stem which was once proudly luxuriant in the fruits of learning and taste; whilst that from which the Goths, their calumniators, have sprung, remained hard, and knotted, and barren? For is Africa without her heraldry of science and of fame? The only probable account which can be given of the Negro tribes is, that, as Africa was peopled, through Egypt, by three of the descendants of Ham, they are the offspring of Cush, Misraim, and Put. They found Egypt a morass, and converted it into the most fertile country of the world; they reared its Pyramids, invented its hieroglyphics, gave letters to Greece and Rome, and, through them, to us. The everlasting architecture of Africa still exists, the wonder of the world, though in ruins. Her mighty kingdoms have yet their record in history. She has poured forth her heroes on the field, given Bishops to the Church, and martyrs to the fires; and, for Negro physiognomy, as though that should shut out the light of intellect, go to your national Museum; contemplate the features of the colossal head of Memnon, and the statues of the divinities on which the ancient Africans impressed their own forms, and there see, in close resemblance to the Negro feature, the mould of those countenances which once beheld, as the creations of their own immortal genius, the noblest and most stupendous monuments of human skill, and taste, and grandeur. In the imperishable porphyry and granite is the unfounded and pitiful slander publicly, and before all the world, refuted. There we see the Negro under cultivation. If he now pre-

sents a different aspect, cultivation is wanting. That solves the whole case ; for, even now, when education has been expended upon the pure and undoubted Negro, it has never been bestowed in vain. Modern times have witnessed, in the persons of African Negroes, generals, physicians, philosophers, linguists, poets, mathematicians, and merchants, all eminent in their attainments, energetic in enterprise, and honourable in character ; and even the Mission schools in the West Indies exhibit a quickness of intellect, and a thirst for learning, to which the schools of this country do not always afford a parallel."—*Ibid.*, pp. 94, 95.

This was Mr. Watson's manner in his more elaborate orations ; but his less polished productions are full of images of a similar character. It would, indeed, be difficult to select a single page without the discovery of some vein of gold. These riches were indigenous ; they existed in his own mind ; his intuitive sense of the beautiful drew them to his mental consciousness, and deposited in his soul all that lay within his reach ; and then, as from a centre of light, these rays were reflected upon others. It has been thought by some, that Mr. Watson's least elaborate sermons were his best ; and, judging of the matter by the outlines given in his works, we are not surprised at this opinion. Some of them are certainly exquisite gems of thought ; and, supposing the filling up to have been equal to the outline,—and, no doubt, it would exceed even this,—we cannot help believing that his ordinary ministry must have been, at any rate, equal to his greatest efforts, in the matters of taste, of beauty, and of tenderness of feeling.

We wish we could present to our readers a real sketch of a religious service conducted by this eminent Minister. This, we feel, is prodigiously difficult. Twenty years have passed away since his voice has been heard in the Church below. A new generation has sprung up, who know him not, or only recollect him as children. Time and change unite to throw the past into a distance which is ever increasing. Impressions, perceptions, and opinions, existing vividly at the time, become less and less vivid ; and the dead are often like the last cliffs of fatherland to the voyager, as he passes away to another clime,—for a while seen distinctly, then in the midst of haze, then as a speck, and then not at all. Let us, then, endeavour to recall Mr. Watson to those who knew him, and convey some idea of a religious service conducted by him, to those who never enjoyed this privilege. Let City Road Chapel be the scene,—the occasion, a Missionary Sermon,—and the text, "Be silent, O all flesh, before the Lord : for He is raised up out of his holy habitation." The spacious chapel is full, long before the time announced for the commencement of the sermon. Many strangers are present, evidently of an intellectual cast ; they have not much the appearance of Methodists, in dress and manner ; the Hymn-book is absent,—

that never-failing symbol of the Methodist, when in the house of God ; the audience is still and thoughtful, but apparently anxious, as if eager to witness something in which they have a deep interest. At length the clock strikes six, and out of the side door leading to the pulpit a tall figure walks forth : his step is deliberate and easy ; he throws no furtive glance around, but goes straight to his place of prayer and of prophesying, as if only thoughts of God and his message filled his mind ; his countenance is serene, but somewhat flushed, and not devoid of anxiety ; as he ascends the pulpit-steps, every eye is fixed upon him ; the home part of the congregation have smiles of delight depicted on their countenances, whilst the strangers look with intense curiosity, outstretched necks, and dilated eyes, to obtain a fair view,—then whisper to one another,—then fall back into their seats, as if saying, “ Well, report is true.” This majestic figure prostrates himself in prayer when he has reached the pulpit, and is lost to the gaze of the congregation for some minutes. This does not seem unmeaning,—a form,—a shadow : he appears to be really engaged with God, to be penetrated with a sense of the responsibility of his position, and to be seeking divine aid. This ended, the preacher stands up, and presents himself fairly to his audience. No gown hides the symmetry of his person : his figure is fully seen. Thoughtfulness is impressed on every feature, but there is no agitation, no nervous contortion. The whole body is at ease ; every limb moves naturally ; grace is in every action ; and there is not the shadow of affectation :—surely this man understands his vocation, and is the master of his work. The Hymn-book is opened, and the worship proceeds. But what is this ? We never understood these Hymns before. They are living ; they speak ; they have meaning ; they reveal things sacred ; a fire, a spirit, a sincerity is in them ; they are poetry ; they strike our imagination ; they come home to our faith ; they thrill through our souls ; they are like sunshine upon our affections ; they enrapture and excite our devotions. Surely this is worship. The secret of this is seen. The soul of the Preacher passes into the Hymn ; touches the sense ; gives inspiration to the sentiment ; impresses with emphasis the meaning of every syllable ; and infuses its own feeling through the whole. The voice aids the effect : it is clear, full, deep, sonorous, finely modulated,—its softer tones relieved by a deep bass.

The prayer begins,—begins with great deliberation. Reverence is manifest, and this inspires reverence in the whole congregation. Not a movement is heard,—all is still and motionless. Words are few, and slowly uttered, at first ; but every word contains a thought ; these thoughts accumulate in the exercise, and, as they increase, seem to expand the views and elevate the feelings,—devotion gathers volume in the exercise. Gradually the world seems to be left behind ; sensible things disappear ; even the idea

of the presence of the congregation is lost in the idea of the presence of God. Pleading is heard ; the Divine Majesty seems near ; the blood of the covenant is appealed to, and the " Man at the right hand of God " sought. Confession of sin, deprecation of the divine wrath and anger, the blessings of grace, the joys of salvation, are themes of importunate supplication. Then passing on to the state of the world, the spread of the Gospel, the overthrow of idolatry and superstition, become the subjects of intercession of the Prophet upon his knees before God. This is not eloquence,—it is more than eloquence,—it is compassion, it is love, it is faith. The Preacher is subdued,—the people are subdued,—all hearts are stirred : the Preacher looks different,—the people look different : the serene air of mental power which sat upon the countenance of the one is gone ; and the curiosity and sense of delight, a little while ago manifested by the others, are also gone. A new element has evidently entered the mind of both. Deep emotions have taken the place of pleasurable and tranquil feelings ; something profoundly agitating is going on in the soul of the Preacher, and the contagion has extended to the people. He is still calm and self-possessed,—but look at that eye, see the quiver of those lips, listen to that voice. What is this ? He has obtained a glimpse of Calvary, of the spiritual world, of eternity, and now his mental conceptions are fused with the new element of a living faith.

The sermon comes at length. The exordium is clear ; the subject is opened ; the basis of the discourse is plainly laid down ; the divisions are announced, so that the audience may follow the Preacher in his arguments and illustrations. " The Lord is raised up out of his holy habitation," this is the theme : " Be silent before him," this is the duty. The manner of the " rising up of the Lord " is discussed. A wide range is sketched ; the operations of God in nations, in the Church, in the Christian field, are elucidated ; the signs of this are given, and the proofs and evidence exhibited. He is now rising up ; events indicate this ; the world is in a transition state ; all are looking for the coming of the Lord. Silence is observed, and this silence is the duty of all. The argument is clear, but cumulative ; thought follows thought ; all appropriate ; and the last always strengthening the one preceding. But there is more than thought. Genius begins to kindle ; coruscation after coruscation flashes forth ; figures, symbols,—not in a series, not as an elaborate and prepared performance, but as jets of sparkling sentiment thrown, as diamonds, into the body of the sermon, which would have been complete without them ; or as stars in the pure ether, which is yet perfect in its own wondrous simplicity. These beauties grow out of emotion,—they are the effect of deep feeling ; impassioned reason becomes poetic ; and though the discourse began in prose, it ends in poetry. Reason retains her place all through, as the pathway of the soul in her

progress : but the road is not the only object looked at ; the heavens above, and the earth beneath, are all brought in to complete the picture. Pathos is intermingled with beauty and sublimity ; and of all the peculiarities belonging to Mr. Watson pathos was the finest. It did not on this occasion, or on any other, manifest itself in tears,—he never wept ; it did not display itself in sighs, groans, or exclamations,—he never vociferated ; it did not show itself by any extravagant gesture or violent action,—he never became the actor. No : it was simply a pathos of the heart,—tender, delicate, deep ; it mingled itself in his words, which became gentle as the dying breezes of evening : the fire became spent ; the glow of genius subsided ; the lofty flights of imagination ended ; the orator ceased his entrancing fascinations ; the heart seemed subdued into the affectionate palpitations of the child ; he spoke of love, and felt all its tenderness.

In this sermon some peculiarities of manner were observable. The action was never great, and in the beginning rather slow and measured, but a perfect model of its kind. As the difficulties of a beginning, however, were cleared, and the depths reached, the right hand began to move ; then it was stretched out, but never raised higher than the breast ; it was never clenched, but the forefinger of a most delicate and beautiful hand stretched out, as in a pointing attitude. Only one deviation from this gesture was observable :—when greatly excited, when profoundly feeling the weight of some great truth, before giving utterance to it, and as if pausing for a moment, to find for it a more perfect form, he thrust his right hand into his bosom, and then announced the thought in that peculiar posture. One other singularity may be noticed : when he had finished one of his most beautiful climaxes of reasoning or fancy, he gave his head a majestic nod, with a sort of backward movement, as if he intended to signify to his hearers, that they were then, at that point, to consider the matter finished ; and, moreover, this nod, it must be confessed, had somewhat of a defiant air about it, as if to intimate to the sceptic that he had no fear of his criticism. In this service there was that mixture of goodness and greatness which constitutes the perfection of such hallowed exercises. The devotional part was as exalted as the intellectual : a solemnity and a sweetness combined characterized the prayers ; whilst the sermon conveyed to the mind the most exalted truths of the Gospel.

Silence followed. The congregation appeared profoundly moved. They seemed in no haste to go away. None smiled or exchanged greetings with each other. They retired with gravity ; and, as they passed along, no one heard a word of criticism. The impression seemed too deep for garrulity ; the doctrine of the discourse had passed from the imagination to the heart and conscience, and conscience is always more silent than fancy.

Our idea is, that Mr. Watson was greater as a Preacher than

any thing else ; and this, we imagine, must be the case with all men who excel in the art of pulpit oratory. The living soul can alone do justice to the fine sentiments of a man of genius. What would the best music be, unless sung or played ? What would the drama be, if not acted ? Hence it often comes to pass, that a good speaker is a bad writer, and, *vice versé*, a bad speaker is a good writer. Many of the little elegances which beautify style in a written performance would ruin a sermon. So far as impressiveness is concerned, we imagine, concentration is essential ; thoughts charged with as much meaning, force, and beauty as language can heap upon them to be intelligible, must be necessary in a living speaker, or he must become vapid. The very effort to bring in nice distinctions in reason, recondite allusions or quotations, prettinesses and elegances, or to join and adjust sentences as ornaments in a saloon,—all this is destructive of true eloquence. Freedom from mannerism seems to be the only rule that can be applied to this art. Eloquence in a true man is the man himself speaking the conceptions of his own mind,—pouring forth the torrents of his own genius, the blaze of his own passions, the tenderness of his own heart. Nature needs no rules but the negative ones of not speaking blunderingly ; all the rest must be supplied from her own resources ; and an orator must be as much born an orator, as a poet must be born a poet. Pitt and Fox were orators ; Burke was a magnificent writer of speeches : when the first two rose in the House, stillness like that of death followed ; when Burke rose, the members rushed out, with the exclamation, that “the dinner-bell was ringing !”

We believe Mr. Watson never read a sermon but once, and in that attempt he failed ; nor did he ever commit his sermons to memory. We have heard but one reader of sermons succeed, and that was Dr. Chalmers ; but if his compositions are carefully analysed, it will be found that, though written, they are constructed upon the principles—if the contradiction can be allowed—of a *vivæ voce* eloquence. They are not crowded with thoughts ; but the few thoughts found in each discourse are laden with majestic imagery, and carried home to the mind by an overwhelming torrent of vehement declamation. The manner of Dr. Chalmers, in reading his sermons, exactly resembled the sermons themselves. His body was in a state of complete agitation, his voice was elevated to the highest key of its capacity, from beginning to end ; and, whilst his right hand kept hold of his manuscript, his left incessantly went up and down like a hammer. The motion of his hand, and the agitation of his mind, agreed exactly to each other. The whole discourse consisted of a repetition of strokes aimed at the mental fortress before him. With this exception, and with this peculiarity,—so far as our observation has gone,—the practice of reading sermons has

failed; and with no fitness can a reader be considered an orator.

The habit of repeating a discourse from memory is sometimes, though very seldom, successful. Its puerile stiffness is one usual consequence, but by no means the worst. The best feelings of the heart are the impulses of the moment, but these are suppressed; there can be no gush of sentiment allowed, because this would lead the mind away from the stereotyped manuscript transferred to the memory, and the road, once lost, might not be found again. But passion is necessary to true eloquence: eloquence can no more exist without deep and genuine feeling, than poetry without genius. Passion is kindled by the agitation of the soul, by the presence of an audience, by strong conceptions springing up at the instant. To reduce this feeling to written *formula*, would cause it to evaporate: the conceptions of strong passion cannot be written, any more than the fire of the sun can be corked up in a jar. Extemporaneous oratory, which is always the most effective, never destroys reason in strong and well-furnished minds, but perfects it. A real orator never reasons so well as when the fountains of the great deep within are broken up. Vivid perception, logical coherence, rapid combination of thought, the rich and exuberant creation of metaphor and imagery,—all follow this impulse. The finest orators are sometimes dull in their ordinary moods, and stammer and huddle till the fire begins to kindle. This was the case with Charles Fox. The uninformed listener would have thought, for the first half hour of his speech, that he was going to break down. But as passion rose, the powers of the soul, which seemed to hang flapping about like the sails of a vessel in a calm, gradually filled, expanded, and then, like a gallant ship in full sail, ploughed the sea in mighty majesty. Passion kindles passion; and there can neither be true Preachers nor true hearers without it. Then, as this emotion cannot be put upon paper, and become a matter of memory, those who rehearse their sermons must be destitute of it. They, indeed, sometimes rant, lift up their eyes, throw out their arms, stamp the foot, and affect the tones of deep emotion; but it is all sham; and, if we could examine the manuscript or the cranium, we should find it all jotted down; as is related of a good parson of this school, who had written, on the margin of a manuscript climax, "*Weep here!*" There is, moreover, a close connexion between the passions and the imagination; but imagination is essential to eloquence. We have, indeed, heard men of great power with but little fancy; but, though powerful speakers, they can hardly be considered eloquent. Hence, unless the soul can be brought into a state of great excitement in the study,—which is said to have been the case with Dr. Chalmers, who, with his coat off, his vest unbuttoned, and his neck bare, was accustomed

to write himself into a bath of perspiration,—unless this can be accomplished, there can be but little force in the performances of *memoriter* or sermon-reading Preachers; and we believe this class of pulpit orators do not find their studies a very creative region. We limit these remarks to the *art* of eloquence: there are other and higher considerations which we purposely omit.

To say, as we have done, that Mr. Watson was a better Preacher than any thing else, is to place him in a very high position as a pulpit orator. It was our good fortune to hear all the *celebrities* of the pulpit of the period in which he lived; but we certainly never heard his equal. Some of his written sermons are beautiful specimens of composition; but they bear but an imperfect resemblance to his spoken discourses. This resulted from the circumstance that they were *really* extemporaneous. His preparations were of the most meagre kind, that is, so far as they were written; and many of them were not written at all. We are not, however, from this to presume that he had not reflected deeply and profoundly on the subjects to be discussed. But the *matériel* being in his mind, and not in manuscript, he had the power of fusing this *matériel* with the glow of his genius in the progress of its delivery. This gave life, freshness, and power, which never can be secured by other modes. His language was as accurate from his lips as from his pen,—as appropriate to the theme, as chaste, as forcible, as elegant, and, as must be the case in all similar instances, had much more force than written words. Even the argumentative part partook of this animation; but the declamation, the creations of imagination, the poetry, were overwhelming. One of his sermons was as different from a *memoriter* sermon, as a man is different from a statue: in the one we have the form without the life; in the other we have the entire man, body and soul. But he never lost his chart, never plunged into chaos. The reasoning of one of his oral efforts was like a chain of gold running through from end to end; and it cost no great trouble to perceive the linking: but the luminous flashes of genius brought to illustrate and impress this reasoning on the minds of his auditory were just like the sun, who, never losing his central position, throws around him the effulgence of day.

Every man is made for his work: Mr. Watson was made for his. God had been most bountiful to him. His person was remarkable, like his mind. His *physique* was exquisitely formed, as if to be the fitting casket of the brilliant jewel lodged within. Nobody could meet him without stopping to look back, asking, "Who is that?" But that head! The face was elongated, and somewhat pale, with an appearance of constant suffering, and often overshadowed with a tinge of melancholy. The mouth was expressive of every thing but obstinacy. The sense of the

ridiculous, satire, scorn, contempt, defiance, imaginings, love, joy, all found expression in those wonderful lips. The nose was prominent,—not exactly Grecian, not exactly Roman, but beautifully English, and expressive of both genius and generosity. The eyes were dark, oval, deep, brilliant, piercing, and, if we may say so, inexpressibly expressive. His look of scrutiny pierced to the bottom of the soul; his look of complacency inspired instant confidence; his look of affection kindled the feelings into a hearty glow; his look of devotion was calmly meditative; his look of inspiration was like a blaze of sacred fire. No one could possibly mistake the meaning of his eyes: they spoke as intelligibly as his tongue. But that brow! We know not what to say: we are afraid of failure on the one hand, and of being accused, by those who did not live in his day, of exaggeration. But we believe that in this case exaggeration is impossible. Our only means of judging of the human head is by comparison. This principle necessarily comes in; and our estimate must be formed thereupon. We have seen heads of greater breadth than that of Mr. Watson, indicating greater power in some of its forms. We have seen men possessing much more brain in the mass; but its distribution was perfectly different. In him the brain appeared to be mainly given to assist mental exercise, the great mass being found in the frontal portion of the head. Indeed, those posterior developments which are supposed to indicate the animal passions were nearly absent. But the brow was prodigiously developed, as if, by some extraordinary process, the whole substance of the brain had been forced to this point,—as if the intellect had demanded and engrossed every particle. The forehead did not taper inward from the sides, but was square; neither was it retiring, as we often see in heads otherwise fine, but was as nearly perpendicular from the eyebrows as possible, and of great height. Taken in connexion with the face, there was real sublimity in the loftiness of this brow, as there is sublimity in the Alps and the Andes. We certainly never saw such a head; it was unlike that of any other person. If placed in the midst of those of an entire nation, it would be found different from them all: if measured by the ordinary standard, it would as far transcend them as the giant transcends the man of common stature.

This, then, was the instrument by which the soul had to work; and we cannot be surprised, that, with such an instrument, achievements in mental superiority and excellency were attained. But there is a connexion betwixt the brain and the whole nervous system: the seat of sensation may be local; but sensation itself is universal. Mr. Watson was acutely sensitive. We remember, on an occasion when he had been preaching one of his masterly sermons, a distinguished Dissenting Minister present made use of the words, "That wonderful mental machine!"

Such would be the estimate of distant observers in general. Passion, sensation, acute feeling, would be the last things they would think of as belonging to so philosophical a mind. But this would be a perfectly false estimate. His sentient nature was equal to his intellectual; and they probably acted reciprocally upon each other. There never can be great intellect without great sensibility. The mind may control the passions, as the rudder steadies the vessel in a storm; but the passions move the mind in its turn, giving the intellect its wholesome stimulus, and much of its colouring. Intellect without passion would be like the soul without the body: it might, for aught we know, be as pure and elevated as an angelic nature, but it would be useless to us, as being intangible to our mixed state of body and soul. In great natures the feelings generally take a melancholy hue, and, strange to say, very often from the sense of imperfection. Mr. Watson was always behind his ideal, always striving to attain a perfection he never, in his own apprehension, reached; always climbing, without ever reaching the top of the hill. But the visions of intellect are such as to foster melancholy emotions. A shipwrecked world, a ruined race, a dead past, a dying present, a dark future, are things to produce miserable sensations in those who see them in their vivid reality. Nobody needs envy great ability. The happiest men are they who sit at home, and lisp their little joys, with the imagination that there is nothing either better or worse than themselves, and their own bright fireside.

It is said of some intellectual men, that they have fits of energy and fits of idleness in alternation. Dr. Johnson either worked like a horse, or not at all. Mr. Watson was free from this peculiarity. His intellectual activity was incessant; it knew no intermission: like time, his mind was constantly in motion. Some persons can only pursue their mental processes in one place: they must be in their study, surrounded by their books, with papers, chairs, pictures, and every thing in exact order, or otherwise the machine stands still. Not so with Mr. Watson. Externals' circumstances made very little difference to him. His portfolio was always at hand, and in constant requisition. We have reason to know that a great amount of the most elaborate and finished productions of his pen were written out of his own study, and some of them in the midst of public business, journeys, and in the presence of persons in incessant motion and conversation. His energy may, in some degree, be understood by the amount of letter-press contained in the "*Works*;" but this is a very insufficient index. We have no doubt that the uncollected material of his pen would equal, if not far exceed, in quantity, that which is called his "*Works*." Activity, indeed, was the element of his mental existence; and he could not live a day without the creation of something important.

Besides study and authorship, several departments of work engaged Mr. Watson's unceasing efforts. He was a constant Preacher. When in the regular work of the ministry, he invariably attended to his duties with great punctuality; and he has been heard to say of some of his congregations in small places, that he had as many people as candles, or just the number that he had walked miles. When he had no particular charge, as Secretary of the Missionary Society, he was indefatigable in this duty; and in addition to the extra sermons which he was in the regular habit of preaching for the Society, he took services every Sabbath in some of the London pulpits. The Missions, it is well known, occupied his daily attention; and his Sermon on "Ezekiel's Vision of the Dry Bones" was one of the first ever preached for the Society. During the period of twenty years, he gave himself up to this work,—the evangelization of the world being his chief desire. He lived to see these labours crowned with great results; and, it is hoped, assisted to lay a foundation for those enterprises in all time to come, which may lead to still greater success.

His exertions against Slavery in the British Colonies were equally arduous and untiring. His sermon on "The Instruction of the Negroes" is one of the most masterly and eloquent of the whole series. He took part with the Anti-Slavery Society in its exertions, attending the Committee, and employing his pen and his influence to further its objects; and he died just as the chains of the poor slave fell off. Mr. Watson was a political philosopher, and may be said to have worked in this line, as well as in those which bear a more philanthropic character. During the long struggle of the country for existence and freedom, against the aggressive violence of Napoleon, he placed himself on the side of the nation, and constantly exerted his talents in support of British interests. He kept pace, however, with the progress of society; and, though holding steadfastly to the old English system of policy till the storm was over, he entertained the idea that a new adjustment of the national machine had become necessary, and gave his adherence to many of the reformatory measures which sprang up after the war had ceased. But he never appeared as the political partizan, nor entered into any public movements, believing that the position and duties of a Minister did not allow of party strife. Hence the part he took in politics was to throw into the boiling caldron some philosophical views, some cooling ingredient. With an intellect so intense, mental labour so abundant and untiring, activity so incessant, and feelings so deep, we are not surprised that Mr. Watson fell a martyr to his exertions in the midst of his years. *Arcum intensio fregit.*

ART. IX.—1. *Poems*. By ALEXANDER SMITH. Third Edition. London, 1854.

2. *Balder: a Poem*. By the Author of "The Roman." London, 1854.

THE publication of these two volumes, within the space of the last few months, presents an opportunity of which we gladly avail ourselves, and so proceed at once to offer some brief remarks upon the leading characteristics of modern poetry. The whole of this wide subject could not, indeed, be discoursed upon from so limited a text; but for exhibiting the more prominent features and marked tendencies of poetry in the present day, we could not, perhaps, have selected better illustrations than those which come most recently to hand. Of those features and tendencies they furnish, it is true, exaggerated types; but for this reason they are only the more adapted to our present purpose, as a public lesson is illustrated best by examples in high relief.

To many of our readers, more familiar with the standard poets of our country than with the ardent and unsettled minstrelsy of the current time, the immediate subjects of this paper may not seem to have deserved our first attention; and such a feeling we can well appreciate. We, too, should have preferred to introduce this branch of literature by remarks in connexion with one or other of our elder poets; to have refreshed the mind and memory of the reader with some of the choice passages of Chaucer, rich both in character and circumstance, and buoyant with a certain natural gladness,—of Spenser, fruitful in invention, and high in moral tone, clothing the meekest virtues in heroic dress, and setting forth the most ennobling truths in quaint and pleasant allegories,—or of Dryden, whose nervous verse and masculine good sense discover to us how much of daily wisdom may consist with rare poetic gifts. From the pleasure of this retrospect there would have been no drawback; and in poetry so catholic, all healthy minds would have shared a genuine delight. But the usefulness of a journal like ours is dependent, in no small measure, upon its watching the social and literary aspect of the times,—in its reflection of every existing phase, or promise of improvement,—and its timely warning of every degenerate tendency. It is under the influence of this conviction that we now write. In the recent and rising school of poetry there is so much to elicit admiration, combined with still more that is fatal, as we think, to moral, as well as intellectual, maturity and well-being, that we at once address ourselves to a consideration of its peculiar character, to a brief acknowledgment of its beauties, and a serious inquiry into the nature and cause of its defects.

It is necessary, perhaps, to obviate the mere suspicion of narrowness or prejudice. In art we profess our tastes to be suf-

ficiently eclectic. We are not of those who, from a natural or acquired bias towards one class of poetry, would deny the name to every composition of another school. The charm of this great art, as of its greater prototype, is its wonderful variety. It has something for every taste and every mood; it breathes successively the airs of every season, and touches by turns the simplest bosom and most cultivated mind. And if it be true,—as we believe it is,—that its great masters have the suffrages of every class, and attract the humblest to find some natural charm in those human features, whose deeper and divine significance makes the highest to return, and ponder, and gain fresh intelligence, with every further contemplation, it is also true that there is another order, whose office is more limited, but not less authentic. Seldom, indeed, is the gift of genius thus universal in its power; far more frequently is it thus circumscribed and special. A Madonna of Raphael,—all can see beauty there; peasant as well as prince, and Protestant as well as Catholic; not only maid and mother, with their mysterious sympathy, but boy and man, and all who have ever found or felt any natural strain of love. But where is the connoisseur who has traced all the magic of its art, and exhausted all the treasures of its truth and tenderness,—who has perused it thoroughly, is satisfied completely, and is content to look upon it for the last time? A play of Shakspeare,—this is patent to every schoolboy; it is history for the million, a repertory for every masquerader, a world for every humorist, a manual for every statesman, a text-book for every moralist. But where is the scholar or critic who has pointed out every beauty, and supplied the final gloss, and learnt the whole lesson? Honour then to Shakspeare and this chosen few! These are the High Priests of Nature, who minister at the great altar in the open service of the temple. But there are humbler oratories embayed within its solemn aisles, and there the pilgrims from every region may hear words of comfort, each in his own dialect; and the priests themselves drink sympathizing words from each other's lips. There are Poets who need Poets for an audience,—who have fed their imagination upon the selectest images and daintiest thoughts; and men of coarser mould can have no sympathy with these. There are others, who have brought learning to enrich their art, and whose elaborate compositions are so many pieces of embroidered tapestry, bright with traditionary splendours, and moving with heroic life. Honour then to Collins and to Gray! All are welcome who are servants faithful both to virtue and to man, and who make Truth and Beauty the handmaids who unveil the face of Nature. In this spirit we gladly recognise the muse of Keats, with its sensuous delight in every natural object, and its almost pagan reverence for the dumb old deities of Greece,—and the genius of Shelley, soaring, like his own skylark, “higher yet, and higher,” and shedding from

illustrious wings the whiteness of ideal beauty on every thing beneath.

Neither do we deny that true poetry may, in some faint degree, reflect the spirit of the age which gives it birth. Of some species,—such as satire, comedy, and the like,—it is the peculiar function so to do; and for many of the more serious kinds, it is no necessary detraction, that they indicate, with more or less distinctness, the character of the times in which the author lived. Poetry of the best description will often take something of its form and temper from popular and passing influences, from the force of national and temporary circumstances: for, though individual genius is the fire in which it is raised to its white heat, the present age is yet the anvil on which it is beaten into shape. This is chiefly true of poetry of a peculiar kind, mostly popular in its character, and always lyrical in its expression: of that which is highest and best, the most artistic and elaborate, we may confidently say that it is essentially independent of current tendencies,—that a spirit of utilitarian progress, if allowed to interfere, will more frequently deteriorate than exalt it; and an age of metaphysical inquiry serve rather to confound its pure æsthetic genius, than to yield it a truer or nobler theory of life.

As there is much error prevalent on this point, and as that error is, as it seems to us, a principal cause of the failure of many poems of undoubted genius in our day, we may, perhaps, be allowed to examine it more fully. We are persuaded that the ill-construction and feeble execution of these works are, in great measure, due to unsound notions of poetic art; while only from the observance of its genuine principles can moral truth, and every minor excellence, result.

That poetry should, according to the language of our great dramatist, “show the very age and body of the times, its form and pressure,” is, indeed, a maxim of some value to the artist of every class; but it is frequently repeated in our ears by those who forget to interpret it in the light of that great master’s practice, and who both mistake its meaning, and exaggerate its importance.

First, they mistake its meaning. It signifies,—at least in its application to the art under review, of which precisely it was not first spoken,—not that poetry of set purpose must, but that poetry of the right stamp ever will, reflect the lineaments of *the age, not of the poet himself, but of that imagined in the poet’s fable*. It dictates, not the choice of subject, which is left absolutely free, but the fidelity of imitation, which is strictly and primarily demanded by æsthetic law. Is the time we live in full of earnest inquiry, practical reform, philanthropic effort, and social improvement? These, then, will more or less appear in all works, even of the epic class, whose scene and era are

expressly identical with ours ; but these works mostly take the shape of the prose novel. They will sometimes, also, condense themselves in verse, and find warm utterance in those brief and popular lyrics by which a nation or a class gives expression to its transitory throes. But we are speaking now of poems which, by their elaboration or their length, evidently make pretensions to the highest rank of art ; and the method of true art is not altered by the genius of an age. Its appeals are made from one individual mind to another, and not from the individual to a collective people. It advocates no measure of reform, however pressing or desirable ; it occupies itself with no single branch of industry or science, however useful ; it does not even, without manifest deterioration and failure, rehearse the crude and disordered fancies of any single mind, however gifted, and though it be the poet's own. The nature of art is essentially objective and constructive. A poem, like a painting, is strictly a composition, whose materials—selected almost in whatsoever place you will—are faithfully combined by the æsthetic faculty,—a faculty that is neither wholly intellectual nor wholly moral, that acts in great measure like instinct, but needs the co-operation of science and intelligence.

But, secondly, our critics exaggerate the importance of this maxim, even when understood in their own limited and lesser sense. Poetry depends far more on the essential than the accidental ; on the permanent than the temporary ; on man himself than national costume or political conditions. For this reason it is that no poem worthy of the name can ever grow dim with age, but is fresh through all time. No man speaks so sincerely to his fellow-man as the poet ; none is so free from the affectations and falsehoods which divide one class in society from another, and make one generation almost strange to that which follows ; no one, therefore, is so widely recognised, so welcome in every neighbourhood, so secure against the changing fashions and confounding dialects of time. The best, and even the most popular, poems in the world, are those which are least shaped or coloured by the spirit of the author's age. If the ancients still move and delight us, it is not that we have anything in common with pagan Greece or Rome, either socially or politically considered ; for by contrast in these particulars we are yet more divided from them than by centuries of time. It is as men beholding the same sun, feeling the same wants, and suffering the same changes. We may cease to wonder then that the ballads recited in their halls, and the dramas which held breathless their assembled cities, are still frequent on our lips, and often present to our minds. If pleasing to the young or to the old once,—as the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*,—why not to youth or to experience now ? If grateful to the instinct of filial piety once,—as the *Antigone* of Sophocles,—why not to filial piety in our day also ? That these are not even more

popular among us is only because, with all their force of truth, they are not true enough,—not simply, fully, and profoundly so. They are Greek to a fault, as well as human to a miracle. Something of artifice stiffens the march of their otherwise consummate art; the brooding shadow of one great national belief obscures much of the delicate tracery of life; the demands of one grand action admit too seldom of a sweet and natural relief. Hence the defective sympathy existing between this age of readers and that age of poets; hence the need of culture and knowledge on the part of the former, before they can thoroughly enjoy the lofty creations of the latter. Something, indeed, of this is chargeable on the great difference, even of personal character, which the influence of our northern civilization, and especially of the new and better religion, has wrought upon mankind in modern times; but still more, we suspect, is due to the less perfect sympathies of the poet,—for Sophocles is not the rival of Shakspeare. For some of the highest purposes of art, the ancients were sufficiently related to men in every age to bequeath examples of abiding interest; and, in the main, we have reason to congratulate ourselves on the actual legacy we enjoy; and certainly it does not forbid our admiration and wonder. Even our purer faith does not necessarily exclude our sympathy; all the nobler sentiments of natural religion—and poetry *as an art* would perhaps do well to concern itself with these alone—are to be met with in the bards of every country; wisdom and beauty find an oriental dress in Sadi and Ferdousi, a classic one in Sophocles and Homer, and in either dress we may welcome both. If we know how to keep poetry in its proper place, and expect from it only its legitimate effects, we shall not hesitate to profit and delight ourselves by Virgil as securely as by Milton; if we are so foolish as to draw our highest principles therefrom, we shall only err too far in either case.

But if the poet is indeed thus independent, and restrained neither to his own locality nor era, it is certain he will use this liberty, and for the most part fix his choice upon a distant or somewhat unfamiliar scene. The reasons for this are obvious and irresistible. In the first place, he is more likely to apprehend the limits of his subject, to recognise its genuine features, and to sketch the whole more freely, when he beholds it from a certain elevation,—from some height where no prejudices can obscure, and no distractions interrupt, his clear and calm observance,—where serene impartial art may exercise its functions undisturbed. But there is another consideration hardly less important. Above all things it is necessary that poetry should please; and that it may ultimately and profoundly please, it must first and easily attract. To this end, nothing is more likely to contribute than some novelty of external features, tending to stimulate our languid curiosity, and leading us, perhaps unawares, into a deeper

sympathy with all that is of more real and abiding interest. True it is that what is most essential in poetry, is that which touches us most nearly, and is promptly recognised and felt as true; but every thing which distinguishes it as an art, which raises it above the level of ordinary prose literature and learning, is traceable to some form of pleasure, sensuous or intellectual, as, for instance, to our delight in imitation, melody, or grouping. It is idle to object that a great poet should have a higher purpose than to please; enough for us to know, that to please by means of its legitimate resources is the first condition of his art, and for him to understand that he can no more dispense with the lighter charm of novelty, than with the incorporated graces of harmonious verse.

We hope the relevance of these remarks will soon be more obvious to the reader, and that he will then acquit us of wilfully trifling with his patience. Much of the defectiveness of recent poetry arises, as we think, from a disregard of these first principles. Its faults, indeed, are both many and various, affecting style and sentiment as well as plan: but this deliberate weakness of design is doubtless a radical and primary defect; and this vague and vain attempt to give voice and utterance to the struggling forces of the age, brings a disturbing influence into the young poet's mind; while the effect of both together is to deny to his production that interest which arises from a definite purpose and an united action, attended, as these commonly are, by a due variety of character, and a sober and subordinated use of language. The books mentioned at the head of this article have been selected for illustrating this degenerate tendency; but, before turning particularly to them, we may briefly refer to two living authors who have set a contrary example, and proved both the soundness and success of their canons of art,—Henry Taylor, in "*Philip Van Artevelde*," and Walter Landor, in his "*Hellenica*." Do we want poems more beautiful—can we find any more genuine—than these? Neither of them is saturated with what is called "the spirit of the age;" we do not know that they are even biased by it; perhaps the student of a hundred years hence could not learn the period of their production by internal evidence. Yet few authors of the present day are so certain to fulfil their century, few volumes of our teeming press more likely to be studied and perused in the future. Both works are acceptable to the healthiest and purest modern taste; for though the subject is mediæval in the one case, and classical in the other, they are the productions, not of antiquarians, but of poets.

But ours is not the argument of limitation or undue control; and we gladly admit that, if the poet is not restricted to the present, neither is he excluded from it. The Muse that has the wings of the morning may fold them above our noisiest cities, and gracefully alight in the forum or the market-place. The

influence of the present Laureate has not always been for good upon his followers; for they have caught his tone, but lack his pure insight and almost perfect taste. Yet it seems to us that, in the poems of Tennyson himself, both these conditions—which respect the transitory and the abiding, and find an element of this in a chaos of that—are fulfilled in a remarkable degree. He draws his inspiration from the native well of his own fancy, and yet sings from his height of place in the middle of the nineteenth century. His genius is affected, but not overborne, by the tumultuous spirit of the times, by the triumphs of material science, or the conflicts of the public soul. Hence the sweetness, as well as the subtlety, of his verse, the clearness of his ideas, and the ease of his expression. The doubt of other men he seems to pity, rather than to share. As a poet, he knows that enough of the beautiful and the good remains for him, enough of the lasting and the true; and therefore he glances only into the dark vortex of scepticism, and “drops a melodious tear,” and in another moment he is soaring upward and away: resting now on Ida, he re-modulates the plaint of the deserted Enone, henceforth immortal as love and grief can make it; and now, alighting on the pillar of St. Simeon Stylites, he rehearses the fearful lessons of ascetic virtue. From this true conception of his art, and this faithfulness to the universal and abiding above the merely local and transient, it is due that the writings of the Poet-Laureate harmonize with the standard poetry of all times, and take their place at once as classic pieces. For choiceness of imagery and allusion, for musical sweetness of intonation, and for that intellectual quality which is power and ease and affluence at once, the poems of Tennyson may worthily compare with the minor poetry of Milton. Each is a master of lyrical expression, and sings from his own deep, human heart, as independent both of age and country. And yet we dare not say that there is no indication that these poets lived at different periods; only that indication, which is positive in the case of Tennyson, is merely negative in that of Milton. Milton seems to sing for recreation,—to unbend his sterner genius in some light exercise of imagination or fancy; and so he borrows something of the spirit of pagan poetry, the more thoroughly to mask the age of Puritanism from his own regard. In Tennyson, under much the same conditions of facile grace and exquisite allusion, we have glimpses of a mind that forecasts the fortunes of his race, whose thoughts are all thrown forward “by the progress of the suns,” and, like pensive shadows, dapple the sunny future; but his spirit is cheerful throughout, and full of hope, if not evincing the confidence of faith; and, in his sweet wild music, we no longer hear “ancestral voices prophesying war,” but a chorus—distant, yet jubilant, faint as echo, yet rounded and harmonious as the spheres—celebrating the age of peace and happiness,—

"And one far-off divine event,
To which the whole creation moves."

We must not any longer defer the promised introduction of our two young poets, but forthwith present them to the reader. When he has made their acquaintance, our previous observations on the art which they profess may recur to him as having a distinct bearing on our estimate of their practice and success.

The principal poem in Mr. Smith's volume, entitled, "A Life Drama," and that of "Balder," by the author of "The Roman," are elaborate productions of the same school of poetry; and it is, therefore, no cause for wonder, nor even ground of complaint, that they have much in common. Their originality is sufficiently marked and distinguished, and their poetical merits—though in each case graphic and pictorial—are not so similar as to be easily confounded. The bond of their union, as usual in all sects or schools of poetry, is rather in that which is adventitious than essential,—in what is doubtful than in what commands our admiration and esteem; and this being the case, we shall not wonder to find a great resemblance in the external form of their respective poems.

Each of these works is remarkable as having the length of an epic, the form of a drama, and the nature of a rhapsody. It has, indeed, a beginning, and somewhere (if you can find it) a middle, and, in the long run, (if you have only patience,) an end; but, in the sense of Aristotle, it has none of these. There is absolutely nothing to prevent you reversing the order of the scenes, except it be a superstitious notion, that the author *must* have had a reason for disposing them as they are at present found. By this oriental style of reading, you will lose none of its vivid passages, and may save yourself some general disappointment. Indeed, it is very likely you will find it improve as you proceed from that point, as to us it grew seriously worse while we proceeded from the other.

In each case, also, a poet is hero as well as author. This is highly characteristic of the poetical fraternity in our day. It is evident that the modern bard esteems no ordinary theme deserving of his song; and so he turns to glorify himself, and worship his own art by way of exercising it. His rhapsody is all about genius,—its sorrows, ecstasies, divinity, and might; what it can do if it only pleases, and what it scorns to do for so miserable an audience as humanity can furnish. No longer holding "the mirror up to Nature," he sits and turns it fairly on himself, and finds trace of thunder in every scar, and demon-beauty in every fantastic lock; the blue of his eye suggests (to him) the unutterable depths of heaven, and in the curl of his lip he reads and practises contempt for a paltry world of prose.

It is easy to find passages in both of these performances which

may justify the character we have ascribed to them. The real difficulty is to meet with a page in which Poesy, or Fame, or Genius is not extolled or invoked in good set terms; though sometimes this unfortunate passion—for evidently it is not reciprocated—finds a natural relief in equally extreme abuse, after the true lovers' fashion. Walter (in the "Life Drama" of Mr. Smith) exclaims, with his usual aptitude of comparison,—

"I love thee, Poesy! Thou art a rock;
I, a weak wave, would break on thee, and die!

O Fame! Fame! Fame! next grandest word to God!"

And soon afterwards he breaks into prophecy, and in this manner our author contrives, with charming innocence and *sauvété*, to foretell his own appearance:—

"My Friend! a Poet must ere long arise,
And with a royal song sun-crown this age,
As a saint's head is with a glory crown'd;
One who shall hallow poetry to God,
And to its own high use, for poetry is
The grandest chariot wherein King-thoughts ride;
One who shall fervent grasp the sword of song,
As a stern swordsman grasps his keenest blade,
To find the quickest passage to the heart.
A mighty Poet, whom this age shall choose
To be its spokesman to all coming times."

How far Walter, or his author, is likely to "hallow poetry to God," or be our "spokesman to all coming times," we shall see by and by. In the mean while let us hear how the poet of "Balder" apostrophizes *his* little matter (of nine thousand lines).

"O thou first, last work!
Thou tardy-growing oak that art to be
My club of war, my staff, my sceptre! Thou
Hast well-nigh gain'd thy height. My early-plann'd,
Long-meditate, and slowly-written epic!
Turning thy leaves, dear labour of my life,
Almost I seem to turn my life in thee.
Thy many books, my many votive years,
And thy full pages number'd with my days.
I could look back on all that I have built,
As on some Memphian monument, wherein
The Kings do lie in glory, every one
Each in his house, and forward to thy blank,
Fair future, as one gazes into depths
Of necromantic crystal, and beholds
The heavens come down."

The adoption of such suspicious heroes as these, bodes no good to any laboured or ambitious poem. If epic, it will be

without incident, and full of reverie; if a drama, the choice spirit will have all the speaking to himself, and the scene lack action, character, and issue. There may, indeed, be found room for much ingenious description, *à-propos* to any thing or nothing; for a poetical hero may surely exercise a double licence,—his author's, and his own. Then, all the bits and fragments that our poet has ever written, in every conceivable mood and tense, may be fitly used up here. These are the conveniences of such a plan; but they stop chiefly with the author's part, and do not much befriend the reader. Many little poems do not make a great one; still less do several fragments make a whole. An epic poem is not manufactured like a quilt; nor do the pieces emptied, whether in disgust or admiration, from a young man's portfolio, fall, as by magic, into the true dramatic mould.

But skill and judgment of the highest order have often failed in coping with difficulties which our young authors boldly add to those which lie naturally in their way. So confident are they of their own powers, and so certain to attain the goal of fame, that they put hurdles on the course, and take a five-barred gate in pure bravado. Their choice of subjects in these performances, are instances in proof of this unlucky confidence. We do not think the poetic character very suitable for express delineation by poetic art, even as a matter of occasional choice, and when one true genius seeks thus to re-animate another. In a brief monody an interest of the kind may possibly be sustained, but hardly in a poem of more artistic form. We cannot think that even Goethe has wholly succeeded in his dramatic rendering of the life of Tasso. Byron's "Lament" is more to our liking, because it is less both in pretension and extent. But in the case of the authors before us, there is far less promise of success. Their heroes—Walter in the one case, and Balder in the other—have not the *prestige* of acknowledged genius; they have no grand associations to call up, nor any fadeless laurels to display upon their brows. Of course, then, they must approve their claims to the character in the work where they appear, which must at once establish the author and the hero. Now, both Mr. Smith and his anonymous brother have evidently felt this obligation; but we almost despair of conveying to the reader any adequate idea of the great efforts, and greater sacrifices, they make in order to obtain the character and praise of genius. It is clear that they design to give us the quintessence of the genuine article. Nothing that might for a moment be taken, by those who hear it read, for simple prose, or recognised as the thought and language of daily life, is suffered upon their pages for a moment. It is one unmitigated stream of genius,—we suppose,—that scorns all rule, as any river of spirit will overflow its bounds.

The "Life-Drama" of Mr. Smith is understood to be the work of a very young man; and, therefore, we are not without hope

that he may yet live to show that friendly reproof has not been lost upon him. In entertaining such a hope, of course we acknowledge the reality of his poetic gifts, which, indeed, are not inconsiderable. His poem is mostly free from metaphysical obscurities; and isolated pictures of great beauty meet you on every page. He has great ease, as well as force of language: though limited in range, his pencil is extremely vivid in expression. Here is a famous character, drawn in three lines:—

“Beside that well I read the mighty Bard,
Who clad himself with beauty, genius, wealth;
Then flung himself on his own passion-pyre,
And was consumed.”

Surely that comparison is very fine. Another specimen of his power, though tinged with his own peculiar extravagance, is the following, addressed to an infant:—

“O thou bright thing, fresh from the hand of God!
The motions of thy dancing limbs are swayed
By the unceasing music of thy being!
Nearer I seem to God when looking on thee.
’Tis ages since He made his youngest star:
His hand was on thee, as ’t were yesterday,
Thou later Revelation! Silver stream,
Breaking with laughter from the lake divine
Whence all things flow! O bright and singing babe!
What wilt thou be hereafter?”

This, we say, is a favourable example of our author’s manner; but even in these lines we may trace that extravagance of language which is one of his prevailing faults. If we were to quote much more, the reader would soon discover his other prominent defect, namely, a fatal poverty of ideas. The poem lacks substance, form, and truth; and, in spite of the brilliance of certain parts, it is most unsatisfactory as a whole. To the young and ardent it must necessarily convey a false impression of life; to the experienced and right-minded it brings only weariness and impatience. The hero is a poet, who knows nothing of mankind or society, and only the worst part of himself. He talks as familiarly of sun, and moon, and stars, and mountains, as if they were his nearest neighbours; but of his actual neighbour—of man, in his sober sphere of action, with chastened affections, and reasonable hopes, and cheerful course of duties; of man, in his varied relationships and trials, as yielding to or mastering his own fortunes—he knows or tells us absolutely nothing. Hence his incessant use of stars, and clouds, and seas, and crisped smiles; for ignorance instinctively cowers down behind extravagance. Not without reason does Walter say, “I love the stars too much.” Even when he condescends to any terrestrial objects, they are always the largest or most gaudy of their kind. His garden teems with passion-flowers; his aviary is stocked with

birds of paradise. He makes love in the most sumptuous manner possible. To say that his lady's mouth is full of pearls, and that every thing about her is to match, is only to dilute his very strong description. Of course, there is nothing valuable or extensive which is not at her service: of all his (promised) presents, a kingdom is about the poorest and most common-place. He is perfectly enamoured of a lazy life, and would fill up the hours with endless love and maundering. He is not ashamed to say,—

"O let me live

To love, and flush, and thrill—or let me die!"

Well, this Walter is the deliberately chosen "hero" of Mr. Smith; not selected as a warning, but presented as a model and example of what he holds to be the highest type of man,—the poet, destined "to sun-crown this age." We hardly see how the author can avoid the imputation of Walter's sentiments; at any rate, he is responsible for the general character, as fixed and approved by the action of the poem. Mr. Smith cannot safely plead the laws and licence of dramatic poetry; for by these he is condemned. The work is, indeed, formally, though not virtually, dramatic; and as all that Walter says or does is unrefuted in the course of the action, and uncontrasted by any nobler character, the evident moral is, that this precious hero is the favourite of poet as well as Providence. His end is very edifying. Walter the seducer has a transient passion, or rather passage, of remorse, induced, no doubt, by the recollection that he has some fine things to say in that character; and then, suddenly brightening up, he coolly determines to make a handsome figure in the world yet, and afterwards, leaving it with contempt, go as by right to heaven. Only hear him!—

"I'll rest myself, O World, awhile on thee,
And, half in earnest, half in jest, I'll cut
My name upon thee, pass the arch of Death,
Then on a stair of stars go up to God."

This is not indeed the actual finale of the piece; but nothing afterwards occurs to alter our impression of the whole. Two friends of Walter meet, and speak of his poem as "a hit;" they tell us, moreover, that it was "done at a dash." All this very naturally confirms our impression that the author and the hero are identical; and, if so, we must say that Mr. Smith has very cleverly anticipated the popular effect of that style of poetry in which he has indulged. In a later scene Walter meets with the injured Violet, whom he had deserted, and professes suddenly to be cured of all his evil and romantic habits, and turned to constancy in love, and duty in the ordinary affairs of life. There is nothing to make this conversion probable or permanent. What we must regard as the most hopeful sign of improvement is the

alighting way in which he can endure to mention his favourite stars : he is brought to admit,—

“A star's a cold thing to a human heart,
And love is better than their radiance.”

We gladly pardon the defective grammar, in consideration of the sentiment, which indicates at least some measure of returning reason.

Let us turn for a moment to the other volume before us. Who, then, and what, is “Balder?” Balder is not the divinity of Scandinavian mythology,—the Apollo of the North,—Balder the Beautiful. Neither is he a personification of the poetic character. We are afraid he is an English poet, who has taken to gloomy and unhealthy ways. The only other personage in the drama—excepting a Doctor Paul, who appears but twice—is Amy, the poet's wife. Between these two the long discourses of the poem are sustained, though in very unequal proportions. Balder has the first words and the last to himself, and a very unreasonable share of all that comes between. Of dialogue there is comparatively little. The poet soliloquizes in his study ; and when we are supposed (not without reason) to have had enough of his distempered thoughts, we find a small relief in hearing “through the door the voice of Amy,” which is frequently mournful and melodious in the highest degree. We are not certain if we rightly apprehend the prominent idea which disturbs the rest of Balder, and makes him so unsocial a being ; but it would seem that, having totally lost his relish for the affairs and satisfactions of life, he has begun to entertain a morbid and insane desire to behold the face of Death. Death comes and takes the place of his babe ; but this touches not him so much as Amy ; and as the babe lay on the bosom of his wife, this is a dread exchange and awful fellowship for her. The complaints of Amy, if occurring in a piece of more dramatic and realizing power, would be affecting in a high degree. From this point we do not thoroughly understand the author's drift, but suspect that Balder would have more intimate relations with the grim and spectral foe. His wife falls ill ; Balder threatens to murder Doctor Paul, if he do not cure her ; and yet—still unsatisfied and craving—he contemplates her slaughter by his own hand ; but whether moved by some profound reason which he holds equal to a repeal of the forbidding statute, or urged by fate and irresistible impulse, is not clear. An opportunity is given for the accomplishment of his design by the intrusion of Amy into his study, during his momentary absence, with the purpose of awaiting his return. Balder enters, and takes up a scroll : it is the MS. of his great poem. He addresses it in terms expressive of his hopes and admiration ; and when he has got through only a page and a half of choice comparisons, in

which his fondness likens it to all mute but mighty things, his wife makes herself and her misery known, and flings the usurping parchment out of the window into the moat. Then follows a scene of passion and unreason which in itself is very beautiful and masterly. The lady's madness throws her into a swoon; and in that unconscious state her husband is intent on killing her, when the scene suddenly closes. So ends this strange volume; but not so the work; for this is only the first portion; and whether tithe or moiety who shall tell?

The following lines, forming part of a long eulogy prepared by Balder for his victim, Amy, will put the reader in possession of the manner which prevails through the entire volume; it contains, in brief, almost all the characteristic blemishes and beauties of our author's style:—

“So the world blessed her; and another world,
Like spheres of cloud that inter-penetrated
Till each is either, met and mixed with this.
And so the angel Earth that bears her Heaven
About her, so that wheresoe’er in space
Her footstep stayeth, we look up, and say
That Heaven is there—SHE moved, and made all times
And seasons equal; trode the mortal life
Immortally, and with her human tears
Bedewed her everlasting, till the Past
And Future lapsed into a golden Now
For ever best. She was much like the moon,
Seen in the day-time, that by day receives
Like joy with us, but when our night is dark,
Lit by the changeless sun we cannot see,
Shineth no less. And she was like the moon
Because the beams that brightened her passed o’er
Our dark heads, and we knew them not for light
Till they came back from hers; and she was like
The moon, that wheresoe’er appeared her wane
Or crescent, was no loss or gain in her,
But in the changed beholder. I, who saw
Her constant countenance, and had its orb
Still full on me, with whom she rose and set,
Knew she had no lunation. In herself
The elements of holiness were merged
In white completion, and all graces did
The part of each. To man or Deity
Her sinless life had nought whereof to give
Of worse or better, for she was to God
As a smile to a face. Ah, God of Beauty!
Where in this lifeless picture my poor hand
Hath done her wrong, forgive; she was Thy smile,—
How could I paint her? That I dared essay
Her image, and am innocent, I plead
Resistless intuition, which believes

Where knowledge fails, and powerless to divine
 Or to confound, still calls the face and smile
 Not one, but twain, and contradicts the sense
 Material, which, beholding her, beholds
 Essence, not Effluence, nor Thine, but Thee."

The faults of this elaborate description—which is only the summary or concluding part of one far more extensive—are radical and pervading. It is extravagant in the extreme; and yet, after all, what qualities, that really command love and esteem, are told us of this lady? It is only a transcendental doll that the poet has dressed up in mist and moon-beam, without one human feature to attract our regard or engage our confidence. Perhaps, innocence—the innocence native to unsullied creatures—is the charm intended to prevail throughout the picture. Not to urge that this is false to nature, and far beyond the range of our belief and sympathy, the author manifestly fails in the embodiment of his fair ideal. Not in such ethereal graces did Milton clothe the Eve of Paradise,—not so dangerously did he venture to confound her essence with that of the Divine and Perfect Being; yet, in that lovely portraiture, we have all that is womanly, and true, and pure,—humanity idealized by the perfection of its several qualities, and feminine affection and devotion subsisting in the loveliest of human moulds. But this picture of the poet's Amy is surely most unreal; we can form no conception of such a being as he labours to depict; it is so shadowy that the moon, intended to invest it only, streams fairly through it; and, at the first light of day,—the first dawn of reflection,—it melts insensibly off, and we have not the faintest notion left us of this unearthly beauty. Yet, as we are bound to believe that Amy was every thing to her enamoured poet, what must we think of her deliberate and barbarous murder at his hands? Surely, no doubt should have been allowed to rest upon our minds of the nature and strength of motive leading to this diabolic purpose.

Of the final and presiding moral of this unfinished poem we cannot pretend to speak; but the tendency of the part before us we do not hesitate both to judge and condemn. Apart from the outrageous action with which it seems to conclude,—the effect of which is so subordinate that we omit it from our calculation,—there is more than enough to satisfy us, that no time can be less profitably spent than that devoted to its perusal. Many of its faults originate, no doubt, in that defective structure to which our introductory remarks had reference; but we must point them out now, in the particular shape which they assume, as gross faults of exaggeration and disproportion, both in style and sentiment.

The style of "Balder" may be pronounced equally remarkable for beauties and defects; but it must be understood that its

beauties are limited to the minor qualities of expression and illustration, while the larger attributes of style, destined to harmonize and order and subordinate the parts, are almost wholly wanting. It is frequently obscure as well as gorgeous, seemingly written with great facility, and certainly read with a fluent ease which makes the search for meaning, however necessary, quite impracticable. Once launched upon a tide of verse so affluent and sparkling, the reader is soon carried out of his own, if not his author's, depth; and, hopeless of regaining his feet, resigns himself to float away while all the willowy and monotonous banks glide by. The effect of this kind of poetry upon the mind is very singular. Having no earthly interest, it has, nevertheless, a certain charm for the bewildered sense. Abounding far more in brilliant imagery than distinct ideas, the reader is astonished by the opulence of language and the endless succession of pictures presented, often with great vividness, to the mind. This excess and total insubordination of imagery is characteristic of the school of rhapsodists and dreamers. Sometimes one feeble circumstance or thought—and that not arising out of any incident in the poem—is treated to a train of ten or even twenty similes, each far outshining its poor antecedent, which, of course, is quite forgotten long before the last illustration has appeared and vanished. Sometimes this poetry is metaphysical, and sometimes it is eminently sensuous; or rather it is each by turns, as the thought and illustration successively predominate. The thread upon which much of the delicate and splendid imagery of "*Balder*" is strung, is a peculiar and morbid strain of speculation, arising in the moody poet's mind. This psychological condition, and its curious phenomena, are not easily described by a pen so plain as ours, but may be found in all their strange proportions, or rather disproportions, in the poet's endless reverie. The following lines have more or less resemblance to many hundred others, dictated by this same *questionable* spirit:—

"Am I one and every one,
Either and all? The innumerable race
My Past; these myriad-faced men my hours?
What! have I fill'd the earth and knew it not?
Why not? How other? Am I not immortal?
And if immortal now, immortal then;
And if immortal then, existent now;
But where? Thou living, moving neighbour, Man,
Art thou my former self,—me and not me?
Did I begin, and shall I end? Was I
The first, and shall I one day, as the last,
Stand in the front of the long file of man,
And, looking back, behold it winding out,
Far through the unsearch'd void, and measuring time
Upon eternity, and know myself

Sufficient, and that, like a comet, I
 Pass'd through my heaven, and fill'd it?"

We admit that the metaphysical idea embodied in these lines is expressed in a highly poetical manner; and perhaps it is not more, but less, absurd in such a dress than in its customary style of sober prose. Yet a little of this kind of writing is enough; and we become naturally impatient when it is found to prevail through so large a quantity of verse, and in a form of composition where it was least to be expected.

Turning to a later part of the volume, we find Balder thus pompously witnessing to the vanity of human life:—

"I have tried all philosophies; I know
 The height and depth of science; I have dug
 The embalmed truth of Karnak, and have sail'd
 Tigris and Ganges to the sacred source
 Of eastern wisdom; I have lived a life
 Of noble means to noble ends; and here
 I turn to the four winds, and say, 'In vain,
 In vain, in vain, in vain!'"

Surely we ought to be made to see more distinctly how the use of "noble means to noble ends" were so entirely fruitless; throughout the present work no such ends or means are employed or sought by Balder. Besides, it is very easy, but not equally artistic, for an author to assert, in so many words, the vast learning and experience of his hero, when of this, also, wholly wanting to be assured by some collateral evidence:—otherwise we are treated only to a truism, the echo which every human heart awakes to the preacher's "vanity of vanities." In the case of Balder,—dreamer as he is,—so large a range of learning and experience is just what we are most disposed to doubt. He seems to have enervated his soul, and anticipated the voice of "vanity," by abstracting himself from all the wholesome influences of daily life and common duty. To idle on the grass is his *beau-ideal* of an earthly Paradise; to do a day's work would evidently fill him with fatigue and disgust, if the bare idea of it did not cause his feeble nature to collapse. He cries, (like Walter,) in the spirit of this luxurious philosophy,—

"Alas! that one
 Should use the days of summer but to live,
 And breathe but as the needful element
 The strange superfluous glory of the air!
 Nor rather stand apart in awe beside
 The untouch'd Time, and saying o'er and o'er
 In love and wonder, 'These are summer days.'"

And so this precious sentiment is made the frequent burden of

his song, and more or less precisely its musical refrain; for our bard is found alighting to the last

"The untouch'd Time, and saying o'er and o'er
In love and wonder, 'These are happy days.'"

We presume it is not necessary to occupy more time or space by further extracts from this poem; and our remarks, in conclusion, must be more brief than we had purposed.

It is clear that neither nature nor humanity is fairly represented in the pages of "*Balder*." For the one you have the colour without the composition of Turner; the bright, headlong, and disordered rack of clouds, but not the delicate and truthful line of coast. For the other you have the vivid palette of the pre-Raphaelite, but not his faithful and pathetic pencil. To the last-named school of art the poem bears some striking points of resemblance; but, on examination, we shall find more of contrast than coincidence in these artistic schools. Both are observant of the delicate and the minute in nature, and full of exquisite by-play; but the pre-Raphaelite is a realist, and the modern poet an ideal rhapsodist: the one trusts to find due sentiment and moral result from an almost literal exhibition of the truth; the other dreams his dream of metaphysical and wildest beauty, and then rifles nature for images of like power, like majesty, like evanescence, or like grace. We should less regret the structural defects of this poem, if it abounded in aphorisms of substantial worth. When our great poet drew the character of a man most worldly-wise, he put into his mouth an involuntary tribute to virtue, that is in admirable keeping and full of moral truth. The counsel of Polonius to his son is summed up in one brief maxim:—

"To thine own self be true,
And it must follow, as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man."

How well does this express the linked order of the moral virtues!—the social not only consistent with, but included in, the personal, and both so intimately joined, that to do highest justice to yourself, is also to fulfil the laws of brotherhood and duty to your neighbour. Our author, among all his brilliant sayings, finds no opportunity of teaching such a truth. In the "*Night Thoughts*" of Dr. Young, there are a thousand instances of the value of this secondary element of poetry, and the more valuable in that work, because the primary artistic element is wanting. But nothing of the kind rewards the reader of this strange farrago.

In taking leave of Mr. Smith and his companion, we hope that none who have gone with us thus far together, can mistake the real grounds of censure upon which we have proceeded. If

we have sometimes spoken lightly of their defects, it is not because we under-rate the serious mischief of such productions. If many features expose them to slight and ridicule, their spirit and tendency make them obnoxious also to our just reproof. Our readers have had some means of judging of the freedom, bordering upon profanity, with which they make light use of the name and character of God; but this is done to an extent which our few extracts could not adequately show. On the lower grounds of art their condemnation is as strictly merited.

The author of "*Balder*" is the more deserving of reproof, though perhaps only the less likely to profit by it, because it is his second work and most deliberate choice. Yet talents so high as those which this author possesses, were not given to be squandered in intemperate fancies, which, while they enervate the reckless possessor, can only deprave the fine imagination and relax the moral tone of rising manhood. The youth of England, if they are to meet manfully the duties of their future life, must be hardy in their intellectual pastime, as well as in their holiday sports; for the one is as necessary to their mental and moral health, as the other to their physical maturity. To steep their minds in poetry like that which we have turned from, is about as wise as to spend their summer evenings, and make their nightly bed, in a steaming hot-house, only for the privilege of reposing under the leaves of some huge exotic. How much better to follow the muse of Scott over breezy heath and mountain fell; to watch the feast in Branksome Hall, or pursue the flying stag as he seeks "the wild heaths of Uum-bar!" It is the fashion, we know, to decry the poetic achievements of Sir Walter Scott, to style them (what, indeed, they are) mere versified romances: and we may admit that many of his contemporaries, as Campbell, Rogers, and Coleridge, struck loftier music from their lyres, and warbled a sweeter and a rarer song. But let the new generation of poets beware how they push the strain too far, and give us so much that is intensely poetical, (as they intend it;) and especially how they permit the expressional parts of poetry to overlay its more substantial elements. The sure effect of this will be to drive us back to the homelier but healthier standards, and among the rest to the plain but nervous minstrelsy of Scott, with its simple melody and vivid freshness, its hearty sympathy with external nature, and its skilful blending of the familiar and romantic.

But if something of deeper significance and tone be wanting,—something that shall touch the imagination most profoundly, and satisfy the ear most sensible to linked and hidden harmonies,—there are not wanting poets of the present day to whose influence, in a lawful measure, we may safely commit our minds. The pensive muse of Aubrey de Vere, and the deep pathetic genius of Elizabeth Barrett Browning, rise up at once to our recol-

lection. Both are free, so far as we are aware, from those corrupting tendencies which we have found occasion to deplore in the poems passed in review before us. In Mrs. Browning, especially, we are glad to remark a truly religious spirit. But we hope to say more of this lady's writings in some future notice of the fairer aspect of poetic literature in the present day.

We cannot conclude this imperfect sketch of some of the tendencies of modern poetry, without alluding to a volume very recently published,—“Poems” by Matthew Arnold. We are of opinion that nothing so sensible, in the way of poetical criticism, as the Preface to this little volume, has appeared for many years past; and had we met with it at an earlier period of our present writing, we should gladly have spared the reader some of our own remarks, and treated him to certain passages of quotation, in which he would have found them more elegantly expressed. We earnestly commend this Preface, in connexion with that prefixed to Mr. Taylor's “Philip van Artevelde,” to the attention of our young and rising poets: they will teach them in one how to avoid the false heroics of Byronic poetry, and the other how to make structure and composition the first requisites of his art, and to hold expression as a subordinate, though still essential matter. Of Mr. Arnold's “Poems” we shall not now speak, or say in how far he seems to have written up to the noble principles of art which he puts forth. In choice of subject he has perhaps too much neglected the reader's demand for easy, if not familiar, apprehension; but the conception and execution of his Poems are sound and healthy; and we do not doubt that one who so thoroughly understands the constructive genius of his art, and is gifted, moreover, with no small degree of its spirit and power, will yet do great things, and furnish an occasion for our welcome to him on some future day.

ART. X.—*Report of the Census of the United States for 1850.*

FOR many years, thoughtful men on both sides of the Atlantic have deplored the unnatural bitterness that, until recently, has characterized the press of Great Britain in speaking of America, and the press of America in speaking of this country. That such a state of feeling should have existed for some time after the separation of the North American Colonies from the mother country, and that it should have been renewed by the unfortunate rupture of 1812, is not to be wondered at. But it is as much a matter of surprise, as of regret, that, during so large a portion of the forty years that have since elapsed, writers should have been found who have employed all their talents in the

attempt to keep open a breach which the peaceful avocations of commerce, and the influences of a purer civilisation, have been tending to heal. Happily, however, a mighty change has taken place in the public opinion of both these great countries. We cannot now conceive of a worse speculation, than the publication of a work in this country, that should be mainly occupied in ridiculing the manners, customs, and institutions of America; unless, indeed, it were a work published in America, denouncing the despotism and cruelty of the Government of England. A few political fanatics and literary hacks may still be found in either country, fanning the dying embers of national hatred and distrust; but their numbers and their influence are daily decreasing. On the other hand, the number of Englishmen and Americans who think and write kindly of each other is vastly on the increase. Nor is this surprising. Sprung from a common origin, the ties of blood, with all their accompanying instincts and traditions, are bonds of union more powerful than treaties. How can the American look with indifference, much more with hostility, upon the land of his forefathers? Can he be supposed willing to forego his share in the glory that attaches to England, as the cradle and bulwark of liberty and Protestantism? With a common language, and a common literature, his habits of thought and modes of action are identical with ours. With laws and a system of jurisprudence founded upon ours, trial by jury and the *Habeas Corpus* Act are as much the birthright of the American as of the Englishman. Over and above the ties of feeling and sentiment, the material interests of the two countries are now so indissolubly connected by commerce, that every disaster that gives a shock to the capital or credit of the one, inflicts an almost corresponding injury upon the other. But there are other bonds of union.

They are the only two great countries in the world which possess Constitutional forms of Government, and, moreover, they are *Protestant* countries. We are bound, therefore, by every consideration of duty and interest, to do all in our power to strengthen the international friendship already existing between them. With a few trifling exceptions, England is the only country in Europe that is not subjected to despotic rule. We know not, therefore, how soon we may be called upon to defend our liberties and our Reformed religion against combined Europe. Should such an emergency arise, with right on our side, we should not despair as to the result. But success, in such a struggle, would be a calamity only less dreadful than failure: while, with America united to England, we should be spared the cost and risk of a conflict. It behoves, therefore, every Christian patriot to discountenance, as far as it may be in his power, any and every attempt that may be made to perpetuate a spirit of rancour, that has so long survived the causes that gave it birth.

Conservative England was never more attached to her own form of Government than she is at present, though she may be more willing now, than heretofore, to admit that the institutions of the United States have contributed to increase the wealth, extend the resources, and secure the liberties of that great country. On the other hand, Republican America has lost none of her faith in her own institutions, though she is willing to admit that liberty and happiness are equally secure under our mixed form of Government.

On many accounts the United States* of North America may fairly be called one of the most remarkable countries in the world. The increase in its population, commerce, and wealth, and in all the material elements of power, has been so rapid,—its advances, too, in intellectual cultivation and greatness have been so steady,—that no one can contemplate the American nation without finding himself impelled to ask, "What is to be the Future of that country?"

The territory of the United States, as defined by the treaty of 1783, by which its independence was acknowledged by the mother country, was even then very extensive; stretching from the Canadas on the north, to Florida and Louisiana on the south, and from the Atlantic on the east to the Mississippi on the west. But the purchase of Louisiana (from France) in 1803 added immensely to that territory. The acquisition of Florida (from Spain) by purchase, in 1821, enlarged it considerably more. The annexation of Texas gave a further enlargement to the limits of the great Republic; as did the acquisition of Oregon, originally by treaty with France, being included in what was called Louisiana, but having its northern limit defined by treaty with Great Britain in 1846. And, finally, the territory of the United States reached its present extent by the cession of the great districts of New Mexico, Utah, and California, on the part of the Republic of Mexico, at the close of the war with that country in 1848. The area of the United States is now about three millions and a quarter of square miles, of which about *one-fourth* was obtained by the war with Mexico.

We have in these few lines traced the history of the territorial growth of the United States. It has certainly been rapid beyond parallel. Neither the Roman, the Russian, our own, nor any other empire that has had any permanence, ever had so great an increase *within a period of exactly fifty years*. The British Empire is far larger, computed by square miles and by population, than the United States. The Russian is more than twice as large, and has a population only wanting a few millions of

* Our readers will perceive that we use, in the course of this Article, the names *America*, *the United States*, and *the United States of North America*, indifferently, to denote the same country.

being three times as great. But the growth of each has been the work of a far longer time; and, to a far greater extent, was the result of victorious warfare.

But let us advance to considerations of more importance than territorial enlargement.

The most astonishing advancement of the United States, after all, is to be found in the amazing increase of its population, the rapid diffusion of that population over a vast area, the development of those resources which constitute the strength of nations, the progress of all the useful, and of many of the fine arts, and the consolidation of its political institutions; so that the impulse of the Central Government is more and more felt, to the remotest boundaries of the country, and aids the diffusion of those moral and religious influences which underlie the structure of the whole political organization of the nation. These are the things, in the history and present position of the United States, which rightly challenge the attention of the entire civilized world.

The physical advantages of the United States are unquestionably very great. The sixteen States which lie along the Atlantic "slope"—to use an American word—contain much fine land; so does the Pacific "slope." But the Great Central Valley, lying between the Alleghany and the Rocky Mountains, and extending from the Great Lakes, on the north, to the Gulf of Mexico, on the south,—embracing more than half of the entire area of the Republic,—is not surpassed, for the quantity of good land which it contains, the great number of its navigable rivers, and the variety and salubrity of the climate, by any other portion of the world of equal extent. Certainly, in regard to soil, climate, productions, rivers, bays, lakes, and other natural advantages, the United States, taken as a whole, has no superior. God has prepared that country to be the abode of many millions of the human race; and we cannot doubt that it is destined to be the scene of great events.

The increase of the United States in population has been wonderful. At the commencement of the Revolution, in 1775, the number of inhabitants (not including the Aborigines) was scarcely *three millions*! Twenty-five years later, 1800, it was something less than *five millions*! Fifty years later still, in 1850, it was near *twenty-three millions and a quarter*! At the present moment it is computed to be quite *twenty-five millions*! In other words, the number of the inhabitants of that country has increased, in seventy-eight years, from three millions to twenty-five millions!* And as the population has, for the last seventy years, been doubled in periods of less than twenty-three years, it is calculated, on what must appear to be rational

* We do not include the Aborigines in this statement, who may be put down at half a million.

grounds, that the United States will have not less than one hundred millions of inhabitants at the close of the current century! In twenty-five years from the present time, that country will have—unless some great calamity occur, such as civil war, or very disastrous famine or pestilence—a population of fifty millions. This will be more than any country in Europe now has, excepting Russia; and, in fifty years, it will have a far greater population than Russia in Europe, or even the entire Russian Empire, with its more than seven millions of square miles.

We are startled when we look even at that Future, which is not distant, of the great American Republic,—the Future only of twenty-five or fifty years. But when we look forward a century or two, and imagine that we see that country peopled by two hundred or three hundred millions of civilized men, we are ready to ask, What will be the effect of all this on the institutions of that country? Will republican principles and institutions be able to endure this mighty growth? If not, what will take their place, and how will the change be made? Will there be one great nation, or many? And what will be the influence of this great Transatlantic nation, if it remain united, upon South America? What upon Europe? We can ask these questions, but who can give satisfactory answers?

What is to be the Future of America?—as the United States of North America are commonly termed in this country and in Europe generally. This is a subject which cannot but interest all reflecting Englishmen. America was once a part of the British Empire. Its first colonists were from the British Isles. They carried with them that form of Christianity which has made America what she is,—that has made Britain what she is: they were Protestants. They were Protestants who were for the most part worthy of the name. Even the "Cavaliers," who settled in the southern Colonies, were decided in their attachment to Protestant principles. So were the Dutch and Swedes who settled on the Hudson and the Delaware, midway between the Episcopalians of the south, and the Puritans of the north. So were William Penn and his followers, who settled in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, between the Dutch and the Swedes.

It was not only Protestantism,—the Protestantism of the British Isles, for the most part,—but the political and civil institutions of England, which the early colonists carried with them, and planted all along the Atlantic coast, from Maine to Georgia. Now those institutions, after having been widely established through the Great Central Valley, from the Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, are seen producing their appropriate fruit in the great State of California, and the two Territories of Oregon and Washington (soon to become States) on the extensive and beautiful coast of the Pacific. Over all this vast country, peopled already with

twenty-five millions of civilized men, and destined to be peopled with hundreds of millions, the great principles of English law, of English jurisprudence, and of the English constitution, prevail, and are controlling and forming these millions. The English language, the richest and noblest in all that constitutes an elevating literature, is the prevailing language of these millions of the human race. The English Bible, the Hymns of Watts, and Cowper, and Wesley, and Montgomery, as well as the immortal writings of Addison, and Pope, and Johnson, and Burke, and Hall, and Chalmers, will be household books from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico.

There were many things in the early history of America in which the hand of God was remarkably visible. One was, the preparation which existed in the condition of the Aborigines, especially in the northern part of the country, and along the sea-coast, at the time of the arrival of the colonists. Epidemic diseases and inter-national, or rather inter-tribal, wars had swept away in some places, and greatly diminished in others, the bands of savages who might otherwise have rendered extremely difficult the settling of a few weak companies of men, exiles in some cases, from the Old World. Another is, that they were compelled, for more than one hundred and fifty years, by the more powerful tribes of the Aborigines in the interior, and by the French, who possessed the great valleys of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, to confine their settlements to the Atlantic coast or "slope." A third was, the wonderful difference, in origin and creed, which characterized the early colonists. In the north-east, or New England, were the Puritans from Old England; in the south, the Episcopalians, also from England; in the middle, the Dutch Calvinists founded New Amsterdam, (now the great city of New York,) and other settlements on the North River; the Swedish Lutherans established themselves on the Delaware; whilst William Penn and his "children of peace" founded the Colony of Pennsylvania, and spread themselves also into New Jersey. A small Colony of Roman Catholics was planted in Maryland, in which, however, in the course of a few years, the Protestants became the majority. With this single exception, all the first colonization of the Atlantic coast was effected by men who held the great principles of the Reformation of the sixteenth century. Over this original colonization, came that which was of the nature of a *Dispersion*. Pious Germans from the Palatinate, driven from their country by the devastations committed by the myrmidons of Louis XIV., scattered themselves extensively in Pennsylvania, and somewhat in the other middle, as well as in some of the southern, Colonies. The excellent Huguenots from France settled mainly in the southern and middle Colonies. Faithful men came from Scotland, the north of Ireland, Wales, Poland, Bohemia, and even the valleys of Piedmont, to

find a home among their brethren of the same faith in the middle Colonies. In this way the country became a Protestant one in the highest sense. Protestants from eleven different countries emigrated to America in the seventeenth century, to lay the foundations of that great Republic, and in *eight* of these countries *oppression* drove the emigrants from the Old World. The very cause of their emigration naturally prepared these people and their descendants to receive with kindness those whom misfortune of any sort might drive to their shore; just as sympathy led the Carthaginian Queen to welcome her Trojan guests to her new city and country:—

“Haud ignara mali, miseris succurrere disco.”

This variety in national origin the better fitted them, by taste, and custom, and language, to receive those who might afterwards come to them from the same countries. And thus it happened that strangers from the valleys of the Loire and Garonne, the Rhine and the Elbe, the Po, the Vistula, the Clyde, the Forth, and other localities, in years and even generations after, might find descendants and friends from the lands of their birth. It was in this way that America received, even from days of old, her title and her qualification, to be the home of emigrants from all parts of Europe. Wonderful preparation for a wonderful Future!

A fourth remarkable fact was, that no acquisition of foreign territory with a Papal population was made, until after the beginning of the present century, when Louisiana, Florida, Texas, and the northern portion of Mexico, successively came under the dominion of the Republic. In all these, the Roman Catholic religion was the first form of Christianity. At present, Protestantism has completely triumphed in three out of four of these foreign acquisitions, and in the remaining one (Louisiana) divides the population and the power with its rival and antagonist.

A fifth remarkable circumstance in the history of America was, that it was only when the eastern portion of the country, from the Alleghany Mountains to the Atlantic Ocean, was in a great degree settled by men of European origin, that the great valley of the Mississippi was fully opened, by good roads, and afterwards by the steamboat and the railroad, to that astonishing colonization from the States on the Atlantic coast,—each one sending forward its own column, and all moving westward, as nearly as possible within the lines of latitude in which they originated,—which has diffused over the entire eastern side of that valley all the phases of the civilization and population which one finds on the Atlantic slope.

The sixth and last great fact which we shall mention, as showing the Divine interposition in the history of America, was the occurrence, at so late a period, of that series of revolutions and wars which agitated Europe to its centre during the quarter

of a century preceding the Battle of Waterloo, and which was a primary cause of that great emigration from Europe which commenced not very long after the epoch just named, and has gone on steadily augmenting ever since. Half a million annually of emigrants from the masses of Ireland, Germany, France, Switzerland, Italy, and other countries in Europe, would probably have ruined the American institutions, if it had occurred at an earlier period than it did.

It was not until the Anglo-American race had become numerous, strong, and firmly entrenched in the country by intelligence, enterprise, commerce, and wealth, that the emigration from the Old World became so very great. And now that emigration, which would very certainly have affected most disastrously the interests of the States, and perhaps subverted the entire political structure of the country, if it had occurred in the early days of the Republic, may be endured without great difficulty, and (it is hoped) without serious hazard.

Thus far we have treated of the Past of America. No nation ever had such an origin: no country ever had a history so interesting within a period of two hundred and fifty years,—or so indicative of a great Future. The Greek colonies laid the foundations of the kingdom of Macedon and the empires of Rome and Byzantium; but long centuries passed away before those states attained to eminence, and made their influence felt in the world. And even at their height, they displayed no such civilization—the civilization which reached and elevated the masses—as that which two centuries and a half have produced in America. And what has caused the difference? It has been the influence of an effective Christianity upon men of indomitable energy of character. The early colonization of the United States was emphatically Anglo-Saxon, or Anglo-Norman. It was effected by men, whose minds were, for the most part, imbued with the knowledge of a biblical Christianity, and whom the exalted aim of extending Christ's kingdom, as well as the promotion of their own temporal and spiritual interests and those of their posterity, induced to cross a wide and almost unknown ocean, and establish themselves in the wilderness. They were men whom neither the perils of the sea, nor the greater perils arising from famine, disease, and the fierceness of savage foes, could intimidate. They belonged to that good old race which long and various adversities had trained in the British Isles, in the plains of Western Germany, on the islands and rocky coasts of Scandinavia, for a life of hardship, and independence, and noble daring. They were men whose hearths were their *homes*; whose houses were their *castles*. They were men who could go forth into the forests and into their fields, with the implements of husbandry in their hands, and the *rifle* on their shoulder; and whose determination not to forsake the “assembling of them-

selves together" for the worship of the God of their fathers was displayed in the log-churches which their faith caused them to erect even in the midst of the forests. They were men who stacked their guns, when necessity required, in the corners of the humble sanctuary, and, whilst with Psalm-book in hand they listened to the venerable servant of God, kept a good watch, from the windows and the *loop-holes*, for hostile heathens that prowled around the sacred spot. They were men who had not feared to disobey both King and Parliament, when conscience required, before they left their native land.

Men of such a character were the first colonists of what we now call, *par excellence*, America. From the beginning the British Colonies took the lead, and absorbed those from the Continent, and in process of time imbued them in a great degree with their views of Christianity, and their love of constitutional liberty, and of a popular Civil Government. It was owing to these men that the British Constitution—that noble Constitution, the product of ages of discussion and struggle—was essentially re-produced in all the Thirteen Colonies. In each a Governor was the representative of the Monarch, and a Legislature, consisting of a Senate and House of Delegates, (both chosen by the people, however,) represented the Parliament. In some of the Colonies a Council to aid the Governor represented the "Royal Council." The English Common Law, and, to some extent, the Statute Law, was the fundamental law of the Colonies; whilst the Judiciary of England, including the "Jury of Twelve Men," was substantially introduced into each of the "Old Thirteen."

The parallel ran still further. The Church was united to the State in many of the Colonies. At the epoch of the Revolution, the Congregational Churches were supported by the State in three out of four of the New England Colonies; namely, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut. On the other hand, the Episcopal Church was the Established Church in New York, and in four of the five southern Colonies; namely, Virginia, Maryland, and the two Carolinas. Even in three out of the five remaining Colonies, (New Jersey, Delaware, and Georgia,) the same Church had the distinction of being the Church "favoured" by the royal Governors. There were two, and only two, we believe, in which it might be said that an Established Church was to be found; these were Rhode Island and Pennsylvania.

The Revolution brought no radical changes, either in the form of Government, or the administration of justice. The President and Congress took the place of King and Parliament. The thirteen Colonies became thirteen States, and the whole formed one confederated Government, under the name of *The United States*. For a short time the Church remained united to the State in eight of the members of the Union; but long years of

discussion at length effected a complete separation. The struggle began in Virginia. Mr. Jefferson gave the first blow to the ancient fabric: but the Presbyterians, seconded by the Baptists, gave the effective strokes which wrought its demolition. The movement was followed up in Maryland, the Carolinas, and New York. At a later day, the struggle commenced in Connecticut and Massachusetts; where the same results followed. It is now twenty years since the last ligament that bound together the Church and the State in the last-named State (Massachusetts) was severed; and now the two great institutions stand completely separated, the one from the other. Fortunately, however, their position is not that of hostility.

These general statements, of a historical nature, we deem sufficient to enable our readers to have a correct view of the Past, as well as to prepare them to contemplate the Future of that great country, and see whether there be any omens in any quarter, from which we may gather some reasonable and reliable prognostications, or, at least, some probable conjectures, respecting that Future.

We begin with saying that no generous Briton, no true-hearted English Christian, can possibly regard this subject without intense interest. We cannot contemplate the growing up in North America of a great nation, sprung as it were from our own loins, speaking our own noble language, possessing political institutions essentially like our own, developing all the energy and enterprise of the Anglo-Norman race, whose commerce and wealth already rank next to those of England, whose progress in education, literature, arts, and every thing else that elevates a people, rivals our own, and who are, withal, a *Protestant nation*,—without the greatest satisfaction. Look at the United States, stretching from ocean to ocean, and embracing an immense zone of the earth that possesses almost every advantage as to soil, climate, production, which can be desired, and destined to be the abode of hundreds of millions of the human race. How can we, especially as British Protestants, look at all this with indifference?

“England and America, the Mother and the Daughter, *against the World!*” Such was the toast which the late Mr. Canning once proposed. There was much in the sentiment: there will be more in it before another quarter of a century passes away. England and the United States are the bulwarks of constitutional freedom, and of the Protestant religion. The Protestant Churches of England and America are doing tenfold more to spread the Gospel throughout the world, than all the other Churches, in all lands, combined. There is little love of either—there is much fear, rather, of both—on the part of the despotic and papal Governments of both the Old World and the New. There is good reason why England and America should stand together, to fight the battles of freedom, to repel the attack

of despots, should they be insane enough ever to combine against them. We greatly prefer, however, the modification of Mr. Canning's toast, which the Rev. Dr. Cox of America once proposed at the Meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society. It was, "England and America, the Mother and the Daughter, *for* the World!" Yes; let England and America unite their energies in all proper efforts for the evangelization of the world, each seeing well to it, that the work *at home* is prosecuted wisely, earnestly, and effectively.

There is nothing that concerns the prosperity and prospects of America which ought not to interest the heart of a British Christian. And, if that country is to be the great instrument (and who can doubt it?) of diffusing the blessings of Civil and Religious Liberty—the blessings of a true Christianity—throughout all North America; and even of extending them, in one way or another, to the southern end of the western hemisphere,—opening up immense fields to English literature and English commerce,—we may well rejoice at it. Her growth will secure our growth, her prosperity will augment our prosperity, and the progress of true religion in both will be beneficial to both, as well as to the rest of the world.

That there are several dangers which menace the prosperity of America, and excite serious apprehensions in the minds of many of her wisest and best men, we cannot disguise, if we would, from either ourselves or others:—

1. There is the emigration from the western side of Europe, to which we have already referred, and which has become immense, and, in the opinion of some persons, alarming. This emigration is wonderful. The world has never seen any thing like it in other directions, or in other ages. The first emigration from England to America occurred chiefly within the first fifty years of the seventeenth century, or rather between 1607 and 1645. After this there was almost a cessation for several years. For a while it was renewed between 1660 and 1688. After this period, there was very little emigration from Europe to America until the American Revolution. The most of what did take place was that of German and French Protestants, but the number did not amount to many thousands. After the Revolution, there was little or no emigration from Europe, until the French Revolution, and the wars which grew out of it, drove many people to the New World, some of whom afterwards returned. In a word, it was only in 1816 that emigration became of serious magnitude. Nor was it earlier than 1829 that it arrested much attention. Soon afterwards it increased very rapidly, ascending from 35,000 to 60,000 and 80,000 in the course of a few years. Afterwards it increased to 150,000,—200,000,—260,000,—315,000. In 1851 it was more than 460,000; and in 1852 it reached half a million! In 1853 it will probably have come quite up to that amount; for, although famine, pestilence, and emigration have combined

to reduce the population of Ireland, one of the great sources of this European emigration, down to *six millions and a half*, and rendered it impossible that that island can continue long to send away so many of her children as she did two years ago, yet the emigration from the Continent is decidedly increasing. Whilst the emigration from Ireland has probably reached its *acmé*, and may be expected to diminish till it descends to a point nearly stationary, Germany, with her more than forty millions of inhabitants, has only just begun to make her influence felt in this way: last year but one she sent 212,000 of her people to the United States.

It was a long time before the Irish emigrants in America had reached such a measure of dispersion, and become so intimately acquainted with routes of interior travel and communication,—now so wonderfully augmented by steamboats and railroads,—that they could get over, with comparative ease, their relatives and friends. The Germans are fast advancing to that point. Irish emigrants are not only now to be found, in large numbers, in the great cities and towns, both on the seaboard and in the interior, but are rapidly accumulating in the villages in all parts of the country, especially in the Northern, Middle, and Western States. The same thing will soon be true of the Germans. The emigration from France, Italy, Holland, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, although considerable in the aggregate, is not yet to be compared with that from Germany.

Every one can see how greatly it facilitates emigration from any country, to have a large number of people from that country previously dispersed over the country to which the emigration tends. Every emigrant that goes in advance, serves to open the way—to make it known, and to indicate how to reach it—to those who follow. This is particularly important, in America, to those who come from the European Continent and cannot speak the English language. The enterprise becomes comparatively easy when the emigrant knows, beforehand, that he will find compatriots, not only in the city where he may land, but all along the route to the place in the “Far West” to which friends, who have gone before, invite him. As to the Irish and Germans, the way is emphatically prepared in America for their going thither. In this respect, the state of things is widely different from what it was half a century ago. The facilities for crossing the ocean are wonderfully increased. It does not cost half so much now as formerly. The same facilities and inducements are presenting themselves to those in France, Italy, and other countries in Europe, whom oppression, or poverty, or restless desire, or secret crime, may impel to seek a home beyond the Atlantic Ocean.

Whilst Western Europe is thus sending hundreds of thousands of people to America, Eastern Asia is beginning to furnish her contingent. Already from 25,000 to 30,000 Chinese have come to California, and are pursuing, in San Francisco, Sacramento, and other cities, their quiet, industrious, and frugal life. It is

impossible to foretell the result of all this. It is quite likely that the day is not distant when Asia will make her influence—now almost completely Pagan and idolatrous—widely felt upon the destinies of America.

At first sight, it might seem impossible that so immense an immigration should not be unspeakably disastrous to the best interests of the country. If the half million of emigrants who now arrive annually in America were intelligent and enlightened Protestants, from England, Scotland, and Ireland, we can readily see that they might be a blessing to the country; but when we reflect, that probably more than one half of the emigrants from Europe are Romanists,—poor, ignorant, priest-ridden people,—and that many of the Protestants are infidel, or, at least, *latitudinarian*, as it regards religion; and withal, that more than half of the entire number do not know the vernacular language of the country, we confess that the affair wears a very serious aspect.

But we do not despair. The numerous and cheap lines of travel, by steamboat and railroad, from the great seaports into the interior, even to the remote "West," are leading to a wide dispersion of the emigrants who arrive. In this way their aggregation about the large cities is prevented; dangerous combinations are rendered less easy of formation; and absorption into the native population is greatly hastened. Here is our hope. It would have been a dreadful thing, if such an emigration had set in upon America before the age of steamboats and railroads had dawned upon that country,—a country for which these two great inventions, one of which is claimed as American, are destined to do more than for any other in the world.

It is in this way that the emigrants from foreign lands are becoming dispersed and *fused* with the American population. Even the poorest, if they possess any industry, soon begin to improve in their temporal affairs, and give signs of it in their more decent apparel and increased independence of character and manner. It is surprising to see the difference in appearance between the poor Irish in Connaught, and other parts of Ireland, and their friends in America. The same holds true of the Germans, French, and others. A new spirit is infused into this foreign mass. Those who cannot speak English must learn it. The political and religious life of the country wakens them up, in a greater or less degree, to *think*. They soon become *American* in their attachment to a political Government, under which they can be citizens after a residence of five years. Their children, under twenty-one years of age, do not need to be naturalized. The public schools and Sunday-schools almost every where give their children opportunities of gaining the elements of a common education. The newspaper is seen and read almost everywhere. All these things hasten the *Americanizing*—if we may coin a word—of the foreigners who arrive in America.

Every year the American population increases, not only from

births among the native population, but also by the addition of the children of the emigrants. Even adult emigrants themselves often become as completely American, in attachment to the country and its institutions, as the native-born. There is no danger, therefore, from this emigration, so far as American patriotism is concerned. No American would march more promptly to the defence of the country than the citizens of foreign birth, in case of an invasion. A large part of the soldiers of the regular army, in the late Mexican war, were Irishmen.*

The most serious danger that can arise from this immigration, in our opinion, is that of the collection of so large a foreign population in some places as to lead to tumults. Hitherto, however, there has been but little of this. There have been riots among the Irish labourers on the canals and railroads, and sometimes in the large cities; but they have been suppressed without much difficulty. In some places the Germans have asked (as at Newark, New Jersey, lately) for an abrogation of the Statutes relating to the Sabbath. But such movements are put down by kind and proper argument, addressed to their understandings.

We are not of those who believe that this vast emigration into the United States will endanger the political institutions of the country, so long as proper means are employed, as at present, for the enlightenment of the new citizens in respect to their political and civil duties. The immediate danger is much more of a moral and religious than of a political nature. The Government is popular, and established in the hearts of the people. Suffrage is too widely extended to give room for effective and extensive bribery. Something of the sort occurs in the large cities and towns; but it is not an element of great account.

* It is interesting to know, that, up to this time, the Anglo-Saxon, or Anglo-Norman, race, vastly preponderates over all the other races in America. This has been shown by a competent writer in the "New Englander," (one of the ablest of the American Quarterlies,) who has analysed, with great care, the Census Report on the subject of the population of the country in 1850. According to this writer, the case stood thus:—

Population of the United States in 1850	23,263,498
Anglo-Saxon by birth or blood	15,000,000
African	3,594,762
Irish	2,269,000
German	1,900,000
French, &c.	499,636
Whole number of Emigrants, from all countries, between 1790 and 1850	2,759,329
Survivors of these Emigrants in 1850	1,511,990
Whole number of Emigrants and Descendants	4,350,934
Survivors of these	3,103,093
Total of the population not of Anglo-Saxon blood	8,263,498

There is not much danger that the Anglo-Saxon race will not continue to maintain the ascendancy which it has ever had in the country. Much misapprehension has prevailed upon this subject. It is only a few years ago that, in an Article in one of the oldest and ablest of our contemporaries, the population of America was distributed, in regard to origin, as follows:—Irish born, 3,000,000; Irish by blood, 4,500,000; German by blood or birth, 5,500,000; French, or other Celts, by blood or birth, 3,000,000; Coloured, free or slave, 3,500,000; Anglo-Saxon, by blood or birth, 3,500,000! This estimate is wrong in every particular, excepting that which relates to the African race.

Where a constituency embraces many thousands of voters, it is found difficult to employ mercenary influences on a sufficient scale to produce much effect. In a Presidential election, which includes several millions of voters, bribery has, comparatively, but little influence.

2. Great apprehension is sometimes entertained that Slavery may lead to the disruption of the United States, and the subversion of the political institutions of the country. This is unquestionably a most dangerous evil, and it will require much wisdom, and probably much time, to remove it. The Constitution secures to the States where Slavery exists the entire control over this subject. That is a point which is not well understood in this country. Of the thirty-one States, sixteen have not Slavery, and fifteen have it. The balance of power, therefore, is in the hands of the non-slaveholding States. Should no more slaveholding territory be annexed,—and it is not possible, unless Cuba be obtained,—the influence of the “Free States” will, in a few years, be increased by the admission into the Union, as States, of New Mexico, Utah, Minnesota, Washington, and Oregon, which are now Territories, and have no Slavery in them.

As to Slavery, many things combine to bring about its destruction, sooner or later. It is contrary to the spirit of Christianity, and of the age. It retards the prosperity of every State in which it exists. It is an incubus on every vital energy. Its removal, however, must, we are afraid, be gradual in America. Their case is wholly different from ours. We could legislate without difficulty for our Colonies, the Imperial Government being paramount. But it is not so in America. It is as much out of the power of the Government, or Congress of the United States, to interfere with Slavery as it exists in Mobile, or South Carolina, or any of the Slave States, as it is out of its power to interfere with the internal administration of Canada or New Brunswick; and the sixteen Free States of the Union are no more blameable for the existence of Slavery in the other fifteen States, than are the inhabitants of the British Provinces already alluded to. The inhabitants of the Slave States, in other words, the Slaveholders themselves, are unfortunately the only persons who have it in their power to solve this great problem; and when the universal and almost invincible influence of selfishness and avarice are considered, the prospect of its speedy solution is gloomy indeed. The voice of humanity, however, cannot be silent. All good men should exert themselves to hasten the day when the last bond of the captive shall be unloosed. But in order to accomplish this great work, it is not necessary to vilify and abuse the Slaveholder. Incalculable mischief has been done by the adoption of this mistaken policy on the part of unthinking people, both in this country and in the Northern States. We must not forget the trying and difficult position in which the Slaveholder in America is placed, with regard to this question. We can look

upon the question calmly and dispassionately, and discuss the abstract right of the coloured race to personal and political freedom. Years have passed since England emancipated the last of her slaves, and in the interval a new generation has grown up. No Englishman has now any pecuniary or material interest in this question. Not so, however, the American. Born, nursed, and educated in the midst of Slavery, the Slaveholder of mature years discusses the question of the justice or injustice of the system under manifest disadvantages. He not only has to contend with the almost irresistible force of early habits and prejudices, but his means, his position in society, his daily bread, are dependent on the system. Let us then learn to think, and write, and teach, on this question with moderation and Christian charity. It is not so long since we have washed our hands of this great sin. And it must be borne in mind, that the difficulty in our case was as a feather in the scale compared with the difficulties and complications with which the question of emancipation is surrounded in the United States. With us, Slavery only existed in our colonial possessions in the West Indies. The great mass of the people in this country were not personally or pecuniarily interested in the perpetuation of Slavery. The powerful advocacy of Wilberforce and Clarkson on behalf of the Slave met, therefore, with a more rapid and complete success, than could possibly have been attained had it had to contend with the all-powerful influence of self-interest. In addition to this, when the Government and the people of this country were convinced of the immorality and injustice of the system, they were in a position to give effect to their convictions by legislation, such as we have already shown is not the case in America. The Central Government is absolutely powerless, so far as emancipation is concerned. This is doubtless much to be regretted. Had Congress the power of interfering with the internal regulations of each particular State, a course of legislation might be adopted, which would lead to the gradual enfranchisement of the African. But in that case it would be no longer a Federal Union of States. We are compelled, therefore, to treat the question with regard to its actual position; and seeing that the power to solve it rests with the Slaveholding States, we should adopt such a style of remonstrance as would be best calculated to act favourably on the minds of the parties to whom it is directed. Certain we are, that violent and indiscriminate denunciation of all Slaveholders—whether guilty of cruelty or oppression to their Slaves, or whether, as we are glad to know is often the case, they are in the habit of treating them with uniform consideration and tenderness—is more calculated to retard, than to hasten, emancipation.

It seems to us that the first thing for good men in this country and in the Northern States to aim at is, to assist good men in the South to promote true Christianity among both

masters and Slaves by all possible means. The next is, to encourage and sustain those men in the South who are disposed to labour, to break up the internal Slave-trade and the separation of families, and to secure the sanctity of marriage among the Slaves. These are subjects in behalf of which Christians can do much, through the action of good men in the Southern States; whereas, to stand off and abuse and vilify, is about the last thing in the world from which good is to be expected, in reference to this great evil.

We are of opinion that Slavery in America will come to an end gradually. We have but little hope of seeing the coloured race placed on a perfect political, still less a social, equality with the whites in the Southern States. That day, we fear, is distant. Before it comes, we apprehend that a large number of the coloured people, especially of those of an enterprising character, will have emigrated to Africa, and carried with them civilization and Christianity to all the western side of that great continent. There are many things which indicate that this will be the course which events will take. The emigration of such vast numbers of Irish and Germans to America, is likely to have a great effect on the destinies of the African race in that country. Already the foreign labourers in all the great cities of the non-Slaveholding States, and even in many of those in the Slaveholding, are crowding out the poor, but worthy, free coloured men. The former can under-bid the latter, and supplant them in all their occupations. All this tends to make many excellent people believe that the African race will, one day, in large numbers, return to the land of their fathers, to carry the blessing of civilized life along with the Gospel to a continent which knows little of either, but which is not doomed to an eternal ignorance of these great things. Certainly, after what we have seen in the "Irish Exodus," we need not despair of the return of a great part of those who are now in bondage in America to the land of Africa, the interior of which, at no great distance from that part of the coast on which colonization has commenced, is now known to be a beautiful country, and to possess a salubrious climate.

Without discussing further the subject of Slavery in America, we cannot but express the hope that God, in answer to the prayers of his people in that country, as well as in other lands, will, in his good Providence, cause this great evil to be removed in a way consistent with the best interests of all concerned, and with the advancement of his kingdom in the world.

3. One of the most formidable dangers for America is to be found in Romanism, which, besides including all the evils of infidelity, has some which are peculiar to itself.

It was a most favourable ordering of Divine Providence, that Protestantism should gain so extensive and permanent a footing in America, before Rome was permitted to make much effort to

spread her pestiferous heresies in that fair land. It is only within some twenty-five or thirty years that the Roman Catholic Church has begun to exert much influence in the United States. At present there are six Archbishops, twenty-six Bishops, about fourteen hundred Priests, fifteen hundred Churches, four hundred and fifty young men in seminaries preparing for the priesthood, eleven or twelve colleges, a large number of female schools and nunneries, eight or ten newspapers, and, including men, women, and children, about two millions and a half* of people who prefer the Romish Church. The increase of late years has been rapid; but it has been an increase by *emigration from Europe*, not from *proselytism*.

Rome finds the United States to be a hard field. There are a thousand influences which give her trouble. First of all, there is a *free press* there, which is a great annoyance. Her followers are continually reading what is more or less dangerous. In the next place, there is a *freedom of speech* on the subject of her claims, which is also very dangerous. In the third place, dispersed Romanists in the rural districts, away from the visits of the Priests, are very likely to imbibe ideas and opinions from the Protestants around them, which, sooner or later, subvert the peculiarities of their faith. Romanists in the cities are also much exposed to Protestant influences, and can easily escape the notice of the Priest, which those who live in the villages find it more difficult to do. The influences just named lead many Romanists to "fall away," as Father Mullen said, in his letters to his friends in Ireland, less than two years since, after he had surveyed, during six months, the state of the Roman Catholic Church in America, from New York to New Orleans. Father Mullen supposes that there are not as many Roman Catholics in that country, by *two millions*, as there would be, if all had remained in the bosom of Holy Mother Church, (and their children after them,) who were Roman Catholics when they went to America. This is probably an over-estimate by *one-half*. Still, there certainly has been an "awful falling away," and it is going on still!

The Free Schools in America have troubled Rome very much, and her Hierarchy have made violent opposition to them. At first they called them "sectarian," because the Bible was read in them. And when they had succeeded in getting the Bible out of them, as they did in the city of New York to some extent, then they pronounced them "godless." Of late, their great effort has been to get what they call "their share" of the School moneys; that is, a share proportionate to the number of their children, (not to the amount which they pay in the shape of

* Archbishop Hughes estimates the Roman Catholics in the United States at three millions and a half. We follow rather the "Catholic Almanac," published under the auspices of the Archbishop of Baltimore.

taxes,) in order that they may have Schools of their own, and teach in them such doctrines as they please. One thing is certain, they would have in them no Bible at all. But they have been defeated in these attempts in the States of New York, Massachusetts, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, New Jersey, and Maryland.

The most recent movement is that of endeavouring to get laws passed in the State of New York,—to be followed in other States, without doubt,—which would allow the Church property of all descriptions to be held by the Bishops and their successors. But this movement has also, for the present, at all events, been defeated. In California, the Roman Catholic Bishop has recently succeeded in getting the Legislature, just as the session was terminating, to grant, on the subject of Schools, what Rome has not been able to gain any where else in the United States. But this triumph will be of short duration. The Protestants of that new State will hardly submit to such an indignity. The author of all these wide-spread attempts of Rome to secure advantages to herself, by intriguing with legislators and politicians, is Archbishop Hughes, of New York, an Irishman by birth, a man of some talent, much cunning, and less wisdom; who has rightly been called "the Hildebrand of America." It is cheering to see that a spirit is evoked in the United States, which makes a most effective resistance to the attempts of Rome, wherever seen. It will be hard for her to hold her own in that land,—much more to gain the ascendancy by proselytism. Within ten years, about twenty Protestant Ministers in the United States have become Roman Catholics, including one Bishop; but they have all been such as took "Oxford" (Puseyism) on the way. Although Rome is making desperate efforts to triumph over Protestantism in America, and for this purpose the Society of the Propaganda, the Leopold Society, and other associations, send over more than £40,000 annually; yet we have no fear for the result.

4. The last danger which we will mention as lying in the pathway of America, is infidelity, which has increased within a few years in that country, chiefly from foreign sources,—English and German. This infidelity is twofold,—a gross and a refined species. But we will not dwell much upon the subject; for we do not believe it to be of sufficient importance to require it. Christian effort will carry the light of truth into all the dark haunts to which German Rationalism, German Pantheism, (which is another name for Atheism,) and old-fashioned Deistical Infidelity, may betake themselves.

In conclusion, after having looked at the sources of the danger which threaten the Future of America, let us look at the sources of her strength and salvation.

1. It is a land of the Sabbath. That sacred day is observed in few parts of the world to a greater extent than in the United

States. There is Sabbath-breaking there, alas! as well as in Great Britain; nevertheless, the day is a hallowed day over the larger part of that great country. The several States have made ample legal provision for its protection. For although there is no longer a union of the Church with the State in any part of it, legislation there goes on the supposition that it is a Christian country. Congress employs Chaplains to open the Session of each House daily with prayer, and to preach to the Members on the Sabbath; the Government employs Chaplains in the Army and Navy. And as to the Sabbath, it is every where felt to be a dictate of natural religion, as well as of Christianity, that men should have a portion of time for religious and moral culture, as well as for Divine worship; and convenience demands that that portion of time should be determined and fixed. It is also felt to be a dictate of humanity, that the poor man, the labouring man, and even the labouring beast, should have a day of rest, and be protected in the enjoyment of it by the laws of the land.

2. America is a land where the Bible is in the hands of the people to a very great extent, and constant efforts are making to supply those who are destitute of the sacred volume. It is also the land of the Sabbath School and the Bible Class, of Churches and a faithfully-preached Gospel. If the entire number of the places where Christ is regularly preached, with greater or less frequency,—churches, court-houses, school-houses, private houses,—were to be ascertained, we have no doubt that it would be found not much short of *one hundred thousand*.

At a future day we shall take up the subject of Religious Instruction in America, and examine how far the voluntary plan of supporting public worship meets the demands of the nation,—a subject which the length of this Article forbids us to enter upon at present. We can only say, that we believe that the facts which that inquiry will bring to light are of such a nature, as to inspire the friends of that country (and she has many in England) with the greatest confidence with regard to her Future.

Her Societies for Home Missions, for Foreign Missions, Missions to Roman Catholics at home, and to Papal nations abroad, for the education of suitable men for the Ministry; her Bible and Tract Societies; her Temperance Societies, Societies for the Reformation of Criminals, and for the Benefit of Seamen; her noble Institutions for the Insane, the Deaf and Dumb, and the Blind; her Colleges and Theological Seminaries,—all these are the best guarantees of her future prosperity and happiness; and pledges that He who has put it into the hearts of His people to undertake these enterprises for His glory, will not abandon a country and a nation in the Future, for which he has done so great things in the Past.

BRIEF LITERARY NOTICES.

The Russian Shores of the Black Sea. By Lawrence Oliphant. Edinburgh: A. and C. Black. 1853.

The Russians of the South. By Shirley Brooks. London: Longmans. 1854.

HITHERTO but little reliable information has transpired respecting the actual condition of the Russian people. Travellers have been content to describe the noble quays, splendid buildings, and execrable pavement of St. Petersburg; to furnish a few glimpses of life in the metropolis as it appears to a casual visitor; and to transmit, at second hand, apocryphal sketches of life in the interior. If any of these fashionable tourists, more adventurous than the rest, penetrated as far as Moscow, they considered themselves, thenceforth, competent authorities on the political, commercial, social, and religious institutions of an empire containing fifty millions of souls. A six months' sojourner in London or Paris is apt to do the same thing. The idea is in both cases a mistaken one, but especially as regards the dominions of the Czar. Paris may be France; but St. Petersburg is not Russia;—and hence the distorted and false notions that have gone abroad respecting the internal condition of the great Empire of the North.

Mr. Oliphant, however, is a traveller of another order. He appears to be a good sample of the English character,—shrewd, observant, straightforward, and practical; disposed to see for himself, rather than take things on hearsay evidence; and willing to brave a little danger, and much inconvenience, for the sake of procuring authentic information. His book is written in a manly style, and possesses very considerable intrinsic value, apart from the peculiar interest just now attaching to his subject.

Mr. Brooks's little work records not so much the fruits of his own observation, as the experience of certain of his friends who have long resided in Russia. It contains a great amount of valuable information, carefully arranged, and lying in small compass.

Our curiosity is strongly excited as to the working of a system so directly contrary to our national policy, and so utterly repugnant to our national prejudices. With us, the interests of commerce are always paramount; in Russia, they are ignored altogether, and trade is only permitted so far as it can be made useful to a military despotism. With us, the interests of the governors and the governed are identical; in Russia, they are not only distinct, but incompatible. Here is one

source of weakness ; for, under such a system, the sympathies of the people can never be with their rulers. With us, nearly every thing is left for private enterprise ; in Russia, all is undertaken by the Government, and there is no escape from the interference of its officers. As these men are wofully underpaid, corruption is universal. To quote from Mr. Brooks : " Bribery is absolutely essential, if business is to be done at all. Not a functionary who has the power of helping, or, which is more important, of hindering, but must feel the 'silver rubles' in his palm." All inquiries are otherwise fruitless, and all grievances remain unredressed. In the naval and military services, since there is little actual contact with the public, speculation takes the place of bribery. Here is another source of weakness ; for nothing can be depended upon ; and in military affairs, of all others, whatever is done badly or imperfectly is worse than if not done at all. In these fraudulent transactions the most curious transformations are effected. Green fir-wood becomes well seasoned heart-of-oak ; shot become shells ; metals are transmuted ; and false weights and measures are pronounced standard. Hence, also, forts that crumble at the first shot, guns that burst when fired with blank cartridge, and ships that sink while at anchor in the harbour. But the most profitable speculations are in the commissariat department. The gains of a Colonel of Foot are openly calculated at from £3,000 to £4,000 a year, exclusive of his pay. The men are consequently ill-fed and worse clad ; their spirits are depressed beyond all hope of rallying ; and individually they are rather objects of compassion than terror. Starved on half rations of unwholesome food, thousands sink from sheer weakness when sent out on active service. Hence the corps which is always about to " arrive by forced marches," but somehow never does ; hence the twenty years' war in the Caucasus, the frightful mortality while in camp, the numerous desertions, the defeats on the Danube, and—ultimate hope for Europe.

Not much brighter is the picture which our travellers draw of the internal condition of the empire. Permission to travel even from one town to another is obtained with extreme difficulty ; the peasantry therefore cannot go in search of a more favourable locality, or seek employment in a neighbouring province. It frequently happens that at one particular spot labour commands enormous wages, while hundreds of willing hands are lying idle at fifty miles' distance. Railways are such complete innovations, that, if permitted to work at all, we should expect them to work wonderful changes. There seems to be considerable apprehension of such a result. Railroads are supposed to be in some way connected with the revolutionary tendencies of the age, and are disfavoured accordingly. On the only line which exists, (the St. Petersburg and Moscow,) but one train per day is allowed to start ; the number of carriages, and therefore of passengers, is limited ; and great preliminary difficulties in the matter of passports and bribes have to be encountered by the adventurers. Roads, such as Macadam understood, do not exist. Tracks there are, but always worst on the most important lines of route, and especially near the large towns. Ox-carts, travelling at the rate of ten miles a day, are chiefly employed for the conveyance of merchandise ; so that vessels are detained at the quays waiting for freights, which in their turn are waiting for some means of transport to the coast. Rivers are silting up, because the

simplest precautions are not taken to keep the navigation open. Such flat-bottomed boats as are employed make but tedious voyages; for between the stoppages occasioned by sand-banks, and the rude and tedious system of warping on an anchor, fifteen versts a-day is considered a first-rate performance. Harbours are being filled up from the constant practice of discharging ballast; a bribe only being necessary to neutralize the most stringent regulations.

Respecting the towns, there is but little to say; and that little is unsatisfactory. Like every thing Russian, they do not bear looking into; and, although imposing enough at a distance, the illusion is dispelled on a nearer approach. The streets are dreary, empty, undrained, badly paved, and, if lighted at all, which is rarely the case, have here and there an oil-lamp feebly struggling with the darkness. Public buildings are evidently designed for outward show, as their interior invariably disappoints even moderate expectation. There are, however, but few towns which are worthy of the name. It has been computed from official reports, that there is only one town with an average population of seven thousand, in an area of a hundred and thirty square miles; that there are but four which contain more than fifty thousand inhabitants; and that the entire urban population only consists of five millions, rather more than twice the population of London. The most startling fact, however, remains to be told. Of the fifty-four millions comprising Russia Proper, *forty-two millions are serfs*; so that nearly four-fifths of the whole are in a state of slavery, as complete, if not as cruel, as the Negroes of Louisiana or South Carolina. The village population is sunk in hopeless ignorance and degradation. Black bread and water-melons, or millet-seed boiled in oil, appears to be the ordinary fare; and the dwellings are equally wretched and comfortless. Churches are rarely to be seen, and *schools are strictly prohibited*, except in a few large towns. The consequences of such a system are inevitable. Mr. Oliphant says, "Whatever may be the morals of the peasantry in remote districts, those living in the towns and villages on the Volga are more degraded in their habits than any other people amongst whom I have travelled; and they can hardly be said to disregard, since they have never been acquainted with, the ordinary decencies of life. What better result can, indeed, be expected from a system by which the upper classes are wealthy in proportion to the number of serfs possessed by each proprietor? The rapid increase of the population is no less an object with the private serf-owner, than the extensive consumption of ardent spirits is desired by the Government. Thus each vice is privileged with especial patronage. Marriages, in the Russian sense of the term, are consummated at an early age, and are arranged by the Steward, without consulting the parties, the Lord's approval alone being necessary. The price of a family ranges from £25 to £40. Our Captain had taken his wife on a lease of five years, the rent for that term amounting to fifty rubles, (£8. 6s. 8d.,) with the privilege of renewal at the expiration of it."—P. 97.

The Greek Church is degraded to a mere engine of State. The Czar has usurped the place of the Patriarch; and the Catechism has become a mere political primer. The inferior Clergy are illiterate and immoral, with no regard for the doctrines they profess, and are only energetic to prevent the spread of evangelical truth.

If such facts as these were disclosed respecting Japan or Chinese Tartary, we should be divided between indignation and contempt for such barbarians. Yet this is the power which has been lauded at the expense of its intended victim. The chief arguments for breaking up the Ottoman Empire are based on its inefficient social institutions, the gross corruption of all public functionaries, the vicious mode of raising the revenue, general commercial restrictions, religious intolerance, and discordant races whose interests clash. It may be safely affirmed, that, on every one of these vital questions, Turkey will bear a most favourable comparison with its deadly adversary.

Size is not necessarily strength; and, under certain conditions, added weight is increased weakness. An empire three centuries behind the rest of Europe, whose policy is exclusively selfish and permanently aggressive, which holds a doubtful rule over disaffected provinces, whose diverse races and antagonistic creeds create perpetual alarm,—such an empire is established on false principles, and has no element of cohesion or permanency; for no reliance can be placed on the loyalty of its people. They look with hope where their rulers look with hate; their star rises only when the smiting sun has set; their light will be at evening time.

There is a point beyond which the tide of conquest cannot roll,—a barrier against which its waters must dash with baffled rage, and then retire, broken and spent. That point Russia appears to have reached. Blind to the signs of the times, goaded on by an insatiable lust of conquest, she has deliberately decided on war. The quarrel is of her own choosing; and she is likely to be left alone in an unrighteous cause. Before the sword is again sheathed, a host of monstrous evils will have been avenged; and, instead of pouring her wrath on a helpless victim, the aggressor may unexpectedly find, in a disrupted Empire and a general European conflict, that an accumulated list of cruel wrongs has found a speedy and tremendous reckoning.

Memoirs of the Life and Writings of John Pye Smith, D.D., LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S., late Theological Tutor of the Old College, Homerton. By John Mcdway. London: Jackson and Walford. 1853.

AMONGST the names which grace the religious and literary history of the last half century, there are few which reflect a fairer or more grateful lustre than that of the late Rev. John Pye Smith; and few indeed are the biographical Memoirs which are more rich in lively interest or practical instruction. No record of his outset and early progress, in literature or religion, appears in any school or college records. The shop of his father, a bookseller in Sheffield, was his "High-School;" and, in addition to a master who taught him to write a remarkably neat hand, his only tutors were two Nonconformist Ministers of the town, from whom he received such desultory instruction in the elements of Latin, as the circumstances of his case admitted. In short, books, and not living teachers, were his early—and they continued to be throughout life his prime and almost his sole—guides in the acquisition of knowledge. But, by the assiduous cultivation of a taste which appears to have been innate, and by a perseverance which

became stronger in proportion to the magnitude of the obstacles to be overcome, he acquired an amount of general scholarship, which commanded respect in our highest Universities, and gave him a reputation as wide as the world.

His religious character, formed under more favourable circumstances, was *decided*, in its early commencement, and in its progress, to the end. Amidst literary occupations of the most diversified description, pastoral services of every kind, and trials of a peculiar class, his talents and virtues, the elasticity of his spirit, and the singleness and continuity of his purpose,—through the grace of God which was in him,—impressed upon his character the stamp of an unusual excellence, and crowned his services with remarkable success. For fifty years he was connected with the Old Homerton Academy, as one of its principal Tutors. But the spirit of the Pastor was never absorbed in that of the Lecturer; nor the knowledge of Christ put into the shade, in deference to the lights of science and literature. And, with a mind naturally disposed to great freedom of inquiry, he was not apt to prostitute his talents or his time to useless or questionable speculations. It is remarked by his biographer, that “one sermon stands alone, among his published Works, for having any thing of a metaphysical character; and even here that character does not largely prevail. His mind appeared to be disinclined to follow out subtle trains of analysis and reasoning.” And if, in a few instances, he adopted opinions, which he afterwards found to be not fairly tenable, he was perfectly ready to acknowledge his mistake; as, on the other hand, he held, with a tenacious grasp, but still in a temper characteristic of “the meekness of wisdom,” whatever he believed to be founded in truth. Of the Works published by himself during his life-time, his “Scripture Testimony to the Messiah” is that on which his distinction as an author mainly rests; though, in the judgment of some persons, his Lectures on the “Relation between the Holy Scriptures and some parts of Geological Science,” which obtained his admission to the Royal and Geological Societies, will be regarded as holding scarcely an inferior place. His Theological Lectures, announced as forthcoming, will, doubtless, enhance his reputation. His biographer has managed his materials to great advantage, and in a manner which will render the Memoirs he has compiled from them a work of standing interest, and particularly worthy the attention of ministerial students. We cannot but regret, however, that he should have deemed it necessary to give so great a prominence to a certain class of sorrows, which, though not entirely “secret” during the life-time of the excellent man who so patiently endured them, were not generally known, and might, without any disadvantage to his character, have been held back from farther publicity.

Τὶ κέρδις οὐκ ἐν ἑστέας αἰτίῳ νεκροῦ;

Τὶ τῆς ἐκείνου γαῖης ἐσθίειν πλέον;—*Moschis, apud Stob.*

We have no disposition to detract from the high reputation which Dr. Pye Smith so deservedly enjoyed for general scholarship. But we may take leave to suggest to his worthy biographer, that the extracts which he has given (pp. 51, 53) as “the best specimens extant of his *Latin style*,” have not been, in all respects, very happily selected, if they be designed to be proofs of his *accuracy*, as well as of his general

taste, in Latinity. We refer, particularly, to the use of *mæstus*, as a substantive, in the expression, "*Debitum venerationis et mæstus honorem tribuimus*;" and to the grammatical construction of such clauses as, "*Sic votis omnium bonorum exequutum erit*." The extracts in which these passages occur were *early* productions, and cannot be fairly taken as just specimens of his more matured scholarship.

May Fair to Marathon. London: Richard Bentley. 1853.

THIS volume is little more than empty, flippant, conceited jingle. No good end is served by publishing such books: they contain no fresh information, no new thought worth retaining, and are mere cockney descriptions of classic ground. Hotels, evening assemblies, holiday costumes, and travelling discomforts, are far more prominent topics than the surrounding "ruins of empires." The traveller who can tell us nothing about Rome, save that it is a very dear place to live in, or about Athens, except the history of the bottled porter which he drank there, had much better stay at home and write "Lines" and "Odes" for *Annals* and *Albums*; though it is but charity to hope that the specimens given in this volume do his rhyming powers great injustice.

One friendly word to the publisher. Having purchased an author's manuscript, he has, of course, a right to make the most of it in a fair way; but to publish as an original work what has previously appeared in the pages of his own Magazine, is carrying the matter a little too far. This is by no means the first error of the kind; and the honesty as well as the wisdom of such a policy may be fairly questioned. The public, although apt enough to snap at a gaudy fly, may fairly demur to being caught twice with the same hook.

Causeries du Lundi. Par C. A. Sainte-Beuve, de l'Académie Française. Tome Huitième. Paris: Garnier Frères.

OUR notices of contemporary French literature could not begin more appropriately than by a paragraph or two on the new volume of M. Sainte-Beuve's *Causeries*. The Paris Aristarchi have been lately so courteous towards their brethren of the quill on this side the Channel, that we must, at all events, do our best to return the compliment; and no one has contributed more to bring about that *entente cordiale*, than the accomplished *fouilletoniste* of the "*Moniteur*" newspaper.

M. Sainte-Beuve is amongst the very few writers in France who have maintained the dignity of the man of letters. Whilst others dash off an epic poem in a week, and a novel in an hour, he confines himself to the production of three or four columns every Monday, forming an agreeable contrast to the dull prose of Government intelligence, by the entertaining sketches he gives us of eminent literary characters. The career of M. Sainte-Beuve as a critic may be subdivided, up to the present time, into three distinct phases. He began twenty-five years ago, when he hoisted up the standard of romanticism in *Le Globe*, and subsequently in the *Revue de Paris*. During the reign of Louis-Philippe, he contributed to the *Revue des Deux Mondes* a variety of papers written from a more impartial point of view, but still, as he acknowledges himself, too descriptive in their nature. The *Causeries*,

which at first were suggested by M. Véron for the *Constitutionnel*, seem to us to combine all the best features of periodical criticism. The author's fondness for psychological investigations, and the peculiar talent with which he can analyse every principle or motive of action, qualify him in a high degree for the task he has undertaken. His decisions are generally correct; and he has the very rare, but very useful, talent of setting off a quotation to the best advantage. M. Sainte-Beuve is often compared with his world-famous brother *feuilletoniste*, Jules Janin. But there is between these two writers the distance which separates the steady light of judgment from the occasional flashes of fancy and wit. Variety is another feature in the *Causeries*. The volume now before us, for instance, contains a series of articles on Cardinal de Bernis, Malherbe, Guy Patin, Sully, Meseray, Gibbon, Joinville, &c.; and it is not too much to say, that, within the compass of eighteen or twenty pages, we find the best appreciation we ever read of the different characters introduced to our notice. M. Sainte-Beuve is, we are happy to hear, engaged at present upon the fourth volume of his History of Port-Royal. We shall take an early opportunity of examining at some length that fine work.

Madame de Longueville. *Nouvelles Etudes sur les Femmes Illustres et la Société du 17^e Siècle.* Par M. Victor Cousin. *La Jeunesse de Madame de Longueville.* Paris: Didier. Un Vol. 2^e Edition.

M. COUSIN is one of those men upon whom—great as the paradox may seem—the *coup d'état* of Louis Napoleon has conferred a lasting benefit. Driven away from the vortex of politics and the realms of "blue books," our statesmen of *la Monarchie Parlementaire* have not returned to their studies. They find it more profitable to settle bills with their publishers, than with a factious minority in the Chamber of Deputies; and as we, the reading part of the community, are enjoying the full benefit of this change, we do not feel disposed to grumble at the price paid for it. The founder of the French eclectic school of philosophy has been remarkably busy lately. He has published a collected edition of his Lectures. His Treatise on the Beautiful, the Good, and the True, revised and considerably improved, is now claiming our attention; and the first volume of his Biography of Madame de Longueville was out of print only a short time ago. M. Cousin's volumes on Blaise and Jacqueline Pascal had already introduced him as the professed champion of that part of the seventeenth century which ends with the death of Colbert. He takes up the same idea in the present work, and develops it with a spirit, an energy, an enthusiasm, which will produce, if not conviction in most minds, yet the desire of studying more deeply the *siècle de Louis XIV.* M. Cousin may be considered as having founded a new school in biographical literature. He combines the perseverance of the antiquarian with the imagination of the poet; and he has discovered the secret of extracting hidden beauties from the dust of worm-eaten manuscripts. M. Cousin has the great merit of proving that enthusiasm is not incompatible with metaphysics, politics, criticism, nay, bibliography itself. Whatever the subject be which engages his attention, he treats it *con amore*, and

applies to it the whole energies of his soul. Madame de Longueville is certainly one of the most interesting women of the seventeenth century in France; and her history conveys a deep moral lesson to all those who are led astray by allowing their feelings to get the better of their judgment. But still one would fancy that M. Cousin might have selected another heroine,—Madame de Sévigné, for instance, or Madame de Rambouillet. We enjoy, however, with thankfulness, the rich intellectual treat he has provided for us; and we heartily recommend our readers to do the same. M. Cousin, in coming forward as the panegyrist of Madame de Longueville, could not fail to encounter the celebrated author of the *Maximes*, La Rochefoucauld; and he handles him rather severely, as the following short quotations will prove: "Vain above all, he gives vanity as the principle of all our actions, all our thoughts, all our sentiments. This is quite true in general, even for the greatest man, who is nothing but the least little amongst us. But a moment comes, when, from the bottom of that vanity, that selfishness, that littleness, that wretchedness, that mud which we are made of, something indescribable springs up,—an appeal of the heart, an instinctive movement, a resolution not relating to ourselves, but to another object, to an idea, to a father or mother, to a friend, to our country, to God, to humanity; and this appeal alone betrays in us a disinterested feeling, a remainder or an element of greatness which, if it be properly trained, can spread itself throughout our soul, pervade our whole life, support us in our shortcomings, protest, at least, against the vices which hurry us along, or the faults we commit. If you allow a single generous action, a single generous feeling, the whole system of the *Maximes* falls to the ground."

There are many persons, we believe, who would enter the lists against M. Cousin on behalf of La Rochefoucauld; but, even amongst his opponents, he would find none but earnest admirers of his eloquence, and his noble protest against human egotism. It is really quite amusing to see how far his *passion* for Madame de Longueville carries the French philosopher. He does not speak of La Rochefoucauld as a judge, but as a rival. "I readily acknowledge it," says he: "I am not fond of La Rochefoucauld." There seems almost to be some personal *pique* mixed with the moralist's opinions.

The volume we have just imperfectly noticed is only the first of a work which, when it is finished, will be one of the most valuable contributions to the history of the reign of Louis XIV. The second part is advertised as about to be published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*.

Histoire de la Littérature Française à l'Etranger depuis le Commencement du 17^e Siècle. Par A. Sayous, Editeur des Mémoires et Correspondance de Mallet du Pan. 17^e Siècle, Deux Vols. Paris et Genève: Cherbuliez.

M. SAYOUS is a Genevese writer, who has already gained his literary epaulettes by two productions of great interest. He first appeared before the public about ten years ago, with a couple of volumes entitled *Etudes littéraires sur les Ecrivains Français de la Réformation*. These Sketches included lives of Calvin, Theodore Beza, Henri Estienne, Hotoman, Agrippa d'Aubigné, and other worthies who wielded the

pen during the religious controversies of the sixteenth century; and although he confined himself to the discussion of their merits as *writers*, yet M. Sayous supplied a work which should be read by all those who wish to become acquainted with an important feature in the history of French Protestantism. The *Memoirs of Mallet du Pan*, published in the year 1851 by the same author, are a valuable addition to the mass of documents we already possess on the Revolution of 1789. At present he returns once more to subjects of a purely literary character; and the work we are now alluding to may be taken up as a sort of sequel to the one by which he made his *début*. In considering the thinkers who, out of France, employed the French language as a medium for communicating their ideas, M. Sayous has not, of course, limited himself to Protestant authors. François de Sales, Vaugelas, Saint-Evremond, Varillas, Saint-Réal, were all Roman Catholics; and yet, when we discuss that peculiar branch of French literature, we involuntarily think of the refugees who, during the reign of Louis XIV., transplanted into England, Holland, and Prussia, the idiom of Racine and Bossuet. Their history, to tell the truth, occupies two-thirds of M. Sayous' volumes. It is given most fully; and a variety of quotations enable us to test the soundness of the critiques introduced. The chapters on pulpit eloquence are particularly striking: a whole book is devoted to Bayle, whose influence as a journalist and philosopher can scarcely be over-rated.

Historical Development of Speculative Philosophy, from Kant to Hegel. From the German of Dr. H. M. Chalybäus, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Kiel. By the Rev. Alfred Edersheim, Free Church, Old Aberdeen. Edinburgh: T. T. Clark; London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

PARTLY on account of its abstruseness, and almost equally on account of the uncouthness of the phraseology in which it is set forth, the subject of this treatise is not very interesting to general readers. Nor does it appear to be designed by its promoters, that it should be so popularized as to become so. "The latest school," says Chalybäus, "has expressly characterized its philosophy as an esoteric science, which would at all times remain confined to the narrow circle of the initiated; yea, more, which is also intended to be solely confined to them; inasmuch as what constitutes it philosophy is, that it does not lay aside the veil which is impervious to the eye of the uninitiated,—its scientific garb." But, in a sense much wider than that in which he used the words, "the multitude at a distance hears of the results. And these, as opinions imbibed, knowledge acquired, or principles adopted, do in their turn leaven the mass of the people, and occupy subjectively, in every individual, the place of personally acquired conviction." Such is obviously the fact. The *Metaphysical Philosophy of Germany* may be *esoteric* in its scientific form; but it is *exoteric* in its effect on habits of thought and modes of expression, beyond the enclosure of "the initiated," to an extent which challenges, from even general readers, a much larger amount of attention than it has hitherto received.

On this ground, the work in question, now rendered accessible to English readers, is a seasonable and important publication. In his own country the author "has established for himself the reputation of an acute speculator, a fair critic, and a lucid writer. And, in particular, these Lectures (on the 'Historical Development,' &c.) are there regarded as affording a perspicuous and impartial survey of the various systems of German Philosophy, at once comprehensive and compendious." Further, the translation is generally certified, on high authority,* as being "eminently worthy of approbation."

After a few prefatory observations on the general subject, and brief sketches of the Sensationalism of Locke, and of the Scepticism which Hume so readily built upon it, he indicates the development of the latter, as having been the historical point at which Kant commenced his independent career. Hitherto the disciple of a school, which had incorporated the Sensationalism of Locke into the system of Leibnitz, he could not but feel the speculations of Hume, as bringing into something more than suspicion the correctness of those idealistico-sensational views which he had himself adopted. A new turn was thus given to his philosophical inquiries; and, after a retirement of some years, he brought out his "Critick of Pure Reason;" the appearance of which constituted a new epoch,—one might almost say, the starting-point of modern German Metaphysics. Its subsequent development is regarded by Chalybæus as being analogous to that of vegetation. "We observe," says he, "that every object in the economy of nature pre-supposes what we would call its 'antagonist:' the leaf on the branch seems to call forth another on the opposite side, as if to preserve the equilibrium. The same law manifests itself also in the growth of mind. While progress in the formation of the whole is the aim, the alteration in the individual parts is due to the appearance of contraries; for it is noticeable, that, whenever any philosophical fundamental view was pronounced in a decided form, it also stood forth, *ipso facto* and necessarily, as *one-sided*. But immediately an opposite statement made its appearance, and criticism entered the lists on both sides of the question. But both these extremes only served to call forth a third view, which in turn was required to pass through the same process of development." And the history which sketches the modifications and corrections of the Kantian theory, subsequently introduced by Jacobi, Herbart, Fichte, Schleiermacher, Schelling, and Hegel, is very much in accordance with that attractive illustration. The "development" proceeds, by virtue of a succession of emulous antagonisms and equitable compromises between conflicting systems; and the history of all this, we are quite free to say, is interesting and instructive in a very high degree. Only, every now and then, the metaphor breaks down. "Development" does not always turn out to be *progress*; and, in some instances, that term would appear to be synonymous with "*retrogression*." Still the value of the history, as such, remains the same. And whatever estimate be formed of the intrinsic soundness or practical utility of the German "Metaphysick," its existence and action constitute *facts* in the records of Philosophy, and in the actual movement of Mind, which can neither be entirely ignored,

* Sir William Hamilton. See Note prefixed to the Translator's Preface.

nor—with the influence which they wield—be safely disregarded. We hail the appearance of this book as an addition to the means of a better acquaintance with its character, as well as with the various *phases* which it has already exhibited, and through which, as some would suppose, it will continue, with slight variations, to *revolve*. "The idealistic revolution," says Chalybæus, "originated with Kant, was perfected by Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, and, in our own days, again brought back by Schelling to that point from which Kant started. We are not at present," he adds, "in circumstances either to determine the grounds of this retrogression, or to say, whether it had at all become necessary." Under these circumstances, as to the future course of the science, we can only say, *Nous verrons*; and that, in the mean time, we must needs judge of the *tree*, both as to its past and its future "development," not from its aspect merely, but from the quality of the *fruit* which it produces.

Sketches from Sacred History: or, Some Scripture Characters Exemplified and Contrasted, in a Series of Sermons. By a Clergyman of the Diocese of Cloyne. (Published for the Benefit of the "Irish Society" and "Church Missions.") Dublin: James M'Glashan; London: Nisbet and Co.

THESE Sermons embrace the following subjects:—the Prayer of Jabez; the Expectation of Jacob; Joseph and his Brethren; the Expostulation of Samuel; the Mission of Elisha; the Lesson of Jonah; the promise to Daniel; and the Prayer of Habakkuk. The Sketches are short, simple in their matter, and easy in their style; but warm with the glow of an evangelical earnestness, and indicative of a heart anxious to do good. A free distribution of them for the use of plain readers would be a good service done to them, and to the objects which the sale or circulation of them is intended to promote.

History of the Byzantine Empire: from DCCXVI. to MLVII. By George Finlay, Honorary Member of the Royal Society of Literature. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1858.

THE author of this volume is already very favourably known by his work (published ten years ago) on "Greece under the Romans," embracing the period B.C. 146 to A.D. 717; and also by his "History of Greece, from its Conquest by the Crusaders to its Conquest by the Turks, and of the Empire of Trebizond, A.D. 1204–1461." The volume now in question will be seen, from a comparison of the periods belonging to each of the three volumes respectively, to stand in the double relation of a Sequel to one of the two other volumes, and of an Introduction to the other,—though with something like a break, in the continuity of the history, of nearly one hundred and fifty years. The "Byzantine Empire," it will be known to the generality of our readers, was the Eastern Roman Empire, re-formed by Leo the Isaurian, or Leo III.; and afterwards sustained with such vigour as to outlive for many centuries every Government contemporary with its establishment. Its history "divides itself into three periods, strongly marked

by distinct characteristics:" the first, usually known as the "Iconoclast Period," including A.D. 716-867; the second, A.D. 867-1057; and the third,—which the author regards as "the true period of the decline and fall of the Eastern Empire,—A.D. 1057-1204; the date last mentioned being that of its Conquest by the Crusaders.

The name generally given to the first of these three periods, indicates its history to be *ecclesiastical* as well as *civil*;—a circumstance of considerable disadvantage for the purpose of a fair representation of either of the aspects which the history combines. The mutual jealousies and struggles, so characteristic of that period, had almost unavoidably the effect of colouring both the contemporary and the subsequent records, to an extent which has greatly enhanced the toil and difficulties of later chroniclers. But Mr. Finlay has brought to his task a judgment and fidelity, which claim that his work should be honoured for its general correctness, as well as for the vigorous and philosophical style in which it is written. Those who have read his former volumes, will need no persuasion of ours to induce them to read this. And those who read this, will hardly be content without reading the others. The references to authorities, so often wanting in historical composition, are particularly valuable.

Will we know our Friends in Heaven? or, The Earnest and Scriptural Discussion of the Question of Heavenly Recognition. By the Rev. H. Harbaugh, A.M. London: A. Hall, Virtue, and Co. 1853.

FROM the doctrine of this volume no thoughtful or consistent Christian will dissent. For our own part, we have always considered that the mutual recognition of the saints in heaven is guaranteed by the fact of their personal identity, which fact, again, is implied and promised in the very idea of a resurrection from the dead. This hope and confidence are strengthened (if that, indeed, be possible) by considerations of a kindred nature. Humanity is not to be obliterated in the heirs of eternal life, but glorified and perfected; and this primarily by the removal of all traces of the curse, which consisted, not in the original constitution, but the subsequent depravation, of our nature. Then, as the heavenly state is not one of disembodied spirits, so far as the redeemed are concerned, so will not all the affections, tendencies, and individualities of the earthly sojourn be absolutely wanting, but only restored to original rectitude, adjusted to the conditions of a spiritual world, harmonized with, and heightened by, each other, and swayed and sanctified by the supreme law of love. To join these thoughts together: it is obvious that neither proper identity nor perfect humanity can be the portion of the saints in bliss, unless the faculty of memory, though modified by spiritual laws, remain to illustrate their high estate, to make them cognisant of their own important life on earth, and re-cognisant of the essential features of their friends. But the negative supposition is full of increasing difficulty; for it imagines a real and practical divorce between the earthly and the heavenly states; and the effect of this disjunction would inevitably be to rob the eternal Sabbath of its sense of rest, and final victory of its associated triumph.

Mr. Harbaugh's opening chapter is not promising in respect of style; and this is unfortunate, as a very perceptible improvement afterwards takes place. It indicates, more strongly than any other single portion, the principal blemish of the work,—a tendency to sentiment and poetical expression; and its principal defect,—the absence of a masculine and thoughtful treatment. But all readers do not judge alike, and tastes may differ very widely without, on either side, transgressing the limits of sound judgment and pure feeling. We believe many will derive pleasure, of a very genuine kind, from these pages; and, perhaps, the bereaved Christian could hardly meet with a volume altogether more calculated than this to soothe and hallow his first hour of sorrow.

Imaginary Conversations of Greeks and Romans. By Walter Savage Landor. London: Moxon. 1853.

The Last Fruit off an Old Tree. By Walter Savage Landor. London: Moxon. 1853.

THE poetic prefix of Mr. Landor's last volume is highly characteristic of his genius, and furnishes in brief the sum of his career. It is also a good example of his style; a style remarkable for strength and terseness, and, if somewhat hard, yet, at the same time, picturesque and pure:—

"I strove with none, for none was worth my strife;
Nature I loved, and, next to nature, art;
I warm'd both hands before the fire of life;
It sinks, and I am ready to depart."

Here we have the bold independence and self-assertion which have always distinguished him, marking him out from men of feebler mould, like Coriolanus among degenerate Romans, and urging him, sometimes to "flutter the Volsces" in a hostile camp, and sometimes, with petulant haste, to join the forces of an enemy, and pour scorn and contumely on his own "countrymen and lovers." Here, too, his love of nature, surviving youth and riper manhood, and crowning his old age with a second spring; his delight in all the miracles of art; his joyous welcome of all that life affords, and keen relish for its thousand blessings; and, not less prominent than his epicurean gladness in the intellectual past and sensuous present, his stoical indifference to all that may await him in the mysterious and impending future. If you would figure to yourself how a heathen of the classic age would demean himself, if suddenly transported into our present era, make intimate acquaintance with the writings of Walter Landor. To our minds, the single quatrain we have quoted awakens so many recollections of their beauty, that we seem to realize the conception at once, and hail him as a grand antique,—a living representative, but not a marble image. The firm grip of his friendly hand; the occasional disdain of his haughty head; the smile with which he greets the simple beauty of a field-flower, or the matchless grace of infancy; his passion for ideal liberty and natural beauty; his impatience of all meanness, servility, and fraud; his warm and generous friendships, and his hasty and more general enmities; his soft pity for the slave, and his fierce hatred of the tyrant;—these are all marks of his pecu-

liar greatness. But, while his intellectual character is almost purely classic, it was not possible that in all things he should resist the influence of a Christian age, and be entirely Pagan in his soul. In literature and art and politics, he is a Grecian of the age of Pericles; but, in the higher humanities,—in all but its spiritual and evangelic type,—he is a Christian of the Protestant and English Church. And now we have Walter Landor gathering the last fruits of his genius, and sending them to market for the benefit of two humble and persecuted Christians; turning from the contemplation of “the physiognomies of Solon and Pericles, of Phocion and Epicurus,” and fixing an admiring regard on Francesca and Rosa Madiai. “Homely,” says he, “very homely, are the countenances and the figures of the Madiai. But they also have their heroism: they took the same choice as Hercules, preferring virtue to pleasure, labour to ease, rectitude to obliquity; patient of imprisonment, and worshipping God with unflinching devotion, unterrified by the menaces of death. May they awaken, if not enthusiasm, at least benevolence! In which hope, on their behalf, and for their sole emolument, I edit this volume.” Let us not quarrel with Mr. Landor because the grounds of his sympathy with this persecuted pair are haply lower than ours,—that he feels admiration for their fortitude, but professes no share in the sublime convictions to which, in them at least, such fortitude is due. Be it his to refer to the choice of Hercules, the type and parable of heathen virtue; but this, too, is included in another reference, surely far more appropriate, which a thousand hearts will instinctively make,—to the humble martyrs of our faith in the early ages of the Church.

Not its charitable object only, but its literary excellence also, will commend this volume of “*Last Fruit*.” It contains something in every species of composition to which our author has devoted himself; and, if not equal to the best of his former writings,—which it would be unreasonable to expect from a volume published in the author’s eightieth year,—they indicate, at least, no positive declension of his powers. Of the “*Conversations*” he says, in allusion to the living interlocutors, “No sculptor can work in sandstone so artistically or effectively as in alabaster and marble.” Yet some of these are fine examples of a class of writing, not, indeed, invented by Mr. Landor, yet stamped by his genius with a new and higher charm. None of the present series could have been written by a pen less pointed or less firm than his. Three admirable papers—on Theocritus, Catullus, and Petrarca respectively—show that his critical power is no way abated. His Letters on Popery are less to our liking; and those to Cardinal Wiseman are too full of obscure irony for popular and pleasant reading. Of poem and epigram there is great variety; and his peculiar style of dramatic composition—full of pregnant and picturesque expressions, and pervaded by a certain quiet brooding interest, and thus uniting, as it seems to us, the chaste and solemn spirit of antiquity with the free handling and the fruitful character of the romantic school—is finely exhibited in the “*Five Scenes*” which bring this varied volume to a close.

We hope to see the whole of Mr. Landor’s writings issued in this convenient shape. The remainder of his “*Conversations*” would probably occupy two volumes. Another might contain his “*Pentame-*

ron," "Examination of William Shakspeare," and "Pericles and Aspasia." The mere enumeration of these works has reminded us of his variety of power, remarkable in connexion with such uniform success. We have alluded to him chiefly as one of antique mould; and, in the structure of his mind, as well as the bias of his thoughts, he is essentially of the world before the cross. Nevertheless, on reflection, we prefer his English to all his other dialogues, ancient and foreign; and his "Examination of William Shakspeare" rivals the masterly production of "Pericles and Aspasia." Between these latter two what a disparity of scene and subject! yet how perfect the illusion in either case! how wonderful the magic that could evoke them both! The "Examination of William Shakspeare" is the boldest and most successful fiction of the kind we know; not only realizing Shakspeare's times, and the inimitable Squire of Warwickshire, but setting the young bard before us with all his native wit and genius. It rolls back the curtain of two centuries and a half of envious obsecration, fills up with living features the meagre outline furnished by Malone and Stevens, and gives us the exuberant youth of a royal mind, destined to tithe the heritage of nature, and receive tribute from remote posterity.

Life in Death: a Sermon preached at Rodborough, Gloucestershire, on Sunday, June 12th, 1853, on Occasion of the Death of the late Earl of Ducie. By Samuel Thodey. London: Partridge and Oakey. 1853.

THIS is a most gratifying exhibition of the power of religion operating on the vigorous and cultivated mind of one moving in the very highest ranks of society; and a striking instance of resignation, peace, and triumph in the hour of death.

The Gentile Nations: or, The History and Religion of the Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes, Persians, Greeks, and Romans; collected from Ancient Authors and Holy Scripture, and including the Recent Discoveries in Egyptian, Persian, and Assyrian Inscriptions: forming a complete Connexion of Sacred and Profane History, and showing the Fulfilment of Sacred Prophecy. By George Smith, F.A.S., Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, &c., &c. London: Longman and Co. 1853.

THIS double volume forms the concluding portion of Mr. Smith's elaborate work, entitled, "Sacred Annals;" and as we hope to examine at length this important contribution to historical literature, we shall now do little more than announce its completion by the present issue.

Mr. Smith presents us, in this portion of his work, with an elaborate examination of the origin, objects, and character of idolatry; confirms the scriptural statements of Satanic influence and human depravity from independent testimony; and triumphantly refutes the absurd theory, that the earliest ages of mankind were the most degraded and debased, from which the human family has gradually emerged, in accordance with a regular law of development. He shows that that

fearful element in the idolatry of Heathenism,—the deification of man,—had its origin in ill-understood and imperfectly-transmitted traditions of the primitive promise of an incarnate Redeemer; that, from Nimrod to Alexander, the ambitious desire to be recognised as the *Incarnate One*, for whom all men looked, was the ruling motive of aspiring minds; that the almost universal prevalence of the mystic serpent-worship was the climax of that fatal triumph, by which the Divine Being is first banished from the minds of men, and the great seducer installed as the "god of this world;" and that the character of heathen idolatry is not less dubious than its symbolism, being every where and always—diabolical.

A lengthened and highly interesting investigation follows, respecting the religious doctrines, practices, and morals of Egypt, Assyria, and Babylon, of Persia, Greece, and Rome. To this investigation the entire records of history, and the recent discoveries in the East, have been made to contribute. The scattered rays of human learning have been gathered into one focus, and, in combination with the light of Scripture truth, have been thrown upon the religious history of mankind.

With the knowledge of what has been done in the same department of literature by Prideaux, Shuckford, and Russell, we do not hesitate to affirm, that Mr. Smith's "*Sacred Annals*" contain ampler stores of learning, more complete and satisfactory deductions from ancient history, and clearer illustrations from monumental records, than any preceding work; whilst, in correct and cordial appreciation of evangelical truth, they stand alone and unequalled by any work on the subject in our language. As it is the latest history of the idolatrous nations, and most fully illustrated by the lights of modern science and research; so also is it, in our opinion, the most reliable for the moral temper in which the whole investigation is pursued, and the religious principles by which the author is assisted in forming his ultimate deductions.

The Leisure Hour: a Family Journal of Instruction and Recreation. London, 1853.

WE cordially recommend this cheap and interesting serial, especially to our young friends. An ample range of useful information, written in a plain and lively manner, and imbued with a Christian spirit, is combined with neat and copious illustrations. To encourage the circulation of such a work is to counteract much of the evil tendency of a large part of the cheap publications of the present day.

An Ecclesiastical Dictionary. By the Rev. John Farrar. London: Mason. 1853.

WE welcome the publication of this handsome and compendious volume. It belongs to that indispensable class of books which has commonly the most convenient shelf assigned to it; and it is executed, moreover, with scrupulous care and much ability. The present volume forms a very useful companion to the "*Biblical and Theological Dictionary*" of the same author. We much approve the separation of these subjects, so frequently united, into two distinct works of

convenient size and uniform appearance. The Church and the Word are thus placed side by side; and in this position what a melancholy contrast, as well as instructive comment, does the one furnish to the other! A mere glance at the "Ecclesiastical Dictionary" serves to remind us of the errors and corruptions through which pure scriptural Christianity has had to preserve its way, sometimes well-nigh overlaid by formality, or heresy, or superstition.

Hufeland's Art of Prolonging Life. Edited by Erasmus Wilson.
London: J. Churchill. 1853.

WE are informed by Mr. Wilson, that Christopher William Hufeland was a philosophic Physician, and Professor of Medicine in the University of Jena, and no more. We think the learned Editor must have had it in his power to communicate to his readers some few particulars of the life of this German Physician; and he could scarcely withhold them on the supposition that they were superfluous. We are not even told when he was born, nor when he died; at what age he took upon himself the task of advising his fellow-men on the best means for prolonging life, or in what measure he himself was successful in attaining longevity. The majority of the readers of this book will doubtless hear of Hufeland for the first time, and will naturally be desirous of knowing somewhat of his biography. This is a deficiency which we should be glad to see rectified in a second edition. While we are taking upon ourselves to advise Mr. Wilson, we would make a remark upon the paucity of the notes which he has thought proper to subjoin. "*Stamen vitæ*," "*pabulum vitæ*," are duly translated by the Editor for the instruction of his unlearned readers; but principles and imagined facts in science now exploded are allowed to pass without a correction, which might easily have been made in a foot-note. And thus the book will be made instrumental in conveying wrong notions of science, to persons ignorant of the advance it has made during the last half-century. This is the more to be regretted, as the book is intended mainly for the public at large, who are generally sufficiently erroneous in their scientific knowledge. Apart from these defects, the work is admirable, reading more like an original English book than a translation; though, indeed, the Editor is of opinion, that the translation, (that of 1797,) which he has mainly adopted in preference to a new translation, proceeded from the learned author's own pen.

Those who expect to find in Hufeland some one or two maxims insisted upon as competent to insure a long life, will be disappointed. There are no such recipes here for longevity as that of Lord Marchmont, "Never to mix your wines;" by which we are led to infer that an attention to one point is sufficient. Hufeland knew well that general rules are preferable, because wiser and safer than particular ones; which they include, not as isolated, but as connected, facts, modified by the relation they bear to the whole. We have before alluded to the incorrectness of the science of the book; but we, as was the Editor, were "struck with the little real progress which has been made in the science of living during the more than half-century since the work was first written." This is but an exemplification of the well-known and oft-repeated fact, that philosophic truths are acted upon unconsciously, long before they have a place assigned to

them in the category of science; and hence it is, that, though much of the science of the book is already antiquated, the greater part of its philosophy will never be old. It is true that Hufeland imagined he was setting the art of longevity on a firm basis by establishing it, as he says, "on systematic grounds;" but the fact is, he made the then existing science appear to confirm the rules which were known by experience to favour the prolongation of life. He was certainly wiser in doing this, than in contradicting the observations of ages, by deducing from an imperfect and incorrect science new and false methods of living. We doubt whether we are yet in a position, as regards our physiological knowledge, to show the harmonious connexion, which doubtless exists, between the art and the science.

It is not necessary for us to enter into a minute examination of the various chapters of the book; but we will give our readers a brief example of the author's style; and here, as in all sound philosophy, we are able to adduce additional and collateral support for the advantages of virtue:—

"According to the point of view under which I necessarily considered my subject, it was natural that I should treat it, not only medically, but also morally; for how is it possible to write on human life, without taking into consideration its connexion with the moral world, to which it so peculiarly belongs? On the contrary, I have found more than once, in the course of my labour, that the physical man cannot be separated from his higher moral nature; and I may, perhaps, reckon it a small merit in the present performance, that it will not only establish the truth and heighten the value of the moral laws in the eyes of many, by showing that they are indispensably necessary for the physical support and prolongation of life; but that it demonstrates that the physical nature of man has been suited to his higher moral destination; that this makes an essential difference between the nature of man, and the nature of animals; that without moral cultivation man is in continual contradiction with his own nature; and that by culture alone he becomes even physically perfect. May I be so fortunate, by these means, as to accomplish two objects,—not only to render the life of man more healthful and longer, but also, by exciting his exertions for that purpose, to make him better and more virtuous! I can, at any rate, assert, that man will in vain seek for the one without the other, and that physical and moral health are as nearly related as the body to the soul. They flow from the same sources, become blended together; and, when united, the result is, *human nature ennobled, and raised to perfection.*" *
—*Author's Preface*, p. xiv.

A word in conclusion about the author. Hufeland was little more than thirty when the first edition of this treatise appeared in Germany, in 1794; and he tells us in his Preface, that it had been the favourite employment of his leisure hours for eight years. He was born in 1762, and died, at the age of seventy-four, in 1836. He wrote numerous other medical works, of which the above is the best-known, equally in Germany as in other countries. Two translations of it have appeared in France.

* Of course, we dissent, *in toto*, from this last affirmation.—*EDR.*

The Complete Works, Poetry and Prose, of the Rev. Edward Young, LL.D., formerly Rector of Welwyn, Hertfordshire, &c. Revised and Collated with the earliest Editions. To which is prefixed a Life of the Author, by John Doran, LL.D. With Eight Illustrations on Steel, and a Portrait. In Two Vols. London: William Tegg and Co. 1854.

THIS elegant edition of the Works of the author of the "Night Thoughts" justifies its claim to be called "Complete," since it contains several pieces which have not been printed in recent editions. The text is, in many places, improved by a return to the reading of earlier and purer copies. We may mention, as an illustration of this latter point,—

"The trumpet's sound each *fragrant* note shall hear,
Or fix'd in earth, or if aloft in air," &c.

For one hundred years the public have been satisfied with this corrupted text, and have been content to read of a "*fragrant* note," without inquiring what it possibly could mean. The editor, Mr. James Nichols, replaces the original word *vagrant*; and the result, at once, is poetry and common-sense. Dr. Doran's Life of the poet appears to be painstaking and correct, is written with spirit, and contains a good selection of his Correspondence.

Venice, the City of the Sea, from the Invasion by Napoleon in 1797, to the Capitulation to Radetzky in 1849; with a Contemporaneous View of the Peninsula. By Edmund Flagg, late Consul of the United States at the Port of Venice. Two Vols. London: Sampson Low. 1853.

THE most valuable portion of Mr. Flagg's book consists of a detailed account of the famous Siege of Venice by the Austrians in 1849. His position as American Consul immediately after the Capitulation, has enabled him to collect on the spot all the chief facts of the struggle. We have every reason to believe that they are fairly and impartially recorded, and that his obvious and warm sympathy with the besieged has not led him to conceal their faults; whilst, on the other hand, he has not allowed himself any unusual licence of vituperation against the bombarding foes.

Whatever charges may be brought against the Italians for their conduct during the events of 1848-9,—and we believe that there was more to praise than to blame,—the two sieges of Rome and Venice exhibit, on the part of their defenders, acts of moderation, patriotic devotion, and undaunted courage, worthy of any time, or of any cause. The resolute determination of the populace, and the wisdom of the leaders, are alike apparent, and show that Italy is not unworthy of the freedom for which she strove. When such is the case, a people cannot long be enslaved.

Daniel Manin is the name most conspicuous in the Venetian struggle. The vast influence which this man held over the minds of his fellow-citizens, arose from his previous sufferings, his known patriotism, and his marvellous eloquence. Did the spirits of the populace droop under

their protracted and almost unparalleled sufferings? Manin was their consolation and their refuge. Did the angry passions of a people, naturally jealous, threaten internal commotion? The commanding eloquence of Manin never failed to still the storm. And, unlike the fate of many leaders in an unsuccessful movement, the grateful homage of his fellow-citizens survived the disaster, and still lingers around his Parisian retreat.

On the 22d of March, 1848, only thirty days after the revolution at Paris, Venice uprose and freed herself from the Austrian yoke. Paralyzed by the determined front of the Venetians, a garrison of 7,000 soldiers capitulated and retired from the city. An interval ensued, in which measures were immediately adopted for the defence and welfare of the city, and preparations made for the coming struggle. For the particulars of the bombardment we must refer our readers to the work itself, where they will find its events recorded with great minuteness.

Although we have stated our belief that Mr. Flagg's facts are to be relied upon, we could not fail to remark the great inaccuracy, as to names and dates, every where to be found in his pages. His style has all the faults of his countrymen, with much diffuseness and repetition peculiar to himself. The work has, apparently, been printed in America, and carried through the press in the absence of the author. In some cases, names are spelt in two, and even three, different ways; and dates, referring to well-known events, from the want of typographical supervision, ante-dated or postponed a century.

Struggles for Life: or, The Autobiography of a Dissenting Minister. London: Cash. 1854.

THIS book is an excellent piece of Autobiography, written by one who knows *what* it is to struggle, and *how* to struggle. The *man* is altogether to our mind,—intelligent, imaginative, playful, tender, frank, and earnest; and not less agreeable to us is the *Christian*. He is a Protestant, and a Dissenter, yet truly catholic, because spiritual and large-minded; thoroughly decided in his preference of his own Church, but not blind to its faults, nor to the good he sees in other Churches, nor afraid to speak out concerning either; but neither his own nor other Churches suffer at his hands. It is a most healthful book, and will teach young men the *true* self-reliance,—to do battle with difficulties, and to trust in God. It contains many useful lessons to students, and especially to Ministers, how to read *men* as well as *books*. Many of his reflections are exceedingly valuable, although occasionally somewhat too elaborate and extended, but always conveying to the thoughtful admirable lessons of Christian wisdom. All Churches want such men; and such Ministers will find, and profitably fill, the widest spheres of pastoral influence.

We cordially recommend the volume as an entertaining and profitable book, full of incident, and full also of wisdom and piety.